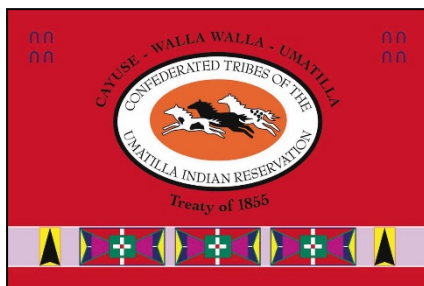


Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation

Jennifer Karson Engum, Ph.D.
Cultural Resources Protection Program

Report prepared for
CTUIR Board of Trustees
Fish and Wildlife Commission
Cultural Resources Committee

November 16, 2020



CONFEDERATED TRIBES
of the
Umatilla Indian Reservation
46411 Timine Way
PENDLETON, OREGON

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Department of Natural Resources

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Umatilla (*Imatalamláma*), Cayuse (*Weyíletpu*), and Walla Walla (*Walíulapam*) peoples, who comprise the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), have traveled throughout the west, including to the lower Columbia and Willamette Rivers and to Willamette Falls, to exercise their reserved treaty rights to hunt, fish, and gather the traditional subsistence resources known as the First Foods. They have been doing so *since time immemorial*, an important indigenous concept which describes a time continuum that spans from ancient times to present day. In post-contact years, interactions expanded to include explorers, traders and missionaries, who brought with them new opportunities for trade and intermarriage as well as the devastating circumstances brought by disease, warfare, and the reservation era. Through cultural adaptation and uninterrupted treaty rights, the CTUIR never ceased to continue to travel to the lower Columbia and Willamette River and falls for seasonal traditional practice and for other purposes.

Tribal members have always camped, fished, hunted and gathered First Foods like salmon, lamprey, deer, camas, wapato, nuts and berries in the area, carrying out cultural traditions in and around the lower Columbia and Willamette rivers, including traveling to Willamette Falls, a highly productive site that drew many tribal people. The region offered a temperate climate, access to abundant fish, and waterways for transportation, as well as trade and social interaction for the indigenous groups of this region, and still does today. The following points highlight some of the most compelling themes evidenced in this study; including: 1) the fact that Willamette Falls use and habitation was not exclusive to any one tribe; 2) the CTUIR currently holds uninterrupted treaty rights to Willamette Falls; 3) CTUIR possess abundant oral histories on Willamette Falls/Lower Columbia River use; 4) the Cayuse and Molalla Tribe of the Willamette valley have clear cultural and historical ties; 5) fur trade and mission eras created additional ties to this area; and 6) the historical trauma of the CTUIR “Cayuse Five” is explicitly linked to this area.

The use and habitation of Willamette Falls was not exclusive to any one tribe and has historically been considered a major intertribal fishery and trade location. Tribal people from around the northwest traveled there to fish, trade, and socialize, residing in the region as necessary and intermarrying among tribal groups. CTUIR tribal members continue to seasonally gather lamprey at Willamette Falls to bring back to the larger reservation community for subsistence purposes.

While the area included a number of more local coastal tribes, such as Chinook tribes, Clatsop, Clatskanie, Cascades, Kalapuya, and Cathlamet; the CTUIR and a number of other Lower Columbia and Plateau tribes lived and traveled in the area as well, including the Warm Springs, Cowlitz, Klickitat, Yakama, Nez Perce, Molalla, Wasco, Wishram and Cascade Indians. Willamette Falls was an important fishing and trade area similar to Celilo Falls. The CTUIR have a well-documented history of traveling to Willamette Falls to gather lamprey and fish for salmon and continue to do so to this day. Above and below the Falls to its mouth, the Willamette River has long been a critical waterway and travel corridor for a number of Northwest tribes.

The CTUIR hold uninterrupted reserved treaty rights at Willamette Falls. The Tribes granted the United States rights to lands they ceded, but reserved rights to the lands that they specifically did not grant to the United States – rights such as the ability to access lands to hunt, fish, gather, and graze livestock. The right to hunt and fish pre-existed the United States and those rights and resources under the CTUIR’s Treaty of 1855 should be protected in perpetuity.

In the Treaty of 1855, the CTUIR ceded 6.4 million acres of land to the federal government and in exchange, received assurances that pre-existing tribal use rights to be exercised in wide-ranging traditional and usual and accustomed geographic areas would be protected, and tribal interests would be respected, *in perpetuity*. A paramount objective in the Treaty was protecting and maintaining access to and abundance of tribal First Foods—water, fish, big game, roots and berries—and the habitats and environmental conditions that support and sustain them—then, now, and forever.

CTUIR oral history on use and presence at Willamette Falls and the lower Columbia is abundant and specific. Verbatim oral history data resides in the internal archive of the CTUIR. This archive holds approximately 600 interviews conducted with elders and community members, documenting a rich ethnographic record of use. Several of these interviews discuss traditional knowledge of the practice of fishing for salmon and other aquatic species and specifically harvesting lamprey, at productive sites in the Columbia basin such as at Willamette Falls, with tools and techniques passed down from generation to generation. These teachings around the First Foods locations, seasonality, and harvest methods are tenets of tribal health, culture, religion and inter and intra-generational interactions.

From pre-contact time to the historic era to contemporary times, CTUIR tribal members know the multi-generational ties, history, and cultural connections to the Lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls area. Stories related to seasonal travel to Willamette Falls and family ties among Plateau tribes continue to connect the CTUIR to the region. People from the CTUIR traveled to Willamette Falls for subsistence purposes and for trade, and at times for less peaceful purposes, such as warring and for the capturing of slaves. For generations and beyond, tribal members travel to the area to engage in fishing and other First Foods-related practices, and to trade with native and non-native groups in the surrounding region. The lower Columbia River has always been important to the lifeways of the CTUIR and many other northwest tribes.

The Cayuse and Molalla tribes hold cultural and historic ties. Details of their relationship are varied and include amicable shared use areas as well as warfare between them. Early ethnological and historical sources describe a faction of the larger “weyiiletpuan” [Cayuse] group splitting off and moving west from the John Day River and Tygh Valley area, eventually becoming known as the Molalla people. The oral record of the CTUIR also confirms this relationship, through stories of intermarriage, moving together to follow the First Foods, and eventual migrations west of the Cascades. Historical sources have described the original spoken languages between the two as nearly identical to each other and distinct from all other languages in the region. Due in part to the loss of speakers of the original Cayuse language, contemporary linguistic anthropologists have not yet found enough evidence to affirm the ancient connection between the Cayuse and Molalla dialects, and the theory requires more study.

The fur trade and mission eras created additional diverse ties to the area. The CTUIR were heavily involved in the fur trade centered at Fort Vancouver, where Cayuse and Walla Walla men even served as trade intermediaries and guides. Tribal families also had strong ties to the Methodist Mission on the Willamette River, established by Missionary Jason Lee in the 1830’s and 1840’s. Intermarriages among native women and non-native traders was common in the area and were documented, along with births and deaths, in the Catholic baptismal and Methodist mission records for Oregon City.

Resulting intermarriages created diverse families, including that of John McLoughlin, Chief Factor for Hudson Bay Company in Oregon City. Descendants of McLoughlin’s wife Marguerite, are

enrolled members of the CTUIR and have attended McLoughlin family reunions. Throughout this period of intense change, cultural continuity and tribal identity remained.

The historical trauma of the Cayuse Five will forever be linked to the landscape of Willamette Falls and Oregon City. The Cayuse tribe's involvement with the Whitman incident culminated in the trial and death by hanging of the Cayuse Five at Oregon City. From the initial exile of the five Cayuse men – on Abernathy Island – overlooking the falls, to the town jail where the Cayuse Five were baptized before they were hanged, to the execution site in the town square, to their last journey along historic Main Street to their mass grave, the whole painful saga played itself out on that landscape. Two and a half years after destruction of the Whitman Mission, five Cayuse headmen stood trial before a grand jury in Oregon City on the lone charge of murdering Marcus Whitman. After a controversial four-day trial, on May 24, 1850, a jury found all of the accused guilty. The CTUIR has always held that regardless of their guilt or innocence, the five leaders – Tiloukaikt, Tomahas, Isiaasheluckas, Clokomas, and Kiamasumkin – surrendered themselves in order to end the Cayuse War and the violence against their people. Officials carried out the hangings in Oregon City ten days later. The location of the men's unmarked grave remains unknown today. Their sacrifice is still recognized and honored by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.

The cumulative data presented in this study unambiguously demonstrate the CTUIR's continual presence and traditional use in the project area, documented over time and by multiple varied sources. Each section provides building blocks for context and detail of the history of the CTUIR's usual and accustomed use of the lower Columbia River region, most notably at Willamette Falls, and makes the connection between tribal historic and contemporary use of the area. In summary, the historical and cultural importance of the area to the CTUIR cannot be overstated.

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Introduction

The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP) prepared a traditional use study of the lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls and their surrounding areas. This study includes a file and literature review of existing pre- and post-contact ethnographic and historical information, including past traditional use studies, CRPP oral history interviews on file, and other primary and secondary ethnographic and historical source material concerning Willamette Falls and the lower Columbia River area associated with the CTUIR's First Foods, traditional use, and historical presence. The cumulative evidence establishes the presence of the *Imatalamláma* (Umatilla), *Walúulapam* (Walla Walla), and *Weyíletpu* (Cayuse) people along this portion of the Columbia River and the Willamette River (Suphan 1974). For the purposes of this report, the tribal names in English and in Sahaptin will both be employed.

The study area lies in the Western portion of the ethnographically defined Columbia Plateau Culture Area (Plateau) of the Pacific Northwest (Walker 1998). The area investigated for this study ranges from above and below Willamette Falls to the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia rivers and along the Columbia River from its mouth to Bonneville Dam.

Archival research was conducted in the CRPP archives, the Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute archive library and in the digital archives of Fort Vancouver and Oregon Historical Society. Literature and other documentation was also reviewed from previous project excursions to the National Records and Archives Administration in Seattle, Washington. Three new oral history interviews were conducted with tribal elders in-house due to their unique knowledge of the CTUIR's presence at Willamette Falls and the lower Columbia.

A review of the historic, anthropological, and traditional sources relating to the CTUIR's traditional use and practices, and First Foods in the study area will be discussed. While this report relies on ethnographic work previously conducted by the Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP), it is likely that additional pertinent data, oral history, and traditional use information are known within the CTUIR community and are not included in this document.

The CTUIR's cultural ties to the study area are outlined in this report. In addition to engaging in past and present fishing, camping and other resource gathering on the lower Columbia River and at the Willamette Falls area, the CTUIR have been thoroughly involved in the social conflicts and historic trade in the area since early contact times with non-Indians. The CTUIR continues to exercise its reserved treaty rights at Willamette Falls as a usual and accustomed fishing site for salmon and lamprey, the CTUIR's First Foods, which continue to be harvested annually by CTUIR members.

Ethnographic Context

The CTUIR consists of the *Weyíletpu*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Walúulapam* Tribes. The Treaty of June 9, 1855 and subsequent court cases, defines the rights the CTUIR retained for fishing, hunting, gathering plant foods, and pasturing stock on unclaimed lands outside the reservation. The reservation era essentially began in 1860, after the ratification of the treaty. During this time, extreme pressure was applied to Indians who followed the traditional way of living along the Columbia River and its tributaries for a major part of the year. Despite provisions in the treaty reserving the right to fish in usual and accustomed places, people were now systematically removed, sometimes by military force, to the reservations (<http://www.umatilla.nsn.us>). On the reservation Indian agents and missionaries worked to assimilate the Indians. The reservation was not the sanctuary away from the non-Indians where Indians could live in peace, as was envisioned by the treaty negotiators and signers. Numerous people continued to leave the reservation to participate in traditional activities (Stern 1998:415). They

lived independently and largely rejected the offerings of aid from Indian Agents via annuities from the government (Stern 1998:415).

The Columbia Plateau culture area, which includes portions of the lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls, was used cooperatively by several allied tribes along the Columbia and Snake Rivers. For a thorough analysis of ethnographic use of the Plateau, see Walker (1998). Walker (1998:3) lists eight distinguishing features of the Plateau:

1. riverine (linear) settlement patterns;
2. reliance on a diverse subsistence base of anadromous fish and extensive game and root resources;
3. a complex fishing technology similar to that seen on the Northwest Coast;
4. mutual cross-utilization of subsistence resources among the various groups comprising the populations of the area;
5. extension of kinship ties through extensive intermarriage throughout the area;
6. extension of trade links throughout the area through institutionalized trading partnerships and regional trade fairs;
7. limited political integration, primarily at the village and band levels, until adoption of the horse; and
8. relatively uniform mythology, art styles, and religious beliefs and practices focused on the vision quest, shamanism, life-cycle observances, and seasonal celebrations of the annual subsistence cycle.

The *Imatalamláma*, *Weyíiletpu*, and *Walúulapam* are described in the ethnographic literature as people who fished, gathered roots, berries, medicines, and other flora and hunted on a seasonal round basis (see Ray 1938, Stern 1998, Suphan 1974, and Swindell 1942). Winter villages for the *Imatalamláma*, *Weyíiletpu*, and *Walúulapam* were located along the Columbia and Snake rivers and several of their tributaries including, but not limited to, the Tucannon, Palouse, Walla Walla, Yakima, Umatilla, John Day, Grande Ronde, Wallowa, Imnaha, Powder, and Burnt rivers. In the spring, summer, and fall, the tribes headed up into the mountains adjacent to these rivers and tributaries to hunt, fish, and gather roots, berries, and other plants.

Suphan (1959, 1974) and other researchers note that the *Weyíiletpu*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Walúulapam* used some of the same territory, often at the same time, for hunting, fishing, and gathering purposes. Consequently, strict political boundaries for these groups are almost impossible to determine with precise accuracy. It was also customary for the tribes to meet at various places during their summer travels for the purposes of trading and socializing (Suphan 1974:357). Those areas were usually in close proximity to and in conjunction with their annual resource gathering regime, which included fishing, hunting, root gathering, collection of berries, tool making resources, gathering medicines and other flora in the surrounding areas (Ray 1938, Stern 1998, Suphan 1974, and Swindell 1942). Permanent winter villages, with reusable dwellings, were only occupied when bands were not engaged in seasonal hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. The annual subsistence activities for Plateau tribes were complex, involving the gathering of many essentials (Chalfant 1974:104, 133). With an economy based on seasonally determined fishing, root and berry gathering, and hunting in geographically localized environments, people moved over large expanses of landscape. Basically riverine in their settlement patterns, the principal food items in the diet of the Plateau people were fish, wild game, and roots. For example, a combination of anadromous and non-anadromous fish comprised about 50% of the indigenous diet, 25 to 40% of the diet was plant products, and the remaining 10 to 25% of the diet was game. Diets varied from group to group and

from family to family on the Plateau, depending upon personal preference and geographical and seasonal availability/abundance (Anastasio 1972:119, Walker 1971:10, Marshall 1977:37).

Tamánwit

Hunting, fishing, and gathering are expressions of the covenant that Indian people have with the land and everything that lives on it. This covenant requires the CTUIR to follow the seasonal round migration route of hunting and gathering of the traditional subsistence foods. In these actions, they are giving back to the land that provides for them (Morning Owl 2006:3).

CTUIR tribal members, like many Columbia Plateau tribes, are a people defined by their relationship to their traditional foods. Tribal oral tradition tells of this ancient time before human beings arrived when all animals could communicate using a common language. The Creator discussed their impending arrival with the animals. Humans would be like infants who would need to be taught how to live here. An animal council was held to determine how to proceed. Salmon volunteered to be the first to offer his body and knowledge to the people and the other animals and plants followed suit (Conner and Lang 2006:23). This order of promises in the CTUIR creation story is reflected in the serving order of traditional subsistence foods at ceremonial feasts. Water (*Čúuš*) is served first, recognizing its importance to humans and all the other foods, then salmon (*Núsux*) and other fish, deer (*Yáamaš*) and other big game, cous (*Xáwš*) and other root foods, and huckleberry (*Wíwnu*) and other berries. *Čúuš* is sipped again at the closing of traditional meals, emphasizing its importance. This serving order is therefore representative of the order in which the animals and plants made their promises to provide for the people, and are referred to as the “First Foods.” The animal council’s decisions reflect “*tamánwit*, the traditional philosophy and law of the people—the foundation of a physical and spiritual way of life that would sustain Plateau peoples for thousands of years” (Conner and Lang 2006:23). *Tamánwit* is “an ideology by which all things of the earth were placed by the Creator for a purpose. The works of the Creator were given behaviors that were unchangeable, and until time’s end, these laws are to be kept” (Morning Owl 2006:3) and the people’s purpose is “to take care of all that was given them” (Conner and Lang 2006:23).

The Creator decreed to the people that they have a reciprocal responsibility to respectfully care for, harvest, share, and consume traditional foods, or the foods may be lost. Reciprocity is emphasized and called for in the First Foods serving order at every traditional meal. Neither can survive without the other. Since the beginning of time, *tamánwit* has taken care of the traditional foods and guided the CTUIR in preserving them (Sampson 2006:248).

Late winter and early spring were frequent periods of short food supplies, especially if fall and winter hunting had been relatively unsuccessful. Nearly all Plateau languages contain words referring to famine and all of the Plateau tribes knew of emergency food items. As early as possible, the subsistence cycle began anew (Anastasio 1972:137).

With the introduction of the horse, the *Weyíletpu*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Walúulapam* adopted an equestrian mode of life, seasonally traveling to subsistence areas with more ease. The Tribes “maintained a riverine orientation, supplemented by the use of the horse in seasonal hunts” (Stern 1998:396).

As the tribes traveled up and down the Columbia River drainage system, they engaged in social discourse, met with other tribes and relations at various points, and traded with other local and distant tribes. Canoe travel along the rivers and horse travel made for a swift and easy back and forth journey (Stern 1998).

Tamánwit is a term in the Sahaptian languages of the Columbia River Tribes (*tamálwit* in the Cayuse/Nez Perce dialect) which translates to “Indian Law.” It has also been described as Natural Law, the Unwritten Law, and the Law of the Creator. It is a concept that is irrevocably connected to the religious belief system of Columbia River Tribes. For example, contextualizing tribal members’ role in salmon fishing requires an understanding of what the covenant is with their creator, and an understanding that there is a unique relationship.

Tamánwit includes the concept of divine ordination and creation. In the origin or creation story of the CTUIR and other Columbia River Tribes, *tamánwit* is the ideology that forms the basis of the religious belief system, by which all things of the earth were placed on it by the Creator for a purpose. The works of the Creator were given behaviors that were unchangeable, and until time’s end, these laws are to be kept. An understanding of *tamánwit* allows for the explanation of how things are placed on the earth, at the time before humans, when animals were the only ones here and they could speak. In ancient times, the animals learned of forthcoming change, and they prepared for the coming of the *Natítayt*, “the people.”

There is no delineation between pre-history and history for many tribal people. Ways of knowing the world in the time when the animals could speak are retained in the culture as ways of knowing the world as it is lived in today. This indigenous view of traditional law is more than what western law is defined as today. Modern western law is different from that of the law which emanated from a collective native past. Thomas Morning Owl states, “We tend to set our modern laws first and discount the validity of *tamánwit* in our present-day lives” (Morning Owl 2006:3).

The presence of the native view of *tamánwit* was emphasized at the 1855 treaty council. *Tamánwit* is defined verbatim as “throw down” but in context means Indian law, natural law, or divine law handed down by the creator at the beginning of time. *Tamánwit* is essentially the “rules to live by” that come out of the Indian religion and that are espoused in song and ritual. *Tamánwit* emerged when life first began on earth.

Indian leadership at the Walla Walla Council tried to convey to Stevens and Palmer their deep and profound belief in *tamánwit*, so that these non-Indians might understand that the Indian leaders could not sell their land and resources. To do so would violate *tamánwit*, or Indian law.

As CTUIR religious leader Armand Minthorn has said on *tamánwit*:

There is much to this word or this way, this *tamánwit*. It’s how we live. There is so much that we as Indian people are governed by, through our traditions, our culture, our religion, and most of all, by this land that we live on. We know through our oral histories, our religion, and our traditions, how time began. We know the order of the food, when this world was created, and when those foods were created for us. We know of a time when the animals and foods could speak. Each of those foods spoke a promise. They spoke a law – how they would take care of the Indian people and the time of the year that they would come. All of those foods got themselves ready for us. The promise that this land made and the promise that we made as Indian people to take care of this land, to take care of the resources and to live by those teachings is the grander principle of the bigger law that was put down on this land when the world was created. When we can live by those traditions and customs, then we’re fulfilling that law, we’re living by that law (Minthorn 2006:224).

First Foods as a Cultural Resource

Traditional foods and the locations where they are located in the project area are a physical link between the *Weyíletpu*, *Imatalamláma* and *Walúulapam* Tribes and the concept of *tamánwit*, the traditional law which posits that a reciprocal relationship between the native people and their First Foods must be maintained. The health of culturally important plants, animals, and fish in a given area, and the region as a whole, are therefore essential for continued cultural identity.

From pre-contact time to the historic era to contemporary times, CTUIR tribal members know their relational ties, history, and cultural connections to the Lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls area, primarily for fishing.

Fishing continues, and with it, the culture of Plateau Tribes. However, significant hurdles to fishing remain. Dams have inundated the vast majority of fishing sites. Those fishing sites that remain are at a premium. Where there used to be continuous occupation and innumerable fish, now there are very few fish, limited accessible places to catch them, and many tribal members trying to follow the traditional law of *tamánwit* in their ancestors' footsteps (Dickson 2009). As one informant said, "there's limited sites on the Columbia River that are good fishing sites. And so you can't just...once they find a good site, they don't want to let it go" (OHP 214).

Tribal members used the information passed down from their ancestors about good fishing places, but adjusted it to the conditions they encountered. Lane and Lane (1979:60) note, "Like fishermen everywhere and throughout history, Indian fishermen fished where they were able to catch fish. Indian intent and understanding of the treaty provision reserving the right to fish at all usual and accustomed stations would be consistent with this." The productivity of a given location is another consideration that tribal fishers must consider when placing their nets. Traditional and contemporary fishing sites therefore were and are not static and can shift up or down river depending on conditions, creating broader areas for the site as a whole.

Through this study, an understanding is gained of the historical and cultural ties that the CTUIR community has to the Lower Columbia and Willamette Falls region. It is clear that family ties among Plateau tribes continue to connect the CTUIR to the region. People have traveled to the area for generations to engage in fishing and other First Foods-related practices and to trade with native and non-native groups in the surrounding region.

The importance of the First Foods to Columbia River tribes cannot be overstated. Salmon and the other First Foods (which include materials and medicines) are cultural resources as well as a natural resources. What some call "Salmon culture" is a large driving force behind the long history of litigation over fishing rights, tribal fisheries management, and the efforts to both conserve and produce fish. In 1992, the late Louie Dick, Jr., a CTUIR member, commented on the cultural legacy of salmon in this way:

Don't call us a minority. We come from the land. We are the earth, we are the land. The others occupy the land. When you destroy the salmon, you destroy me. The salmon made a commitment to return and to give life. He's following his law by coming. We are violating our own law by not doing everything we can to get him back (Northwest Council 2019).

Simply stated, the culture of the CTUIR is linked to salmon - in a First Foods context - and other fish species in the Columbia River. Reduced access to Columbia River fishing is to CTUIR members like failing to keep the promise to the foods and the Creator. Thus, CTUIR members suffer culturally and spiritually due to this failing. The connection that the CTUIR has to the salmon and other First Foods can be seen plainly in the Longhouse, as the serving order of salmon and other wild foods goes back for centuries. As Eric Quaempts, the Director of Natural Resources for the CTUIR explains:

The first thing served is water and next is salmon and other fish. Next are deer and other big game, followed by roots and then berries like huckleberry and chokecherry. That serving order comes from a creation belief that those were the order in which the foods promised themselves to take care of Indian people. The serving order is a reminder of that promise and a reminder that we need to reciprocate and take care of the foods. The community has been observing and practicing this system for thousands of years” (Quaempts et al. 2018).

Quaempts has aligned this concept with current management functions within the Tribes’ Department of Natural Resources to bring those stewardship goals to the forefront:

In contemporary management, the First Foods serving order is used as a management approach by the CTUIR. By basing its management approach on the First Foods serving order, the CTUIR recognizes the creation belief of the serving order, the reciprocal responsibility to care for the First Foods, the ecological organization of the serving order, the geographic distribution of the Foods, Treaty rights associated with the foods, and the importance of access to the Foods for their use by CTUIR members (Quaempts et al. 2018).

There have been extreme changes in the Columbia River system that have disrupted Indian peoples’ opportunities to catch salmon and procure other First Foods. Despite these obstacles, Indian people have adapted to the changing conditions. Throughout this change, cultural practices persist, which is a testament to the resilience of tribal members and their culture. When one area of the river dries up or no longer produces sufficient subsistence, a long standing tradition occurs whereby people move locations to an area with more abundance. Native peoples have traditionally rotated from one usual and accustomed location to another, so as not to “fish out” or “gather out” an area. From early on in life, it is learned never to over-harvest an area, never take all of the fish or roots or berries but to leave some for the animals and to ensure the resource will return the following year. This law of sustainability is part of the larger Indian law of *tamánwit*.

Religious Ties to Fishing

Fishing is an expression of the covenant that Indian people have with the land and everything that lives upon it. The covenant of Indian Law requires the people of the Plateau to follow the seasonal round of fishing, hunting, and gathering of their traditional subsistence foods. In their actions they are giving back to the land that provides for them (Morning Owl 2006:3). Fishing has always included travels to the lower Columbia River fisheries, a necessity in terms of subsistence as well as in terms of faith. The unwritten law of *tamánwit* decrees that the tribes and traditional subsistence foods, like salmon, are integrally linked and this traditional teaching serves as a constant reminder that the traditional foods made a promise to the Creator to take care of the people.

Tribal oral tradition repeatedly tells of this ancient time before human beings arrived when all animals could communicate using a common language. The people’s purpose, “to take care of all that was given them” (Conner and Lang 2006:23) is the basis of respect for all creation. As the story is told and retold with every generation, these decisions from the animal council demonstrate *tamánwit*, the traditional philosophy and law of the people – the foundation of a physical and spiritual way of life that has sustained Plateau peoples for thousands of years.

The CTUIRs’ belief system was foreign enough to elude early non-Indian settlers in the Plateau, like Marcus Whitman, for example, when he attempted to make the Cayuse agriculturalists. Growing foreign foods was not aligned with Indian law and this pattern continued as non-Indian trappers, traders, and treaty negotiators at the early time of contact misinterpreted the behavior of Plateau tribal cultures.

Archaeological evidence testifies to the importance of salmon and other aquatic species to the people of the Columbia Plateau going back 10,000 years (Ames et al. 1998:107). Pre-contact population distribution on the Columbia Plateau strongly correlates with the availability of anadromous fish (Hewes 1998:625, Hunn et al. 1998:537). Hewes (1998:621) estimates that prior to contact Plateau people consumed an average of 400 to 450 pounds of salmon, the region's staple food, per person per year. Columbia River salmon dries and smokes well, making preservation and transportation possible (Hewes 1998:620). Salmon are high in protein, fat, and "trace elements such as iodine likely to be lacking in the land-based wild foodstuffs on the Plateau interior" (Hewes 1998:621).

The CTUIR's Columbia Basin Salmon Policy (CTUIR 1995) emphasized the importance of salmon: "For thousands of years, salmon thrived in the Columbia Basin. Salmon always have been central to our religion and our culture, and we honored them accordingly. We had plenty of salmon to sustain us and plenty more to trade with others from far away...Their existence is vital and linked to ours" (CTUIR 1995). As one elder puts it, "If we can't have salmon, we can't be Indians.

The CTUIR's current First Foods management approach continues to emphasize the importance of salmon, but in the context of the First Foods serving order, thus calling attention to the other Foods in the order and the need to protect access to them. Access to all First Foods in the serving order, such as in the lower Columbia and at Willamette Falls, is critical in order to provide First Foods cultural continuity (Quaempts personal communication 2020).

Trails and Travel Corridors

Traditional travel routes are important beyond a way to get from here to there. Travel between areas has been a time for reflection and education. The route traveled and the things that are encountered between the starting point and the destination are not a random assortment of encounters, but are informed and deliberate. For these reasons, the terms wandering and nomadic do not apply to Plateau peoples. These travel routes were chosen for a variety of reasons such as, proximity to legendary sites for teaching life lessons, opportunities to visit the graves of ancestors, proximity to food gathering areas and spiritual renewal. These travel routes are connected by traditional place names, camps, ceremonial sites, hunting and gathering locations (Ray 1938).

The seasonal round migration routes were known travel corridors that were returned to year after year. Tipi poles were regularly cached at fishing, hunting, and gathering camp site locations. These routes inform us today as they lead from camp to camp and illustrate where plant and animal foods were historically abundant. These routes lead tribal members to areas where spiritual renewal occurs and where stories can be passed on to the next generation. Land formations serve as visual markers along these routes that not only serve as directional geographic locators but as prompts for the teaching of those life lessons. Storytelling in a pre-literate society is the traditional vehicle for those teachings. Well established travel routes presented the opportunities to access these cultural landmarks.

Explorers and Traders

The beginning of the contact period with non-Indian people in the Plateau has been set between about 1600 and 1750, with developments stemming from the impacts of the horse, epidemic disease, trade goods, and Christian missionaries (Walker and Sprague 1998:138). By 1805, Lewis and Clark recorded seeing trade goods such as Spanish and Chinese coins, blue beads, copper kettles, and knowledge of many other goods and practices among the Columbia River tribes with whom they

interacted. The movement of people down the lower Columbia for trading purposes was already an important aspect of tribal culture that carried into the contact era, as noted in this passage by William Clark:

...about the time we were Setting out 7 Squars [squaws] came over loaded with Dried fish, and bear grass neatly bundled up, Soon after 4 Indian men came down over the rapid in a large canoe. passed a rapid at 2 miles & 1 at 4 miles opposite the lower point of a high Island on the Lard Side [Bradford Island], and a little below 4 Houses on the Stard. Bank, a Small Creek on the Lard Side [Tanner Creek] opposit Straw berry Island [Hamilton Island],

Saw great numbers of waterfowl of Different kinds, Such as Swan, Geese, white & grey brants, ducks of various kinds, Guls, & Pleaver [today just below Beacon Rock, Franz National Wildlife Refuge]. ...we encamped under a high projecting rock on the Lard. Side [Rooster Rock],

Seven Indians in a Canoe on their way down to trade with the nativs below, encamp with us, those we left at the portage passed us this evening and proceeded on down The ebb tide rose here about 9 Inches, the flood tide must rise here much higher- we made 29 miles to day from the Great Shute [Cascade Locks]. (Moulton 1990).

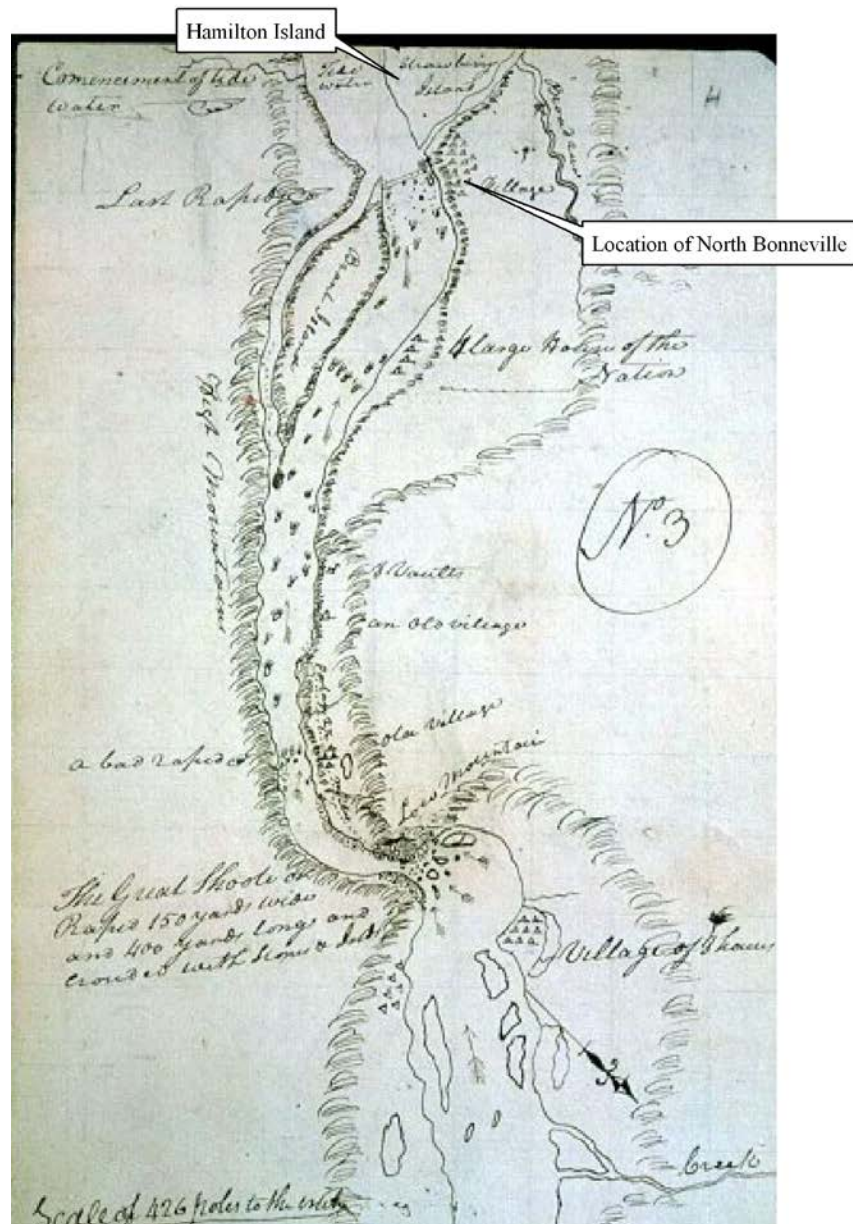


Figure 1. This map, from the Lewis and Clark Journals, shows the Great Rapids (Cascades) of the Columbia River. The Corps of Discovery camped here on October 30 to November 2, 1805 and recorded Hamilton Island, which they named Strawberry Island, and also recorded an Indian village in the same location as present-day North Bonneville, Washington (Moulton 1990:371).

As exemplified in the above passages from the journals of William Clark on November 2, 1805, the Corps of Discovery witnessed Indian people traveling downriver by canoe along the Columbia River water highway for the purposes of trade and procurement of the First Foods. This common practice was recorded by Lewis,

...there is a trade continually carried on by the natives of the river – each trading some article or other with their neighbors above and below them; and thus, articles which are vended by the whites at the entrance of this river find their way to the most distant nations inhabiting its waters (Stern 1998:642).

Comparison of two versions of Lewis and Clark's "Estimate of the Western Indians" indicates substantial seasonal variation in lower Columbia River populations. Estimates made in fall assumedly

represent resident winter Chinookan populations; higher estimates made the following spring suggest seasonal migration of non-riverine people to riverbank fisheries. Widespread social networks, seasonal migration, and intertribal fisheries among the linguistically diverse peoples of the region facilitated this movement (Boyd 1987:309-326).

Alexander Ross was an early explorer and trader with Astor's Pacific Fur Company who traveled up the Columbia River from its mouth in the early 1800's. He witnessed warriors of aggressive tribes, such as the Cayuses and Nez Perces, who journeyed into the Willamette Valley to hunt and trade (Ruby and Brown 1981:21). Ross found that a Columbia River fishing village of 100 local occupants had increased during salmon season to over 3,000 occupants from regional tribes. Canadian fur trader and explorer Alexander Henry found Cayuse Indians and hunters from Mount St. Helens in the territory of the Kalapuyans in the early 1800's (Clark 1927:61).

The Cayuse and their allies began to carry on winter hunts in the Cascades and to penetrate beyond into the Willamette Valley (Stern 1993: 44). In 1814, an Algonkian hunter employed by the Northwest Company at Fort George, formerly Astoria, encountered ten horsemen, Alexander Henry first presumed them to be "Scietogas [Cayuses], who dwell west of the Sahaptins" (Stern 1993:44). On January 21, 1814, a party of Cayuse, Walla Walla, and others visited Fort George (later Fort Astoria), asking its traders to come to their lands, where they said there were many beaver. They made no request of the traders to hunt anything else. In fact, the Cayuses and neighboring tribes had come to the Northwest Company's post via the Willamette River, where they informed a Hudson Bay Company hunter that they wanted no white men and their guns on these ancestral hunting grounds (Ruby and Brown 2005: 31-32). According to Ruby and Brown, "The traders must have wondered how welcome they would be in Cayuse country, when six weeks later at Fort George, they received word that a Cayuse-Nez Perce war party located at Willamette Falls had killed many Indians, stolen many slaves, and caused general panic" (2005: 31-32).

Fort George was established in 1811 seven miles upstream from the mouth of the Columbia River. It was later renamed Fort Astoria. Between there and the mouth of the Willamette flowed much traffic related to the early establishment of the fur trade. The presence of Walla Walla and Cayuse people in the area of Fort George was noted by Alexander Henry of the Northwest Company in January 1813:

At 5 p.m. Mr. Seton and nine men arrived from the Willamette in a canoe which had been sent expressly to bring Grand Nepisangue to attend to Mr. Stuart's wounds; there is now no need of his service. After I left that place, three of the party that had pursued Grand Nepisangue on the 21st arrived. They said they were of the Wallawalla, Shatasla, and Halhupum nations; they were very civil, and wished traders to winter among them, where they say beaver are numerous (Coues 1897:827).

The text is footnoted here by the editor of Henry's journals (Coues 1897) in an attempt to explain the tribal affiliations of this group:

The Wallawallas were a principal tribe of the Shahaptian family, including the Shahaptins proper, Choppunish, or Nez Perces, the Umatillas, Tyighs, Palooses, Klikitats, and others, Henry's "shatasla" is a name I do not recognize. — His Halhupum being obviously the same as Whulwhaipum, Willetpoos, Wayiletpu, or Waiilatpu, he means the Indians now commonly called Cayuses, one of the two principal tribes of the Waiiletpuan family" (Coues 1897:827, fn3).

Traditional Ties of the Cayuse and Molalla Tribes

Coues refers to the “two principal tribes of the Waiiletpuan family” as the Cayuse and the Molalla, one of many historical and tribal references connecting the Cayuse and the Molalla from pre-contact times to early contact times west of the Cascades.

As the opening pages of Ruby and Brown’s *The Cayuse Indians* assert, “In an earlier day with their close Waiiletpuan neighbors, the Mollalahs, the Waiilatpus, or Cayuses, dwelt in a small area in the shadow of Mount Hood...the Cayuses and Mollalahs lived in similar mat houses in summer and mud-covered semi-subterranean houses in winter, subsisting mostly by hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries” (2005:4). According to tribal oral history cited in Ruby and Brown (2005:5), the Cayuse-Molalla split occurred in the period after 1780 when they were driven apart by the Snake Indians who were conducting raids in the area. The more aggressive Cayuse fought back and focused on expansion of their control in the region while the Molalla were forced further west into the Willamette Valley.

In “Early Nineteenth Century Tribal Relations in the Columbia Plateau,” Thomas Garth compiles information from historic sources and field data gathered from 1948 to 1952 from Cayuse, Walla Walla, Nez Perce, and Palouse informants. He states of the Cayuse in particular that, “their original home was probably in the Mount Hood-Deschutes River region of central Oregon (possibly in the Willamette Valley, as some of my informants maintained), where they were part of what are now known as the Molalla tribe” (Garth 1964).

Garth (1964:45) also footnotes that both the Cayuse and Molalla refer to themselves as *Weyíiletpu*. The languages of the two groups were so linguistically similar that Garth considered them part of the same family, explaining, “the Cayuse-Molalla language differs considerably from that of the other Columbia Sahaptins, from whom they appear to have been long separated in earlier times.” Garth (1964:45) further claims that at some time prior to 1800, the Cayuse “left the parent Molalla group and came north and east, settling along the Umatilla River and in two or three winter villages in the Walla Walla Valley” Gatschet wrote this about the Molalla-Cayuse connection in this way:

In former times, Molalla Indians held all the northeastern slopes of the Willamette Valley, claiming possession of the hunting grounds. This is much the same pattern of land ownership as was employed by the Cayuse and one in marked contrast to that of most [other] tribes the area [the Willamette Valley] (Gatschet 1890:3).

According to several sources, in the early nineteenth century, the Cayuse controlled a tremendous area (Smith 1840, Alvord 1853, Rollins 1935, Ray 1938). Robert Stuart of the Astor Party wrote in 1812 that the Cayuse nation, “possesses that tract of country bounded on the Southeast by the Big Flat [Great Basin], on the North by Lewis’ River [the Snake], and the West by the Columbia, and on the south by the Walamat [Willamette], comprising an extent of nearly 1000 miles square...(Rollins 1935:81). This may be due to their continuing relationship with the Molalla. In 1844, Marcus Whitman wrote, “the Kayuses and Molallas, who are so much alike in their daring habits, may form an alliance, which would result in a general conspiracy among the Indians” (Whitman 1844:386).

Tribal oral histories also discuss the relationship between the Cayuse and Molalla people, providing additional context to the historical literature:

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The Molalla tribe, they intermarried each other, and they, with the same dialect, they practiced everything the Cayuse did...at that time, before the white man ever came. The Molalla’s were a big tribe too and the Cayuse followed them. And as time went by, they found tributaries farther

east. So they claimed all those tributaries clear back into the Blue Mountains. They were in a mountain area in the Willamette Valley, clear back toward Klamath Falls. That was where another tribe, the Modocs, used to have constant wars. They came through the east, they began to put a claim on all the tributaries flowing into the Big River and that took in clear back into the Blue Mountains. That's just what they wanted. That was before the white man came.

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I know like I said long time ago, somewhere in the books close there to Irrigon and south of there, there was a battle between "the bunchgrass people" and what they now call the Molallas. And the Molallas were pushed out down to the Teninos and there was a small enough band of the Molalla's that the Teninos gathered and pushed them down further and they kept getting pushed down and now they're down in Molalla. And that's where the town comes from. And one man back in the late 60's or early 70's, *redacted's* brother [*redacted*] was talking about this and with *redacted* and *redacted* at different places. But *redacted* was down in that area, down there in around Portland and he came across some people and this guy, an older man, back in that time and he told him a story in the Molalla language. And he said that he talked just how my grandmother talked. *Redacted* looked at him and said that's Umatilla or just real close, real close to Umatilla. He looked at him and said, 'No that's my grandmother's language, Molalla.' And the Molalla and Umatilla were real close, close in language. But they got pushed out. They got pushed out further down the river.

It is likely that this elder informant was referring to the language of the CTUIR in general when referring to "Umatilla," rather than specifying a likeness of Molalla to the original Cayuse language.

Regarding the linguistic connection between the Cayuse and Molalla tribes, the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians, explains that the Molalla language refers both to an isolated language and to the people in the early nineteenth century who occupied the greater part of the Cascade Range in west-central Oregon. Ethnologists have believed for over a century, that Molalla was closely related to the Cayuse language of northeastern Oregon and that the corresponding ethnolinguistic groups shared a recent common historical origin (Walker 1998: 439).

Sahaptian speaking people certainly expanded across the Cascade Range to the west according to linguist Edward Sapir, who categorized Cayuse, Molalla, and Klamath as a Plateau language subgroup (Walker 1998:69). Theories include the separation of the groups resulting from the westward migration of the Molallas, while others spoke of the westward movement of the Cayuses. A number of shared words may indicate contact, if not their proximity in an earlier period. While the Molalla people are now enrolled within the Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde, overwhelming historical, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence suggests a long standing relational tie to the Cayuse people in the Willamette Falls-Lower Columbia River region.

The Northern Molalla in particular had the connection to the Cayuse, inhabiting the western and eastern slopes of the Cascades in northcentral Oregon. This fact aligns with the idea that the Cayuse people would "tax" others at Celilo, and possibly other spots on the Columbia River, which is addressed by explorers such as Lewis and Clark and David Thompson in their journals.

Explorer and botanist David Douglas in 1827, describes in detail the sweathouse practice he observed near the Fort Vancouver area. This description aligns very closely with the CTUIR sweathouse. On May 17th, as he travels from this area to the "Grand Rapids," which is today known as Cascade Locks and uses the services of a Cayuse guide,

Made a journey of three days on the north banks of the river towards the Rapids, accompanied by one Indian belonging to a tribe called Kyuse [Cayuse]; his name was 'Yes,' I mean his Indian name; he had no good qualification except being a good huntsman (Douglas 1904:35).

The obvious language barrier and likely poor judge of character notwithstanding, he further describes the topography of the area in detail, as well as the practice of dipnet fishing from scaffolds. He writes, "This being the fishing season, the natives are numerous on the banks of the river; they come several hundred miles to their favorite fishing grounds. At the rapids, an almost incredible number of salmon are caught" (Douglas 1904:37).

At The Dalles, pioneers loaded their wagons onto rafts or barges and floated down the Columbia to the mouth of the Willamette River, then upriver to Oregon City. The Barlow Trail was constructed later to permit an overland crossing through the Cascades. George Abernethy accompanied Reverend Jason Lee to Oregon in 1840, where he was placed in charge of the mission store at Willamette Falls.

Garth (1964) insists the Cayuse played the leading role in the middle and lower Columbia River. Having adopted Plains regalia and war customs, they made themselves the dominant political and military force in the Columbia, their influence depending on great measure on the backing of their allies, such as the Nez Perce.

Thomas Farnham, a lawyer on a mission for the U.S. government in 1839, stated (Thwaites 1906: 340) that Cayuse domination once extended to the coast is partially substantiated by John Work, who mentions a great Cayuse-Nez Perce war road leading south of Mt. Hood toward the Willamette Valley (Elliot 1909:305). Lewis and Clark's Nez Perce guides refused to go west of The Dalles in 1804, stating that they were at war with the people below (Thwaites 1904-1905, vol 3:151). That the war may have been brought to a conclusion is indicated by Thompson's finding of Walla Walla, Shatasta (possibly Shasta slaves), and "Halhwypums" (*Weyúletpu*) at the mouth of the Columbia in 1813 (Coues 1897, vol. 2:827). Farnham writes:

This Cayuse is the imperial tribe of Oregon. They formerly claimed a prescriptive right to exercise jurisdiction over the country down the Columbia to its mouth..." (Thwaites 1904-1906, vol.28:340).

This fact became even more apparent in the era of the fur trade with the central hub at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers at Fort Vancouver.

Fort Vancouver

Fort Vancouver was a 19th century fur trading outpost along the Columbia River that served as the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company in the company's Columbia District (which covered the northern half of the region known to Americans as the Oregon Country). Named for Captain George Vancouver, the fort was located on the northern bank of the Columbia River in present-day Vancouver, Washington, near Portland, Oregon and in proximity to Willamette Falls. Today, a full-scale replica of the fort, with internal buildings, has been constructed and is open to the public as Fort Vancouver National Historic Site (Deur 2012).

The outpost was established in 1824. At that time, the region known as the Columbia District to the British, and increasingly as the Oregon Country to Americans, was jointly occupied by the United States and Britain; a situation agreed to in the Anglo-American Convention of 1818. British interests were represented by the Hudson's Bay Company, which had exclusive trading rights to most of the land that is now Western Canada. To protect their interests north of the Columbia River, they sought to set up a headquarters somewhere along the northern bank that would secure the area and act as

the hub for their fur trading in the Pacific Northwest; replacing Fort George (Fort Astoria) in that capacity as it was on the river's south bank and not as convenient to the inland trade (Deur 2012).

The fort was supported by a multicultural village with inhabitants from over 35 different ethnic and tribal groups and was the center of community activity and influence in the area. The first hospital, school, library, grist mill, saw mill, dairy, shipbuilding, and orchard in the region were all centered at Fort Vancouver. The fort also served as the early end of the Oregon Trail for American immigrants, and later became a U.S. Army post.

The principal period of development for Fort Vancouver was between 1829 and 1846. During this time, Fort Vancouver's influence in the Pacific Northwest reached its peak and the site was developed to its fullest extent. Under the leadership of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin, Fort Vancouver dominated the fur-trade industry and became the administrative and producing hub of an important agricultural and manufacturing establishment. The agricultural operations at the fort extended for miles along the north shore of the Columbia River, with farming operations located on several large plains surrounded by extensive forests. Agricultural features included cultivated fields, livestock pastures, and dairies, as well as the fort's garden and orchard. Agricultural operations also extended beyond Fort Vancouver to outlying areas such as Cowlitz Farm and Fort Nisqually, as part of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition, Fort Vancouver's influence and control spread south into the fertile Willamette Valley, to a large island in the Columbia River now known as Sauvie Island, and to other areas of the region.

The subsequent U.S. Army post at the site known as Columbia Barracks, Fort Vancouver, or Vancouver Barracks depending on the era, had as its goal to provide for peaceful American settlement of the Oregon Country, yet it did so, in part, by battling and dispossessing the Native American Indian inhabitants. For more than 150 years it housed and supported thousands of soldiers and their families, yet it also incarcerated American Indian families and Italian prisoners of war.

The fur resources of the Pacific Northwest began sparking the interest of American and British traders in the late 1780s when British explorers reported rich supplies of fur pelts. Soon, fur traders from North America and Europe began competing for these valuable resources. The 1804 -1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River, increased interest in fur-trading profits in the Columbia River area.

While the Hudson's Bay Company continued to operate out of Fort Vancouver, every year saw less and less fur trade and more and more settlers and U.S. Army warfare against the Hudson Bay Company's former customer base. During this time the Indian Wars were happening in the west and famous military men such as Ulysses S. Grant, Philip Henry Sheridan, and George Crook were stationed at the fort at various times. Finally, on June 14, 1860, the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned Fort Vancouver and moved its operations north to British Columbia. During the American Civil War, detachments of the 1st Washington Territory Infantry Volunteers were stationed there. In 1866, most of the fort burned down in a large fire.

Because of its significance in United States history, Fort Vancouver was declared a U.S. National Monument on June 19, 1948, and was redesignated as Fort Vancouver National Historic Site on June 30, 1961. This was taken a step further in 1996 when a 366-acre area around the fort, including Kanaka Village, the Columbia Barracks and the bank of the river, was established as the Vancouver National Historic Reserve maintained by the National Park Service (Deur 2012).

The Native Trade Network

It is not until very recently that research projects have made an effort to look beyond the CTUIR homeland to areas that were routinely visited and used by the CTUIR for travel, trade, fishing, hunting, and gathering purposes. Exercising their treaty rights at communal areas such as Willamette Falls for subsistence eel fishing purposes, the CTUIR has rejuvenated those ancient connections to this place. For instance, some traditional knowledge of the Fort Vancouver area was lost in the collective memory of the CTUIR due to the fact that tribal members were at times excluded from practicing their treaty rights in this and other areas. But much traditional knowledge and use information remained within family networks and historical and ethnographic records.

The native trade network in the Columbia River basin flourished as a multi-tribal exchange system (Fisher 2010). The Columbia River network benefited from the use of contact languages and other means of intergroup communication. The regional trade language, Chinook Jargon, was a pidgin dialect derived from several languages. While an earlier version was prevalent among tribes, it appears to have flourished during the fur trade era after 1840 as English and French terms also merged into the Jargon. Following the direction of the language, the merging of the fur trade with the native trade network continued the procurement of horses (Stern 1998:647). The area was used by people of the CTUIR prior to Euroamericans coming to the project area. Most notably, the CTUIR seasonally occupied Willamette Falls for lamprey eel gathering, fishing on the lower Lewis and Cowlitz rivers, and the mouth of the Sandy River for smelt fishing (see Plate 1).

Among trading peoples were those who more largely served as middlemen entrepreneurs, as couriers of goods and often more profoundly immersed in the trade. Trade with other groups became so sophisticated, the position of middleman was developed early with native entrepreneurs. Cayuse and Walla Walla people were notable trade middlemen after the advent of the Cayuse horse, breeding and trading horses specifically for use at Fort Walla Walla and Fort Vancouver during the fur trade era. It was from the Spokane that the Walla Walla, in their largely treeless area, are said to have procured their dugout canoes. Almost annually, the Spokane descended to Celilo Falls, while later they would make their way to Fort Vancouver (Stern 1998:643).

Contact Era Trade

Columbia River Indians (including those of the CTUIR) interacted in Fort Vancouver's social and economic network through trading, as Hudson Bay Company "engage" or "servant" class employees, and through liaisons or marriages between Indian women and non-Indian Hudson Bay Company male employees.

This trading structure represented the first permanent change to tribal culture. The fur trade also instigated the challenge to one of the tenets of the traditional law of *tamánwit* – that one should never take more than they need from the land. While the Company strove to establish an atmosphere of predictable and peaceful trading, they did not hesitate to use force to gain advantage and arrange trade on their own terms. Hudson Bay Company controlled the landscape near each fort through armaments, sentinels, fort structures, and rules of engagement with Indian traders. They also tried to establish special arrangements with select Indians, with families that traded frequently at the fort, the so-called Home Guard, who also lived close to the fort and profited from an ongoing relationship with Hudson Bay Company traders (Conner and Lang 2006:46).

As the tribes traveled up and down river, they engaged in social discourse, met with other tribes and relations at various points, and traded with other local and distant tribes at Celilo Falls and Willamette Falls. These falls had been the center of trade for thousands of years prior to contact with

non-Indians. The contact era gave new force to the region surrounding Fort Vancouver as the social context of trading evolved with the fur trade. Situated near the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, the fort was located at a convenient crossroads locally between lower Columbia and Willamette River villages, peoples of the western Plateau, peoples of the eastern Plateau, and lower Klamath bands of Oregon (see Figure 2). The river itself and horse travel made for a swift and easy back and forth journey between the CTUIR tribes at Fort Walla Walla (also known as Fort Nez Perce or Fort Nez Percés) and those at Fort Vancouver.

There are approximately 200 miles between Fort Walla Walla/Nez Perce and Fort Vancouver. Traversing that distance was a matter of course for people whether they served as guides, traders, or in other capacities. Theodore Stern (1993) cites several instances (such as the two noted here) in the fort journals that attest to the casual and ongoing relationship that flowed between the two forts:

Chief trader John Dease's complement of ten men, he advised, should be pared to eight, four to be employed in the summer in the brigade between Nez Percés and the main depot downriver soon to be Fort Vancouver (Stern 1993:97).

Per Stern, Walla Wallas affiliated with Fort Vancouver joined in the sport of gossip about the interpreter (Charpentier), "When some Wallawallas returned from accompanying a party down to Fort Vancouver for cattle, a Wallawalla headman, The Petit Borgne (The Little Eyed One) relayed a message passed along via the Indian courier through the chief of the John Day band. He said that McLoughlin had given Charpentier a sound beating for selling plain three-point blankets for five large beavers; furthermore, he alleged, the chief factor had withheld news from the interpreter which he had entrusted to a Wallawalla, Petit Chasseur (Little Hunter)" (1993:105).

Annual district reports of the Hudson Bay Company commented on social and economic conditions of the district. Although the formats varied, the reports usually include a statement of the topography of the district, the advantages and disadvantages inherent in its strategic position, comments on posts, the productivity of each, the means of subsistence for the traders, conduct of the officers and men, the number and health of the Indians, changes in their condition and fluctuations in the fur trade.

In a National Park Service report, "An Ethnohistorical Overview of Groups with Ties to Fort Vancouver National Historic Site," anthropologist Doug Deur detailed the presence of tribes, including the CTUIR, throughout the Lower Columbia as trade operatives for the Hudson Bay Company. According to Deur (2012), Indian men were recruited from regional tribes to serve as hunters, trappers, scouts, guards, and general labor throughout the Company's sphere of influence in the Northwest – especially in the Northwestern interior among such tribes as the Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla, and others (Deur 2012:50). By hiring these men, Hudson Bay Company brigades gained access into prime trapping and trading territories formerly inaccessible to Hudson Bay traders. Indian couriers traveled between Fort Vancouver and the many other Hudson Bay Company posts and other settlements throughout the Oregon Territory (e.g., Frost 1934:161). Many of these individuals appear to have been recruited from the tribal communities living proximate to Hudson Bay Company outposts, for example, Walla Walla couriers were reported making the trek between Fort Vancouver and Fort Walla Walla (McLoughlin 1830).

The Fort Vancouver workforce was augmented considerably by its proximity to both the Willamette Falls and the Columbia Cascades (aka Cascade Rapids, present-day Cascade Locks). Both of these natural features were significant multi-tribal fishing stations, where villages and temporary encampments housed both resident peoples and numerous visiting tribal populations in season. The visitors to these fishing stations arrived from numerous territories, from both inland and downstream

locations, so that during the peak fishing season these falls became sprawling multi-lingual, multi-tribal encampments (Deur 2012:48).

Before the construction of Fort Vancouver, fur traders had recruited labor from these two gathering sites – a practice that continued through the early 1850s by the Hudson Bay Company. They included among many other tribes, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Molalla, Klickitat, Yakama, Wasco, and Wishram. These tribal people all engaged in fishing and gathered socially at Willamette Falls and Columbia Cascades and were well-represented among the Indian labor at Fort Vancouver as well as among the wives of its employees (Deur 2012:48-49).

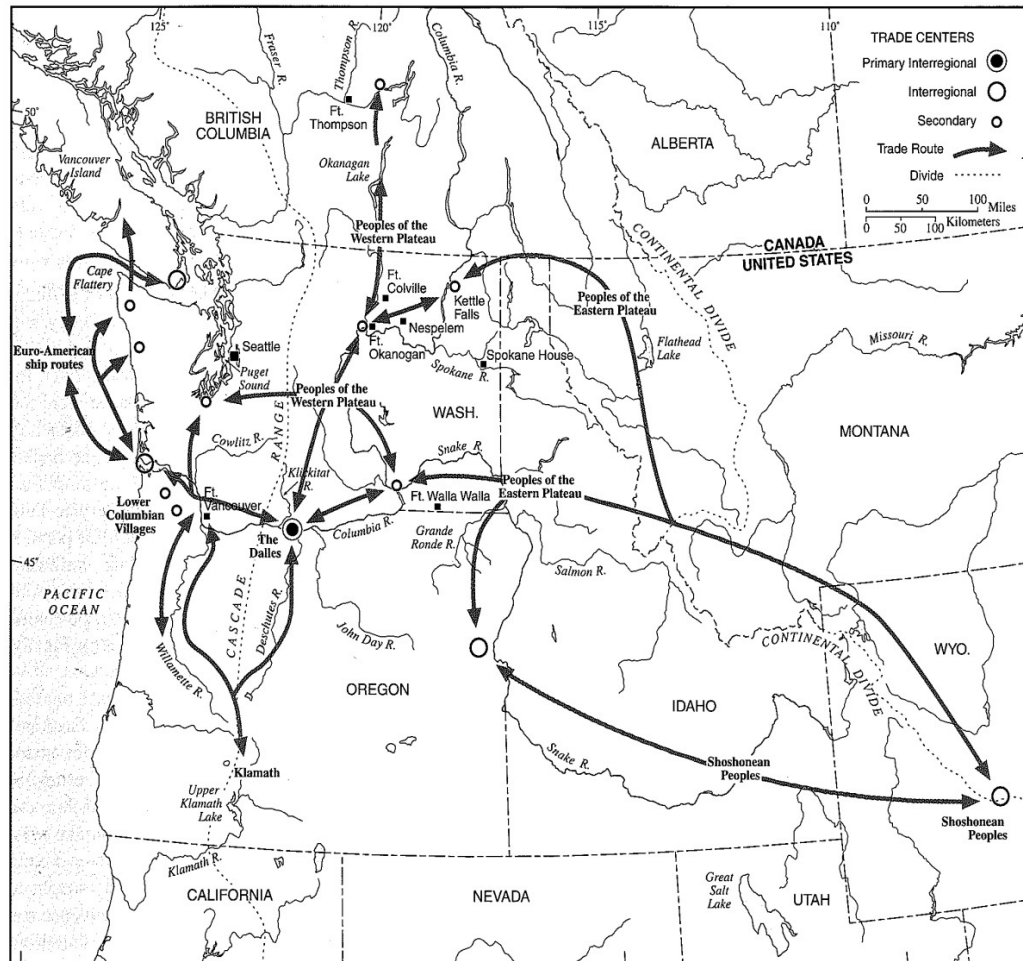


Figure 2: The Columbia River trade network, with major trade centers and routes. Note Fort Vancouver's location at the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers. (Stern 1998:642).

The fort also became a center of linguistic and cultural diversity in the Northwest. Horatio Hale's (1846) brief comments on the languages used in the fort provide an example:

At this establishment, five languages are spoken by about five hundred persons. Besides these five languages, there are many others, the Tsihailish [Chehalis], Walawala [Walla Walla], Kalapuya, Naskwale [Nisqually], &c.– which are daily heard from natives who visit the fort for the purpose of trading (Hale 1846:644) In (Deur 2012:47-48).

Efforts to suppress CTUIR resource gathering in the Lower Columbia were apparent in the fur trade era. Of most immediate concern to Vancouver Barracks personnel were strategic threats posed

by warring tribes' ties to the middle Columbia and Columbia Falls (Glassley 1953:114). The strategic value of that area, as well as the salmon and other resources obtained there, were widely recognized; the Vancouver Barracks therefore served as the base of operations for efforts to undermine the Yakama, Walla Walla, Klickitat, and other tribes by restricting their access to fishing stations along the Columbia, especially along the Cascades (Glassley 1953:131). Post reports from Vancouver Barracks report almost constant attempts by volunteers and militias to displace non-reservation Indians settled along the Columbia River, principally along the Cascades and The Dalles. The military also established forts with blockhouses to protect the Columbia River portages, including Fort Cascades (built in September 1855 near modern-day North Bonneville), Fort Rains (built October 1855 just northeast of modern-day Bonneville Dam), and Fort Lugenbeel (built early in 1856 near modern-day Cascade Locks) (Deur 2012:163).

A few individual Nez Perce prisoners seem to have been retained after 1856. For example, O.O. Howard's notes mention the case of a man named "Kutz-kutz-saw-my-ohut," variously identified as a Nez Perce or Umatilla leader, who was retained at the Vancouver Barracks. Noting that this man posed no strategic threat in isolation from the combatants, and had a wife and children that he wished to join on the Umatilla Reservation, Howard interceded for his removal to that reservation: "I think it will be a good thing to grant this request to this Umatilla (Walla Walla) Chief. The man's wife is ill now and cannot go with him to Joseph in the Indian Territory" (U.S. War Department n.d.: 11:393 in Deur 2012).

Vancouver Barracks also administered the Bannock War during the year 1878. Combatants included "the Klamaths, some Columbia River Indians, and a small body of Umatillas" (Howard 1907:400). By most accounts, the initial battles of this war were the result of the destruction of key tribal gathering areas for camas root (*Camassia quamash*), an important First Foods resource, by arriving settlers (Deur 2012:188).

The Horse

Within the superimposition of the patterns of the fur trade upon those of the Indians, there was one especially critical direct link between the two: the horses of the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Yakima became an essential resource for the Columbia interior fur trade. It was an intercultural connection formed near the junction of the two great branches of the Columbia, and it was, essentially, the junction of two streams of cultural influence flowing across the continent from widely separated sources and spreading into the region along those branches (Meinig 1968:496).

Movement between forts by horse was more common than by canoe at the height of the fur trade era. While cattle and horse trading was common at Fort Vancouver, it was not specific to it. Livestock trading occurred prior to and during the existence of the fort at various locations. Some of the fur brigades from Fort Vancouver traveled beyond the Klamath Indian country as far south as the Sacramento Valley, trading with Indians along the way. One such group set out from Fort Vancouver on August 17, 1832, reaching Fort Nez Percés nine days later (Ruby and Brown 2005: 54). According to Ruby and Brown, Indian women accompanied the parties to dress the skins of animals trapped along the way, caring for them until the brigades returned to Fort Vancouver. Native and non-natives (including French-Canadians), were mounted on sturdy Cayuse horses with beaver traps slung from their saddles (2005:55).

The influence of the fort system, combined with missionaries, created a more sedentary lifestyle for some tribal people. A Cayuse chief in 1836 accompanied the Whitman-Spalding party from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver, which also served as a sanctuary and outfitting place for western

travelers. The same chief was aboard when the two missionaries sailed back upstream to begin their missionary work among the Cayuse people. According to Ruby and Brown (2005:70), Spalding's journal quotes the Cayuse headman as saying, "I am done wandering. I know now how white people live and I wish to make a farm, raise cattle, live like white people and want the missionaries to settle in my country" (2005:70). While many made the trading areas their base, the majority, such as the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla also continued the seasonal round migrations (and thereby the covenant of *tamánwit*) in the face of this new and great change.

Intermarriage

Intermarriage was a sanctioned and often orchestrated policy among Hudson's Bay Company and tribes of the Fort Vancouver and neighboring Fort Nez Percés. The Company viewed intermarriage among other things as a necessary evil as well as a diplomatic advantage. Governor Simpson of the Oregon Territory reported in a letter to McLoughlin upon his return from Fort Nez Percés that he had found —some two to three hundred Wallawallas, Cayuses, and Nez Percés about the establishment and learned that they were disaffected (Stern 1993:114). The governor then entered into a council with nine of the principal chiefs and wrote to McLoughlin that:

The War Chief of the Cai Use Tribe had his daughter at Walla Walla for the purpose of being disposed of as we suggested to Mr. Dease and seemed disappointed that we could not provide for her; it is desirable that Mr. Work should take her as he is likely to be employed on the communication for some time to come. This connexion will be a protection to a certain degree to our Brigades and the Lady ought to be a passenger every Trip (Stern 1993:114).

By 1830, the region was actively changing and according to one of Deur's (2012) sources, "The post (Fort George, later Fort Vancouver) had started to become the central place for enlarged social gatherings, promoted strategic intermarriage between Indians and non-Indians. Over time, the usefulness of taking Indian wives to solidify tribal relations and ensure smooth trading became commonplace. This custom became known as 'blanket marriages' (Conner and Lang 2006:47). Writing in April of 1825, for example, Hudson's Bay Company Governor-in-Chief George Simpson advised John McLoughlin to pressure one of his employees, John Work, to marry the daughter of a prominent chief of the Cayuse, indicating that the costs of such a union would be borne by the Company as a business expense in light of the strategic value of such a marriage" (Deur 2012:63).

Cayuse trade did intensify after this event. Indian wives of the fort were sometimes paraded along with Hudson Bay Company caravans, on prominent display, in order to broadcast the Company's association with area tribes as a means of both facilitating trade and insuring the security of trading parties. The result of these ties can be seen in the numerous Indian wives and children in church records affiliated with Walla Walla and Cayuse tribes (Deur 2012:68) at Fort Vancouver.

Overall there is a robust record of intermarriage at Fort Vancouver. Not only does this exemplify that there was historically wide intertribal use of the study area due to the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company, but the region now included both whites and Indians, many connected by blood (Hajda 1984:272-73). Among lower ranks, intermarriage also served diplomatic ends. Often, the fathers and brothers of the wives of Company servants performed tasks for the Company. On one occasion, McGillivray at Fort Nez Percés hired two Cayuses to geld eleven animals. Other tribal members were occasionally hired to search for strays, to carry messages between forts, and to assist in herding horses being sent to Fort Vancouver (Stern 1993:117). McLoughlin had direct relationships with tribal headmen, often looking to Fort Vancouver as the central authority. For instance, the Cayuse headman

Wilewmutkin had been the leader of the Company's client chiefs among the Cayuse favored by McLoughlin. As written in Stern,

When the chief factor, unable to heed Indian complaints about the high tariff maintained at the fort, complied with their collateral demand for two calves, he directed that one of these was to go to *Wilewmutkin* (Stern 1993:176).

On another occasion, a rumor was spread that Americans were planning an attack on the tribes at Fort Nez Percés. Walla Walla headman, *Piyópiyo Maqšmáqš* was sent by his people to Fort Vancouver to gain Chief Factor John McLoughlin's assurances that the Americans would not attack, and that if they did, they would get no help from him. According to Ruby and Brown, McLoughlin's influence served as a formidable restraint, since he was the major source of American credit in Oregon (2005:88).

And finally, when a party of Cayuse captured several Americans at the time of the Whitman incident, it was the factors at Fort Vancouver who were called in to negotiate:

The chiefs soon received another summons to a council, this one to be held at Fort Walla Walla on December 23 with the Hudson's Bay Company's Peter Skene Ogden, who had come up from Fort Vancouver to gain the release of the white prisoners. Aware of the Cayuse's temperament from long association with them in the fur trade, he was fearful, lest they kill the remaining captives (Ruby and Brown 2005:119).

In 1829, McLoughlin, while still in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company of fur traders at Fort Vancouver, built a log storehouse at Willamette Falls for the convenience of his men passing up and down the river in canoes, but the Indians tore it down (Gaston 1911:651).

Missionaries and Emigrants

By October of 1838, Catholic missionaries had reached Fort Walla Walla where mass was regularly offered. After a service, the headmen of the Cayuse and Walla Walla tribes came to Father Blanchet to consult with him. He performed three baptisms, establishing a Roman Catholic influence among some tribal families. Father Blanchet then traveled west to establish a mission at Fort Vancouver (Walker and Sprague 1998:145).

Methodist missionary, Jason Lee, who is referenced in the Treaty of 1855's described reservation boundary ('Lee's Encampment') initially hoped to establish a mission on the Walla Walla River and made his mark on Cayuse and Walla Walla families in the area. But he left with Hudson Bay Company traders and traveled downriver to Fort Vancouver, where John McLoughlin advised him to site his mission in the Willamette Valley (Conner and Lang 2006:49). He did so and established a mission and school at Willamette Station near Oregon City. Plateau tribes of the lower Columbia now engaged with two distinct groups of non-Indians: American and British fur traders and Catholic and Protestant missionaries, made up of Presbyterians and Methodists. Missionaries also accompanied fur trade expeditions and baptized native people along the route (Conner and Lang 2006:56).

In Frank McLynn's *Wagon's West* (2004), he gives this description of a wagon train in 1843, whereby the wagons were abandoned at Fort Walla Walla for watercraft led by Walla Walla guides, among others, who would lead them to Fort Vancouver:

Those who went to the long-established Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Walla Walla, some twenty-five miles to the west, found less to complain of. The commandant here, Archibald McKinley, really exerted himself for the emigrants, even though, in common with all fort commanders, he had little to sell or trade. To assist the emigrants, McKinley had hand-picked

the very best Indian guides from the Columbia River tribes: not just the Cayuse, but the Walla Walla, Spokane, Wascopam, Klickitat, and Chemomichat septes (McLynn 2004:169).

The last element to enter the area before widespread immigration ensued was the military. Collectively, the U.S. Army posts at Walla Walla, The Dalles, and Simcoe in the Yakima country gave the U.S. military positions from which to maneuver against the highly mobile and armed tribes of the southern Columbia Plateau (Beckham 1998:149).

Burials at Fort Vancouver

In the 1950's, human remains representing a minimum of nine individuals were removed from the I-5 corridor in Clark County, Washington. They were displaced by highway construction and donated to Fort Vancouver National Historic site. In 1977, human remains representing a minimum of two individuals were removed from the village area of Fort Vancouver in Clark County, Washington during archaeological excavations in preparation for planned modifications to State Route 14. Officials of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site have determined that the human remains described represent the physical remains of 11 individuals of Native American ancestry. Officials at Fort Vancouver also determined that a relationship of shared group identity can be reasonably traced between the Native American human remains and any present-day Indian tribe, all pursuant to 25 U.S.C. 3001 of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Disposition of the remains were granted to the Vancouver Inter-Tribal Consortium of which the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation are participants.

Additionally, two separate repatriations took place from the Burke Museum at the University of Washington and the Department of Anthropology at Oregon State University. Each NAGPRA case represented one individual removed from unknown construction sites in the environs of Fort Vancouver.

In 1877, thirty-three members of Chief Redheart's Band of the Nez Perce Tribe were captured under the direction of General O.O. Howard. Even though this band of the Nez Perce neither fought in the Indian Wars nor committed any crimes, they were kept prisoner at Fort Vancouver until April 22, 1878. In 1998, the descendants of these prisoners returned to Vancouver Barracks for the first time since 1878. There they performed a reconciliation ceremony to honor the memory of their ancestors and to heal old wounds. There is now a Nez Perce annual commemoration held at Fort Vancouver. Led by several bands of the Nez Perce Tribe, the public is invited to participate in the ceremonies. The ceremony includes honor songs, drumming and an empty saddle ceremony featuring Native bred horses. Of the Nez Perce remains buried there, those individuals are related to people of Cayuse-Nez Perce origin on the Umatilla Reservation and those at Nez Perce Reservation or Confederated tribes of the Colville Reservation.

From 1824 until 1860, Fort Vancouver brought together diverse communities through trade including over 23 tribes. Of the 23, the CTUIR tribes had a close association with Fort Vancouver. Church burial records indicate that the ancestors of the 23 tribes were all buried at Fort Vancouver. In addition, many of these cultures practiced intentional cranial modification, as seen in the human remains described there.

Fort Vancouver has long stood as a burial site to the affected Tribes. In August, 2003, an inadvertent discovery of human remains occurred in some of the unmarked burial areas of the Historic St. James cemetery located in Fort Vancouver. Although these are known burial areas, they have been continually disturbed. An accurate telling of the history of this actual Indian trading site,

prior to any Army interaction is described in the article, “Forgotten Graveyard” by Tom Koenninger (2003), editor of The Columbian newspaper:

There have been four cemeteries associated with the fort: one at the original location near the School of the Deaf; a second on the historic reserve, occupying four or five acres; a third, the Vancouver Barracks Post Cemetery, near Interstate 5 and Fourth Plain Boulevard; and an earlier post cemetery at the west end of Officers Row.

The deceased include tribal members and the children of blanket marriages. Among the ethnic groups, at least five of the known burials listed in the St. James Mission Record of Burials at Fort Vancouver from 1839 to 1856 were Walla Walla people, listed as follows:

Date of burial	Name	Age	Tribe	Contemporary
04/05/1845	Cecile ____	12 yrs	Walla Walla	CTUIR
10/20/1845	Marie ____	35 yrs	Walla Walla	CTUIR
07/13/1850	Jean Baptiste	3 mths	Walla Walla	CTUIR
02/22/1851	Marie ____	1 mth	Walla Walla Indian	CTUIR
02/07/1853	Paul ____	?	Walla Walla	CTUIR

CTUIR informants and ethnographic, and historic information all point to the importance of Fort Vancouver site in the project area. Social interaction, trade, habitation, and resource acquisition were important activities that occurred in this area. This location is a physical link to a shared history between Indians and non-Indian people. The importance of tribal member burials at Fort Vancouver is also very significant. Several CTUIR members are known to be buried there, many others could be buried there that are not known of. Fort Vancouver is a part of the CTUIR’s history and is critical to the CTUIR’s connection to the lower Columbia River region.

The Continuation of Traditional Practice

Ancestors of modern day CTUIR would travel to Fort Vancouver for the fur trade in the historic period and would have continued subsistence fishing on the ways there and back. Fort Vancouver intensified the travel and presence of tribal members in that area. This presence reinforces the notion that there were no strict boundaries adhered to by tribal people along the Columbia River prior to the treaty era. Neighboring tribes were treated as relatives, neighbors and trading partners. This relationship is unlike those that existed along the routes to the east and south where traditional enemies resided. Therefore an ease of travel existed to the west down the Columbia River to share and visit Chinookan and Wasco fisheries for salmon, sturgeon and lamprey. In the Fort Vancouver era, it was documented that,

The Gentlemen in charge of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s posts on the north of the Columbia have made very accurate estimates of the Indian population in the neighborhood of their several stations, and we have every reason to believe, from our own observations, in the accuracy of these statements. The Indian tribes on the Columbia and in the interior of the country are a very migratory race, and it is very difficult to arrive at their exact numbers. We believe the above statements to be rather *under* their numerical strength (Warre and Vavasour 1909: 58) *In* (Deur 2012: 339).

Identifying the full range of tribes with historical ties to Fort Vancouver is no small task. Military records and journals suggest that the descendants of the prisoners who lived, and sometimes died, at Vancouver Barracks are now enrolled in such tribes as Yakama, Umatilla, Colville, Nez Perce, Fort

Hall, Warm Springs, and others. Among those who are documented to have been buried at the Fort, certain modern Northwest tribal affiliations stand out prominently in the written record: Warm Springs, Umatilla, Yakama, Siletz, Chehalis, Grand Ronde, and Chinook are represented (Deur 2012: 196).

According to Ruby and Brown (2005), in citing the journal of trader John Work, the Cayuses, who traded primarily in horses, would also would travel across the Cascade Mountains to trade at Fort Nisqually, the Hudson's Bay Company fort on the lower Puget Sound (Ruby and Brown 2005: 59). Also according to Ruby and Brown:

...the nature of the first contact between coastal and interior traders and the Cayuses is unknown, but in all probability it was indirect. It is known that at the turn of the nineteenth century the Cayuses moved west to the Willamette Valley over aboriginal trails south of Mount Hood and north to the lower Columbia over an equally ancient trail beneath Mount St. Helens. They could have discovered white men's goods during raids or trading expeditions along the Willamette. The bulk of the western trade in these as in native goods was probably conducted in the vicinity of The Dalles. Likewise, to the east, on the plains, the Cayuses could have encountered white goods filtering west over established Indian trade routes. It is likely that most of the eastern trade was carried out in sheltered intermontane valleys, such as the Grande Ronde (2005:21).

The Cayuses found adventure by raiding peoples west of the Cascade Mountains. They also ranged as far south as present-day northern California, where they took slaves from the Shasta Indians. Moving into what is now southern Oregon, they took more slaves from the Klamaths and sometimes attacked tribes in the Willamette Valley. One hunting party returning from the Willamette was waylaid between the Cascades of the Columbia River and The Dalles by a party of Chinooks; the Cayuses promptly returned with a war party to even the score (Ruby and Brown 2005: 14).

In 1840, a party of Cayuses returning from a deer hunt in the Willamette country was waylaid by Chinookans between the Cascade mountain range and The Dalles. Further to the south, Cayuse raiding parties at times crossed the Cascade Mountains at Minto Pass (south of Mount Jefferson), with one such group taking slaves among the Kalapuya (Stern 1993:45).

By the late 1840s, the Klickitat are sometimes mentioned to the exclusion of the Chinook in fort correspondence (Warre and Vavasour 1846). Sources from this time sometimes depict the area as being Chinook territory, while others depict the area as principally Klickitat. Raiding and attacks on tribes of Oregon and Washington, however, were not unheard of and these territories were often taken by some degree of force (Deur 2012: 09).

Fishing on the Lower Columbia and at Willamette Falls

Fishing occurred with traps, weirs, gaffs, gigs, and nets at The Cascades on the Columbia River near present day "Bridge of the Gods" and at other rapids, and at large falls in the Columbia watershed such as Willamette Falls, which made it difficult for salmon to pass beyond them (Ruby and Brown 1981:21). CTUIR oral histories place CTUIR tribal ancestors at these locations too. Willamette Falls, the mouth of the Cowlitz River, the Mouth of the Sandy River, and the mouth of the Lewis River to name a few (see oral history section of this report). According to Ruby and Brown, "Since large numbers of Indians gathered to fish at those points, they were good places for trade and social discourse" (1981:21).

Willamette Falls was an important salmon fishery for numerous tribes in the region, which made it an attractive trading site after contact with non-Indians. Avery Sylvester founded a trading post at

Willamette Falls in 1844. At that time, the Hudson Bay Company was still actively seeking to suppress competing commercial enterprises in the area:

...it was necessary to use a little deception, as the Agents of Hudson's Bay Company, who monopolize all the trade here or try to, have always made it a practice whenever anyone started a trading post here, to set up another in opposition to it, no matter for what purpose" (Sylvester 1933: 361) *In* (Deur 2012: 267).



Figure 3: Sketch by Joseph Drayton of Indians fishing on springboards or scaffolds with dip nets at Willamette Falls during the 1852 Wilkes expedition (courtesy Oregon Historical Society).

Willamette Falls was a large Indian fishery and center for trade in the pre and post contact periods. The trade language of Chinook Jargon was spoken there as was sign language due to the roar of the falls. Both languages were also spoken at Celilo Falls. One of the names for Willamette Falls was "Skookum Chuck", a Chinook Jargon term (Skookum means "big or strong" in the chinook language; Chuck means, "tassled cap/hat" in French Canadian). The fact that Chinook jargon, a trade language, was spoken at Willamette Falls and elsewhere, shows the use of this area several indigenous groups that did not speak the same language.

In the earliest Oregon Historical Quarterly, Lyman (1900) lists the Indian name for Willamette Falls as "E-kee-sa-ti". He also notes that just upriver from the falls, named native places begin with the letters *Ch* and at the coast, they begin with the letter *N*. Use of *ch* in Columbia River Sahaptian is commonplace and this native place name could have been derived from Sahaptian linguistic influences (1900: 323).

In the letters of early pioneer Peter Burnett (1902), he writes of the Columbia River in the year 1844,

All the salmon caught here are taken by the Indians, and sold to the whites at about ten cents each, and frequently for less. One Indian will take about twenty per day upon an average. The salmon taken at different points vary greatly in kind and quality (Burnett 1902).

The Willamette Falls area is considered a historic property of religious and cultural significance to the CTUIR, due to its association with the traditional practices and beliefs, the First Foods located there (most notably, salmon and lamprey), and to the cultural history of the CTUIR. The area is also significant due to the existence of burial areas, rock imagery, village and camp habitation areas, traditional fishing areas, a travel corridor, a trade area, and social event areas in pre-contact and historic times and as a subsistence fishery that continues into contemporary times.

While Kalapuya people were most noted as the group living nearest to Willamette Falls year round (with a population of about a hundred), during fishing seasons, the number went up to over 3,000, due to the influx from regional tribes. While ancestors of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde also fished there, they clearly did not have exclusive access or rights to the falls. In a comparative example, the Wasco, Wishram, and Tenino occupied areas around Celilo year round but the fishery of Celilo Falls was never exclusive to them. Among current disputes at Willamette Falls between western Oregon tribes over which treaties belong to which tribes, Siletz and other tribes claim that it was their ancestors who inhabited the area as well.

Conflict between tribes was a factor that enhanced overall tensions in the region. Warring parties of Cayuse were often at Willamette Falls (Ruby and Brown 2005:31-32). During the spring of 1814, a Cayuse-Nez Perce war party raided the falls. A different source describes an attack on the Clowewallas [later known as the Clackamas tribe] by Molallas or a tribe of traveling Snake or Cayuses. The Molalla were settled in the Willamette Valley and east of there in earlier times. The Cayuse have cultural and linguistic ties to the Molalla, thus, there is a high chance that ancestors of contemporary CTUIR members are implicated in that attack.

As emphasized in the Introduction of this report, the CTUIR have long held cultural and historic ties to the study area. In addition to engaging in past and present fishing, camping and other resource gathering on the lower Columbia River and at Willamette Falls, the CTUIR has been involved in social conflicts and historic trade in the area since early contact times with non-Indians. Cultural continuity exists due to a long term presence of the CTUIR, who continue to exercise reserved treaty rights at Willamette Falls as a usual and accustomed fishing site for salmon and lamprey, the CTUIR's First Foods, which continue to be harvested annually by CTUIR members.

Trade, socializing, and other resource gathering were commonplace. Salmon harvests were plentiful enough to provide food and a source of barter for trading with other tribes that would gather at Willamette Falls. The Falls served as a gathering place for tribes from a widespread area of the Pacific Northwest during the fishing season for subsistence trade and social purposes. Petroglyphs and pictographs were used to record life and events, some of which are still visible around the Falls today.

While CTUIR members would travel to Fort Vancouver for the fur trade in the historic period, they would have engaged in subsistence fishing and other traditional use of the area during their presence there. In addition to Willamette Falls, the CTUIR also traveled to the mouth of the Sandy River in the contact era, as they still do today, for fishing and resource gathering in the present day area of Bonneville Dam (Steinmetz and Karson Engum 2010).

Disease

The most dramatic and far-reaching consequence of contact period history for native peoples in the region was severe population decline due to smallpox, measles, malaria, and other diseases. In the early 1830s, an estimated ninety-eight percent of the Chinook population in the Portland Basin, including both Multnomah Chinookans and the more easterly Clackamas Chinookans died. The entire population of a Multnomah Chinook village in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver was exterminated by disease during this epidemic (Deur 2012).

The era of the maritime fur trade brought epidemic diseases which were unknown to Indians prior to contact with the Europeans, and therefore illnesses against which natives had no immunities and little resistance had the most substantial impact upon native populations in the era before the mid-19th century. Epidemics such as smallpox, measles, and influenza did not strike Indians once; rather they recurred over the decades, meaning that groups of Indians who were recovering from one epidemic would likely be hit by another. Successive outbreaks of different diseases devastated native peoples. The impact was not spread evenly across the region; groups on the Columbia Plateau, for example, apparently suffered less than those along the coast (Deur 2012).

Over the course of three years, beginning in 1830, malaria swept through groups of Indians along the lower Columbia and Willamette rivers. The disease was probably brought to the region either by sailing vessels or by traders and trappers who had arrived from the malaria-stricken Mississippi River valley. Carried along by the mosquito which flourishes in summer and which ranges between coastal areas and the Cascade Mountains, malaria broke out for three straight summer seasons. It hit especially hard in the vicinity around the site of contemporary Portland, Oregon, the swampy location that had an especially high concentration of mosquitoes.

Before the epidemic struck, in 1830, there are estimated to have been 13,940 Indians in the lower Columbia and Willamette valleys (and this figure represents an estimate of how many had already survived epidemics of smallpox and other diseases); by 1841 there were only an estimated 1175 natives remaining. In other words, the depopulation over about one decade's time – largely the result of malaria – was approximately 92%. White observers recounted entire villages destroyed, with nobody left behind to tend to the dead and dying (Boyd 2018).

In the summer of 1830, fever and ague (a disease generally assumed to be malaria) was first recorded at Fort Vancouver. The disease reappeared annually on the lower Columbia throughout the 1830's, causing high mortality among Chinookan peoples and some Sahaptians as far as the mouth of the John Day (Boyd 1998:473). In spring 1840 chickenpox was first noted at Lapwai and Wailatpu (*Weyûletpu*) Missions [Whitman Mission], where it claimed several children. Whooping cough spread in late 1843 from Cayuse through Walla Walla and down the Columbia into upper Chinookan territory where, in early 1844, it caused the deaths of several children.

Tropical dysentery was introduced via ocean going vessels in summer of 1844. Four hundred Indians died around Fort Vancouver, and several deaths were noted at both the Cascades and The Dalles. The most deadly was the Measles epidemic of 1847-1848. It arrived with a band of mid-Columbia Indians who had been trying to acquire cattle in the vicinity of Fort Sutter. The trading party arrived at Fort Nez Perces on July 23, and messengers went out in every direction among all the neighboring tribes with news of the disease. The Cayuse Indians were dying very fast. More than 200 of an estimated 500 Cayuses died before the epidemic ended.

Boyd alludes to these later epidemics in a number of his writings. For example, he notes that “At Vancouver deaths clustered between the last week of November [1847] (the first casualty was a half-Cayuse child) through the third week of February [1848], a three-month span. Thirty-nine deaths

were recorded during this period, with a peak during the first week of 1848, when eleven died. Judging by the names, almost all of the recorded mortalities were local Indians, though one Iroquois and two Hawaiians died as well (Deur 2012: 338).

Rampant disease in the project area personally affected the CTUIR on the Willamette and Lower Columbia. A Methodist Mission was founded in 1834 by the Missionary Jason Lee in the Willamette Valley very near Willamette Falls and was disbanded in 1844. Lee had made many friends among the Cayuse and Walla Walla when he stopped in the Blue Mountains of Oregon en route to his final destination on the lower Columbia, so much so that "Lee's Encampment" was recorded in the council minutes as a boundary marker at the Treaty of 1855. Mission records reveal that several Columbia River tribal people were baptized by Lee at his mission on the Willamette. One Cayuse family in particular (that of *Welaptulekt*) moved in with Lee at Willamette Station in 1836 and the two eldest sons were left in his charge to be educated. Sadly, many in the family of *Welaptulekt* became ill during the stay, and several children died less than a year later, much to the dismay of Jason Lee himself. Others in the family who became infected while there, traveled back up the Columbia and likely brought the disease with them to others in the Cayuse community. The mission records state that of the fifty-two people baptized at the Willamette Station mission between 1835 and 1838, at least twelve of these were Walla Walla or Cayuse people (Oregon Historical Quarterly 1922).

Sauvie Island

According to the Oregon Encyclopedia, Lewis and Clark called the people encountered at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette rivers the "Wappato Indians," who inhabited the villages that lined the riverbanks in the "Wappato Valley." This was a resource-rich lowlands along the Columbia River between Vancouver Washington and Kalama, Washington centering on Sauvie Island (known in earlier historic times as Wapato Island). "Wappato" was a reference to wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*), a tuber found throughout the Willamette Valley that was an important food for the Indian people who lived there. Wapato Valley villagers had no common name for themselves or any political (tribal) organization beyond the village level, though they shared a common culture and most are believed to have spoken a variety of the Upper Chinook language. They have also been called Multnomah, after the name of one of their largest villages, but early nineteenth-century observers did not use Multnomah as a collective term but referred to each village separately.

However, during the summer of 1830 and summers following, Wapato Valley native populations on Sauvie Island plunged by probably 90 percent due to an epidemic of "fever and ague," which epidemiologically was likely virgin-soil malaria (Boyd 2018). Almost all Wapato Valley villages were depopulated, though stragglers were sometimes mentioned in the next quarter century, and a small successor village was established at Wakanasissie downstream from Fort Vancouver.

The Wappato Indians was a name given to a number of tribes who lived on or near present day Sauvie Island. Of these, the Multnomahs were the most prominent. And had a village on the Multnomah channel side of the island. Trader Nathaniel Wyeth established Fort William on Sauvie Island in 1835, but all the Indians of the village were dead (Barry 1927:54). According to CTUIR oral history (OHP 566), it was around this time that a principal Cayuse trade chief was located and established at Sauvie Island during the fur trade era. The elder is a direct descendent of *Piyópiyo Maqšmáqš*. According to the Oregon Encyclopedia, "Families with Wapato Valley ancestors persist in both communities and in the larger population of Oregon and Washington (Boyd 2018).

The shared fishing area of Willamette Falls and the later establishment of Fort Vancouver established the area as a social and trade center for the CTUIR and other tribes. To cite one example,

when tribes heard rumors of potential American attacks on tribal communities in the early 1840s, “chiefs such as *Piyópiyo Maqšmáqš* of the Walla Walla tribe visited Fort Vancouver, as an Indian envoy, to ascertain what truth was contained” in these rumors (Alley and Munro-Fraser 1885: 94). The importance of Fort Vancouver was so premium due to proximity, present-day Sauvie Island near the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers was inhabited by Cayuse and Walla Walla trade chiefs and was considered by one contemporary elder, “Umatilla territory” (OHP 566).

The Cayuse Five

American expansionism immobilized the *Natítaytma* (the People). By the mid-1840’s, Indians were living under adverse conditions in their own homelands. In addition, in the fall of 1847, a devastating measles epidemic broke out among the Cayuse as a tide of 4,000 immigrants passed through the homeland, likely carrying the disease. The tensions of this time were a contributing factor to the Whitman incident (Deur 2012: 275).

Death gripped the tribal villages. When the disease did not resolve in a good manner (killing a much greater percentage of tribal members than immigrants) the Cayuse people enforced their native law as they had warned Whitman they would. As Teweutoyakonemy, the daughter of Tomahas of the Cayuse Five, explained, “...The headmen met in a council and made an agreement that the Doctor should be killed because two hundred of the people had died after taking his medicine.” This traditional council of law was formed and a decision rendered. On November 29, a small band of Cayuse killed the missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman along with twelve others. Open resistance had now begun (Ruby and Brown 2005).

In late November of 1847, the incident occurred in which Cayuse and Umatilla men attacked the Whitman Mission at *Weyúiletpu*, killing 15 members of the mission and taking several more captive – an event later dubbed the “Whitman massacre” (it is now largely referred to as the “Whitman incident” due to the larger context it entails). On December 11, 1847, less than two weeks after this event, Oregon Territorial Governor George Abernethy assembled a delegation to go to Fort Vancouver to petition the new factor, James Douglas, for a loan to support military reprisals against the Cayuse. Ironically, even the American territorial government was dependent upon Hudson Bay Company support in this matter. Douglas refused, citing Company policy and noting that “a public loan for war against the Indians would prejudice the company’s standing with the tribes” (O’Donnell 1991: 67) *In* (Deur 2012:138).

Ties with the Cayuse at Fort Vancouver were so strong that the Hudson Bay Company attempted to intervene and restore peace after the Whitman incident. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson Bay Company’s Board of Management was dispatched to petition the Cayuse for the release of any prisoners. On December 23, Ogden arranged a council with the Cayuse chiefs, who he harangued for not being able to control their own young men who had perpetrated the attack.

Wishing to not jeopardize the Hudson Bay Company’s commercial ambitions, however, Ogden pledged Hudson Bay Company neutrality in future conflicts between the Americans and the Cayuse, but demanded that the prisoners be exchanged for a sizeable ransom (Bancroft 1890:693). The Cayuse leaders consented, citing their long association with Ogden and the Company, probably influenced by past intermarriages between the Cayuse and Company employees. Chief Tiloukaikt was reported to say to Ogden,

Chief! Your words are weighty – your hairs are grey. We have known you a long time. You have had an unpleasant journey to this place. I cannot, therefore keep the families [hostages] back. I

make them over to you, which I would not do to another younger than yourself (quoted in Bancroft 1890:694).

Ogden promised to seek to dissuade the Americans from making war with the Cayuse – an effort that would ultimately fail (Deur 2012:138). Chief Factor McLoughlin also defended the actions of the Cayuse. His full statement was included in his letter to the Deputy Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated November 15, 1843:

A few days after the departure of the Express last March, a momentary excitement broke out among the Nez Percés, and cayouse Tribes, who inhabit the Country about Walla Walla, caused by a report spread among them, that Dr. White, who as I informed you last Fall, gave himself out as Indian Agent for the United States, had said, he would take their lands from them, which it is certain he never said, and also from another report, which came to the Wallamette, that the Cayouse and Nez Percés, had said they intended to attack the white Settlers, in that place, which was also unfounded" (McLoughlin 1843b:128).

When the war threatened to affect Indian perceptions of, and trade with, the Hudson Bay Company in ways that might affect its profitability, Fort leadership stepped in with preventative measures. In 1850, for example, some American combatants proposed that Cayuse prisoners from the war be tried in Fort Vancouver as it was neutral and other venues would be prejudiced against the Cayuse, but this plan was rejected by Fort staff, who feared the impacts of a Fort Vancouver trial on their trade relations with interior tribes. Instead, the trial was held in Oregon City amidst hostile crowds; the prisoners, including chief Tiloukaikt who had negotiated with Ogden and sought to resolve the conflict peacefully, were hung after a perfunctory trial, with pioneer Joe Meek serving as hangman (see O'Donnell 1991) *In* (Deur 2012: 141-142).

During the Cayuse War that followed from roughly 1848 through 1855 – the first true Indian war of the Pacific Northwest - it is clear that American forces commonly purchased supplies for the war effort from Fort Vancouver. Hudson Bay Company goods provisioned both sides of the conflict (O'Donnell 1991) *In* (Deur 2012:139).

If the first major war in the Pacific Northwest involving Fort Vancouver was the Cayuse War, the Sheepeater War of 1879 was the last major Indian war in the Pacific Northwest, and the last conflict to result in larger prisoner populations at Vancouver Barracks. Those populations included Cayuses among others (Deur 2012:191).

The spilling of blood at *Weyîletpu* stunned American settlements. A volunteer militia and peace commission was soon organized to capture those involved in the killing. The Cayuse War ensued. Over time, the Cayuse resistance began to weaken. The tribes finally held a council and decided that for the sake of the Cayuse people, some would have to surrender. Five headmen, some of who took part in the fighting at the mission, others who were not present at all, were chosen to travel to Oregon City and turn themselves in, with the hopes of ending the Cayuse War in this manner.

A trial ensued. In accordance with the custom of the white man and on the advice of their lawyers, the Cayuse Five pleaded "not guilty." However, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty and the Cayuse Five were sentenced to die. Prior to their hanging, they were asked why they had surrendered, to which Tiloukaikt answered, "Did not the missionaries teach us that Christ died to save his people? Thus we die, if we must, to save our people." Descendants of the Cayuse Five today, along with the larger tribal community of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, hope for the day when the Cayuse Five can be located and protected or repatriated.

It is not hard to imagine the deep connection that Indian people feel for the land in regards to burials; one only has to remember that the ancestors of the people that make up the CTUIR have

occupied the same land for over a hundred generations (Hunn 1990:230). When Indian people were removed from the Columbia River and its tributaries to the reservations, one of the complaints from the Indians was the act of being removed from their ancestor's graves (Stevens and Palmer 1855, Hunn 1990:269). These feelings of responsibility toward ancestral burials and peoples' cultural obligations concerning burials continue today.

What is lost in the narrative of the Whitman Incident is that the western United States was a battleground of a greater scale. In the 1840s, there were many conflicts going on, including those between countries over land, between settlers and tribes over settlements, between settlers and other settlers over who had superior claims and even between churches competing for followers. The territorial conflict was not resolved until the signing of the Oregon Treaty in 1846, which settled the question of dominion as between Canada and the United States (and which did not take into account the views of the Tribes). It is against this greater theater of ongoing conflicts that the Whitman Incident is to be judged, not solely on the words of the white settlers seeking to dispossess the Tribes of their lands.

The Treaty of 1855

One of the most important historic events to occur in the region was the negotiation and signing of the Treaty of 1855 between the *Imatalamláma*, *Weyúletpu*, and *Walúulapam* and the United States government. Treaties became necessary in part because the United States government was encouraging its citizens to move to tribal lands in what was known as Oregon Territory without first addressing the Indians' claims to the land. The primary purpose of the Treaty process from the United States' perspective was to establish peace by removing the Indians from the land and to make way for industry and settlers.

Treaty negotiators from the U.S. did not allow much time for the Indians to learn new modes of thought. During the spring of 1855, commissioners sent two delegations to arrange for treaty councils with the interior tribes...Indian mobility greatly complicated their mission...Palmer ordered those found in the Willamette and Umpqua valleys to return to their designated territory and participate in the councils, but many refused or escaped notice (Fisher 2010: 42). Palmer attempted to assure the Indians by saying, "We propose to do you good. But if you live scattered all over the country, we cannot do you any good" (Fisher 2010: 48).

On May 29, 1855, the treaty council was convened at Mill Creek, six miles above *Weyúlet* (the Cayuse village at Whitman Mission) in the Walla Walla valley, to discuss the situation in the area and to negotiate a treaty. Stevens and Palmer officiated. They met with chiefs, delegates, and headmen from the *Niimípuu* (Nez Perce), *Weyúletpu*, *Walúulapam*, *Mámačatpam* (Yakama), and *Pelúucpuu* (Palouse); representatives of other Tribes were also present.

The events surrounding and the results of the Treaty Council of 1855 had profound impacts on the Columbia Plateau. Three treaties were signed. The Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Yakama Indian Reservation and the Nez Perce Indian Reservation were created. *Piyópiyo Maqšmáqš*, chief of the *Walúulapam*, initiated negotiations by stating, "I want more than one interpreter at the [treaty] council, that we may know they translate truly."

Piyópiyo Maqšmáqš and others voiced disappointment that the *Imatalamláma*, *Weyúletpu*, and *Walúulapam* would need to move from their territories. He said, "I do not see the offer you have made to the Indians. I never saw these things with my father. My heart cried very hard when you first spoke to me" (Stevens and Palmer 1855). Young Chief, *Weyúletpu*, spoke as well,

I wonder if this ground has anything to say; I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said. I wonder if the ground would come to life and what is on it, here. The Earth says, that God tells me to take care of the Indians on this earth; the Earth says to the Indians that stop on the Earth feed them right. God named the roots that he should feed the Indians on, the water speaks the same way (Stevens and Palmer 1855).

Repercussions of the Treaty

In the events leading up to and through the treaty negotiations, the chiefs felt they had been forced to sign the treaties:

...when the Indians hesitated, the Governor said to tell the chief, 'if they don't sign this treaty, they will walk in blood knee deep.' To illustrate, [Kamiakin] was about the last to sign by making his cross. When he returned to his seat, his lips were covered with blood, having bitten them with suppressed rage" (William Cameron McKay quoted in Ruby and Brown 2005:202).

The outcome of the treaty negotiations was that the *Walúlapam*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Weyúletpu* obtained a reservation in the *Weyúletpu* homeland. The tribes ceded 6.4 million acres to the United States and reserved rights for fishing, hunting, gathering foods and medicines, and pasturing livestock. In exchange they reserved 510,000 acres on which to live. The treaty was signed on June 9, 1855. Stevens and Palmer in a June 12, 1855 letter to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, indicated that in order to get treaties signed, they "had no alternative than to agree" to a separate reservation for the *Imatalamláma*, *Weyúletpu*, and *Walúlapam*.

The treaty that was signed on June 9, 1855, was not ratified by Congress until March 8, 1859. In the four years it took congress to ratify the treaty the tribal people had to survive until the US government lived up to its obligations of the treaty. So the Indians continued to live, hunt, fish and gather foods in the vast area outside of the reservation for the majority of the year. The treaty as the Indians had experienced it to the time of the ratification had not changed their lives drastically or prevented them from freely leaving the reservation.

The reservation era essentially began in 1860, after the ratification of the treaty. During this time, extreme pressure was applied to Indians who followed the traditional way of living along the rivers for a major part of the year. Despite provisions in the treaty reserving the right to fish in usual and accustomed places they were now systematically removed, sometimes by military force, to the reservations (<http://www.umatilla.nsn.us>).

In a report to the Secretary of the Interior, Umatilla Indian agent Narcisse A. Cornoyer (1874), described a situation where many *Walúlapam*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Weyúletpu* resisted the notion of limited freedom of moving about the land. The imposed geography of the reservation was rejected by many; they refused to relocate to reservations and continued to occupy traditional villages and resource procurement sites. In the 1874 report the Umatilla agent noted that about half of the Indians that participated in the 1855 Walla Walla treaty negotiations were still living along the Columbia. The report estimated that there were about 2,000 Indians living on the river in 1874. These river Indians, the agent claimed, were "a great drawback to the improvement of the reservation Indians." He urged that they be placed under "proper control" (Cornoyer 1874).

Johnny Jackson explains why Indians continued to go to their old villages and traditional fishing locations after the reservations were established. He said that they never moved after the treaties were signed at Walla Walla, because "we reserved the right to live at our usual and accustom sites along the river. These sites were reserved because they hold all of our religious sacred sites, cemeteries, gathering sites, fishing sites and where we have always maintained our livelihood" (Fisher 2010:473).

Fisher (2010) points out that many Indians preferred to stay on the [Columbia] river, near the fisheries and the graves of their ancestors. Indian Agents tried several tactics to limit Indians from leaving the reservation, but this hardened the resolve of many and they continued the practice of going to the river. Many Indians believed that by not doing so would compromise their very identity as Indian (Fisher 2010:486).

Threats of Dispossession of Treaty Rights

East of the Cascades, Governor Stevens and Oregon Territorial Governor Joel Palmer negotiated treaties with several tribal groups. One such treaty, the Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla was negotiated in Walla Walla in 1855 at a treaty council. This treaty provided:

That the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians, and at all other usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same; the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands in common with citizens, is also secured to them (Stevens and Palmer 1855).

The treaty minutes detail the ongoing importance of hunting, fishing and gathering outside of the reservation boundaries. Governor Stevens made several points to ensure that the Indians understood signing the treaty would not hinder these traditional practices. The treaty was signed by all parties on June 9, 1855 and was ratified by Congress in 1859. The rights reserved therein are the basis of the Tribes' economy and the core of their culture and religion (CTUIR 1995:4).

Despite provisions in the treaty reserving the right to hunt, fish and gather in usual and accustomed places, they were systematically removed, sometimes by military force, to the reservations (Stern 1998:415, Fisher 2010:483). Among these were large segments of the CTUIR that continued to travel to their usual and accustomed places to hunt, fish, and gather plant foods. People moved seasonally between the Columbia River to the uplands and back to the reservation. They lived independently and largely rejected the offerings of aid from Indian Agents via annuities from the government (Stern 1998:415). Tribal members also traveled to the lower Columbia, including the Willamette Falls area, following the fish up and down the Columbia.

There were tribal members that resisted and actively fought against the attempts of the states to dispossess them of their treaty rights to the lands and rivers such as Billy Frank who was arrested and jailed for exercising tribal treaty rights in 1945. State hostility to treaty fishing rights was manifest and the United States took the states of Oregon and Washington to court over those challenges to tribal treaty rights. The lawsuit *U.S. v. Oregon* in the federal District Court for the District of Oregon is one of those lawsuits, and is the longest running district court case in the United States. The case was filed in 1968 to challenge the states authority to place restrictions on tribal fishing guaranteed by treaties. In 1969, United States District Judge Robert Belloni issued the first of a string of rulings upholding the off-reservation Treaty fishing rights of the CTUIR, Yakama Nation, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon and the Nez Perce Tribe of the Indians to fish and their traditional locations. All of these Tribes fish annually at Willamette Falls today. The court retained jurisdiction to enforce its rulings, and the proceeding continues to this day.

The tribal members who negotiated the Treaty of 1855 with the U.S. government specifically reserved rights to foods and materials to supply the *Weyiiletpu*, *Imatalamláma* and *Walúulapam*'s resource needs. Access to the tribes' traditional foods, and the right to harvest them, are explicitly protected in the Treaty of 1855 including hunting, fishing, gathering, grazing and all other rights not ceded to the United States in the treaty such as the right to trade.

Fishing Since 1855

Representatives of the *Weyíletpu*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Walíulapam* tribes signed a treaty with the United States ceding 6,400,000 acres of land which included *Néí Wána* ‘The Big River’ (the Columbia River) from the mouth of *Maxaxya* (Willow Creek) upstream to just below Priest Rapids. Within these lands, the *Weyíletpu*, *Imatalamláma*, and *Walíulapam*, now to be called the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) retained many rights, including the right to fish: “the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians, and at all other usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same; the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands in common with citizens, is also secured to them” (Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla, June 9, 1855, 12 Stat. 945). The rights reserved are the basis of the tribes’ economy and the core of their culture and religion (CTUIR 1995:4).

Despite the terms of the Treaty of 1855, Euroamericans set about preventing tribal members from exercising their rights, with particular emphasis on off-reservation rights. Dupris et al note that:

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Indian fishing grounds on the Columbia were quickly enclosed by private non-Indian ownership...Indian access to usual and accustomed fishing locations became a fictional and distorted thing. In hundreds of confrontations, the Indians met land owners who hadn’t heard of the fishing “servitude” or who didn’t believe in it; who knew for sure that access was not here but over there; who let the gates down for only a small and reasonable fee; who insisted the fishery was a private one; who advised that discards or eels from the fish wheels or fish-heads from the cannery were preferable fare to fish freshly caught. The Indians encountered the fences and road closures and padlocks and abutments and signs and guards and dogs and firearms that were among the law-sanctioned “pleasures” of all fee-simple property owners. Thus, the “supreme law of the land” was thrashed thoroughly by the common law of property possession (2006:58-59).

Aside from preventing tribal members from accessing their usual and accustomed fishing areas, Euroamerican settlers began decimating the fish population and the habitat on which salmon depended. From fish wheels to dams, settlers have systematically acted to exterminate anadromous fish. This has caused an enormous transfer of wealth from Indian to non-Indian society (see Meyer Resources, Inc. 1999). Through all of these challenges, tribal members have continued to fish. They have adjusted the way they fish and where they fish, but the act of fishing is critical to who they are.

Texts such as *The Si’lailo Way: Indians, Salmon and Law on the Columbia River* (Dupris et al. 2006) and *Empty Nets: Indians, Dams, and the Columbia River* (Ulrich 1999) detail the battles Columbia Plateau tribes and tribal members have fought to maintain access to the fish in a period where diminished fish runs as an effect of the dams was having a large impact. Additional oral histories on file at the CTUIR detail the effects of these battles.

All of the physical changes to the rivers, privatization of lands, prevention of access, limitations of travel off of the Reservation, and rules and regulations put into place to limit tribal members from fishing have not kept the CTUIR from fishing at its usual and accustomed locations. Some of these obstacles, like dams inundating locations have prevented their continued use, but the location are not forgotten. The fishing gear of 1855 is different from that used today, but cultural reasons for fishing persist.

While some traditional knowledge of fishing areas in the lower Columbia region has been lost in the collective memory of the CTUIR (due to the fact that tribal members were largely excluded from

practicing their treaty rights in these areas), much more was retained and continues to serve the people to this day (Steinmetz and Karson Engum 2009).

Practicing Sovereignty

Tribal governments are sovereign entities with rights to protect the health, safety and welfare of tribal people within their own territory. Tribal governments set their own priorities, develop and manage tribal resources, and are involved through the consultation process in Federal decisions or activities which have the potential to affect the rights of the CTUIR. A principle of federal Indian law states that tribes keep all rights and powers that they have not expressly given up.

The sovereignty that tribal governments enjoy have informed and reinforced the idea that being a tribal member in the Pacific Northwest makes you different from non-Indians living in the same area. Indian people recognize this difference, they are taught that they are separated from the dominant culture and that they are to fight to preserve their cultural identity and hold onto their sovereign powers. These, along with rights preserved in the Treaty of 1855, are part of what defines us as an independent group of people today. The sovereign powers help protect CTUIR culture. These views of what it means to be a tribal member are furthered by the cultural practices and religious teachings that reinforce the identity of CTUIR tribal members (Steinmetz and Karson Engum 2009).

Some may argue that selling salmon is not part of the long tradition of fishing on the Columbia River, but they would be wrong. Salmon have been an integral part of the Indian economy long before non-Indians came to the region. They were an item of trade and subsistence that is linked to the Indian religion and the concept of *tamánwit*. Today, as a practice of sovereignty, the CTUIR regulates the fishing of its members for ceremonial, subsistence, and economic purposes.

Oral History Findings

For this study, the Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP) relied primarily on information gathered from other projects in and near the project area on file in the CRPP archive, including the oral history archive at the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) and in other historic and ethnographic archives. Oral history information indicates that fishing (including harvesting lamprey), hunting, root and berry gathering and gathering medicinal and utilitarian plants, trading, guiding, warring, and interacting with explorers, traders, and missionaries were principal activities occurring in the project area. Spiritual and religious activities revolving around First Foods feasts as well as acquisition of ceremonial foods are also associated with the area. Evidence from oral histories and native language vocabularies demonstrate the traditional occupation and ownership by specific people of their lands, waters and resources such as fish and game.

New Interviews

Three new interviews were conducted in house exclusively for this phase of the study with tribal member *redacted* (OHP 565), community member *redacted* (OHP 566), and the late *redacted* (OHP 573), which were then recorded and transcribed for pertinent information. Both interviews reveal close ties to fishing at Willamette Falls. *Redacted* was raised in the region of Willamette Falls and was always taught that the local sedentary tribes on that region were salt water ocean fishermen, relying much less on the Willamette River freshwater species. *Redacted* describes how harvesting lamprey intensified at Willamette Falls when it became harder to harvest them on the Columbia River and the Umatilla River due to the dams. Both informants have an in depth knowledge base and strong

and direct family ties to the Willamette Falls portion of the project area, including past and present usage.

The acronym “OHP” stands for ‘Oral History Project’ and is congruent with the internal cataloguing system of the CRPP oral history archive.

(OHP 565)

To begin the interview, *redacted* provided some family background:

My name is *redacted*; named after my grandfather and my dad. [Citing tribal ancestry] Walla Walla/Cayuse/Klickitat/Wyampum/Blackfeet/Nez Perce I grew up here on the Umatilla Reservation my whole life. My people are the *redacted*, on and on...A lot of oral histories come from my dad, from the Cayuse side. And he was taught not only the Cayuse mountain ways from his grandfather *redacted*, but he learned the way of the Klickitat/Wyampum from the *redacted* people on the river. And so he knows a lot of oral history about the river and the mountains up here.

When asked about fishing in the Willamette Falls area, *redacted* stated:

Some things I know about the falls and about fishing there, down in the Willamette Falls area. That seems like a long ways but when you get a horse and you start trading all over, that’s just a short ride. Down at the Willamette Falls we did a lot of trading and you can see Mt. Adams down there and Mt. Hood. I’m sure we’d just...couple days go down and do what we wanted. But the Willamette Falls in my teachings has always been some where we go to for trading, fishing, and hunting.

I always knew about the falls growing up. My first visit at the falls was as a young five, five or four year old. My mom said that they took us up to the falls in a boat and her and I stayed on the boat while they fished all night. My dad and his cousins from here. I never saw any Grand Rondes or any other Indians. The only other Indians I saw at the falls were Warm Springs and Yakama’s...over the decades I’ve been down there. I’ve been down there more than a dozen times in my life. When I lived there, when I was young. When I was real young and then when I was a teenager. Then when I moved to Portland I would make it a point to go fish there...every summer...then when I moved home I’d go down there with the Fisheries Program and help fish [for community subsistence purposes].

Redacted also recalled his elders urging him to protect lamprey:

Redacted told us fifty years ago almost, to be ready and fight for those eels when they try and take them from us...Some of my first memories of my life were eels in this river [the Umatilla River]...

When asked about hunting in the Willamette Valley, *redacted* stated:

The Willamette is a short ride and a short distance for the distances our people would travel to hunt, travel, trade. We went down to Willamette since it was easier to get deer down there than up here. The wolves, coyotes and cougars kept the deer in check. They were harder to get, they were more in the mountains. Down there in the big plains we’d just herd them up with fires and pick the sick, pick the weak. Or we’d go by the old ones and take those. Pack ‘em up on the horses and trade them down there on the way back at Celilo. Bring ‘em back for the people.

He also recalled other CTUIR members who have fished at Willamette Falls:

At the falls, all I ever knew that would go there [was] *redacted*, his mom *redacted*, later married *redacted*, uh, *redacted* and ‘em’s brother. She was instrumental in teaching *redacted* all about the area. And *redacted* was probably our head hunter and fisherman when we’d do salmon

fishing. He was the one that would tell us where they were and where to go because he grew up doing that. Being taught by his dad and his mom. So that'd be like *redacted*, *redacted* and...just all the family. The *redacted*'s...brothers and nephews... *redacted* and *redacted* and *redacted* would go and me and Hardy. Just great times.

But people we'd see fishing down there would be Warm Springers. Oh, I can't remember the family's names now. I know I saw several families. The *redacted* ... *redacted*'s family would be down there, her brothers would be down there. *Redacted* is married to *redacted* [Umatilla]. But they would be down there quite often. We'd see a few Yakama's but mostly Warm Springers and Umatilla's would be down there.

On smelt fishing at the mouth of the Sandy River, *redacted* recalled:

I know that a lot of people...I know that we would...go get smelt in the Sandy...And we'd always have smelt every year. And I can't remember who [fished there]. I know that dad did but I didn't get to go with them. I did when I lived on the river, I watched them fish smelt though in the Sandy...an old elder how he fished, it was funny, there was all these non-Indians all flopping around with their nets. Just thrashing at smelt and they were just scattered all over. And the old man just standing by watching them and finally they all got tired and they all pulled out like that. And that old man stood out there on a rock and just stood there and pretty soon that smelt schooled up. And he was so smooth and slow. He just took his net and they all swam into that net.

I don't remember smelt being down this way. I know they'd catch it down that side, this side of Portland, the Cowlitz, and there. But I don't know how far they come up the Columbia besides the Sandy.

And finally, regarding the larger Columbia and Willamette Rivers, *redacted* stated:

The Columbia basin is basically where we traveled and traded. The Cayuse were the trading people of the northwest. And if you look, the Columbia River goes clear down into Nevada. Clear down into Utah, Idaho, up into Montana. There's some clear up into Canada. The Willamette River, to me that's our ceded area.

We as Indians, we have to take care of this land, these fish, these animals, and we do. And hopefully, we can be an example to the future. Have to sustain. Have to have clean water and clear air to sustain this stuff that feeds us. And that's what eels are such a good indicator of, clean water, salmon – all those things that swim.

(OHP 566)

This informant begins with his personal history of growing up in the Willamette Falls area and being raised by his stepfather, a member of the Grand Ronde Tribe, who always led him to believe that the Grand Ronde were originally and primarily ocean fishermen and only used the falls for ceremonial fishing, for feasts rather than for subsistence:

My mother, at one time, was married to *redacted*. His dad was *redacted* who was, I believe, a full blooded Grand Ronde or whatever they call them, and that was under that Grand Ronde Confederation. And he would tell me stories and I got to meet *redacted* when I was a little guy. Then I come to find out about those Grand Ronde elders that held on to their rights or their traditions. *Redacted* was one of them and they were ocean tribes. Under the confederation, they had use of and access to the salt water. I remember my oldest son, *redacted*, *redacted* took him with him. They went out on a boat to fish and caught the fish. I was thinking about at that time, they were, oh what's the term? Anyway, they disclaimed everything around there as part of that thing that happened with the government at that time, tribes being terminated. And they were one

of those terminated like Klamath Falls and I believe Siletz too. And a number of them, anyway, their rights as I understand, by traditions, they were to hold those until they passed. And once they passed, their rights disappeared. And that's why *redacted*, they had a river that was there and now is within their reservation. They had access to that and they had a short run of salmon that was coming up from the ocean, and they never had to worry about anything, including eels.

...As I understand, they would only go to Willamette Falls in order to get what was needed for their meals, if they had ceremonies, they would do that. But once they were terminated, they lost all those activities until they finally got their recognition. Part of the thing they lost and what they could not get back was hunting and fishing rights. That meant that they lost all access to the salt water. But when they did, that the old man and several other people they still fished...and when they passed, no one else could go in there... so anyway, I held that in my mind and memories...

...they came in as part of the people that used the falls but their camps and everything else was on the other side, because on the eastern shore, there across the falls, that was Warm Springs territory. With the traditions that were there, we asked Warm Springs if we could put in at their fishing platforms, and didn't just walk out grabbing fish and grabbing eels. And that was always the tradition.

We kept that all up. And basically, we all kinda recognized the same thing. The other side of the river of the falls was not referred to as our location anyway. Some of them were on our side fishing in the falls, with Warm Springs and other people from the Columbia River tribes and such. Warm Springs are the ones who had the sole occupancy up by where we fished and we had to ask them by permission. But we could share the fishery and they would come in they would say "yes." So that was the way we did things so often.

As I understand that people, the original Grand Ronde, they had access to salt water and we didn't. That's how they got their fisheries set up. After they lost that, they had nowhere else to go. [Originally], the Willamette was just kinda a stop for them because they had so much seafood coming out of the salt water and their own river that they didn't have to go to Willamette Falls. Sole use of occupancy there; that was not the case. Now they are trying to say that they had that, like they had it all. No, that's a lie. When they lost that, they didn't fight to have that restored back into recognition. Now they are trying to, they have the gall to come out and say that they were the ones that we should be asking them to go hunt and fish or to go fishing there.

And one of the reasons was a tribe with occupancy was the one who kinda policed there, took care of the area. And I have not heard any stories on their side about their people ever directing anything that would cause them to take care of it.

Were all of the Sahaptian people getting salmon and lamprey eel or would you see that the eel was the biggest draw?

Honestly, it was the salmon. They had the nice big salmon that went up you know I forgot the name of the river. They passed through there. That was like a smaller version of Celilo. So that's why Warm Springs had camps there, several fishing camps in their territory that we used. They

are hospitable people when you are their guest, but besides Willamette, getting salmon through, there was a lot of pools at the base of the Willamette Falls.

We always have contacts and so when the fish will be there, they'd call their helpers. They caught smaller fish too and the birds made a sound when the eels came. Depending on the level of water, when the water levels drop, they knew when they are coming and they would read the river. They would send the word out. There were those people who fished all the time for the eels. But the main thing was salmon going through there, [depending on] conditions of the water and they would send the word out, yeah the eels, eels are coming. They applied that in that camp and the Warm Springs, they were in charge you know.

That's the traditions that we had. You'd have to give a gift in order to go in there. Present them with a blanket or something or fishing gear, say we'd like to come in there and this is what we have. It was always that ceremonial give and take.

The informant describes similar traditional protocols at other intertribal fisheries:

We do the same thing going north to Kettle Falls. Those areas had the same type of protocol. You honor the tribe who was present there, who were taking care of it, and help them; you didn't do things out of the ordinary. We try to follow those things; that's how you respect the other tribe's position. You respect their sovereignty and you'd show their sovereignty by agreeing to it. If something was wrong and they didn't agree to it, they would talk it out. It was always that, in my lifetime. I had to carry that tradition on. I respected that I always that's what our folks here said. Yeah they recognized that same approach. You make sure you always ask for permission and well I'll remind you of that when you go down there. And so we got an ear full from down there, to make sure that we weren't invading someone's privacy and someone's activities. Early on I got the message, yep.

Among us living in the Plateau area, we follow the same protocols. So we could all share those resources that were given to us to protect. But we all have that same basis of beliefs.

He then discusses other CTUIR members use of the project area:

Redacted and those guys, they lived down there on Sauvie Island. I believe his dad *redacted*, they went up there to Willamette Falls. *Redacted* and those guys would take people down. I remember them going down there.

Redacted and all those guys, they would all go down just in time...*redacted* would always come to the house and she would bring us eels sometimes and talk to grandpa. And *redacted* would come in and if the boys went down to Willamette, she got eels.

You can always count on Willamette [Falls] to have eels because you couldn't get enough someplace else. You just went down there to pick them up. Nobody ever thought about it, but if there was someone from Warm Springs, they would ask them in our own language and we'd go in and take eels. Oh yea there's plenty, even for the distribution. Because *redacted* would come back and she would always say "now we can share with our families". Then she would give us eels.

Redacted and *redacted* and *redacted* would. I remember cousin *redacted* and them talking about Willamette Falls. *Redacted*, when she went to *redacted* and uh they talked about Willamette Falls. *Redacted*. Those guys would go down to Willamette if they could get enough gas money. They always worried about gas money, even when they went hunting.

The informant adds that some CTUIR elders could speak the common trade language of Chinook Jargon:

Going fishing, we'd go down, yeah *redacted*'s mother, *redacted* would be one to go down to get eels. She could speak that Chinook Jargon. She'd try it and see if some of the people that were there, see if they understood. She would, with those people across the river. Yeah, so some of those people old enough could understand from across the river. That's what she would say.

He describes Willamette Falls as a place visited by the people from the inland Plateau since time immemorial:

Those falls have always been there. And when there are falls like that, they always provide an opportunity to get harvest, sometimes to get eels or salmon, steelhead. A few times a year, you avoided it, then other times of the year, you know, something was going to be there.

Regarding the Willamette River and Valley as a trading hub:

Across the river on the other side, if you could get over there, they would trade there. They would talk about going down to the valley leading into the Willamette. They would see other people down there; they would always trade for things, different things. The women folk were always trading, always trading. Portland now takes up all that space, but where the Tualatin Trail, that goes up to Hillsboro. That was all tribal, a tribal road, tribal path, that's where everybody came in. And where it's Hudson Bay or whatever, and it would be Sauvie Island and that's where the Umatilla village is, at Sauvie Island, how it came be. But Cousin *redacted* he lived in Sauvie Island and worked down there and so *redacted* and his brothers got to play there and everything and had a great time. So that was Umatilla territory, probably because of skill in trading. But that's where they would have their jumping off point for the trading company, Hudson Bay. From Sauvie Island, then the same type of trading and the same people, but on account of the historical talk about Indians from the Umatilla. They were coming down. Some were coming by water craft like canoes. They always wanted to go there and then from there, when they guided them down to the mouth of the ocean. But down the Columbia, they always seemed to go and that's where they had the trading.

(OHP 573)

In a previous interview (OHP 209), this elder offered some details of her family ties to Alexander McKay of the John Jacob Astor fur Company and later to John McLoughlin of the Hudson Bay Company. Prior to her recent passing, the CRPP conducted a follow-up interview with her to better understand these connections and their relevance to this study:

My mother's grandmother would be John McLoughlin's wife, Marguerite McLoughlin. He was the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company. We had quite a bit of contact [with the McLoughlins in recent times]. When our people went down to Oregon City and the Portland area, they would always meet with the relatives. And in our last meeting with them, with the McLoughlin family,

they were very open with us. They were very close to my mother's side, and so that's how we remember them.

Marguerite was married to Alexander McKay and he was part of an explorer group up in the Puget Sound. And one of the tribes there got in a dispute and killed them, including Alexander McKay. So, Marguerite was widowed there in Oregon City at the Hudson Bay outpost, and then met up with John McLoughlin, and they became common-law man and wife. They called John McLoughlin the father of Oregon and we always laughed and said, 'Well, he's like the stepfather of our line.'

Thomas McKay, Marguerite's son with Alexander McKay, was raised by McLoughlin and later worked for the Hudson Bay Company out of Fort Vancouver (OHP 209). His son, William McKay, became allotted on the Umatilla Indian Reservation and operated a trading post at the mouth of McKay Creek in the vicinity of Pendleton, Oregon.

CRPP Archival Interviews

The CRPP houses several existing interviews in the archives that relate oral history information regarding traditional use of the study area. Oral histories are very important to the tribes in order to preserve historical documentation of events and traditions. The oral history archive also serves to pass on the Native language and to document people and places of cultural significance.

Many oral histories in the archives relate that tribal members used to fish the entire Columbia River and associated tributaries (OHP's 097,152, 073, 215, 062, 175, 063), usually meaning from the Tri-Cities area downriver to the mouth of the Willamette River and up to its Falls. *Redacted* in particular stated that he "fished all up and down the Columbia" (OHP 215).

Another tribal elder, *redacted*, told a story of how her mother used to travel to Portland along the Columbia by canoe. *Redacted* explained the presence of Cayuse people in that area in this way:

There were people down there. The biggest ones were them Cayuses. They were all over there. Clear to Portland. And they would cut across toward Klamath and sometimes they would go to Siletz. They were a big band. Those crazy Cayuses. That is why they went all the way. They would tell the others, 'There are good places and we need to take care of our land. [We are] in charge of fish. They take care of us.' That is what they used to say, those Cayuses (OHP 250).

Other OHP interviews name present-day areas that were frequented by tribal fishermen, those being areas west of Hood River/White Salmon, known today as Lyle, Cook's Landing, Underwood, the mouth of the Klickitat River, Wind River, and Cascade Falls and Rapids (pre-Dam) and Cascade Locks area (post-Dam). All of these areas are above Bonneville Dam.

The most significant places mentioned in tribal oral histories are the mouth of the Sandy River for smelt fishing and Willamette Falls for lamprey and smelt fishing, in addition to eel fishing at the dam itself, but on the downriver side (OHP's 152, 251, 079, 068, 171, 175-180).

One specific oral history excerpt focuses on the area just below Bonneville Dam as an excellent anadromous fishing location:

Yeah, sturgeon...sturgeon, salmon, steelhead, you'd need an anadromous fish. Yeah, sturgeon...Just below Bonneville is where they had most of...still have, most of the sturgeon down there (OHP 094).

Redacted put fishing below Bonneville Dam in strict terms of treaty rights and refers to a traditional fishing site at present day Rooster Rock:

We have exclusive rights on the Columbia River and all of the tributary waters. Some of the people think we only went down to Bonneville Dam and then others say, "Well, maybe down to

Willamette.” But that’s about it, they don’t say too much more. That was all Indian land. Down there at Rooster Rock, just be, on this side of Portland, there was a camp there. Yeah. Indians used to go clear down there and fish for smelt. And dry it and smoke it. (OHP 152).

In this same oral history interview, *redacted* concurred, saying, “I know, I was at Bonneville once, when the smelt came up (OHP 152).

While the majority of oral histories discuss collecting lamprey at Willamette Falls, other oral histories relate collecting them below and off the face of Bonneville Dam in more contemporary historical times. This was practiced by CTUIR tribal members before they were banned from doing so in the mid-1970’s during construction of a second powerhouse at Bonneville Dam. *Redacted* and his mother, *redacted* attest to this in OHP 251. According to *redacted*, eels were plentiful on the downriver side of the fish ladder located on the north shore of the Columbia River. He traveled there as a child in the early 1970’s with his mother and siblings and cousins from the Warm Springs reservation. In the same oral history group interview, one tribal elder recalls the native place name for the area of present-day North Bonneville as “Pushushpum.” However, the re-engineered dam involved moving the town of North Bonneville to another location. Therefore, the area where the elder assigned a place name indicated the location of the town of North Bonneville where it was previously located.

The following excerpts, organized generally by topic, are coded by the OHP (oral history project) number. This code corresponds to the name or a set of names for the informant or informants (in the case of a group interview).

Oral Histories Related to Willamette Falls **(OHP 176)**

Myself and *redacted*, also known as *redacted*, we were chosen to go down there [to Willamette Falls]. We would meet *redacted*, who was also an enrolled tribal member. At that time [1970’s], he lived on the Sandy River in Troutdale. He had the boat to bring us out there. *Redacted* and I stayed out at Oregon City and we met him out on the boat ramp on the Willamette. We went out there when the boards were up on the falls; just where they stopped the water coming over the falls. There was a time when they allowed tribal members from various tribes to go out and collect eels. Not what I expected compared to when I used to collect eels at Three-mile Dam because there was large boulders. There’s basically a cliff that the falls came over, so we had to kind of climb around.

I think we collected somewhere around two to three hundred eels to give away. But that was kind of the extent of our trip down there. The following year we didn’t get chosen to go down there. But in our talking with *redacted*, he had gathered lamprey there before and he had helped other members from other tribes who didn’t have boats to get up to the falls, so he was familiar with navigating the waters there.

My foster mother *redacted* ...I do remember her talking about some tribal members going down there and fishing. But a lot of it was the timing, just like when we went down there you kind of had to know when they were coming in...

And you had to have the means of getting there. And when she was telling me this was back in the, like the late nineteen seventies and, or late sixties and early seventies. And that’s around the period before the freeways. So it took a while to get down there on a two lane road. That took a long time. And, you know, if you didn’t have a boat... She knew of people that went there because uh, she had friends in Warm Springs that went there. But she did mention that there were some tribal members who lived down near Klickitat and White Salmon and that area, who went down there...one of them

might have been *redacted* or his family that had gone down there. But, to be accurate on that, you'd have to talk to *redacted* and see what he knew about it. But I know there were tribal members, I think there's probably a handful that went down there.

(OHP 316)

We hit all those tributaries in between... And then I think we'd hit the Deschutes. Then we could end up down to Bridge of the Gods, down in that area. I think we'd end up, end of season (unclear) could fish for uh smelt down at the uh Sandy River. On [the] opposite side of the river, used to be a restaurant there. We haven't been there for a long time.

We went clear down to Multnomah Falls and go down, down that to catch eels and stuff down that way... Yeah, so we'd go clear down there, just to see how the fishing is down below, and mostly it was just for eels. Check for eels and come back. Just a one or two day trip.

Mainly all those areas that we, we'd see their platforms and stuff. That's what they'd be more particular about, is getting in their platform...you'd have to ask permission just to get on those. We'd fish off 'em once in a while.

Yeah we used to fish in that area. Yeah. Not all the time, just during the season. When they took out the Celilo Falls and stuff, that kinda pushes a lot of the...fishing back up higher you know, cause it's, it's no more. The fishing sites are, you'll catch your fish and stuff right down there. But it's just when you lose historical sites, you know, areas, you just kinda don't like to go back. And you just, you just go down and go to certain areas and fish and come back. You just test it and come back. But yeah, we used to fish down that way.

(OHP 323)

Traditional events would always be initiated by our nomadic life styles, the foods were still strong...like my grandfather used to say "Indian people are very strong spiritually because of our foods like the fish & wildlife and our roots were wild and strong so were our people"...after the flooding remember the economy was depressed around the river...the river Indians still lived mainly off the lands and only a few understood how full time jobs worked out. The gorge jobs were sparse although when the seasons arise both apples and pears were the primary means for many of the river Indian families. When this was not enough many river Indians like mine would pick up and move to Gresham to pick berries until fishing season opened up and it was kind of safe to do so. My father would take us to Willamette Falls to get both spring salmon and eels for our winter needs, travel to Lewis, Molalla, Sandy, Clackamas, Washougal, and Chehalis Rivers.

Additional Oral Histories Related to Willamette Falls

The following oral histories were previously summarized and are therefore not presented here in a verbatim fashion.

OHP 097 stated that the *Weyüiletpu* (Cayuse people) lived in the Willamette Valley thousands of years ago. They lived by the law of the Creator every day and they got along with everyone in the Willamette Valley. In those days people began to not live by the Indian Laws and there was a lot of jealousy but the *Weyüiletpu* stayed with what they believed was the law, the right way of life. Wherever they went they stood out different from the rest of the people. The other people wanted to know who they were and some of them would say they wanted to be like them. This created more jealousy toward the *Weyüiletpu* in the valley. A big Tribe by the name of Molalla got jealous of the

smaller Tribe and wanted to wipe them out. The *Weyíletpu* drove the Molalla out of the Willamette Valley, drove them up the Columbia River toward The Dalles and Celilo areas where some stopped and stayed while others continued after the Molalla. The *Weyíletpu* drove the Molalla clear up to the Plains area. This was thousands of years ago.

OHP 006 stated that during the summer season when there was no school they'd take their children over to Yakima or berry picking over to the Oregon Coast or Willamette Valley and spend the summer over there or go huckleberry picking and gather down there then bring them back.

OHP 079 was asked about where to get *asám* (Sahaptin) or *k'súyas* (Sahaptin) or *héesu* (Nez Perce), meaning 'eels or lamprey', he stated that today [1994] we have to go down to Willamette Falls but we are in competition with the non-Indians. The non-Indians go in there and use the *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* for their bait shops for their surgeon fisheries and everything else now. The non-Indians never had a use for *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* but now they use it so we are in competition with them.

OHP 171 stated that he began gathering *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* in 1979 at Willamette Falls and has continued gathering sporadically over the years. He was required to have a permit to gather and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service counted how many he and his cousin had gathered. He says the *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* run in May, June and into July but in July they begin to get soft. He gathered for personal use. Although he doesn't know of any oral history stories, he knows that it was used in the past. He plans on bringing his sons down to Willamette Falls in order to pass along the tradition of gathering *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* there.

OHP 175 stated that he was a young boy in the 1970s when he began *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* gathering with his family at Willamette Falls. The whole family was involved including his sister and mother. His sister would help collect the gunny sacks and his mother would help drive the boat. He says that it was always told that our people have always went down to Willamette Falls to gather *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* as well as the *Išatkníkáma* ('on the other side' referring to the other side of the river; what the Umatilla call the Yakama people'), *Niimípuu* ('Nez Perce people'), *Axmíkáma* ('Warm Springs people'; meaning one who is away or up from the river, an inlander; what the Umatilla call the Warm Springs people') and *Wánapam* ('river people' in general, but also refers to Priest Rapids people). As a family they would gather mainly for themselves and their close immediate family. They would gather early in the morning or late at night, never in the day. This is how he and his family were taught by his father. His father told him that people used to camp down at Willamette Falls along the river and the area was a gathering place for the Tribes year after year to catch *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu*. He plans on passing the tradition of gathering *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* onto his son when his son is old enough to go.

He further states that not as many people gather *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* because of the polluted river [Willamette]. He also does not agree that the Tribes should be regulated on how many *asám* or *k'súyas* or *héesu* can be gathered per person. He feels that we have always been able to regulate ourselves naturally and that we've always been protectors of the land.

OHP 176 stated that he learned how to gather *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* on the Umatilla River when he was young and was taught by tribal elders. His first experience at Willamette Falls was in the early 1990s when he worked for the CTUIR's Fisheries Program and was gathering *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *hé:su* for tribal subsistence handout. He went down with another tribal member who also worked for the CTUIR Fisheries Program. That was the other tribal member's first time gathering *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* so he taught him how to catch and gather them.

He remembers his foster mother telling him that tribal members used to go down to Willamette Falls to fish. A lot of the gathering depended on the right timing and transportation, whether or not you had a boat. Tribal members who lived in Klickitat and White Salmon also went down to Willamette Falls to gather. They used to also collect *núsux* ('salmon') and *šusáynš* ('steelhead') from behind the dam (top of the falls) where the fish were trying to jump over the falls. He remembers that in the past, people were able to fill six to ten gunny sacks but he thinks that the *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* population has gone down somewhat due to commercialization. The preferred time to gather is in the morning or at night. Also, the *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* were bigger when he was a kid compared to what they are now. He would like to return to the Willamette Falls and teach others how to gather.

OHP 177 stated that he began going down to Willamette Falls in 1994 with the CTUIR's Fisheries Program to gather *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* for tribal subsistence handouts and has gone down every year since then except this year. During his first trip to Willamette Falls in 1994 another tribal member taught him how to gather *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu*. He now gathers for his family and for the tribal subsistence handouts. He said the best time to gather is at dark and right at daylight. He feels that more needs to be done to pass this tradition along to the tribal youth. He plans on passing this tradition on to his children when they are older.

OHP 178 stated that he has been going down to Willamette Falls for the past eight years with the CTUIR's Fisheries Program. He primarily gathers for tribal subsistence handouts and not so much for personal subsistence. He stresses the importance of passing along this tradition to the tribal youth and takes his oldest son with him to Willamette Falls to learn. He says that the CTUIR Fisheries Program has taken several youth with them to Willamette Falls throughout the years and feels that it needs to continue. He is not happy with the restrictions that have been placed on the Tribe to gather *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu*. He feels it isn't an adequate supply for the subsistence handouts. The best time to gather is in the evening. People in the past would eat *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* en route to other places since they always dried them. They were used for subsistence in the winter months. He would like to see the Willamette River cleaned up. He said his main priority is to gather *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* in order to provide for the Tribe as well as pass down the tradition to our youth and continuing the culture along with it.

OHP 179 stated that he has personally been fishing for *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* at the Willamette Falls since 1974. His father and mother told him stories of fishing *asám* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* there in the late 30's and early 40's. His father went back there a few times in the 50's and 60's. He further states that the Cayuse Tribe, being a primary "trading tribe" of the Northwest, stopped by the Willamette Falls area on their way to and from the coast and traded at the Willamette Falls area as it was a main fishing area of the Willamette Valley.

OHP 180 stated that he and his family have been going to the Willamette Falls ever since he could remember and continues to go there to this day. His father and mother used to take him and his brothers up to the falls to fish for *tkwínat* ('chinook salmon'), *šušáynš*, and *asám* or *k'súiyas* or *héesu*. On several occasions they would meet up with other tribal members and gather together. They would gather for personal subsistence and for other relatives and family friends.

Oral Histories Related to Fort Vancouver

These archived interviews reveal that there is still living memory within families of ancestors with direct ties to Fort Vancouver, as in the following oral history excerpts previously compiled for a 2009 CRPP traditional use study regarding Fort Vancouver:

See, my great grandmother was a half breed. She was born down there at Oregon City or Fort Vancouver, and her father was a trader for the Hudson Bay Company, and then they went to Fort Ontario. And then, when she was over there, they knew all them kids over there and they used to play together (OHP 010).

Another informant discussed how intermarriage was the overwhelming trend at Fort Vancouver:

There was a lot of intermarriage at that time, and so the descendants are now beginning to claim that. I guess, you might say, it's something that was inevitable. That this, this nexus, you know, would have those influences, to where it would have an impact on your culture, no matter what (OHP 268).

The fur trading was such a big draw and the Columbia River became a boundary line between the Americans and Great Britain. The settlement pattern meant one thing, intermarriage. And it [the Hudson Bay Company] being a very formidable group, itself, you know, with its own identity and that seemed to take shape as well, which the fur trade, where it brought it in using the Columbia River as thoroughfare for trade into the intermountain west, into our country (OHP 268).

This elder informant discussed trade as a continuous event in the lower Columbia River region that simply evolved when non-Indians entered the scene, including Willamette Falls and Celilo Falls as major trade areas for native people:

It was like a central hub. Historically, our people, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Cayuse, always had this connection down to Willamette Valley, for horse trading, you know. So it seemed like there was a pass way, from here to the Willamette Valley, on down to California. But going back to Vancouver, the massive fishery and the centralized trading center reached in all directions. Of course that's well known and where they catch the eels, Willamette Falls. I hear people say, well that's our place. I hear the Yakama's say, that's our place too (OHP 268).

Interaction, according to this informant, was much more informal with the British, who were, "just trying to create solid trade relationships as opposed to dominating the region for the land base" (OHP 268).

This informant also discussed how Chinook Jargon, as a language, was a reflection of trade and the intertribal connection. The elder informed that some Chinook Jargon place names exist in the CTUIR homeland as well. He spoke of a time when tribal elders traveled up and down the Columbia River and named all of the places that they fished and camped, emphasizing that these places had names but they are now being forgotten:

Redacted told me that they had the chief's ride a boat, I think from down at Umatilla or McNary area, and they named all the places all the way down to Cascade Locks. One was *redacted* and then I think there's other leaders who were alive at that time, who went along and they just

named both sides of the river all the way down, in Indian names, in the Chinook Jargon (OHP 268).

The shared trade language of Chinook Jargon is another aspect which exemplifies CTUIR ties down to the lower Columbia River. Another are shared natural resources in the region, such as camas:

Traditionally, people, it's just obvious that they call it [the town of] Camas. The camas in the Willamette Valley, all the way up into Washington. Anytime you're gonna have a food source, you're gonna have a large gathering, you're always gonna bring in different tribal groups. It would be something that brought in a connection to that side, to Fort Vancouver. To bring all the native people together. Chinook Jargon has had its influence among some people here. Language might be one of them (OHP 268).

Several words and place names in the CTUIR homeland are retained in Chinook Jargon. The language would have easily made its way up and downriver, as people carried it to places in all directions. As he summarizes:

We were more free at one time. You know, at one time, we did roam the land at will. And not like it is today, people become compartmentalized (OHP 268).

In an interview with another elder, he discussed the Fort Vancouver area and the general activities that went on there, i.e. Indians farming, intermarriages among the Frenchmen, and the Walla Walla women, as well as the burials located there. He also said that since it was such a central area to surrounding tribes, it allowed for better trading. He thought the reason people traveled down there from this area was due to the trading, which offered better resources that the people brought back here. He also discussed how the people were able to co-exist down there comfortably, due in part to mixed marriages. He spoke of Fort Vancouver being a place of importance, as a trading/meeting place where travel down to the region from here was most likely done by canoe.

Regarding unmarked graves at Fort Vancouver, the discussion turned to the knowledge of three tribal members from this area being buried there, but the informant was not sure from which families they originated.

There are many Indians and a few non-Indians [that he know of]. And we have at least three members of our Confederated Tribes buried down there. At least three and maybe more. Because some of them were buried and unknown, but the record that the Catholic Church kept was pretty accurate (OHP 266).

According to this informant, the burial ground at Fort Vancouver appeared smaller than what he imagined it would have been.

But the burial site, to me, doesn't really seem that big, when I was there, knowing the history of it. And it looked smaller than the way you, historically, you remember (OHP 266).

The burial grounds that have been restored at Fort Vancouver do not seem large enough to accommodate the number of people that had been buried there. And due to the amount of inadvertent discoveries of native people buried throughout the area, it is likely that there are more burials than what has been historically preserved.

Regarding the village at Fort Vancouver,

When Fort Vancouver was being built, they had a village just southwest of the present fort. And that's where the laborers lived. And that was where the French and Indian women lived. There was a small hospital there that was supposed to take care of them (OHP 266).

Through the earliest time, the people [of Fort Vancouver] just kinda lived in peace. It just wasn't a time that they were invaded by land grabbers, let's put it that way. People north of the fort and south, down along. Sure they started making claims and stuff. But I don't think there

were any, any really revolting developments down in that area. They raised their own gardens. They had corn, potatoes, they had an orchard there at the fort, which was basically for the, the village people that lived there, the Indians, as well as the, of the fort. Probably the Indians maintained a lot of the gardens they had there (OHP 266).

Regarding the traditional trading area prior to Fort Vancouver,

Before even Hudson Bay Company was there, the tribes of the northwest, because of the river and the tribes from the south coming down the Willamette, and a few of the smaller rivers coming in from the north. That was a natural meeting place for the tribes. They traded, they bartered, even before the fort was even there. And that is why Fort Vancouver was built there, because they knew of all these people, tribal people that came there and met. In fact it was even a bigger trading place, than Celilo Falls were, at that time (OHP 266).

The river was like a freeway for the tribal people. All rivers were like a freeway, because they traveled by boat, canoe, rafts, whatever. And this whole situation of that area along the river, from up, to before where they built the shipyards, on down, could be a port of entry. Because they landed, they would land along there. Even though now, most of that was all built under and stuff. It was still an important place (OHP 266).

The general area around Fort Vancouver was also commented on as a rich trading area along the Columbia River:

The Columbia River was a highway. You could go up and down the river by boat, canoe. Here, we traded dentalium and they always traded us for what they didn't have over there, our deer and elk, our roots and berries. And the trade between coast and inland was very prevalent, because of those resources. But mainly because of the river itself. It was the highway. That's how they got back and forth. And then the horse came, and that started a whole 'nother realm of transportation and interaction between the tribes (OHP 268).

This informant lamented the fact that so many native succumbed to disease at this location:

Fort Vancouver was supposed to have been a haven for all of the tribes to come together, a place where all Indians would come together to get help and to get cured. And a lot of the Indians died there, at Fort Vancouver, because of those diseases (OHP 268).

Oral Histories on Traditional Use in the Lower Columbia **(OHP 065)**

I remember mom telling us about how they used to go to Portland in canoe. If they wanted to go down to Portland, they'd go down, head down the river to Portland.

(OHP 068)

When I was fishing of course I was living along...I slept on the banks of the river from Bonneville to Tucannon River...at different times. After the war and after Celilo, I went sturgeon fishing all over.

(OHP 068)

My dad told me right before 1900, right here at Mission, the way they go over the ripples, them chum salmon, by the hundreds. They finally stepped out there with a sledgehammer and knocked a couple out on the bank since it wasn't too deep. These chum salmon, they have a purple streak on the side. Did you ever see one of them with a purple streak on the side? Well, the only place they got them now is below Bonneville in them little creeks there below. You can find them there November - December. They don't come up until just before Christmas.

There were a lot of eels before the dams. People came there, before Bonneville and before the Dalles Dam. There was coyotes everywhere too. Here and clean down to Cascade Locks I could hear them hollering clear up on them hills when I'd be out there loading sturgeon. [The dams] affected the beaver and otter. But the mink I don't think it affected too much. But the beaver, why it covered up all their houses and stuff. There was beaver houses along the river. Ponds and stuff like that. We had a lot of beaver on this river at one time. I trapped 27 beaver in 28 days in February one time.

(OHP 152)

You can fish in the Columbia River. And they went all over down there, clear to Portland. Just out of Portland where they'd cut across towards Klamath. Sometimes they'd go to Siletz. And that's gonna do nothing. All this here goes back to the treaty. They said all the tributary waters we can fish and...That fall into the Columbia River. There was sites, there was sites.

...Since we got the only treaty now, some guy said, "Well, we can go as far as we want, if we want to." That was all Indian land...down there at uh, Rooster Rock. On this side of Portland. There was a camp there. Indians used to go clear down there and fish for smelt. And dry it and smoke it.

Trade things with them, gloves or hides...or deer and elk meat, fish or seafood from them and those baskets; 'cause we never made those things. We bought, got them from coast Indians...they went down along the...They probably went into the Washington area and the Willamette somewhere 'cause they, they make baskets...the Siletz, where Lorraine comes from, they have little, little basket hats; they have, they wear.

(OHP 214)

...the seaweed is really bad when we're down there at Cascade Locks. We just, well you can't even get your net in the boat 'cause you get so much of that stuff. (laughter)... the lower river, they all drift fished, so ya know, tying nets off the bank or set netting and stuff. With a lot of ya know, "well let's try this and let's try that." Then we, ya know, make it work a little better.

...my sister and her, her children. They used to come down from Pendleton and that's where we'd meet and spend the day. Cause we lived in Cascade Locks and *redacted* and them would be up there fishing and, and so we'd just go up there and spend the day with them. *Redacted* and them would camp there. *Redacted* was up there a lot with the old man when he fished, living down in Cascade Locks.

(OHP 094)

...sturgeon, salmon, steelhead, you'd need an anadromous fish. Yeah, sturgeon...Just below Bonneville is where they had most of...still have most of the sturgeon down there, or they'd go out...

(OHP 073)

...the days before they put that Bonneville Dam in. The whole river was, had a lot of whitewater, a lot of rapids. All of these fish here were in the river then; like your spring Chinook, Fall Chinook, Sockeye, Steelhead, Eels, Sturgeon, Suckers, Whitefish, a lot of Whitefish.

...there was a lot of fishing sites along the Columbia; I mean, it wasn't just like now you either fish around The Dalles or go to Cascade Locks or somewhere where they got scaffolds going up, in those days there was so many fish you didn't have to, heck you could catch 'em right from the bank if you had a good place to stand.

...Before the dams were built, heck there, the Indian people fished all along the Columbia; down around Hood River, the Wasco people fished around there and the Yakamas. Our people from here would even go down there that far. They more or less went down there just to visit.

...there were enough fish before Bonneville started taking its toll that you could just, if you had a place to anchor a gill net or a set net or anything, you should catch fish almost anywhere; they were that plentiful. If you had, were strong enough and you wanted to wade out in that swift water and just swing a big long dip down in that current, you could catch fish.

...grab hooks, set nets, hoop nets, dip nets, oh, I, they built some fish weirs, the older guys did but there wasn't very many places along the river when it was running wild, with just the Bonneville Dam down there; practically at the end of the river, well not practically, but gettin' close to it, there wasn't many places to build a weir to catch 'em. I'm sure they had 'em up here, Kettle Falls and through there probably. Some pretty good places to build traps, fish traps. We was kids, we used to build traps in them little spring branches to catch fish. We never did build 'em right but tried (laughs).

...I've seen a lot of them [fish wheels] along the Columbia. Down in the lower region though, down around, I'll say from Celilo down though, on the Washington side. Skamanians out there had...but they had some built on rafts, like, that they could move and some of them were stationary.

...they caught, they must have caught everything, even eels. They had little, like chicken wire and that thing went continuously; all the time. They'd catch everything that'd come up into that wheel; they'd get it, down to, hell, I suppose there was eels big enough that they couldn't get through that little mesh, but they'd catch eels and everything; tons and tons of salmon... Yeah, those fish wheels certainly took their toll on the runs. I've been over there, well over there around Skamania.

(OHP 063)

Oh yeah, I used to go down there and fish with them. I don't know how old I was. I used to go down and spear fish at Underwood and at Cooks. We used to go down to Cooks all of the time fishing. And up to Lyle. Course, they never let me go down to the rapids, I mean down at the falls at Lyle. So I used to just sit and watch them.

I used to like to go down to White Salmon. I used to go trout fishing all over down there, Buck Creek, Rattlesnake Creek, White Salmon River. And we used to go down below the dam there in White Salmon on the White Salmon River. And I told people over there that I seen things that you would never see in your life. And that is salmon bank to bank. Looked like you could walk across the river on them. There were millions and hundreds of thousands of fish and my folks, my dad and his brother, cousins used to go down fishing. Go stand in the water, fish pushing each other out on the bank and they'd be standing there and I said well how come you ain't catching these fish? And I was kicking them out on the bank. But they looked for fish with a white spot on it's fine and that is the one they caught. I asked them how come and they said it is all spawned out. They didn't go down there and just start throwing fish on the bank, they caught the spawned out ones.

...we used to go camping up at Mt. Adams. My dad and my cousins, they would all go down to Lewis River. Fish for salmon and they would bring it back up to camp. That is what we would eat while we were camping.

...we used to go down to Cooks [Landing] and spear salmon at night. Put those spotlights on our head we would wade in with head bushes. And spear salmon. Now I guess they won't even let you fish down at Cooks. Cooks used to be a permanent village. Indians stayed there all of the time. But now they are trying to get the Indians out of there. It is on the Little White Salmon River.

...we used to go to Stevenson and catch what you call them, smelt. Dad would take a screen off the window and we would go down the river right at Stevenson and get a half tub of smelt. We used to fish at Cooks all of the time, and Underwood and then we used to go to Lyle all of the time. And we used to fish there. There is still a lot of Indian land along the Columbia. From the Bonneville dam all the way up the Umatilla.

...all along the river, Indian homesteads. And there is Indian cemeteries all up and down the Columbia River. Some are lost now. Yeah, our people lived all...The river was the mainstay of the Indian people. Indians lived all along. Rock Creek, big band of Indians lived down there all of the time. All the way up the river people lived.

...And the in-lieu sites, Moffit Creek and all the streams below Bonneville Dam, they gave to us as in-lieu sites and then they would take them back and they would give to us and then take them back.

...when Bonneville Dam was put up, they lost the fish in the Little White Salmon, I mean the White Salmon River. Fish quit coming up. Now the only fish that come into Cooks are the ones that come out of the hatchery there. Before, thousands of salmon used to go up the Little White Salmon River. Little White Salmon River is small, isn't even as big as the Umatilla River. But fish used to go up there and spawn. And there are still Indians that live up the Little White Salmon River.

...our people used to fish all year round. They would fish from Lewiston, Idaho clear to Bonneville Dam or below. They would travel up and down the river all year round fishing. That was their livelihood and that is what they did.

Used to get bachelor buttons by the bag full. We used to go to, they had to stop by Cook's [Landing] and get fresh water oysters, what the heck do they call them things now? Mom would make the fire and put the pot on we would eat them right there. Oh boy, talk about good. Mussels.

I don't know if they was regulations but I can remember people tried to beat dad up. He would go down there. He was born and raised down there but he would go to fish and those people would run him off down there cause of them Oregon license plates...Underwood. Underwood right where the bridges are, Indians used to live on the side hill. They had houses up on stilts and rocks. That is where the Indians lived.

(OHP 077)

I talk on the treaty rights because my daughter's got scaffolds down there at Cascade Locks. We've got four scaffolds that we still fish so that's the reason we fight for the fisheries.

(OHP 079)

They never did pin point where they were except it's on down below the Bonneville Dam. They would say well here's the areas we used to go get this, then as we went along they kinda described different areas in especially like sagebrush. They used different kinds of sagebrush for like bad colds, so there was a lot of medicines in there that we were not aware of as younger generations at that time.

(OHP 251)

When we'd go down to Sandy and that area to go fishing for smelts and stuff like that, that is the tribal fishery, treaty fishery...there was a lot of Indians there but there were also a lot of whites...When Indians went down there, it was for subsistence, to eat. The "shuyapos" (white people) sold it, they commercialized it. That is when all of the problems started.

We still, they still go down for subsistence. My brother asked me this spring, "Did you see any smelts?" ...That is all I remember except I found out that name from Mary Jim, the name of Bonneville Dam on the Washington side, that little town, they called it "Pushushpum". That is on the North Bonneville area. She told me other names but I remember [that one] because it is there down along the Columbia River.

When I got old enough, we used to drive down there. My dad would show me where to go digging and he used to show my brothers where to go fishing down the line and down. Then we used to go clear down to the Sandy River and go fishing for smelt, and my mother would dry that too, those little fishes, and we would bring it home.

No matter where you go, you have relatives. That is how it is for us. I remember going fishing down at Cascade Locks...We used to fish down at Cascade Locks for a while, on that island right there at Cascade Locks.

I think when they first put in Bonneville, everything changed. Even the weather changed. Then Bonneville, [Columbia] River -- used to go down there and catch eels. It used to be a lot of fun on the dam...They don't let them do that no more.

(OHP 215)

I used to hook and line on the, there at the Cascade Locks. Catch a lot of fish there, and sell them and stuff. We had a good reputation, yeah. But then he, he had two scaffolds up on, above. And I fished on that one up there, hanging scaffold up by the bridge, the little bridge there, goes across. Them was his, on this side. And then Art fished on the other side. I'd fish with them down at Cascade Locks.

(OHP 062)

... the *redacted*'s fish down there where there having these uh, Lyle, Lyle thing down there? Around there somewhere. Well, they fished there. Then they fished up Klickitat River, up there right by, right where that fault is. The hydroelectric plant they have there now. That's where they used to fish too. Just below it there they used to have scaffolds there.

(OHP 223)

We used to come down. See we used to do a lot of fishing with him. And then we'd either meet with him down here when we was kids. Or we'd go clear down to um Cascade Locks where he had his fishing place down there. Then this little cannery thing had down there too. Then we'd catch fish and come up and sell it. All the way around.

(OHP 070)

Wind River. When we used to fish down there. The first fish that I speared,...See the spears used to be made out of deer horn. A deer horn, with buckskin tied to a strait pole. And the deer horn had a hole on one end, stuck on a stick. And then those barbs were sticking out, like that, with the horn, where they would also wrap around with buckskin. But the buckskin was shrunk on there, it wouldn't come off. But, you were supposed to spear them in the head, and then pull strait back. That way you could control them. Well, the first time I speared, I speared him in the tail. He just took off, and he was just going like that, and he was shaking me all over the place with my pole. Almost broke my pole. And, the old folks come over there, grabbed hold of it, pulled him back, and pulled him towards

the shore. But, I was real little, and the fish was bigger than I was. And everybody was laughing around about it, cause I speared him the wrong end.

So, my grandfather come down, and he started chewing me out in Indian, told me not to do something like that. He said, "you spear them in the head!" And so, after that, I started spearing them in the head. If I couldn't get a good head shot, I would let them go. Let them go on by. Cause a lot of times, you can ruin the meat if you spear them in the back, or tail, or side. Well, not so bad in the tail, but if you get them in the side, you tear up a lot of the meat, a lot of the insides. Where, if you get them in the head, what they call, "Kuum-Kuum" (part of the head), you know, you eat that, you wouldn't hurt it. But, that one I got, it sure made me feel good (laughter). But, there was a lot of fishing.

My grandfather, *redacted* is the one that brought me over there; he introduced me to a lot of the people there. There was a lot of encampments, teepees sitting up there. And the teepees also had a lot of drying...fish. But those were in teepees. The fish was almost ready to go up and spawn, but we used to get a lot of Bright's in there too, Bright Red Chinook. There was a lot of them in there, "Silvers". But there was a lot of fish, up that way. The *redacted*, I remember, the *redacted* family was there. Great big family, they were from Yakima, I believe. Uh, let us see...*redacted* used to be there. They're from Warm Springs. They used to fish over there, some of the family. Cause I remember some of the old folks were telling me that a lot of the Indians, like me for instance. I'm staying up here on the Umatilla Reservation, I'm just staying here. Okay, my parents decide, "Okay, we're going to go down to the river to fish." Well, my father was down there, so we would go down there.

(OHP 078)

My family, father and mother were from here Pendleton, Oregon. I was a Umatilla enrollee at one time, but now I'm a Yakama member. My parents were from here, Pendleton. Umatilla, Yakama, and Cayuse was there heritage. I have a nephew that fishes along the Columbia River. Near the Lyle and Underwood areas, in the state of Washington. I do go fishing on occasion every year about September, each year down to the Klickitat River in the state of Washington. As a child I lived in Celilo.

(OHP 071)

I haven't really been back there until, probably about '86 '85. And it was with *redacted* again, he and I went and...here the same people that we saw that year in '79 was the same people we saw there again this year...that year. And his name was *redacted*. He's *redacted* brother. The one that's with *redacted* now.

...and we rode up with him and we ended up staying there for quite a bit. I finally fixed up a little dip net there, which was helpful but we still had to go back to resorting to reaching up into that falls...just use your bare hands gettin' 'em in there. We're even as much as going in the water and diving in for 'em. Just, one would be hanging onto your belt while the other one would be down in there reaching down in there.

I made it up there a couple more times between '85 and '89. That was just sparingly; maybe twice within period there. But, there were eels there and we always had a chance to go get 'em and we would. But, uh, went there around noon and daytime's a tough time to really catch 'em; when it gets dark, that's when they really move, you can get 'em then. You know what's going on. And the restrictions I had on my permit was telling me that I wasn't allowed to be out there at dark to get 'em; there had to be daytime.

They just, everybody else had permits and they were Umatilla Reservation permits that they had.

It's pretty good, pretty good eatin'. Lot of work afterwards; you gotta gut 'em out. There's a cord that runs down their spine back there, that you gotta take that out, pull it right out too. Once you cut up there by the mouth and by the neck and get a, grab a hold of that cord, then you can just use like needles and pliers and then just pull that cord right out. It's like a spinal cord running down their back. You can't really cook that with your eel meat cause if you do it's like poison I guess.

Last year, the eels I got, we cleaned 'em all out like that and I gave some to some elders that were wishing for eels. I knew they would eat 'em. I have an uncle who, my wife's uncle, that eats, I know he eats 'em. He eats 'em...gave him some. He was all surprised, "Oh wow! They're all cleaned and everything too!"

...they come in end of May, June...right up until July, yeah. When it's, gets July, oh, gets about end of June, first of July that's when they start getting soft; there ain't as much running in the river then. Use of the lower Willamette River fits into this seasonal round...there's a good supply of salmon going up there; salmon and eels. Spring runs of Chinooks. I know they opened that falls up for tribal fisheries use. That was pretty recent when we went up there too. I say, when I'm saying recent, I'm saying like, oh, within the late, mid to late eighties. And they had tribal fisherman settin' up scaffolds up there and dippin' up in that area. And there's even people saying, "We've been coming here for years..." when they actually, when they just opened it up and finally let people go in there. I think that's what turned us on to doing that is that we've heard people gettin' eels there before at the very get-go back in '79. That was when we heard that they were fishing, or, catching eels down there at that time.

(OHP 173)

We were entitled to a hundred a piece, what we were told. What was awkward about it is that typically you want to go up on a Thursday or Friday and for some reason it states, uh, Fish and Wildlife said that if we came up and did that that they would cite us because they wanted us doing it on the weekend; Saturday and Sunday.

Yeah, and we wasn't too crazy about that, but we didn't wanna really contest it, cause, you know, it's a, talking about a treaty right. And we figured that it'd be best, not to create any problems and just be there to harvest the eels and show that we do harvest them and that we're there. And that was important too.

We wanted to show that we do harvest the eels and we do consume 'em. And *redacted* caught his first eel there too. And it was just what...month after he caught his first salmon here in the river.

Our people probably traveled up there to get 'em cause they weren't in a, we couldn't get 'em here locally. Having never done it and going up to the falls and hearing the roar of the falls and the mist and all of the rocks there and, like I said, moss and, uh, pretty slippery and, oh, going there and, you know, just having the experience of exercising a treaty right that, something that our ancestors have done for millennia.

...harvesting eels that are a delicacy for our people, especially elders. I understand it has to be bar-b-que'd...That's how it was prepared up...Then you let all the oil and fat drain off and drip off...Little more tastier that way.

I'd certainly like to go back again. I want to see them guys keep it going....Well, they were looking for people to go down and get eels for the subsistence hand out...

There was another place *redacted* said where they go over, move over, a little bit to the west of where we was and the main part of the falls, was another good place, but the water was so high. We

could pull over there and park but just to try to get out and walk through the rocks and get to the cliff where the falls are was a challenge you could give us...the water was too high.

And we went back up and got probably a couple hundred more and that was pretty much it by then and it was ten in the morning and, and the eels were laying low then so...Yeah, there was plenty of eels there....within three, four hours, we had our quota.

They certainly took care of it afterwards you know, preparing it, cooking it or preserving it. And did more along the gathering type of things for foods. But I know, I think, some of that was taboo for women, but I don't know about the eels. I'll have to ask my mom. I know she's gone through plenty of salmon and eels in her days...living down there at Lyle.

(OHP 174)

Oh yeah, in the eighties, we was down there in the eighties. Like uh, '82, '83, '84, '85, '86! But, we'd mostly go down there and get eels for, like close families mostly. Just family members and stuff. But we'd always collect eels, extra. We had a 55 gallon can, garbage can, we'd fill up.

We'd use half of the...because that was subsistence for us too, and fishing for February and March...That's what we'd use the eels for. We'd collect one for just fishing for, to make, to catch fish too. Then the rest we'd eat and pass out, or dry. Yeah, to families. Just right at Cascade Locks mostly. Cause lot of people down at Cascade Locks didn't have no cars or a way to get down there. They had boats and stuff but just gettin' down there was the thing.

I seen cousins from Warm Springs and then some from the Valley that were there also. I was, "Whoa, you guys come clear over here just to get eels too?" But they was gettin' it for subsistence, you know, for longhouses...cause that's what they said they were doing and some of them would probably get it for themselves too.

Redacted and *redacted* and my dad. They talked, they used to talk about that, go down there, collect, you know. But I didn't know what years they went down, but they said they were pretty young when they used to go down there. They said they used to get a lot closer too, compared to what we do now. They said they used to be able to drive right down there, but now you can't. Because we'd go back to the same spot every year. It was a little flat area. I think it was on the west side of the falls, mostly on the west side of the falls. But that's where we'd catch 'em.

(Regarding catching other fish at Willamette Falls, such as sturgeon)...Yeah, sturgeon mostly, February, March season. Cause you have to, we used to get fish and eels, but the eels mostly, and caught the sturgeon. I don't know why...mostly family; *redacted*, *redacted* and...we'd just make it a family thing, just mostly family, like I said, just mostly family that stayed in Cascade Locks.

Everybody did it, you know, that's in the family that's down there. I imagine they still do that...it's every, every event, every year they go down there and get eels.

Regarding the rock images at Willamette Falls,

Redacted and *redacted* and them used to talk about that. And my dad and them. Then they always talked about the five Cayuses that got hanged down there...that was mostly the big thing though, was the stories about the five Cayuses.

But that's what mostly they talked about and then they'd just talk about, about going down there when they were little you know. Going down there like in the early 1900's. Yeah, it had to be. Those guys were in their seventies when I was young. Yeah...so maybe even earlier than the 1900's. They used to meet other people down there that they'd almost see every year too.

(OHP 175)

I was pretty fortunate enough to start at a young age with my brothers and my sister, the teachings, how to fish in that area of Willamette Falls. Mainly where the falls were located. But then again, the falls weren't just in that one area, they cover a wide range. And what I mean by a wide range is sometimes at those same falls we would catch smelt. And my father was Yakama/Umatilla, and my mother is Cayuse/Walla Walla.

So it was through my father's belief growing up in the Valley of Yakima and along the Columbia River that many of our Indian people from the Valley, the river and even here would go as far as the Willamette Falls to catch what we call eels. Of course, today's term they're called lamprey. And how we did that, back then I was just a youngster and I would watch my brothers, *redacted* and *redacted*, they would actually be at the falls itself and my sister would be, would carry a gunnysack. The teachings that they would say, they wouldn't, it would be during around mid-summer and just right after the falls would go down.

Well, when that happens they'll go down, they'll start drifting off underneath the rock. The third person or the fourth person that would be in the rocks they would, they would actually have their net ready right there in the water and they could see 'em coming out. Well, they'd be already, have their net waiting in the pools, the smaller pools and he would get his, or she would get his fill of the eels. And so she would do the same thing, like my sister would do, or my other brother. And they would fill the net that way too. Or, excuse me, not the net but the bucket, or the gunny sack.

So it was just, that was the way we were taught growing up. But the dip net has always been here, you already know that. We were fortunate enough to witness that and to live that, growing at an age where they were still plentiful before we had real season, restrictions. Nowadays, we have to compete with non-Indian people. And so it's changed over the years where we quit going down because there was too many people, too many rules. So over the years it has changed a lot through those times, but we still, we've always been told that our people from the Yakama tribe, the Wanapum, the Warm Springs, the Umatilla and the Nez Perce people have gone down there for thousands and thousands of years, gathering eels.

They're a parasite. So it seems like they get it first because they're bottom feeders. And bottom feeders, they eat everything and anything on the bottom of the river. Basically, before any of this happened, they kept the rivers clean. And so, of course those times are no more, where the river isn't clean anymore. It's not even safe to swim in. It's not safe to, anything.

Where we went down and, as we were on a boat, there was a crew of us along with *redacted* and Fisheries, and this non-Indian guy was right there and he was in his scuba gear and he was putting it back on and we looked down and asked what he was doing. He was grabbing a handful of eels in his hand and he was using it for bait and so he had two of them, but then he asked, he looked at all of us and it was like, you know, we all had the confused look on our face like, "What are you doing here?" And he said, "Well, I just took just a couple eels cause I use them for bait." And so that's what we have to compete with. Whereas, what they call bait, is our food, one of our sacred foods. And so that's, that's obviously not right. And another thing too is how we're being, we have to, we have a quota now. It's not catch what you can eat for your family, for your people. It's 'well, you have to catch this many and that's it because we have to share with you know, so-and-so, the other tribes,' which is fine, the sharing, we've always shared. But it's too bad how it has to be like that, where we have to be restricted on what's something we've never been restricted on. And we're living here. Indian people are protectors of this land and we know how to regulate our own, naturally.

Course, back then it was more or less immediate family. We're talking around the late seventies, or, I was just learning how to, I can still remember it was around '78, '77 where I was five, six, seven years old and that's when I learned how to drive a boat. That was the very first time where, my dad, my old man told me, you know, you get behind a wheel, you've watched this long enough, this is how you drive in the Big River [Columbia].

Willamette Falls area where that water is, it's not that rough. It wasn't that rough in that time, but the fall time was the worst time to be driving a boat anywhere. But yeah, going back to what you're saying, we would come back with gunny sacks full of eels. And we would keep quite a bit for ourselves and my mom would freeze them. And her mother was alive and we'd give some to them. Just the immediate family that lived right by us so...but we never went across the river to my dad's people because back then there were, I think the old people were still alive to have young people to go do that for them. So we're, it was just our immediate family.

[His father] would just talk about where the people used to camp; they would camp down river. But I can't, of course being as young as I was back then I can't remember those exact sites, but they would be down river. The reason they would camp down river was because everything was up river and one, if you stayed around that area, like I was saying that the lamprey or the eel were smart; they, when they hear things, they even hear when you walk. They hear the rocks crumble, the ground trembling differently or they hear things.

So, they would stay down river. So when they would come up early in the morning before sunrise, or at sunrise, then they would catch them on surprise. They would kinda; they would think part of the morning or the new day. So that's how they would, that's how we were taught to go early in the morning. Never at noon, never ten or eleven o' clock or never in the afternoon, two, three. It was always early in the morning or late in the evening.

The Big River [Columbia], you know, I've always been on the river. I mean, I can remember being told to stay on the shore and don't go anywhere, don't touch the water. So, I can remember those days easily. Just like my brothers and my sister...it seems funny now we don't go down there anymore like we used to because everything's changed so much.

That's really important to know, you know, not only to know where you come from or who you are, but the, especially the teachings, such as fishing. And especially the families that still do fish, um, especially for eels or "ka-soyas" or what's the other word for it, oh, I can't think of it now. But, it's very important to keep things going forward and fishing's definitely the main important food for salmon and to go with that, the brother eel.

And the story of the eel and the stick game story where the eel. It's how the stick games came about...It was between the eel and the Coyote; they were playing a game. And as they were playing the game the eel, the lamprey was losing; he lost all the, what do you, the things he valued. So the only thing he had left was his bones. So he bet his bones on the stick game and that's why the eel today has no bones. It's because he lost, he lost 'em to the Coyote. So that was kind of a teaching that went along with why you're in the river, why, why they don't have bones just cartilage.

The lower part of the river, down from Willamette Falls, way down the river from Willamette Falls, that was the place where we used to catch smelt...Little small fish; they're maybe about eight or ten inches long and they're, look just kinda like trout but they're really thin. Yeah, they're bright silver and they're really small. And they come up at night time. They, that's where we used to go, I think that was during the spring or fall. Between spring and fall too, I can't quite remember that. That part I didn't do, but I was there to bring the buckets up.

We, it was a similar type thing; the water was a lot, back then it was, the same time period, '70, '77, '78. And it was late at night and we'd go out with flashlights and we'd have five or six, seven buckets along with gunny sacks and we'd use dip nets, but smaller mesh size. And what they would do, we would go down to the swiftest part of the river and night time is when they traveled. And it was funny because we'd do this only at nighttime, we never did it early in the morning or in the day, but it was at night. And all of a sudden they'd find, they'd shine a flashlight where a pool would come in. At the mouth of that pool they would, they would dip net all those just hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of smelt. And they would pick 'em up and they would tip 'em upside down and put 'em in the bucket, or the gunny sack. And so we'd just get five, six, seven bucket loads of smelt. And they're the kind of fish you can just, they're so small you throw 'em on a frying pan and eat 'em that way.

I was small at that time, but I do remember seeing other Indian people that, they were doing the same thing. But then again, we quit doing that after a while because for similar reasons; because we were restricted...it seemed like a lot of Indian people will talk about going down getting smelt...around that area...on the lower Willamette. It was, it was, you know, we're all the same. Some people were part Umatilla, some were, you know, like us, you know, we're majority Umatilla, but we're also Yakama too.

People weren't there all the time. But Indian people knew right when they would show up. They knew, "Oh, its smelt season, we better get down there." it was that kind of a thing where, like hunting season, you know...Like berry picking, dig roots. So the seasons, as the year went on Indian people knew, and that, and it was a, it was a place where they would actually run into other Indian people at the same time. Like, "Oh yeah hey, how's it going?" So it was, it wasn't Celilo but it was a place where they knew that the fish would be there. From all over, you know, the five tribes.

Getting the eels would be probably late summer, mid-summer. They would run, really a short time. I mean, 'cause they'll come and go. Like, what was it this year, it was July; July time's when they ran this year. Fishing for eels is, like many of the Indian people know from the five tribes, it's gonna be an ongoing battle and so many things are happening today. We're conflicting now with each other, with our own Indian people and that needs to be documented too. Whereas it used to be all of us together [would] go down and fish, you know, not just certain families. It was everyone. Same way with Celilo. When it came to Celilo, the stories that we were told from our dad, it wasn't just the Yakama's fishing, or just the Warm Springs, or Wanapum, or Umatilla's. You know, it was everyone.

And so then, and times are changing where today when they go get eels, Oh, Warm Springs is allowed this much, Umatilla's are allowed this much, Yakama's are allowed this much...so, it's changing again constantly and it shouldn't be like that. and it shouldn't be, you're Yakama, you're this, you're that, or you're Umatilla, you don't know about this, or you don't know about...it shouldn't be like that at all. But, it is very important to know the things that we've all done together, you know, we're all in the same boat. We're all the same people, we're all related one way or another. And it shouldn't be us, them...

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Whenever we got eels back in the day it was from my grandma when they were still here in the river or she would get 'em from, Tumwater Falls on the John Day. Or, I remember, she would always...somebody would go down to Willamette Falls and bring some back and she'd get some that way. But, we didn't, you know, when I was younger they lamprey was already gone here on the Umatilla.

I've had 'em a number of ways. From my grandma *redacted*, she used to, we had 'em canned and she'd can, cut 'em into links and can 'em. And then bring it out and mix it with mayonnaise and I used to eat it on toast.

I've had 'em dried with the hot July wind and they're good that way. I've had 'em barbequed, marinated, cut into links and...haven't baked 'em. Never tried baking them.

We shouldn't be regulated down there. It's a cultural fish. The tribes are, seem to be the only ones really, really concerned about 'em and doing something. Our tribal members been going there and harvesting for a long, long time.

So I mean, it is important and uh, we will keep the tradition alive as much as possible. As long as I'm around I plan on going down to Willamette Falls you know, so...I think a lot of other people feel that way too, you know, the younger generation. They like being down there, they like making the Indian presence down there you know. And that's a historically traditional area for us.

Just stressing that how important Willamette Falls is, you know, and that we continue uh, the tradition of going down there. And not to, I guess, back away from the State on any of their regulations or any of the laws they try to impose on us as Indian people. Because we've been down there a long time. A lot longer than regulations or laws. And it's important that we still govern ourselves and, I think, not let outside entities and agencies get involved.

Personal Communication

A Cayuse elder, *redacted*, said the Cayuse people fished the Columbia River between the Willamette River and Celilo, moving back and forth. According to *redacted*, the Cayuse claimed the entire Columbia River. He stated that this movement was due to the fact that the Cayuse people were also connected to the Molalla people of western Oregon prior to establishing a singular homeland in eastern Oregon. This theory is corroborated in Volume 12 of the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians (Walker 1998). He said the Cayuse used to move up and down the river and fish at many sites, stopping for longer, extended periods to trade (personal communication with *redacted*, no date).

In personal communication regarding the project area, tribal member *redacted* communicated that several CTUIR tribal fishermen who are now deceased would fish at Willamette Falls, such as *redacted* and *redacted*. *Redacted* also informed that his family also used to fish at Willamette Falls, in the Bonneville pool, and from the Sandy River to the Coast. He stated that when the Zone 6 fishing area was established in the 1980's it was agreed that CTUIR fishing families would move upriver above Bonneville Dam, but had not given up their rights to fish further down the river. He said the agreement was for management purposes and that we might find those statements in old BOT minutes from 1982. CTUIR Records Management has been contacted with a request for those minutes. Additionally, *redacted* contributed knowledge on CTUIR and Klickitat family ties. Research into enrollment records could underscore this point; further research should be conducted on both of these topics.

Importance of Lamprey

Lamprey or freshwater eels have always been a staple of the CTUIR diet. From the earliest days, people have traveled up and down the Columbia River to harvest this traditional food. Searching for eels and where people fished for them within these interviews has garnered some information related to the specific Willamette Falls area. But mostly areas that are further up the river. This may be due to the nature of how oral histories have been conducted by the CRPP, they have been centered on

projects and not resources. So if a project is in The Dalles we have asked informants about their traditional use of a resource in The Dalles and not about the knowledge of that resource beyond The Dalles. This bias shows up when searching our previous work due to the limitations we have had when conducting this work. There is still a great amount of detail despite the limitations to the CRPP's past work. For example, where people fished for eels was always where they were most plentiful and accessible. And healthy. In one interview the interviewee stated that her son didn't want to have eel from certain parts of the river due to them not being "good." In the same interview she also shared a joke about eels playing stick games with the trout,

I like that one about the, the trout and the eel playing stick game [laughs]. I heard that one. How come the eels don't have bones and the trout's got all the bones? 'Cause he won, the stick game [laughs] (OHP 062).

In other interviews, elders talk about the impact of the dams that were put in along the rivers:

So the dams stopped the people from fishing, going down to fish? Elder: yeah, the people fished when it was free country. Then they fished every day. Find fishing places along the river. They used to fish all over the place. Whenever they knew where the fish is coming, they try to make raft to try and catch fish. Eels too. (Interviewer) there were just right in the river? The eels? (Elder) yeah, I know they used to go 70 some places for eels. They use to know where to catch eels" (OHP 067).

In another interview, an elder states: "Before the dams were built, heck there, the Indian people fished all along the Columbia; down around Hood River, the Wasco people fished around there and the Yakama's. Our people from here would even go down there that far (OHP-073).

Tribal members have fished for eels up to Wallula, over to the White Bluffs, down to McNary and Three-Mile and down to Willamette Falls. Interviews talk about how back in the day the men would use gunny sacks to catch the eels. The eels were slippery to the touch, so the gunny sacks provided some traction. One tribal member during a recent interview recounts fishing at Willamette Falls as a young boy with his father. He remembers being on the boat with his mother. And then later going back as a young man in college to continue keeping that tradition alive.

As oral history evidence shows, the CTUIR has fished at Willamette Falls since time immemorial. In addition to being an important salmon fishery, Willamette Falls is one of the last viable lamprey populations available for tribal harvest. Development throughout the Columbia River Basin has destroyed most of the suitable habitat for traditional harvesting of lamprey. Because of this, the CTUIR has become a leader in lamprey reintroduction and is working with federal, state and local partners to restore sustaining lamprey populations in the Umatilla Basin with the hopes to expand restoration projects around the entire Columbia Basin.

Myth-Time Stories and Legend Sites

Legendary sites of middle and lower Columbia River peoples are driven by myth-like stories that contain imagery of mammoths, ice-age phenomena, and ancient volcanic activity (Cash Cash 2006:6). The basis for such a link from ancient past to present is one of deep cultural continuity. According to documented tribal history, "Over millennia, our oral traditions have given us an understanding of the natural world, the capacity of life, and the fundamental human relationships that are bound by it" (Cash Cash 2006:7). Unlike western history, tribal history does not delineate between pre-history and history. For the CTUIR, ways of knowing the world in the time when the animals could speak (known as "myth-time" stories) are retained in the culture as ways of knowing the world as it is lived in today. The legend stories exemplify and underscore these ways of knowing; one of the

ways in which these stories are retained in the culture is through the footprint of the legendary site or sites that the story pertains to or is derived from.

Legend sites are locations are attached to legendary stories that are transmitted via oral history by Native communities within the Plateau culture area. These locations and their accompanying legendary stories contribute to the foundation of the historical and cultural identity of Native American people of the Columbia Plateau. These sites situate native people in time and space, in so far as they place them in their homeland since time immemorial. The emergence of the first peoples are chronicled and documented in the indigenous oral tradition known in the Sahaptian language family dialects as *waalsakt* ‘the myth’ and *šukwat* ‘knowledge.’ It is from these stories, transmitted as oral histories, that the modern-day cultures of the southern Columbia Plateau trace their origins (Cash Cash 2006:5). Oral history encompasses the repetition of these legend stories over time and down through the generations.

How Lamprey Lost His Bones

The Pacific lamprey maintains a place of cultural significance in the Columbia and Snake River Basins. Tribal peoples of the interior Columbia Plateau have harvested these fish for subsistence, ceremonial, medicinal, and trade purposes for many generations. Lamprey, as part of the Columbia River tribal culture, is important in ceremonies and celebrations similar to many other traditional ‘First Foods’. It is said that long ago, before the people arrived, the animals were preparing themselves for the coming of the Indian people. The animals could speak to each other during this time, which is also known as the myth-time. There are many legends associated with the lamprey, such as the following myth-time story, “How Lamprey lost his Bones,” as told by Nez Perce elder, *Cáyaw* Elmer Crow Jr., in a documentary on lamprey, “The Lost Fish”:

The story of how Lamprey, also known as Eel, got his name is a creation story. Eel was a gambler and Coyote was the creator. One day, Coyote was going about his business along the river. And Eel was down by the river as well and Coyote sees that he is talking to Beaver and to Muskrat. Coyote sees this and asks, “What’s going on? He is told, “Eel’s down there, he’s playing stick game, bone game, and he’s beating everybody.” So Coyote walks down to the banks and asks Eel, “What’s going on, can I play? Let me play you Eel.” Eel says, “All right.” So Coyote beats him in the first round. Coyote starts taking his winnings from Eel. Coyote plays Eel again and he beats him again. So now, Eel is sitting there and he has no more possessions. He has nothing more to gamble with. He says, “Well, one more game Coyote, one more!” So Coyote asks him, “What are you going to bet with?” And Eel says, “Well, I’m going to bet you my arm that I’m going to finally beat you!” Coyote plays him again and beats him. “So this time,” he says, “I’m going to beat you this time, Coyote. I’m going to gamble you my leg.” Coyote beats him again. Now Eel’s sitting there with no arms and no legs. So Coyote looks at him and says, “You have nothing to gamble with anymore.” And he kicked him into the river. “And because your mouth got you into trouble, that’s what you’re going to suck on the rocks with.” And this is how Eel was created and why he’s in the river and sucks on the rocks (Freshwaters Illustrated 2013).

Crow also stated in the documentary the place that the First Foods and lamprey hold in the creation story of the Plateau tribes, “When the world was created, they [the First Foods] said, I will give my body for the people that are going to be placed here after us. They gave themselves up so that we could live on this world. Spiritually, he [lamprey]’s one of us” (Freshwaters Illustrated 2013). This sentiment is carried on among the members of the CTUIR today.

Bridge of the Gods Legend

The "Bridge of the Gods" legend has it that the sons of Old Coyote, *Wy'east* (Mount Hood) and *Pahto* (Mount Adams), were powerful braves both in love with a maiden (Mount St. Helens). Because they crossed the "Bridge of the Gods" to fight over their love for her, Old Coyote collapsed the land bridge to keep his sons from fighting.

This traditional story relates how the creation of the natural bridge came from native people from the east shooting arrows into the area around Bonneville Dam. This is a commonly shared myth story of the CTUIR that continues to be passed down within families today.

Hamilton Island, along with Pierce and Ives islands are remnants of the Bonneville Landslide which temporarily blocked the Columbia River and relates to the legend of the Bridge of the Gods. A published version of the story from 1910 supposes a being from upriver created the landscape below at the Bridge of the Gods:

Long ago, when the world was new, Tyhee Sahale with his two sons, came down Great River. They came near where the Dalles now are. The land was very beautiful and each son wanted it. Therefore they quarreled. Then Sahale took his bow and shot two arrows. One he shot to the north; the other he shot to the west. Then Sahale said to his sons, "Go. Find the arrows. Where they lie, you shall have the land."

One son went north over the plain to the country of the Klickitats. He was the first grandfather of the Klickitats. The other son followed the arrow to the Willamette Valley. He was the first grandfather of the Multnomahs.

Then Sahale raised great mountains between the country of the Klickitats and the country of the Multnomahs. This he did that the tribes might not quarrel. White men call them the Cascade Mountains. But Great River was deep and broad. The river was a sign of peace between the tribes. Therefore Sahale made a great stone bridge over the river, that the tribes might be friends. This was called the Bridge of the Tomanowos.

The tribes grew, but they did evil things. They displeased Tyhee Sahale. Therefore the sun ceased to shine, and cold and snow appeared. The people were unhappy for they had no fire. Only Loo-wit had fire. Therefore, the people sought to steal the fire of Loo-wit. Then Loo-wit fled and because the runners were stiff with cold, they could not catch her.

Then Loo-wit told Sahale of the need of the Indians. Loo-wit said the Indians were cold. So Sahale gave fire to the people (Judson 1910).

Native American myth-time stories contain numerous legends to explain the eruptions of Mount St. Helens and other volcanoes in the Cascade Volcanic Arc as well.

An additional myth time story is footnoted in Ruby and Brown, which is a Cayuse legend containing information related to the Lower Columbia River region:

In a legend story tracing Cayuse origins to Beaver, the Great Spirit Creator "Honeawoat" in response to Cayuse pleas, turned a brave, "Takhstpul," into a beaver. With fire stolen from Mount Hood, he swam the Columbia to spit flame into a willow log, Thereafter a willow was used to make fire (2005:31). Also, according to Chinook legend, Coyote made the Cayuses from the legs of a monster beaver so that they would always be swift runners (Ruby and Brown 2005:31).

Legendary stories such as these tie the CTUIR to the project area. References of the Cayuse and other Plateau people within the narrative include details of the people coming from further up the Columbia River in a mystic fashion. When these stories are passed on orally and shared within the tribal community, the stories reinforce the culturally identifiable ties the CTUIR holds to the area in a deeply meaningful way.

Internal Reports on CTUIR Traditional Use in the Project Area

Many traditionally shared and usual and accustomed areas of the CTUIR existed below Bonneville Dam. However, most data collection over the years has focused solely on the Columbia River region that lies above the dam. This is due in part to the fact that the Tribal fishery was designated to the areas east of Bonneville Dam as part of a compromise with the state defendants in the United States v. Oregon, CV 68-513 (D.OR) case proceeding. Without the access to the usual and accustomed fishing areas below Bonneville, the tendency was that the preservation and perpetuation of this cultural knowledge was slowly lost when fishing could not be practiced in these areas.

It is not until very recently that internal research agendas have made an effort to look beyond the homeland to areas that were routinely visited and used for travel, trade, fishing, hunting, and gathering purposes, such as the routine practice of “going to buffalo” in the Plains and visiting communal areas such as Willamette Falls for subsistence eel fishing purposes. Much traditional knowledge of areas in the lower Columbia River was therefore lost in the collective memory of the CTUIR due to the fact that tribal members were excluded from practicing their treaty rights in these zones.

Reports produced by the CRPP as well as published texts in the CRPP archive with specific information pertaining to the project area were reviewed for this report. The following is an annotated summary of the pertinent findings of this secondary source material from the CRPP archives:

Report of Hanford Tribal Fishing Sites between Bonneville and Priest Rapids Dams (Deward Walker: 1993)

A 1993 report by Dr. Deward E. Walker, Jr. for the Native American Working Group, advising Battelle of usual and accustomed tribal fishing sites on the Columbia River revealed 115 sites. Among them, 50 dip-net fishing sites were located in the Cascade Locks Fisheries on both the Oregon and Washington sides of the Columbia River. The list of sites is not exhaustive but is representative of tribal fishing site distribution and density on the Columbia River. The report takes pains to note that numerous tribal fishing sites are located below Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River as well, however the list is partial and concerns itself solely with those sites between the Priest Rapids Dam and the Bonneville Dam.

This report also attempts to pinpoint fishing and other culturally relevant sites below Bonneville Dam. CTUIR members had a long history of sharing and visiting those sites even though these areas are held by Chinookan and Wasco people.

Addendum to the Identification of Traditional Cultural Properties Along the Bonneville, The Dalles, and John Day Reservoirs, Bonneville Dam Area (Farrow and Morning Owl 2002)

A 2002 CRPP report prepared for the US Army Corps of Engineers, Portland District entitled, records traditional cultural properties (TCP's) of the CTUIR that existed above and below present-day Bonneville Dam, including Hamilton Island. Site form listed as TCP # 25 identifies the Quadrangle for “Bonneville Dam, Wash-Oreg; Tanner Butte, Multnomah Falls, Oreg-Wash; Beacon Rock, Wash.” Seasons of use are listed as year-round and of repeated occupation. The physical site description is noted, “This traditional cultural property encompasses Bradford Island, Robin Island, Bonneville, Oregon, Hamilton Island, Ives Island, Pierce Island, North Bonneville, Washington, McLoughlin State Park, and the areas north, south, east, and west of here.” Finally, the site significance lists, “Village areas, camp sites, areas used for tribal ceremonies including funerary practices and vision quest sites; burial grounds and individual burials, petroglyph sites; legendary sites of coyote and creations; fishing sites, hunting sites, traditional food gathering sites; medicinal

use areas; procurement areas; trade gathering areas; numerous important rock feature areas such as cairns and travel corridor areas.

Report on Source, Nature and Extent of the Fishing, Hunting and Miscellaneous Related Rights of Certain Indian Tribes in Washington and Oregon (Swindell 1942)

In a description of the Umatilla Reservation, a section entitled, “Location of Usual and Accustomed Fishing Grounds,” describes the fishing areas as reaching the Cascade Rapids:

Along the Columbia River on the east and south banks from the mouth of the Snake River to Cascade Rapids; also the Umatilla and DesChutes rivers, including the headwaters of the Walla Walla and Grande Ronde rivers, Oregon. This area is similar in character to that ceded by the Yakamas and it too was crossed by many streams in which a plentiful supply of salmon was obtained each year (1942:291).

The “Cascade Rapids” were also known as the “Lower Falls of the Columbia,” and encompassed an area from Cascade Locks, Oregon down to Hamilton Island, Washington. Today this area also includes the Bonneville Dam, Bridge of the Gods, Bradford, Robins, and Cascade Islands, and the community of North Bonneville, Washington. The Cascade Rapids were 4.5 miles long, with early history dividing the reach was into two sections, the “Upper Cascades” and the “Lower Cascades”. Later years included a “Middle Cascades”. The total fall of the river from the head of Upper Cascades to the bottom of Lower Cascades was 45 feet at high water and 36 feet at low water

The report also asserts that the Sahaptian linguistic family encompasses the dialects of the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Nez Perce Tribes; the Cayuse language being its own language isolate with possible ties to the Molalla language of the Cascade Range. In the section on “Trade and Intercourse” of this report, the lower Columbia River area is described as:

...situated far above the mouth of the river and both banks in the intervening distance were inhabited by a number of separate and distinct tribes. They were, however, considered as component units of the Chinookan, Shahaptian, and Athapaskan linguistic families which inhabited both banks of the Columbia River from the mouth of the Snake River to the mouth of the Columbia (Swindell 1942: 29).

The Colombia River people had a complex system of institutionalized trade and partnerships, which facilitated extensive trading links around the Plateau area, as the report suggests:

These groups, who have often been referred to as “Columbia River Indians” met and traded together regularly at aboriginal trading and fishing centers along the river. The principal of these major trading centers on the [Columbia River] main stream, commencing downstream, were those located at Cascade Rapids and Wyam (present-day Celilo Falls). Similar centers were located on the tributary streams of which the better known were those located at the falls of the Willamette River where Oregon City, Oregon now stands (Swindell 1942:31).

Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Pacific Lampreys in Northeastern Oregon and Southeastern Washington from Indigenous Peoples of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (Close et al. 2004)

This report summarizes how tribal members have noticed major declines in lampreys within the Columbia River basin. Eels were often fished at the same sites as salmon. Gloves and grab hooks were used. CTUIR tribal fisherman, *redacted* stated, “We used to sneak an eel or two out of the ladders at Bonneville for sturgeon bait.” In this report, there were two oral history excerpts referencing CTUIR tribal members fishing for eels at Bonneville Dam, one reference to Cascade Locks, ten

references to eel fishing at Willamette Falls, and one reference to the creek mouth of Multnomah Falls, which was a known eel spawning site according to CTUIR tribal fisherman, *redacted*.

The History and Development of the Fisheries of the Columbia River (Craig and Hacker 1940)

This document records the earliest historical contact of explorers with native people at their traditional fishing areas. In particular, Indian fisheries and “large numbers catching salmon and living in the vicinity of Celilo Falls and Cascade Rapids” were recorded by Lewis and Clark in 1805. Again, the area known as Cascade Rapids incorporates the larger area of the Bonneville Reservoir before the construction of Bonneville Dam.

The falls on the Willamette River were another famous Indian fishing location and Captain Charles Wilkes stated that at times, “1 person took as many as 20 salmon in 1 hour with a dip net.” He estimated the number of natives camped there at between 70 and 100. In 1852, Wilkes gives an interesting account of the dip-net fishing at Willamette Falls involving scaffolds and poles. This mode of fishing was followed by Columbia River Tribes at Celilo and at many other locations along the Columbia.

The smelt fishery at the mouth of the Sandy River is also described by explorers, according to this report. These fish were sought after and used for food by Indian people, who caught them in dip nets. Members of the Lewis and Clark expedition purchased them from native fishermen in 1805.

Historic Properties Management Plan for the Bonneville Lock and Dam Project, Vol. 1 (CRPP 2006)

Three points from this report are germane to the Bonneville Dam area of the lower Columbia. First, an archaeological site on Hamilton Island is documented and classified as “a temporary, seasonal camp, with recurring occupations...The large number of net weights recovered indicated usage of the area during fish runs.”

Second, during the summers, coastal, northern great Basin and interior Plateau (which includes CTUIR) groups “gathered to trade, gamble, war, dance, and perform marriages. This created an extensive social network of relationships across a broad region.” The Columbia River people who make up the Yakama and Warm Springs nations were active participants in these events and the Klamath, Nez Perce, and Cayuse were invited in to trade.

Lastly, prior to the 1830’s, the people of the Columbia River raided groups from the south in northern California. Many members of the raided groups were taken as slaves. Columbia River Sahaptian speakers were known to locate their villages and camps along the islands of the mid to lower Columbia River as defensive positions against revenge raids.

Lastly, a Bureau of Indian Affairs document known as the Gordon Report (1889) lists traditional fishing areas for 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Tribes, including the region of Cascade Rapids in the Lower Columbia River region.

Umatilla Tribes Oral History of the Lower Willamette River (Farrow 2005)

Willamette Falls was considered a communal fishery shared by many tribes (including the CTUIR), as was the mouth of the Sandy River. The Willamette Falls was an early site of an Indian fishing village, with four recorded archaeological sites within the Willamette Falls project area: a lithic scatter, a petroglyph site, a prehistoric site and a historic site.

Ethnographic and historic accounts indicate that Willamette Falls was significant in the lifeways of the Native American population of the area and larger region as a fishery and regional trading center. Available archaeological information is consistent with the ethnographic picture indicating the

existence of a dense concentration of settlements and associated burial areas around the Falls in late prehistoric times.

Some oral histories discuss having to compete with non-Indians for the lamprey, the abundance of French/Indian people in the Willamette Valley, and the Molalla getting run out of the area. Also, some CTUIR families would go to the Willamette Falls area after huckleberry picking when school was out and then bring it back home.

This area was a favored location for permanent residences and was inhabited year-round because of the resources available in this area, predominately fish. There were many traditional fishing places along the Columbia and Willamette Rivers and their tributaries. The main fish from this area were *Núsux* (salmon) and *asám* or *k'súyas* or *hé'su* (lamprey).

Many trails met here, creating excellent trading opportunities for local and regional tribes, including the CTUIR. This travel corridor was utilized to get to the Columbia River, the Willamette Valley, and to the Oregon Coast. Many people utilized this travel corridor to get to other resource areas such as the mountains and to attend social events and ceremonies in other territories.

The Willamette Falls/River area should be considered a historic property of religious and cultural significance to the CTUIR because it is a location associated with the traditional beliefs of a Native American group and its cultural history. The project area is significant because it was once used for burial areas, religious ceremonies, village and camp habitation areas, traditional fishing areas, a travel corridor, a trade area, and social event areas in prehistoric and historic times.

Willamette Falls sits on the boundary of the Plateau culture area. Similar to Celilo Falls and Kettle Falls on the upper Columbia, while there were a few resident bands at Willamette Falls, it was not exclusive use, but was a center of trade and fishing equally shared among several Coastal and Plateau tribes at various times of the year, which included the CTUIR, as well as the Warm Springs and Yakama tribes. A wider area of travel for the CTUIR included the Oregon coast (trade for goods, shells), northern California (sale of horses and trade for cattle), Washington and Idaho (camas harvest), east towards present day Yellowstone National Park (buffalo hunting and trade).

Since Willamette Falls was considered a communal fishery and trading area shared by many tribes, like Celilo, there was no exclusive ownership. The land tenure principal was practiced, property was limited to particular fishing sites or scaffolds of a particular band or family that could be used by others with permission.

Willamette Falls was significant to the Native American population of the area and to the larger region as a fishery and regional trading center due to resources that were available in this area year round, predominately fish. The main fish from this area were *núsux* ('salmon') and *asám* / *k'súyas* / *hé'su* ('lamprey').

CRPP began documenting current CTUIR use of Willamette Falls as an annual subsistence fishery in 2005 by gathering oral histories of the Lower Willamette River for a 2005 report. Eleven oral history interviews in the CRPP archive were reviewed in conjunction with this project. Four were existing (recorded in the early 1990's) and seven more were conducted for the 2005 report. The oral history data indicated that CTUIR tribal members historically fished the entire Columbia River and associated tributaries, generally meaning from the Upper Pools of the Columbia River above the Tri-Cities, Washington area downriver to the mouth of the Willamette River and up to and just beyond Willamette Falls. In particular, the most significant places mentioned in tribal oral histories are the mouth of the Sandy River for smelt fishing and Willamette Falls for lamprey and smelt fishing.

Some informants had been harvesting lamprey at Willamette Falls for over 25 years, with some recalling their grandparents also harvesting there long before that time. One elder heard stories from

his grandparents about people gathering in the 1930's and 40's, recalling, "At one time, they could fill ten gunny sacks full." Several stressed the importance of passing on the tradition of gathering at Willamette Falls. Some agreed that the best time to gather is at night. Members gather both for their own families and for the tribe as a whole.

In a 1990 oral history interview with *redacted*, a contemporary concern of non-Indians accessing Willamette Falls was brought up:

Today, we'd go down to Willamette Falls, but then we're in competition with the non-Indians, [who] go in there and use that for their bait shops, for their sturgeon fisheries, and everything else now. At that time the non-Indians didn't have a use for it, they never had a use for the eels, and now they have a use for it, so we're in competition with the non-Indians (OHP 079).

Fishing Below Bonneville Dam (Steinmetz and Karson Engum 2009)

In 2009, the CRPP prepared a series of research documents for the Office of Legal Counsel of the CTUIR including a File and Literature Review, summary of traditional use, and a table and corresponding map of current CTUIR tribal informants detailing fishing sites used below Bonneville Dam.

Oral histories indicate that CTUIR tribal members historically fished the entire Columbia River and associated tributaries (OHP's 097,152, 073, 215, 062, 175, 063), generally meaning from the Upper Pools of the Columbia River above the Tri-Cities, Washington area downriver to the mouth of the Willamette River and up to and just beyond Willamette Falls. In particular, the most significant places mentioned in tribal oral histories are the mouth of the Sandy River for smelt fishing and Willamette Falls for lamprey, salmon, and smelt fishing, in addition to harvesting lamprey on the downriver side of Bonneville Dam (OHP's 152, 251, 079, 068, 171, 175-180).

One specific oral history excerpt focuses on the area just below Bonneville Dam as an excellent anadromous fishing location (OHP 094). Other oral histories relate collecting eels below and off the face of Bonneville Dam, which was practiced by CTUIR tribal members before they were banned from doing so in the mid-1970's during construction of a second powerhouse at Bonneville Dam (OHP 251). In the same oral history group interview one tribal elder recalls the native place name for the area of present-day North Bonneville as "Pushushpum." Part of the new construction of the re-engineered dam involved moving the town of North Bonneville to another location. Therefore the area where the CTUIR elder assigned a place name indicated the pre-relocated town of North Bonneville (also previously known as Hamilton Island, renamed by Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery, who documented an Indian village there in 1805-6).

The table produced for the report lists thirty-six fishing sites among the ten informants interviewed. The data indicated fishing was done for the following species: spring salmon, blueback salmon, steelhead, sturgeon, eel, smelt, shad, pike minnow, and walleye. Fishing site locations listed in the table were general and specific, including the following locations: just below the ladder of the dam on the Washington side, northwest end of Bradford Island, mouth of Tanner Creek, opposite Hamilton Oregon on the Oregon side, on Hamilton Island, above the mouth of Moffett Creek, Ives Island, mouth of McCord Creek, Hamilton Creek, the foot of Beacon Rock, out of Warrendale, Oneonta Drift (from Dodson to Multnomah Falls), Rooster Rock area, mouth and lower portion of Sandy River, Bull Run Creek, St. Helens, Oregon area, Kalama, Washington area, Multnomah Channel, Cowlitz River mouth, above Kelso, Washington, Clackamas River, Willamette River, Willamette Falls, Meldrum Bar (located at the confluence of the Clackamas and Willamette Rivers),

below Flandersville, Washington, charter fishing trips between Reedsport and Walport, Oregon and north to Astoria.

The file and literature review included information documented by Lewis and Clark regarding Hamilton Island cited above as well as information regarding tribes (including the CTUIR) associated with the fur trade and intermarriage at Fort Vancouver. The establishment of Fort Vancouver in the 19th century intensified the travel and presence of CTUIR members in the area below Bonneville Dam. Tribal members would travel to Fort Vancouver for the fur trade in the historic period and would have engaged in subsistence fishing and other traditional use of the area during their presence there.

Traditional Cultural Use Investigation for the Columbia River Crossing Project, Clark County Washington (Karson Engum 2009)

This report focused on the establishment of the Fort Vancouver fur-trading post on the north shore of the Columbia River and its support of the British campaign for dominion over the region. The following information is derived from the summary recommendations:

From 1825 to 1849, Fort Vancouver was the western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trading operations. Under the leadership of John McLoughlin, the fort became the center of political, cultural, commercial and manufacturing activities in the Pacific Northwest. When American pioneers arrived in the Oregon country during the 1830's and 1840's, they came to Fort Vancouver for supplies to begin their farms. Research conducted for this report has made it clear that additional research should be conducted in regards to historic documentation relating to military records, HBC records, Mission Records of the Oregon and Washington cemetery system, as well as additional records. These records could highlight Indian burial areas in the Fort Vancouver area.

The project area and the surrounding area have been used by members of the CTUIR. Tribal informants and ethnographic information point to the importance of the Fort Vancouver area. Informants shared how social interaction, trade, habitation, and resource acquisition were important activities that occurred in this area. Another important occurrence at Fort Vancouver are burials. Several CTUIR members are known to be buried at the Fort Vancouver area and many others could be buried there. This area was important in procuring traditional foods for the CTUIR and the Willamette Falls area is still an important fishery of the CTUIR. A recommendation for future work is that additional research should be conducted in order to ascertain the location of unmarked burials in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver. Of interest to the CRPP is the whereabouts of the remains of *redacted*. An oral history informant for this report knows his great-grandfather's remains were buried in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver. *Redacted* was born at Fort Vancouver, was Chief Proctor at Fort Nez Perce, and was closely affiliated throughout his lifetime to the tribes of the CTUIR, more so than he was to the United States government. He was an enrolled tribal member with a Walla Walla allotment on the Umatilla Indian Reservation and his descendants still reside on that allotment today.

Additional records searches may reveal additional tribal members buried at Fort Vancouver. Notification, consultation, and negotiation with the CTUIR in regards to burials and human remains in the vicinity of Columbia River Crossing and Fort Vancouver are essential steps throughout this project.

The importance of Fort Vancouver continues today through the traditions, stories and knowledge that have been passed down through the generations. This location is a physical link to a shared history between Indians and non-Indian people. Fort Vancouver is a part of the CTUIR's history and is critical to telling the CTUIR's story of the importance of this area.

CTUIR Contributions to Willamette Falls Legacy Project Cultural Landscape Draft Report (CRPP 2017)

In 2017, the CRPP contributed to the narrative draft report of the Willamette Falls Legacy Project as part of the interpretive planning for the development of the Falls into a public heritage site. The following excerpts are from sections with information related to the CTUIR of the Cultural Landscape Draft Report:

- Conflict between tribes was a factor that enhanced overall tensions in the region. During the spring of 1814, a Cayuse-Nez Perce war party raided the Falls. A different source describes an attack on the Clowewallas [Clough-we-Wallas] by Molallas or a tribe of traveling Snake or Cayuses.
- Salmon harvests were plentiful enough to provide food and a source of barter for trading with other tribes that would gather at the Falls.
- The Falls served as a gathering place for tribes from a widespread area of the Pacific Northwest during the fishing season for subsistence trade and social purposes. Petroglyphs and pictographs were used to record life and events, some of which are still visible around the Falls today. Social interactions called 'Fun Dances' were used as a way to display hospitality and wealth to visitors to the Falls, while a variety of ceremonial practices were observed. As one source described:
 - Around Willamette Falls they fished, and fought, and traded and spread out their salmon on low scaffolds to dry [...]. Almost fabulous tales are told of the quantities of salmon in the river here, until the water was red with their quivering fins, and Indians took out fish as we now scoop up smelt at the Sandy (River). On account of this abundance of fish other tribes came here to trade with blankets woven from the hair of little wooly dogs, obsidian knives and arrow-points from eastern Oregon; and captive Indian children from the Rogue River and Shasta land.
- The reference to captive children is likely an allusion to slavery, a practice of some tribes in the Pacific Northwest. Though little information about this is available, references to slavery are noted in an attack at the Falls in 1814 that was documented as killing many Indians, stealing many slaves and causing general panic (2017:10).
- When some members of the Cayuse Tribe killed the Whitmans and others, they burned down the mission buildings and took a number of hostages. The news was reported at a meeting of the provisional legislature at the Methodist Church in Oregon City in December of 1847. This triggered the Cayuse War of 1848. After two years of tension and violence, Oregon Territorial Governor, Joseph Lane traveled to The Dalles with a military escort in April of 1850 to arrest Tiloukaikt, Kiamasumpkin, Tomahas, Isaiachalakias and Klokamas. Some sources suggest the five men voluntarily surrendered to avoid further harm to members of the Cayuse tribe. At least one source suggests that the men traveled to Oregon City willingly unaware that they would be arrested when they arrived. A modern source from the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla reported that 12-13 Cayuse initially surrendered for the Whitman murders. Either way, the Cayuse indicated that any others responsible were already dead and the five were imprisoned on Rock Island (later Abernethy Island), at the foot of Willamette Falls. The island was slightly more than an acre in size and connected to the shore by a wooden bridge. The jail was a simple, one-room structure where all five were held together under constant guard for more than a month (2017:30).

- The trial for the Whitman Incident started in early May and lasted 15 days. On May 24, the jury found all five men guilty of murder and all were sentenced to death by hanging. They were publicly executed on June 3rd, 1850. Their bodies were buried in a mass grave in the area of Abernathy Creek, located within the boundaries of present day Oregon City. Questions about their guilt persisted (2017:32).

Many questions are still at the forefront of concern to the CTUIR, including the whereabouts of the burial area of the Cayuse Five. The Cayuse people never had the opportunity to complete the traditional burial rites because the bodies were never returned to the tribe. This was the case despite the presence of tribal members at the trial and hangings. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation continue the efforts to locate the graves.

Additionally, the CRPP independently contributed narratives related to the CTUIR's treaty rights at Willamette Falls as a usual and accustomed area and the cultural significance of salmon and lamprey to the CTUIR as First Foods, which are annually harvested at Willamette Falls by CTUIR members.

In sum, the previous work at the project area has provided data showing how the CTUIR has, and continue to this day, carried out cultural traditions in and around the Lower Columbia River and Willamette River, including traveling to Willamette Falls for fishing and trade with others.

Supplemental Archaeological, Historical, and Archival Evidence

Additional sources serve as evidence of the presence of CTUIR peoples in the Willamette Falls and lower Willamette-Columbia River region in pre- and post-contact times.

Salmon, Slaves, and Grizzly Bears: The Prehistoric Antecedents and Ethnohistory of Clackamas Indian Culture, by John A. Woodward. Doctoral dissertation in Archaeology. University of Oregon, 1974

This dissertation analyzes archaeological sites at and around Willamette Falls, assigning several of them to lower and mid-Columbia River peoples, most notably at a large site at the mouth of Abernathy Creek. As seen in the following examples, Woodward's findings suggest a large and varied Columbia River tribal influence in the region and do not recognize Willamette Falls as a sole use area to local Clackamas tribal groups:

- Near the falls of the Willamette River prior to the historic period, a Columbia River derived (or influenced) population established what may have been a permanent settlement near the mouth of Abernathy Creek. The discovery of banded and perforated weights, woodworking mauls, "slave killer" clubs, Columbia River style petroglyphs, stone sculpture, and heavy stone mortars classifies the Willamette Falls locality more closely with prehistoric Columbia River cultures than with prehistoric northern Willamette Valley cultures. The existence of graves with Chinookian deformation of the skulls argues in favor of the placement of a "mature" prehistoric fishing economy closely resembling that of the lower and middle Columbia River Chinookians in late prehistoric times along the Willamette River to the falls (Woodward 1974:26).
- Evidence exists that once important prehistoric sites were located on the eastern bank of the Willamette River...Numerous graves are reported to have been uncovered in the Green Point neighborhood of Oregon City on a bluff above the Willamette River between 1899 and 1926. In at least two cases, newspaper reports indicate Chinook type deformation of the skulls (Anonymous 1911; Anonymous 1926). The lack of trade items among the "many relics"

found in several of these graves seems to place them in the prehistoric period (Woodward 1974:23). [Skull deformation occurred among mid-Columbia tribal peoples, including the CTUIR].

- In 1911, five skeletons and a large "stone table" were found on the Busch property beneath a 200 year old tree (Anonymous 1911). A photo of the "stone table" shows a concave basalt slab approximately three feet in diameter with a series of deep grooves ground along one edge. John Busch, who was nineteen years old in 1911 remembers finding skulls, arrow points, net weights, and glass beads on this property during the early 1900's (personal communication). That this locality was still used for burials in historic times is established by the discovery in 1913 (Anonymous 1913) of a grave with a cedar plank coffin nailed with "large hand-hammered spikes (Woodward 1974:23). [A pre-contact mid-Columbia basalt artifact as well as historic era trade items common to many Columbia River tribes were present at this site].
- One intact burial of a male had been interred face up, arms at its side aligned toward the east. Associated artifacts included a gun barrel, phoenix buttons, several large copper beads laid across the chest and other trade goods. The skull exhibits fronto-occipital deformation and the degree of suture closure is indicative of an individual between 20 and 30 years old. It is copper stained from the copper ornaments placed around the face...The general features of these burials correspond to those described by Sprague (1959:46) for the early historic period at the Nez Perce burial site 45AS9. They do not, however, strongly resemble the historic burials of neighboring tribes nearer the Clackamas (Woodward 1974:113).

"Jason Lee: New Evidence on the Missionary and Colonizer," by John Martin Canse. Washington Historical Quarterly. Volume 6, Number 4. October 1915

This 1915 journal article contributes additional historical background on the relationship the missionary Jason Lee -- of the 1855 Treaty of Umatilla Reservation eastern boundary location, "Lee's encampment" and who later established his mission in the lower Willamette River area -- held with Walla Walla and Cayuse people, affirmed in these examples of excerpted text:

He who labored so providentially for experimental Christianity had a worthy advocate among the distant natives of Oregon (1915:252).

Daniel Lee states in "Ten Years in Oregon: "Dr. McLoughlin kindly furnished two men to go with us, and horses to ride, and a good supply of provisions for the whole trip, which would employ us several days." A few days were spent surveying the possible sites in the vicinity of the junction of the Willamette and the Columbia, making their headquarters on the May Dacre, which lay near the newly established trading fort of Captain Wyeth. They went up the "west channel of the Willamette, and after that up a creek, arriving at a farm owned by Thomas McKay, our friend of the mountains" (1915:256).

This is the way. Inspiration rested up the Valley of the Willamette. He had taken counsel from many traders and trappers and the chieftain leaders of the Walla Wallas and various other Flathead tribes and also Dr. McLoughlin (1915:257).

The Snake River was reached above old Fort Boise, when camp was had over Sunday, June 3. Here Lee preached in both English and French, and baptized Donald, a son of Thomas McKay...On the following day Captain McKay entrusted his three sons to Lee to take to the states for their education. The past four years they had been much together, each highly regarding the other; one a hunter of furs, and the other of souls. The herald of the Book had frequently called at the McKay ranch, on the west bank of the Willamette near its mouth (1915:260).

Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest - Oregon City, Salem, Jacksonville, compiled by Harriet Duncan Munnick, Binford and Mort Publishing, Portland Oregon. 1984

Oregon City Register 1842-1890 Oregon City Catholic Archdiocese records on Native-European intermarriages, native baptisms and funeral rites due to disease, and lists multiple regional tribes (including Walla Walla, Kayous [Cayuse], Wascopam, Yakima, Spokane, Okanagan, Molalla, Clackamas, Umpqua, Klickitat, Cowlitz, "Synkoue," Klamath). The records reflect an important reality of the multi-tribal population in the Willamette Falls region at the time. Family names from the CTUIR are also listed in the records such as LaCourse, Pambrun, and McKay. Hudson Bay Chief Factor John McLoughlin is often listed as witness or Godfather and his wife Marguerite, ancestor to present-day CTUIR members, as witness. The following example from the records show the abjuration of the daughter of the above intermarriage:

On the 4th day of October (the solemnity of the Holy Rosary) of the year 1846, we the undersigned priest of the Society of Jesus, after having received her public abjuration from Protestantism, have received the solemn profession of the Catholic faith of Maria Elizabeth daughter of John McLaughlin and Margeurite Wader/*Wadin*/born the 13th of February, 1817/ as witness (1984:6).

Notably, the record of the baptism of all of the Cayuse Five just prior to their hanging in Oregon City is recorded as follows:

The 3 June, 1850, we undersigned have baptized the Adult Kayous: Tomhash, Tilaokwate, Elsayaya Uheakeshi, Koyama Tshiamokein, Kloukemous – to the 1st we have given the name Pierre, the 2nd the name Andre, to the 3rd Jean, the 4th that of Jacques, to the 5th that of Paul. The godfather has been Mathieu Dauphin -- F.N. Archbishop of Oregoncity (1984:11).

Also notable is in the span of one week in March, 1851, three similar entries record baptisms of very young children identified as Walla Walla, who are near death (1984:12-13):

The 2 March, 1851, by us priest undersigned has been privately baptized in danger */of death/* near to Oregon City Eulalie born day before yesterday of infidel Indian parents of Walla Walla.

The 2 March, 1851, by us priest undersigned has been privately baptized in danger */of death/* in a hut near Oregon-city Marianne born yesterday of Indian parents of Walla Walla.

The 7 March, 1851, by us priest undersigned has been privately baptized in danger */of death/* in a hut near Oregon-city Marie, aged 1 month, born of infidel parents of Walla Walla.

In the week prior, two "Klamath" children and one "Klakamas" child were also baptized and are listed as sick or near death and "of the same village" as the three Walla Walla children (1984:12-13).

1846 Walla Walla Skirmish at Battle Creek (Oregon State Historic Preservation Office), 2019

Battle Creek in Salem, Oregon is named for a skirmish between non-Indian settlers and Walla Walla people that occurred in June of 1846. John Pouley, Assistant State Archaeologist of the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office researched this event and has determined that *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* was in Sacramento in the fall of that year to meet with people at Sutter's Fort regarding the death of his son, *To-ayah-nu* (Elijah Hedding). Pouley's research revealed that Walla Walla headman and Treaty of 1855 signatory *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* travelled through Salem on his way to Fort Sutter and was likely present at the battle (personal communication 2019).

Pouley's research also reveals that *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* told Joel Palmer (future Superintendent of Indian Affairs) at Fort Walla Walla in March of 1846 that he was leaving soon for Sacramento. The timing of the two references is important. It places *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* at Fort Walla Walla in March of 1846, and the other puts him in Sacramento in the fall of that year. Since the Battle Creek "affair" occurred in June of 1846, the timing is intriguing, if *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* travelled through Salem on his way to Sacramento. Paul Kane, the artist, was at Fort Walla Walla in July of 1847 when *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* returned. He also painted him at that time and as such, we can also identify when *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* returns.

Pouley cites additional references for this event. For example, one identifies the Indians in the Battle Creek "affair" as numbering about 40. The reference states that *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* arrived in Sacramento with 40 warriors. Combined, the two references to the number of Walla Walla support one another. Like many CTUIR families, the son of *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs*, Elijah Hedding, also studied at the Jason Lee Mission in Salem, and there are references that *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* became friends with Mr. Lee. This suggests that *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* may have been familiar with the area. There are also no other known references related to any other tribal groups of Walla Walla travelling such distances in 1846.

The Oregon SHPO holds a report #30158 entitled, "Archaeological Investigations at the Dittman Biface Cache (35MA375), Marion County, Oregon. An overview of "Battle Creek" resides within the Historic Background section. One reference of that larger report is an August 6, 1846 article, "More Indian Difficulties" in the Oregon Spectator newspaper. Since the Battle Creek affair was in June of 1846, this would be the earliest written account. It identifies the Walla Walla as the participants and references the battle in Champoege County, but at the time, Salem was in Champoege County and not Marion. A portion of the article reads:

Difficulties between the whites and natives are consistently increasing and gradually assuming a more serious aspect. Within the last few days we have heard of two unhappy cases—one in Clatsop County, which resulted in the death of one of the natives: another in Champoege County, in which two of the Walla Walla Indians were wounded by a party of the settlers firing upon the encampment. The offence, on the part of the Indians in both cases, was that of killing cattle belonging to the whites (Oregon Spectator 1846).

Needless to say, according to Assistant State Archaeologist Pouley, it is very questionable that they would be killing cattle. However, the August, 1846 article provides strong support that the Walla Walla were involved in the Battle Creek "affair" as opposed to Wascopam or Klamath. There is also an 1891 article written by one of the Oregon Rangers, reminiscing on the 1846 battle, and identifies the Walla Walla as participants. It is therefore convincing that Battle Creek was named for an event that involved the Walla Walla, and most probably *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* and the 40 warriors he was travelling with on his way to Sutter's Fort in 1846. Descendants of Chief *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* were also told stories of his son traveling to California and later being killed there. All of these references

combined provides strong circumstantial evidence that points to *Piyópiyo Maqsmáqs* and his party at Battle Creek.

Fishing Platform/Scaffold Proprietary Usage at Willamette Falls (Hunn et al 2015)

An oral history featured in this traditional use study (OHP 566) describes the traditional ownership of a fishing location whereby a platform or scaffold has been constructed by a particular fishing family. Friends and relatives wishing to use that platform would do so by asking permission or by gifting the family for the use of it. The practice occurred commonly within tribes and among tribes. Some form of this ritual allowing access to fishing location platforms or scaffolds continues to occur today.

This act underscores the concept of Indian land tenure among and within Plateau tribal groups. Elders have explained essentially that they are from the earth and of the earth which is a belief that, as anthropologist, Bruce Rigsby states in *Čáw Pawá Láakni*, “lies at the heart of the statement that Indian people belong to the land but do not own it” (Hunn et al 2015:58). Yet, property ownership (of a fishing platform for example) plays out anywhere the resource is evident and whoever declares their rights to carry out the traditional practice, yet were not exclusive to, or “owned” by, one tribe. It is in this way that individuals or families were landowners and people of property. Rigsby continues, “rights and interests in a place were specific to uses, such as fishing stations (and their construction and maintenance), gathering driftwood for fuel, and other uses, including gathering medicines, digging roots, and picking berries” (Hunn et al 2015:58).

The traditional practice of family-owned scaffolds was common at Willamette Falls and other intertribal fishing locations across the Columbia Plateau. This understanding lies counter to a contemporary false narrative that all other tribes who annually fished at Willamette Falls were required to “pay tribute” to one resident tribe in order to fish at Willamette Falls and misconstrues the indigenous concept and custom surrounding land tenure and property ownership.

Conclusion

The *Imatalamláma*, *Weyíiletpu*, and *Walúulapam* people who make up the CTUIR have traveled throughout the northwest, including to the lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls, to gather their First Foods since time immemorial. Willamette Falls was a major First Foods and trade area similar to Celilo Falls and tribal members from around the northwest traveled there to fish, gather and trade, residing as necessary as well as intermarrying amongst tribal groups. The CTUIR have a rich documented history of traveling to Willamette Falls to gather First Foods and continue to do so to this day. Tribal members continue to exercise their treaty rights seasonally to gather lamprey at Willamette Falls to bring back to the larger reservation community for ceremonial and subsistence purposes.

The ancient practice of fishing for salmon and other aquatic species and specifically harvesting lamprey is passed down from generation to generation and is a fundamental tenet of the tribal religion. Intertribal areas for fishing and trade were focused at productive sites in the Columbia basin such as at Willamette Falls. While people from the CTUIR traveled to Willamette Falls for subsistence purposes and for trade, it was also for less friendly purposes, such as for warring and for the capturing of slaves.

People were and still are social in nature, without the ability to produce everything for themselves, which made movement to other areas within the culture area of the Columbia Plateau imperative to survival. Movement was fluid up and down the rivers and trails. Modern roads and highways parallel many of the original Indian trails and travel corridors, replicating the earlier movements of indigenous people up and down the Columbia and Willamette River systems, whether by foot, by horse, or by watercraft.

The cumulative data presented in this report serves to show how the CTUIR's continual presence and traditional use of the area have been documented over time and by multiple varied sources. Each section of this study provides building blocks for context and detail of the history of the CTUIR's usual and accustomed use of the lower Columbia River region, making the temporal connection between tribal past use and contemporary use of the area.

From pre-contact times to the historic contact era to contemporary times, CTUIR tribal members know the multi-generational ties, history, and cultural connections to the Lower Columbia River and Willamette Falls. These ties primarily center around fishing. Travels to the lower Columbia River and to Willamette Falls was, and is, a necessity in terms of subsistence as well as in terms of faith. Tribal fishing and gathering is generally not recreational, but for subsistence, contributing to a way of life of gathering the traditional First Foods according to the tribal religion, *tamánwit*. Fishing occurred with traps, weirs, gaffs, gigs, and nets at places like The Cascades near "Bridge of the Gods," at other rapids, and primarily, at large, productive sites such as Willamette Falls in the Columbia watershed. The geology of Willamette Falls makes it difficult for salmon to pass beyond them and are an attractive site for lamprey.

According to historians Ruby and Brown, "Since large numbers of Indians gathered to fish at those points, they were good places for concourse" (2005). Annual fishing trips to Willamette Falls and family ties among Plateau tribes continue to connect the CTUIR to the region. For generations and beyond, tribal members have traveled to the area to engage in fishing and other First Foods-related practices, and to trade with native and non-native groups in the surrounding region. For these reasons, the lower Columbia River has been part of the CTUIR and many other northwest tribes' lifeways since time immemorial.

Traditional practices continue, and with them, the culture of Plateau Tribes. However, significant hurdles to exercising treaty rights remain. Dams have inundated the vast majority of fishing sites.

Those that remain are at a premium. Where there used to be innumerable resources, now there are less, with limited accessible places to procure them. Despite this hardship, many tribal members continue to follow the traditional law of *tamánwit* in their ancestors' footsteps. As one tribal informant said, "There are limited sites on the Columbia River that are good fishing sites. And so you can't just...find a site to go fishing. Once they find a good site, they don't want to let it go." This reality extends to the Willamette River as well. The Willamette River is and has long been a critical waterway for Pacific Northwest tribes. Salmon and lamprey that travel up and down the Willamette River and cluster at Willamette Falls have served as a cultural foundation for millennia and continue to do so.

Tribal members have camped, fished, hunted and gathered First Foods like salmon, lamprey, deer, camas, wapato, nuts and berries in the area. Thousands of years ago, the region offered a temperate climate, access to abundant fish and other First Foods and water, as well as transportation for trade and social interaction for the indigenous groups of this region and still does today.

Fishing sites at Willamette Falls were not exclusive. While the area included a number of coastal and sedentary tribes, such as Chinook, Clatsop, Clatskanie, Cascades, Kalapuya, and Cathlamet, the CTUIR and a number of other Plateau tribes also lived seasonally and traveled throughout the area, including the Warm Springs, Cowlitz, Klickitat, Yakama, Nez Perce, Molalla, Wasco, Wishram and Cascade Indians. Prior to European settlement of the Willamette Valley, the river was used by Native Americans for travel, trade, hunting, fishing and gathering of plant materials. Permanent and seasonal villages existed on both sides of the river to facilitate these uses and many of these traditional uses are carried on today by local Native Americans groups.

With the advent of the fur trade in the historic era, ancestors of modern day CTUIR tribal members would include Fort Vancouver on the Lower Columbia in their travels. They also fished for subsistence on these travels. Fort Vancouver intensified the travel and presence of tribal members in that area. This presence reflects the reality that there were no strict boundaries adhered to by tribal people along the Columbia River prior to the treaty era.

Establishing a fur-trading post on the north shore of the Columbia River supported the British campaign for dominion over the region. From 1825 to 1849, Fort Vancouver was the western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trading operations. Under the leadership of John McLoughlin, the fort became the center of political, cultural, commercial and manufacturing activities in the Pacific Northwest. When American pioneers arrived in the Oregon country during the 1830's and 1840's, they came to Fort Vancouver for supplies to settle on Indian lands.

Explorers, missionaries, traders, and emigrants all brought change. Clothing and other items often arrived through trade before non-Indian people did. Contact with the North West Company and Hudson Bay Company trappers and traders intensified the movement of non-Indian people up and down the rivers by systematically incorporating tribes like the Cayuse and Walla Walla into the trade system with Fort Vancouver as the main hub of activity. Resulting intermarriages created Cayuse descendants of John McLoughlin, chief factor of Fort Vancouver. From earlier times to present day, cultural continuity for the CTUIR has remained throughout, in which fishing, which includes for the procurement of lamprey other First Foods, did not cease on the lower Columbia River, including at Willamette Falls.

In the Treaty of 1855, the CTUIR ceded 6.4 million acres of land to the federal government and in exchange, received assurances that pre-existing tribal use rights exercised in wide-ranging traditional and "usual and accustomed" geographic areas would be protected and tribal interests would be respected in perpetuity. A paramount objective in the Treaty was protecting and maintaining the

First Foods—water, fish, big game, roots and berries—and the habitats and environmental conditions that support and sustain them, and continued access to them then now and forever.

The United States Supreme Court (cite) described tribal fishing in this way a 114 years ago,:

The right to resort to the [usual and accustomed] fishing places in controversy was a part of larger rights possessed by the Indians, upon the exercise of which there was not a shadow of impediment, and which were not much less necessary to the existence of the Indians than the atmosphere they breathed. . .

This quote, from *United States v. Winans*, 198 U.S. 371 (1905), is a pivotal fishing rights decision from the early 1900's on tribal rights to cross over private lands to fish. Also standing for the proposition that treaties were not a grant of rights to tribes but a grant of rights FROM tribes to the United States and a reservation of those rights not granted. Tribes granted the United States rights to lands they ceded, but the tribes reserved rights to the lands that they specifically did not grant to the United States – rights such as the ability to access lands to hunt, fish, gather, and graze on. The tribal right to hunt and fish preexisted the United States and those rights and resources under the Treaty of 1855 should be protected in perpetuity.

The traditionally shared usual and accustomed areas of the CTUIR existed at many locations on the lower Columbia River. However, most rights protection focused on the Columbia River region that lies above Bonneville Dam, due in part to the fact that the Tribal fishery was designated to the areas east of Bonneville Dam. Without regular access to the usual and accustomed fishing stations in the lower Columbia, the fear was that the preservation and perpetuation of this cultural knowledge could be slowly lost if fishing could not be practiced in these areas, due to rules limiting Indian fishing at these locations. Luckily, recent internal research agendas have made an effort to look beyond the homeland to areas that were routinely visited and used for travel, trade, fishing, hunting, and gathering purposes and visiting communal areas such as Willamette Falls for fishing and other purposes.

The cultural and historic importance of the Lower Columbia River region, including Willamette Falls, to the CTUIR cannot be measured. The CTUIR's treaty rights on the Lower Columbia River and at Willamette Falls and the Cayuse Tribe's involvement with the Whitman Incident, which culminated in the trial and death by hanging of the Cayuse Five at Oregon City, link the CTUIR to the landscape in multiple ways. The historical and cultural importance of the area cannot be overstated. Ultimately, the significance and continual use of the study area may best be thought of in the CTUIR's traditional terms of a time continuum, spanning from the beginning of time to the present day, with no delineation between history and pre-history and no breach in use, just with necessary adaptations required to continue – since time immemorial.

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APPENDIX



Plate 1. *Átway Twáway* (Inez Spino-Reves) prepares lamprey eel for drying.



Plate 2. Two women drying lamprey near the mouth of the Umatilla River. Major Lee Moorehouse photo, c. 1900.

Plates 3 - 7. CTUIR tribal members gathering *asím* or *kʷsúyas* or *héesu* (Pacific lamprey/eels) at Willamette Falls for CTUIR subsistence handouts (photos circa 1980's to early 2000's).



Plate 3



Plate 4



Plate 5



Plate 6



Plate 7



Plate 8. CTUIR lamprey gatherer's view from behind Willamette Falls.



Plate 9. CTUIR tribal members take part in a Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission tour of Blue Heron Paper Mill site, 2016.



Plate 10. Significant Sites Map