

History of Native Uses of the Land, Portland Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary

Report for the Portland Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary

ABSTRACT

Histories of
Native peoples
and their use
and early
settlement of
the land that
became the
Portland
Audubon
Society's
Wildlife
Sanctuary in
the Tualatin
Hills.

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About David G. Lewis, PhD

I am a member of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, primarily a descendant of the Santiam, Chinook, and Takelma peoples of Western Oregon. I am also descended from German, Belgian, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh immigrants to the United States. I grew up mostly in Salem, Oregon, and attended McKay High School, graduating in 1983. I grew up off the reservation, because there was no reservation until I was 18 years of age. The Grand Ronde Reservation was terminated in 1954, and the Tribe was not restored again until 1983. I attended the University of Oregon from 1994 to 2009, a good long time, and received a BA in Humanities, and an MA and PhD in Anthropology. I became Culture Department Manager at the Grand Ronde Tribe in 2006 and worked there until 2014. During my time at Grand Ronde, I helped in the building of the Tribal Plankhouse and in the establishment of the Tribal Museum Chachalu. For the museum, a converted school building, I crafted the initial layout, trained the staff, and oversaw the first couple of years including curating several exhibits inside and outside of the museum. From 2014 to the present I have been teaching at colleges and universities in Western Oregon, and in 2021 was hired in a tenure track position at Oregon State University. I am now Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Ethnic Studies. I research constantly, take contracts, make presentations, serve on committees and boards, craft new placenames, offer reviews and advice, and publish in professional journals and on my blog, the Quartux Journal at ndnhistoryresearch.com. My research area extends far beyond my Tribe, to all Tribes in Oregon and into Northern California.

Introduction & Project Questions

The Portland Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary is a 172-acre section of the Tualatin Hills along Cornell Road. The sanctuary has combined several wildlife sanctuaries (Uthoff, Pittock, Cornell, Collins, and Kehoe) and now works on environmental restoration, education, and public access to nature. Portland Audubon has offices and wildlife rehabilitation facilities as well as facilities meant for the public to learn more about the organization and its mission.

Guiding Questions

1. Who are the original Indigenous peoples that used the Tualatin Hills and how did they use the land?
 - a. Any ties to the Portland Audubon Sanctuary or surrounding Forest Park area would be very useful information to have.
 - b. How did these Tribes also use the Willamette River? What was the interplay between the River and the Hills?
2. What is the cultural significance of the Tualatin Hills to local Tribes? What about the cultural significance of flora and fauna on the land? How are species used?
 - a. Any first person narrative is helpful (with person's name and Tribal association)
3. What is the history behind the displacement and removal of Tribes (identified in question 1) from the area?
4. What is the history of settlement and settler uses of the Tualatin Hills?
 - a. If possible, specifically the land Portland Audubon occupies now, but also the surrounding Forest Park landscape.
 - b. If possible, how did the land pass into the hands of the people who then gifted or sold the land to Portland Audubon?
5. What kinds of land management/stewardship practices are used by Tribes in this area? How do Indigenous land management practices differ from those of settlers?
6. How did the conservation philosophies and practices differ between Indigenous peoples and settlers?
 - a. Contemporary reference points for Indigenous land stewardship and conservation would be helpful.

While the guiding questions aid direct research, there are some that the research may not be able to answer because of the way Native culture was destroyed by colonization and further impacted by actions of the United States to assimilate Native peoples into the country. These questions will not show in the table of contents.

There was an additional need stated. There is content needed to address the updating and creation of interpretive signs and panels in the sanctuary. This report may

form part of a way to address that need, but it is advised that there be continuous consultation with historians and cultural experts as staff engages in the interpretive project.

Question 1: Who are the original Indigenous peoples that used the Tualatin Hills and how did they use the land?

The original Native peoples of the sanctuary lands were the Tualatin (Atfalati) Kalapuyans on the western side of the hills and the Chinookan peoples of the lower Willamette (Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Cascades, and Multnomah). In addition, bands of the Clatskanie lived mainly in the hills, to the west of the sanctuary and may have ranged as far as the Willamette River. The Tualatin Hills are upland forests, the hills covered with mixed trees. There were Native trail systems which crossed the hills. These trails allowed trade between the Kalapuyans of the Willamette Valley and the Chinookan peoples of the middle Columbia and lower Willamette Rivers. Trail systems could be accessed any time of the year but principally in the periods of salmon runs (spring and fall) when there would be plentiful trade goods to exchange by the Tribes. Kalapuyans and Chinookans would also venture into the hills for berry picking and hunting opportunities. There are significant fields of huckleberries and other blueberries in the region, and while these fields are not evident today in the Tualatin Hills, they may have been more prevalent before white settlement and changes made to the land by settlers.

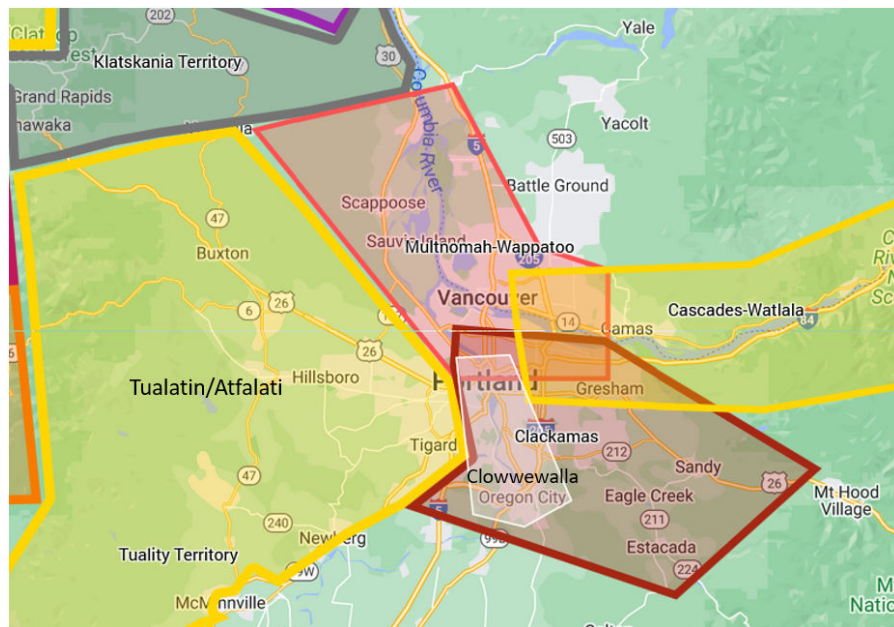


Figure 1 The boundary between Tualatin and Multnomah/Clackamas territories is the peak of the Tualatin Hills. Map by David Lewis, 2022.

The Middle Chinookan territory (Multnomah/Clackamas/Cascades) is the middle Columbia River and the lower Willamette. The middle Columbia is the area between the Cascades and Oak Point, a middle ground where much interaction and trade occurred

between the Tribes upriver and downriver.¹ The Tribes within the middle Columbia were intermediaries in the trade. The Tribes who lived on the river would venture up into the foothills and utilize every environment on their side of the Tualatin Range for gathering and hunting. There was a shared or common ownership of many areas, especially upland areas because the territories were not exclusive to any one Tribe. Only areas with rich resources, fishing falls, and Wapato Island with its rich wapato fields and oak savanna may have been exclusive to the Tribes living nearby. Other areas, like the shorelines across from Fort Vancouver, had numerous small seasonal encampment villages along the Columbia and Willamette rivers occupied seasonally by several Tribes, including Cascades Watlala, Multnomah, and Clackamas, without many conflicts.

Henry Zenk, an anthropological linguist and ethnohistorian, wrote in 1976 about his understanding of the Tualatin Tribal range, which he limited to the west side of the Willamette as far as Sucker Lake and the southern face of the Tualatin Hills. There are no distinct boundaries or lines between these two primary groups, the Chinookan and the Tualatin Kalapuya peoples.

“On the east and northwest... I found no ethnographic data concerning Tualatin interest or activity in this area, thence past Willamette Falls on the east to the ‘Sucker Lake’ (Lake Oswego area), and on northwest through the Tualatin Mountains, the Tualatin bordered on the Willamette Falls and Lower Willamette-Sauvie’s Island Upper Chinookans. These Chinookan village groups, plus those located on the Columbia River in the vicinity of Vancouver, were collectively referred to by the Tualatin under the name a-fe’I.” (Zenk 1976, 4)

In addition, Zenk does note political relationships between the regional Tribes, based on inter-Tribal marriage between significant leaders and chiefs. These relationships serve as the backbone of the regional trade network, a major economic activity spanning the whole of the Columbia River.

“In the aboriginal political balance of the early historical period, these groups were notable as being the main sphere of Influence of the powerful chief [Kiesno]. Tualatin Economic and Political connection with the [Chinookans] manifested for example in marriage between chiefly Tualatin and [Chinookan] families, importing a Chinookan influence to Tualatin society and culture. In fact, there is evidence that the Tualatin, together with Chinookans and northern Oregon Coastal groups, were major participants in a regional network of economic and political interrelationships centered on the lower Columbia River.” (Zenk 1976, 4-5)

¹ Some scholars place the middle Columbia as far east as The Dalles, Celilo, but it is my assertion that there is a natural break at the Columbia Gorge where the Cascade Range intersects the Columbia River. Otherwise, scholars also state only two divisions, the Upper and Lower Columbia, with the Chinookans being the Lower Columbia as far as the Deschutes, and the Tribes of other Native languages to the east as another area. But in numerous accounts, including the treaties, there were significant interrelationships between peoples of the Celilo area, Wasco, and Wishram, and those as far as Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Niimipuu (Nez Perce) regardless of language.

Ethnographic notes about the Tualatin may not include the Tualatin Hills because the Tualatin were removed from their lands some 30 years before most ethnographic research was being conducted among the Tualatin descendants at the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. There is, however, mention of utilizing the Tualatin Hills for elk hunting in an oral history from Louis Kenoyer included in Melville Jacobs "Kalapuya Texts" published in 1945 (see page 16).

The Tualatin were one of the most powerful of the various Kalapuyan Tribes, with many villages and hundreds of people within their territory. Each village had its own leader, a headman or chief, and they had discretion in politically joining with other villages. In January 1855, during the negotiations over the Willamette Valley Treaty there were three main chiefs from the Tualatin who signed the treaty, with Kiacuts being the principal over all people and villages in the Tualatin area. The three chiefs joined dozens more from all of the Kalapuya, Molalla, Clowwewalla, Clackamas, Cascades, and Clatskanie peoples of the valley to include the southern bank of the Columbia River between the Clatskanie claim and Cascades rapids.

"In testimony whereof the said Joel Palmer, on the part of the United States as aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs of the said confederated
bands, have hereunto set their hands and seals this fourth day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, at Dayton, in Oregon Territory.
Ki-ac-kuts, first chief, his x mark. [L. S.]
Le Medecin or Doctor, second chief, his x mark. [L. S.]
Yats-kow, or Dave, third chief, his x mark. [L. S.]"²

As revealed in various ethnographic and settler accounts, and the previous note by Zenk (1976), the Tualatin Kalapuya were intermarried with the local Chinookan peoples to the north. Chief Kiesno, the noted chief of the Multnomah peoples, with villages and land claims on the north and south banks of the Columbia and in the Willamette Slough, had in-laws among the Tualatin and would visit them on occasion. Anthropologists have noted that the Tualatin culture was likely intermixed with the Chinookan culture due to their proximity and intermarriages with the Chinookans and having trade relations at Sauvie Island. There may have been some overlapping areas, like Sucker Lake, which was a known sucker fishing lake, and areas of the Willamette Valley bordering the Willamette River. While the Tualatins spoke northern Kalapuyan dialect, they also spoke Chinuk Wawa, the trade language of the region. Due to all these relationships, and the fact that they had extensive resources for trade, (wapato, acorns, camas) they were a part of the Columbia River Trade Network and would have traded at Willamette Falls and all Chinookan trade villages at or near Sauvie Island. The Tualatin culture may have expressed some Chinook elements due to their connections.³

² Section from the Willamette Valley treaty; see Lewis, David. The Willamette Valley Treaty (Treaty with the Kalapuya, Etc.) Signed January 22 & Ratified March 3, 1855, Quartux Journal, 2018. <https://wp.me/p2ENjV-1g6>

³ Zenk 1977, and, Zenk, Henry, and Tony A. Johnson. "A northwest language of contact, diplomacy, and identity: Chinuk Wawa/Chinook Jargon." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 111.4 (2010): 444-461.

Hunting was a serious draw to Native peoples as well and there were plentiful white-tail deer in the area, but more attractive was the number of elk in the region. Plentiful elk hunting opportunities drew Klickitat and Klamath peoples into the Willamette Valley from their homelands on the eastern face of the Washington Cascades and the Klamath basin. They would travel here, encamp, and hunt elk through the summers. The Klamath are recorded as coming to the valley in bands of over 200 people, while the Klickitat were known to travel in bands of over 700 people all mounted on horses. One of the trails over the Tualatin Mountains was sometimes called a “Klickitat trail,” picking up this designation after settlers came to Oregon and saw Klickitat Indians using the trail into the valley.⁴ Farther west in the Tualatin Hills and Coast Mountains there were Clatskanie peoples. The Clatskanie were athapaskan speaking peoples who moved down from western Washington and over the Columbia in search of a new place to live. Their oral histories indicate a time hundreds of years previous to the 19th century, when their lands were devastated by a massive fire that wiped out their forests for miles around. One version of their origin story suggests that they moved to Oregon because of the plentiful elk found in the hills by the Columbia River.⁵

“For two years the fire burned, and all the elk were driven away. After five years grass began to grow again, and some of the hunters came upon the trail of an elk- which they followed to the Columbia River. They crossed the stream on a raft and sent back a messenger to tell of the abundance of game in that country. So the entire band moved southward and crossed the river. This was long long ago. The Tlatskani were all but extinct in the middle of the nineteenth century.” (J.P. Harrington Reel 19, 501)

Elk is a favored food of the Tribes in the region, and the Willamette Valley with its plentiful food plants supported vast herds. Elk can feed many people for days and are easily hunted by a variety of methods, with bows, snares, traps, pitfalls, and being driven into wetlands. They carry a lot of meat, and their thick hides were preferred for clothing and moccasins. In addition, their hides would be made into rawhide armor called “Clamels” that could stop most arrows. Elk rawhide is also good for making drums. Their bones and horns are of high-density material perfect for carving strong, long-lasting tools. Elk horn was used to make hollowed-out “purses” to hold valuable arm-length strings of dentalium,⁶ and for the handles of sticks used to dig root plants like camas. Elk horn or bone could also be carved into wedges to split wood like cedar into planks. Their horns and bones would hold a cutting edge for a time as well.

⁴ There are many Klickitat trails, all of which are named by settlers because of their experiences with Klickitats using the trails. This does not imply they owned the trail or where even used the trail the most. Klickitat traders became more prominent during settlement when they too took advantage of the weaknesses of the original Tribes and came into the valley to hunt and camp. A few Klickitats even settled.

⁵ See J.P. Harrington microfilm for the Clatskanie stories, National Anthropological Archives (digital edition online). Also James Teit manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society archives (Digital copies available online).

⁶ Dentalium is a mollusk shell harvested from the shallow waters off Vancouver Island and used for making necklaces, earrings, enhancements to clothing, and strands of inscribed shells used for ceremonial and economic purposes.

Flintknappers use a piece of elk horn as a hammer tool for knapping obsidian spear points.



On a visit to the sanctuary I noticed several areas of seasonal upland wetlands. Such wetland areas would have had wetland plants like juncus, wapato, lily, cattail, and tule, all of which would have been harvested by the Tribes for food or for making woven tools, baskets, mats, and traps. Native peoples were very astute and would harvest wetland areas on the prairies in mid-summer, and near the end of the summer these same products would be available at higher elevations like the Tualatin Hills.

A Kalapuya story, “Hunting Mt. Hebo with Yamhill Joe” (Melville Jacobs collection),⁷ describes his travels around Mt. Hebo in the Coast Range, during the period when the Tribes were at the Grand Ronde Reservation. The story is suggestive of what a hunting and gathering party of Kalapuyans was like in a mountainous region. In the story the party left the reservation and when they arrived on the Coast Range, the men and women split up, the men going looking for deer and the women for berries. The men spent days looking for deer, and when they found and shot them, they packed the deer out on horses. In the meantime, the women were picking berries and maintaining camp. In the evenings the women dried the berries by the fire and cut the venison into strips to dry. The drying took a couple of days, and once the berries and venison were dried, they were packed into baskets to return home. When the men were out hunting, they made note of where berries fields were as they encountered them in the forest. They then took the women to these new locations on the following days. Camping may have taken more than a week, and the food gathered would be stored for eating in the winter.

The Yamhill Joe story tells us much about why the Kalapuyans would go to a mountainous area, and what their interests were. There is also a clear gendered division of labor, with women picking berries and preparing food, as well as preparing dried goods for winter storage. The men served as hunters and scouts, finding new berry fields for the women. Family teams would then work together to collect the resources needed throughout the year. It would rarely be men alone hunting, but instead small groups of hunters working in cooperation with the women in their family. The elderly and

⁷ While the Melville Jacobs collection field notes have the original Kalapuyan story, it was translated by Henry Zenk and Jedd Schrock in 2014 and printed in a small volume for the Tribe. There is a copy in my collection.

children would also attend these encampments and, if they could not travel well, would remain behind in the main camp continuing food prep and tending to other duties.

Any ties to the Portland Audubon sanctuary or surrounding Forest Park area would be very useful information to have.

One connection between Forest Park and the Portland Audubon Sanctuary is in the conservation movement.⁸ Conservation became popular in Portland at the turn of the 20th century. Just before and after 1900 there were huge conservation projects in the United States, as people began realizing that the wild lands and animals were suffering from exploitation and needed to be preserved. This spawned many non-profit conservation-environmental action-oriented groups like the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society, among others. Large urban areas of the United States had wealthy landowners, and they too wanted to do something to preserve and beautify the urban environment. The ultimate expression of this is Central Park in New York City, a largely undeveloped (with construction) park area, well managed as a garden but preserved for the beauty and benefit of the city's inhabitants. There are indications that the wealthy elite of Portland had similar aspirations and wanted to preserve threatened environments in their own city.

There was a large, influential sanctuary and parks board established by the City of Portland with board members from banks and businesses, people of influence, who could use that influence to exact benefits for the city. These elites saw this role as part of their civic duty, and there were marked benefits for themselves, as well-managed parks would increase land values, which would ultimately increase their fortunes. There began a series of conservation-minded parks and sanctuaries intended to help preserve the beauty of the original land for the benefit of the city's people and culture. Most of the sanctuaries and parks in the Tualatin Hills were created in the early 20th century (1890s-1940s), many eventually coming under the umbrella of larger organizations like Portland Audubon. Several of these parcels became Forest Park, assembled by donation and purchase by the City of Portland to manage the land as a public park.

How did these Tribes also use the Willamette River? What was the interplay between the river and the hills?

The discussion of using the river is connected to land use. Some of this is previously described, but the creeks and streams of the area were fished for salmon, lamprey, steelhead, trout, and other fishes on an annual basis. The one small creek through the park likely did not get salmon far up into the Tualatin Hills, but the lower reaches would

⁸ Note that conservation of the 19th century is different from today. The conservation of Theodore Roosevelt was hunting rare animals and stuffing them so they may be conserved or preserved in museums for the public to view. This was all part of the natural history collections that were a huge interest to explorers and naturalists in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Conservation today is more tied to environmentalism, aiding endangered species and environments so animals and plants may survive on their own. These are my own thoughts about conservation.

easily support a small run. Otherwise, the interplay would be trade relationships between the various Tribes in the region, and all of them visiting major trade centers like Sauvie Island or Willamette Falls. Some plants in the hills would be made into cultural projects, baskets, mats, and perhaps cedar canoes. Ironwoods could be made into arrows, vine maple into bows, then fall harvesting of acorns and hazelnuts would be important to the Tribes. Tribes like the Multnomah would have used the northern and eastern faces of the Tualatin Hills for berry picking and resource gathering. Tribes would use uplands for hunting, fishing, and gathering activities, up to the ridgeline of the local mountain ranges of their primary land base, because other peoples – in this case the Tualatin – would use the other side of the range. The Tualatin territory was in the Tualatin Valley, and they would primarily use the southern and western faces of the Tualatin Hills. This is not an exclusive territory but would represent what anthropologists call their seasonal round area, the area around their primary region where they ranged and encamped to hunt, fish, gather food, and gather materials for tool making. It is common in ethnographic accounts for Tribal informants to state that they would trace their territory up to the ridgeline of the local range.⁹

Question 2: What is the cultural significance of the Tualatin Hills to local Tribes? What about the cultural significance of flora and fauna on the land? How are species used?

Numerous flora have already been named. There is not a good record of what the original environment of the Tualatin Hills was like. Settlers brought changes as they imposed agricultural systems and livestock on the region. Bulb plants suffered as pigs ate them. Cattle and horses overforaged and killed off many Native plants. Berries were not valued by settlers and were destroyed. Native systems of fire management were suppressed, leading to intense wildfires that also destroyed Native species. Invasive plants crowded out Native berries. Native peoples also hunted birds – some for food, like ducks and geese, and some for ceremonial uses, like pileated woodpeckers, flickers, and eagles. Reeds, juncus, tule, bear grass, Native hazel, and cattail were gathered for weaving. Cedar was used to make plank houses and canoes.¹⁰ Spruce roots would be gathered for weaving of fine products like hats. Upland white oaks yielded acorns. Many of these species were severely impacted by changes to the land and no longer exist in great quantities in the Tualatin Hills.

The Willamette Valley is a rich and wealthy land that made lots of food without much effort by the people. The valley has good soils, good sunlight and very good rain,

⁹ This is the case with the Coos people, who stated they claimed up to the ridgeline of the Coast Range because other peoples were using the area inland (Harrington notes). This seems to be a common understanding for many Tribes, and the ridgelines do provide a natural boundary. This sort of territorial boundary is generally followed by historic treaties and are present on contemporary Tribal cultural CRM maps as well.

¹⁰ Tribes had different styles of house construction, but for most Tribes in the region, western red cedar was one of the best construction woods, with regular straight grain, easily split, rot resistant, pest resistant, and lighter weight than other woods. Chinookans made larger houses, above ground, with cedar planks for the roof, while Kalapuyans made smaller plank houses built into the earth, with bark for a roof and cedar for the sides.

so plants grow well here, and this sustained a great diversity of animals, fishes, birds, and other creatures. Humans took advantage of this wealth by harvesting in large quantities. Much of the excess in plants and animals was saved for winter food. They would dry plants with heat from the fire, laying them out on a hot rock. Berries they would arrange on a flat log, the log sometimes prepared for drying by hewing. Meats, including salmon, lamprey, and smelt, were dried and smoked. Salmon and smelt would be wind dried and then ground up into a powder for use in recipes. The dried and smoked foods would be stored underground in pits for use in the winter when the bitter cold drove people indoors. The climate used to be much colder than today, the region coming out of a little ice age some 11,000 to 16,000 years previously and gradually warming.¹¹ Wapato gathering, sturgeon and smelt fishing, and hunting may have been the only winter food activities that the Tribes practiced.

Mammals. All manner of mammals were hunted, from the largest grizzly to the smallest wood rat.

Black-tailed, White-tailed, and Mule Deer were regularly hunted for food.

Coyote is the subject of many oral histories. Coyote is seen as a powerful and smart teacher of Native people who would trick them into learning lessons.

Douglas Squirrels were hunted for food

Raccoons were trapped for food and fur.

Amphibians were eaten, but few specific names are known.

Coastal Giant Salamander

Pacific Chorus Frog

Rough-skinned Newt

Red-legged Frog

Dunn's Salamander

Mollusks and Arthropods. It is unclear if all arthropods were used or eaten. There are stories of eating insects, like grasshoppers and caterpillars.

Banana Slug

Yellow-spotted Millipede

Birds were hunted and eaten, and some birds have spiritual and ceremonial significance. The condor, now extinct in Oregon but present then, is the mythological figure of Thunderbird, the bringer of weather. Eagles and their feathers and parts are revered for their spiritual power. They are quite rare in some areas still but are on a comeback. Many birds do not have individual names unless they are connected with oral histories of the Tribe. Most named birds have some significance in Tribal mythologies. There may have been names for all birds but the language was being collected some 30 to 80 (1870s-1930s) years after the Tribes were removed to the reservation. Most people no longer spoke the language, so not every word was collected.

Anna's Hummingbird

¹¹ Allen 2009

Black-headed Grosbeak

Common Raven

Dark-eyed Junco

Downy Woodpecker

Great Blue Herons were revered for their fishing ability.

Hairy Woodpecker

Northern Flickers were harvested for feathers to be used in ceremonial regalia.

Northern Pygmy-Owl

Pacific Wren

Pileated Woodpeckers were hunted for their bright red scalp. Tribal people made headpieces for ceremonies out of hundreds of woodpecker scalps and feathers.

Red-breasted Sapsucker

Red-tailed Hawk

Song Sparrow

Spotted Towhee

Steller's Jay

Varied Thrush

Western Tanager

Wilson's Warbler

Flora

The Tribes concentrated their attention on plants that had food, tool making, or medicinal properties. Not every plant had a name. The oral histories collected note how food plants were utilized and how food and tools would be processed from the fruits and stems of the plants. The following is from "Kalapuya Texts" by Melville Jacobs.

"Tualatin women dug camas roots, they used a root digger. A big pile of them was made, and they steamed them two days (in the ground oven over hot rocks). They took them out from the ground, they dried them (by the fire), to eat in wintertime. They beat tarweed (into a rawhide bucket, *Acu'n*, using a paddle, *abu'p*), and they put them away for wintertime. (after parching) they ground them (with stone mortar and pestle),... they mixed them with cooked camas, for wintertime. They gathered quantities of hazelnuts, to eat in wintertime. They gathered, they dried blackberries, to be eaten in wintertime. They gathered salalberries, to be eaten in wintertime. Huckleberries (were dried), strawberries were not dried, raspberries (too) they merely picked (and) ate. *Pu'hunk* (a swamp root having three or four small forked roots and a white blossom) root they gathered (and) ate. *Pu'iteik* (a one to two inch long root, eaten raw or boiled- had a white blossom), *a'ld* (a root with a white blossom found in camas patches), wild onion (root-found about August), *a'mpi* (a green blossom found about May or June, and also with roots that were used from bruises) *atu'pa* (a thick sprout eaten young), acorn." (190)

Bigleaf Maple leaves were used in camas cooking pits to help create layering.

Douglas Fir

Lady Fern

Oceanspray is considered an ironwood, and the branches make good arrow shafts.

Oregon Grape fruits were harvested, dried, and eaten.

Osoberry fruits were harvested, dried, and eaten.

Red Alder was a good smoking wood for smoking meats.

Red Huckleberry was harvested and either dried or eaten on the spot. Huckleberry was generally the favorite of many Tribes.

Salal was commonly gathered and eaten in wintertime.

Salmonberry was harvested and either dried or eaten on the spot.

Stinging Nettle was common in most forests and was harvested as a medicine, for a tea, and for its fibers used in making cordage.

Snowberry berries were harvested, dried, and eaten, though this berry is not as good as others.

Sword Fern was used by some Tribes to create a lattice for cooking camas.

Thimbleberry berries were harvested and eaten on the spot.

Trailing Blackberry, the Native blackberry, was harvested and eaten by Tribes and provided additional food for wildlife.

Trillium

Vine Maple is considered an ironwood and was used for making spears and bows. The wood was dried and rehydrated then bent over a hot fire to make the bow.

Western Hemlock

Western Red Cedar is the most useful and versatile of all woods. Every part of the tree is used: the trunk for canoes or for planks to make houses, the branches for woven lattice work like fishing weirs, the outer bark for weaving, the inner bark for woven projects like baskets and clothing, hats and capes, and very good rainwear. The wood splits straight because of the grain. It's a softwood and is easy to carve, and is resistant to rot, water, and pests.

Plants and animals not noted in present forest inventories or not listed

Cascara is a common wood in all forests and has medicinal uses.

Cattails from wetlands were used to weave large mats, and parts of it can be eaten too.

Chokecherry was harvested and eaten by Tribes and wildlife.

Crabapples were harvested and eaten by Tribes and wildlife.

Dogwood bark contains quinine, which is a cure, or partial cure, for malaria.

Hawthorne berries were eaten in measured quantities.

Juncus from wetlands and prairies was used for weaving softer baskets.

Native Hazel groves would be burned, then one or two years later the switches from the burn were harvested to make baskets. The nuts were also harvested, then sun dried and eaten.

Native Strawberries would appear in some upland prairies with full or partial sun.

Pacific Ninebark offered several medicinal uses.

Red Elderberry berries were harvested, dried, and eaten.

Serviceberry berries were harvested, dried, and eaten.

White Oak appeared in all forests. The acorns supplied food for the Tribes and numerous other species.

Wild Rose berries were harvested, dried, and eaten

Condor is extinct in Oregon, but was once common. Revered as the Thunderbird. Grizzly is also nearly extinct in Oregon, certainly extinct in northern Oregon, but once roamed broadly.

Red Fox was native to the valley but disappeared in the 20th century.

Wolves were once common in the region but are now extinct in western Oregon. A few have ranged into western Oregon following reintroduction campaigns.

Any first-person narrative is helpful

A search for first-person narratives revealed one from a relative of the Cornell family, Bertrand Cornell. It is very general, and much of it is not about the Tualatin Hills but likely areas of the Cascades and eastern Oregon. Of Native perspectives there are few about the Tualatin Hills. The Tribes were removed to reservations in 1856 and Portland's park system was founded some 50 years later.

"I am now in Portland on the Willamette River 30 miles south of the Columbia River 12 m north of Oregon ci & about 100 miles from Astora [sic]. Portland is about the size of Granville, Oregon City is not as large as Portland. Astora contains 8 houses which I suppose you think it is a city. This part of Oregon is quite new but is fertile and produced well. The timber is very good which is of Pine, Fur [fir], ash oak maple and many other kinds, rales are very easy made here shingles.

The Columbia River does not look much larger to me than the Mississippi. The Tide from the Ocean effects the river here it rises about 3 feet every night. I did not mention much about mountains. The Rocky Mountains are of a more gradual assent then the Blue of Cascade. You might travail for days and rise proply 2500 feet and you would not suppose that you had got that high up in the world. But not so with the blue of Cascade, there poor oxen has the worst trails on the trip. But we had no occasion to use roaps to let our wagons down the mountains. Mount Hood presents a beautiful appearance. It is so high & is covered continually with snow & I am told that it is visible all over Oregon. Game is quite plenty here. It consists of Deer elk gees brunts swans ducks & many other kinds. Beaver otter & seals are very plenty. But the skins are very cheap.... The Indians will steal your stock if they can but there is not much danger of there hurting you for they are very afraid of whites. One white man can whip 2 ind of the same size. There was many places that we had fresh salmon on the rout the Indians would bring them to you weighing from 10 to 20 lbs for 3 or 4 loads of powder. I only seen one buffalo on the rout as the emigration keep them back. But I ate of them. Antilope is very good. Wm killed one they are smaller a little than a deer but resemble them much. Rabits are very plenty in some places and one kind is 3

times as large as an ordinary one.” (Letter 4, page 1, Bertrand Cornell, Nov 21 1852, OHS Library)



A few Native accounts that relate to the area are from interviews by anthropologist John P. Harrington. Where the Clatskanie cross the river in the following accounts is unknown, but their territory is clearly shown in numerous ethnographic maps as the western section of the Tualatin Hills and into the Coast Range (figure 3).

Harrington transcribed several versions of the Clatskanie migrations story in the early 20th century.

“The Kwal. [Kwalhioqua] tradition of the Tlats. [Clatskanie] is that elk hunters went s [south] & crost the Col. [Columbia] on a raft. One man was sent back to tell all the rest to come. From *Puxpux* (town in Willapa area) in the vic. [vicinity] of Kleybur the hunters found an elk track in the ashes of a forest fire & followed it to Col. R. & crost. Dried the meat & brout it back & all the *Puxpux* Indians moved down there.” (Harrington R 19, slide 891)

The story emphasizes elk hunting, which was a draw to the Clatskanie. Other previously noted stories suggest there was a great fire that destroyed the land all around and this caused the people to look for new food sources.

For the Tualatin, the “Kalapuya Texts” oral history about hunting and trapping of many animals is the sole account found relating to use of the Tualatin Hills. There has been discussion of hunting within the culture previously in the report, but the story fragment is included here again.

“The Tualatins hunted half way in the mountains (between) *pa’fan* (the Tillamook country along the coast and) the Tualatin mountains, and at *lu’ku*

mountain (a mountain near Sauvies Island) they used to hunt (too).... They looked for elk, blacktailed deer, whitetailed deer, ... grizzly, cinnamon bear, brown bear, panther, large wild cat, coon, wild dog, beaver, otter, rabbit, coyote, squirrel, chipmunk, pheasant, grouse, wild pigeon, gopher, mole, field rat... They trapped beaver, polecat, skunk, otter, mink. All sorts of things were living in the country” (Jacobs 1945: 187-188).¹²

It is unknown which peak is *lu’ku* mountain, but the Tualatin would have ventured into the Tualatin Hills for hunting activities as suggested by this account.

Question 3 What is the history behind the displacement and removal of Tribes from the area? ¹³

All of the Tribal peoples of the basin, Tualatin, Clowwewalla, Clackamas, Nepechuck, Kalapuyans, and Clatskanie were removed to Indian reservations by April 1856, with the majority relocated to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. Today, Tribal descendants belong to the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde and the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians. There are as well a significant number of descendants with ties to this place in many tribes in the Pacific Northwest and beyond. In January 1856, Joel Palmer began ordering the agents to remove the Tribes on encampments to central areas or “hubs” for easy removal by steamboat. The Tribes of the southern Willamette Valley were first removed to Jacob Spore’s ferry site, then within a month were at Corvallis awaiting removal to Dayton by steamboat.¹⁴ Records are unclear, but the Santiam were likely removed through Albany, and then transported by steamboat, while other Tribes were walked overland to Dayton. Steamboat travel was used when more efficient. In 1856 the invoices from Whitcomb were instructive as to the movements of the Tribes from the Columbia River, through Oregon City, and then to Dayton. At Dayton the Tribes stayed for a few days and were fed and counted. They were then placed on wagons and marched overland to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation.

Removal of Tualatins

In 1855, Joel Palmer was engaged in moving Tribes from their territories to temporary encampments. The Willamette Valley Treaty was signed by the Tribes January 22, 1855, and ratified by Congress on March 3, 1855. By March 6 Palmer and his assistant, John Flett, had visited with several settlers and arranged to remove several Kalapuya Tribes to the settler land claims so they would be administered and protected from settler

¹² There is a digital version of the book on the UW library website. There is a version of this story in Zenk, Henry, Jedd Schrock, and Louis Kenoyer. *My Life, by Louis Kenoyer: Reminiscences of a Grand Ronde Reservation Childhood*. Oregon State University Press, 2017.

¹³ Portions of this section have appeared in other reports and in essays.

¹⁴ Corvallis encampment is built up in November and December with orders of building supplies and several supply runs of foods.

attacks. The Rogue River War was raging in the south, and many settlers were calling for the complete extermination of all Tribes.

The first Kalapuya band removals occurred from March 6 to March 12, 1855, to encampments between French Prairie and south on both sides of the valley. Some ten different encampment sites were established for Kalapuyans, Molallans, and some Klamath people. The Tualatin were removed to an encampment at Wapato Lake and were directly administered by John Flett, who had land nearby. From there the Tualatins were removed directly to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in March 1856.

It is as yet unknown when the Tualatin were removed to the Wapato Lake encampment. It is possible that they moved in 1851 when they agreed to a land cession treaty with the United States. The Tualatin Treaty of 1851 stipulated the removal of the Tribe to a reservation centered at Wapato Lake. Once the treaty was agreed to, it was taken to Washington, D.C., by Anson Dart, with the 18 other treaties, but was never ratified. The Tribe, however, may have honored the agreement to move to the area around the lake even though they did not hear back from Congress until late 1852 or 1853 that the treaty would not be ratified, and it's likely they acted in good faith, expecting the U.S. and its agents to keep their word. In addition, Kiakuts, principal chief of the Tualatin, had an important land claim at the lake, a claim he won rights to in the U.S. District Court in Hillsboro in the late 1840s in a case against Donald McLeod. The lake was valuable for gathering wapato and hunting ducks, and the Tualatin clearly did not want to relinquish ownership, which is why – out of all their territory – they chose to claim the lake as a reservation in 1851.

The 1855 Wapato Lake Reservation or encampment, then, may have been a continuation of the 1851 agreement. The census of the Wapato Lake Encampment notes the people who were on and off the reservation in 1855 (figure 6). The remaining 66 Tualatins were removed to the Grand Ronde Reservation on March 13, 1856, as noted on the provisions invoice from John Flett (figure 7).

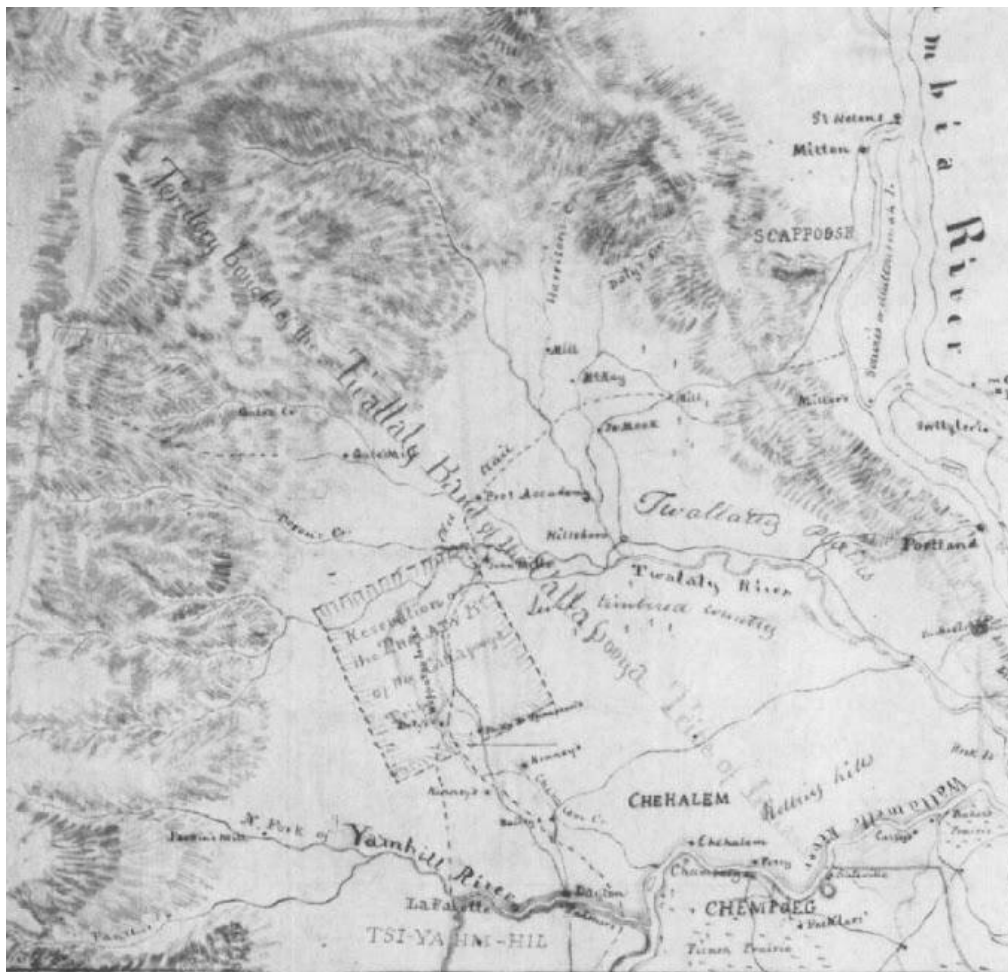


Figure 2 1851 Gibbs-Starling map section, showing Tualatin lands, Wapato Lake Reservation



Figure 3 Sketch Map of the Oregon Territory, section of The Belden Map 1855 showing 1855 cessions of land, Tualatin area and Portland

Washington County Oct 14/55
A true Copy of census of the Calapouia tribe
Dane Tualatin Encampment at Mapaloo Lake
Willamette C. T.

				November 1/55			
Kay a Huch	12	1	4				
Gealack	1		1	Doctor	1	1	2
Jo	12	1	4	Coot	1	1	2
George	1	1	1	Peter	1	1	2
Mad maw	1	1	1	Jackson	1		1
James	1		1	Bonefast	1		1
Sampack	1		1	Joseph	1		1
Slawan	1	1	2	Kay Nook	1		1
Greney	1	1	3	Absent			
Black Jack	1	2	1	Old hunter	1	1	2 Spencer But
Old Man	1	1	2	Northan	1	1	3 umpqua
Sametesen	1	1	2	Cowel	1	1	2 Corvallis
Old Peter	1	1	2	Poylar	1		1 France preare
Big Jam	1		1	Alwean	1	1	2 Yam hill
Dave	1	1	3	Jarvey	1		1 Abequa
Old Sex	1	1	2	young			
William	1		1	Men	1		2 France preare
Jam	1	1	2		1	4	1
James George	1	1	1				

Figure 4 Tualatin Census October 17, 1855, additional notes (Absent) and marks suggest that the census was used to take roll of the natives on the reservation.

I hereby Certify that the following articles of
Subsistence were issued by me to the Tualatin
Band of Indians, for their Subsistence, on
their removal from Chapato Lake to the Grand
Ronde Reservation - between the 10th and 13th of
March 1856 - The said Indians being 66
in Number, and placed under my Charge as
Conductor, by order of the Superint. Ind. Affairs
by:
125 One Hundred and twenty five pounds Flour
125 One Hundred and twenty five pounds Bacon
Dated: Dayton O. April 19th 1856
(Signed duplicate) John Flett Interpreter
and conductor

Figure 5

Invoice of provisions to move the Tualatin 1856

Removal of Chinookans

Palmer's orders of October 1855 stipulated that special agents were to begin removing all Columbia River and Willamette Valley Tribes to a permanent reservation. He ordered newly appointed special agents Lot Whitcomb and Berryman Jennings to remove Tribes on the lower Willamette River (Portland area) and Tribes on the south bank of the lower Columbia to encampments where they would await removal to a permanent reservation. Whitcomb had at his disposal several steamships, and he used them to remove the Tribes quickly and efficiently along the two rivers.

Joel Palmer to Lot Whitcomb:

October 19, 1855

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

Similar orders were sent to Berryman Jennings the same day.

Lot Whitcomb to Joel Palmer:

November 9, 1855

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

John Switzler began his ferry in 1846 and ran it from the southern bank (Oregon Territory) to Hayden Island where he had land, to the north bank Fort Vancouver landing. He appears to have been the first regular ferry service in the Portland area.

John Switzler Jr. took over his father's ferry business in about 1855. They also had a lumberyard operation too.¹⁵

"In 1846, John Switzler and his family settled here. He supplied Fort Vancouver with cattle, which he pastured where Columbia Edgewater members now play golf. He also ran a post office and the first Portland-Vancouver ferry. The fare was 50 cents for a pedestrian and one dollar for a horse and rider. In 1888 the Portland and Vancouver Railroad reached Switzler's ferry landing."¹⁶

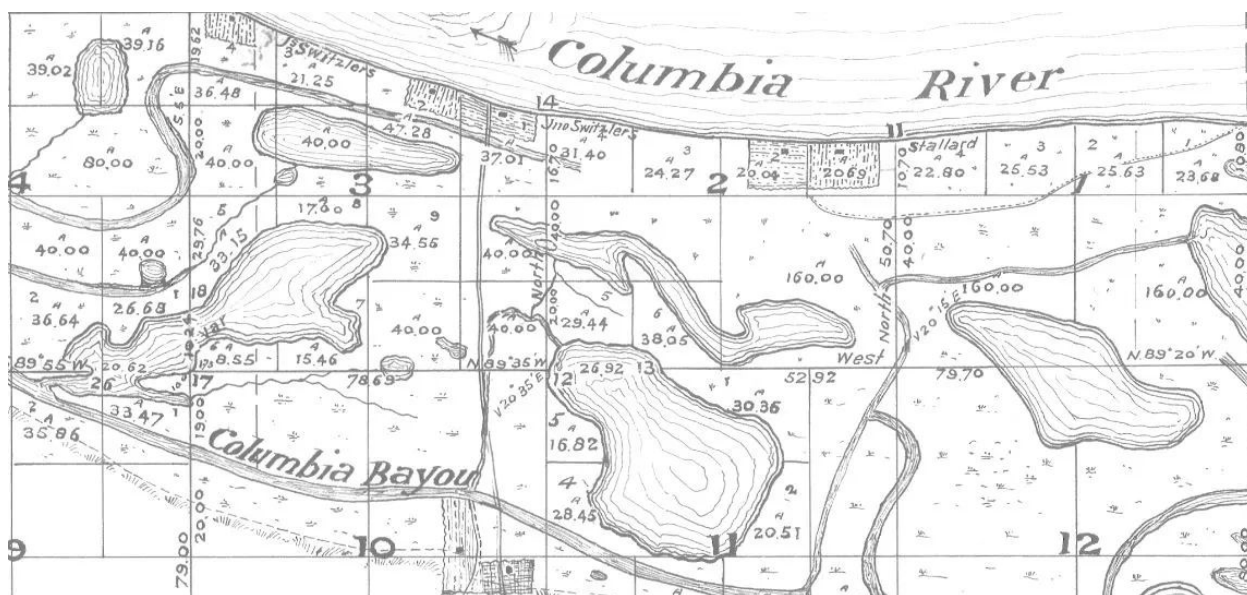


Figure 6 1851 GLO map- Note on the riverbank J. Switzlers (Joseph) and Jno Switzlers (John) lands. The road to the shore at 37.01 is the ferry access road. Note also the many bayous, marshes, swales in the area suggesting the wetland nature of the area.

It is quite clear in the letter of November 9, 1855, that Whitcomb collected all Tribes from about Cascades Rapids to the Willamette River outlet onto the encampment at Switzler's Ferry. John Switzler was likely chosen because he had a thriving business and structure for administering several hundred people, had an efficient dock to land a

¹⁵ Searches for records of the Switzler family have not revealed any saved records. Historic accounts state that the children of John Switzler took over operations after he passed. It was February 14, 1917, when the first bridge was built across the Columbia, the Interstate Bridge, after which there was no need for a ferry and they likely closed operations very quickly. The ferry was in the vicinity of the present-day Portland Yacht Club.

¹⁶ <http://columbiariverimages.com/Regions/Places/bridgeton.html>

steamboat, and was on a supply route. Whitcomb's account in his reports is supported by his invoices of the same period.

Whitcomb was ordered to attend to other encampments, and he visited the encampment at Milton, which held two bands of Natives, the Nepechuck (Multnomah)¹⁷ peoples and the Clatskanie peoples.¹⁸ Whitcomb also visited the encampment at Astoria with the Clatsop, Lower Chinook, and Tillamook peoples to attend to their needs for supplies and cash. Near his own land at Milwaukie, and in conjunction with several other special agents, Lot Whitcomb and Byron Jennings administered an encampment for the Clackamas people, and in Oregon City there was a small encampment of Clowwewalla/Oregon City people as well. Palmer ordered all agents to take censuses of their encampments.

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

¹⁷ The Nepechuck are assumed to be the remnant Multnomah Tribe. A portion of this Tribe lived on the north bank of the Columbia, but that was a different Indian administrative district, the Western Washington Indian District, and they would not be removed to Grand Ronde.

¹⁸ Boxberger, Daniel L. "THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY 1839 FORT VANCOUVER CENSUSES OF INDIAN POPULATION." *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* 46.1 (2012).

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

Figure 10 Census of Cascades Watlala people removed to Switzlers Ferry

It was not until November 1855 that Palmer decided on a second Indian reservation in western Oregon, the Yamhill River Reserve/Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. His initial plan to place all people at the Coast Reservation was abandoned when he had to quickly remove the Tribes to safety (from extermination by settlers), and the Coast Reservation was not yet prepared to take 4000 removed Natives and effectively administer them. Therefore, Palmer arranged to buy out the settlers in the Grand Ronde Valley and move all Willamette Valley Treaty peoples and others to this new reservation.¹⁹ The additional populations at Grand Ronde were the people of the interior valleys of Western Oregon, people on the Table Rock and Umpqua reservations, and some Tillamook peoples.²⁰

¹⁹ The Grand Ronde Indian Reservation was not made permanent until 1857 with a presidential executive order. See Lewis 2009. The only treaty to mention this reserve by name is the Molalla Treaty of December 1855, and named it the Yamhill River Reserve, its other early name.

²⁰ There were 32 Tribes and bands moved to Grand Ronde if we count those named in the seven ratified treaties. The principal Tribes are Takelma, Shasta, Chasta Costa, from Table Rock; then Cow Creek, Upper Umpqua, Southern Molalla, Yoncalla from Umpqua Basin; all Kalapuya Tribes from the Willamette valley (Jo's Band Santiam, Louis's band Santiam, Tualatin, Ahantchuyuk, Luckiamute, Yamhill, Tekopa, Mohawk, Winefelly, Chafin, Chelamela, Chemapho, Champinefu), as well as Molalla, Clatskanie, Middle Chinookan Tribes (Clackamas, Cascades, Multnomah, Clowwewalla). Later Tillamookans, including Nestucca, Salmon River (Nechesne). Additionally, groups of collected peoples who were in the valley and not a part of any treaty, including three groups of Klamath (Oregon City, Abiqua Encampment, Umpqua Reserve), Klickitat, and a few Pend d'Oreille.

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

Figure 11 Table of invoices of removal of Tribes to Grand Ronde Indian Reservation

Return of Provisions issued to the Clackamas Bands, and the Clowwewalla and Wallalah (Tumwater) Bands of Indians, at the Dayton Encampment, enroute to the Grand Ronde Reservation for Sixteen days, Commencing on the 3rd and ending on the 18th of April 1856.

<i>Clackamas, Clowwewalla & Wallalah (Tumwater) Bands</i>	<i>No. of Men</i>	<i>No. of Women</i>	<i>No. of Children</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>No. of Hays</i>	<i>No. of Rations</i>	<i>Pounds of Beef</i>	<i>Pounds of Pork</i>	<i>Pounds of Flour</i>	<i>Pounds of Salt</i>	<i>Pounds of Sugar</i>	<i>Pounds of Tea</i>
	62	80	67	209	16	\$254	\$254	=	\$254	\$25	\$90	45

I certify that the above Provision Return is correct as stated
John Platt Inspector
Actg. Local Agent

Figure 7 Table of expenses

The above image (figure 12) is the invoice documenting the meals fed to the Clackamas, Clowwewalla, and Wallalah (Watlala) Tumwater (Cascades) bands while at the Dayton encampment. There were some 209 people in this invoice.

Return of Provisions issued on the road, in the removal of Indians from the Dayton Encampment to the Grand Ronde Reservation, by, and under the charge of W. D. Woodcock, Special Conductor, under the orders of Joel Palmer, Superintendent Ind. Affairs, in April 1856.

Names of Tribes or Bands	Families				Provision period issued		No. of Days	No. of Rations	Pounds of Beef (14 lbs. to a ration)	Pounds of Wheat (14 lbs. to a ration)	Pounds of Bacon (14 lbs. to a ration)
	Males	Females	No. of Children	Total							
					From	To					
Watlalla	23	35	32	90	12 th Apr.	13 th Apr.	2	180	162	225	50
Clackamas, &c.	62	80	67	209	19 th "	20 th "	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	313 $\frac{1}{2}$	250	392	113 $\frac{1}{2}$
Clatskanie	47	65	29	141	19 th "	20 th "	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	211 $\frac{1}{2}$	125	264	111 $\frac{1}{2}$
Klatskanian	8	7	5	20	16 th "	20 th "	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	90	90	112 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
Klikitat	3	5	3	11	27 th "	27 th "	1	11		13 $\frac{1}{2}$	11
Calapooya	3	5	4	12	27 th "	27 th "	1	12		15	12
Total	146	197	140	483	—	—	—	818	627	1022	316

Figure 8 Table of expenses

The figure 13 invoice/abstract is for support of these and several other Tribes while on the road to Grand Ronde, April 12-27, 1856. The Tribes were on the road in small bands, and their journey took about a day.

We can see above that the Clackamas, Clowwewalla, and Wallalah (Watlala) Tumwater are now all conflated under one name, Clackamas, etc. with the same 209 people.

Note also the "Klatskanie" people: 20 people remained of this Tribe, who originally occupied the hills and coast mountains bordering the Columbia River. Of the Clatskanie, not much is known of their culture other than they occupied more upland areas and hunted. They are normally depicted as not having any claim to land on the Columbia River, but in the 1851 treaty proceedings they do claim an area of the south bank of the Columbia River, west of Scappoose (figure 12).

2 nd quarter, 1856	April 18 1856	John Flett, interpreter acting Local agent	Return of provisions issued to the Clackamas bands, and the Clowwewalla and Wallalah (Tumwater) bands of Indians, at the Dayton Encampment, enroute to the Grand Ronde Reservation for sixteen days: commencing on the 3 rd and ending on the 18 th of April 1856 Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Wallalah (Tumwater) bands; no. of men 62; no. of women 80; no. of children 67, total 209; no. of days 16; no. of rations 3254; pounds of beef 3254; pounds of flour 3254; pounds of salt 325; pounds of sugar 390; pounds of tea 48. Witnesses, W.D. Woodcock, George Dorsey, W. H. Ewing	
2 nd quarter 1856	April 30 1856	W.D. Woodcock	Return of provisions issues on the road in the removal of Indians from the Dayton Encampment to the Grand Ronde reservation by and under the charge of W.D. Woodcock, Special Conductor, under the orders of Joel Palmer, superintendent Ind. Affairs, in April 1856 Clackamas etc.: no. of men 62; no. of women 80; No. of children 67; total 209; For what period issued, from April 19 to April 20; No. of days 1 ½; no. of rations 313 ½; pounds of beef 250; pounds of flour 392; pounds of bacon 113 ½	

The clear implication of the evidence presented is that the Tribes from the southern bank of the Columbia River, including the Cascades, Neerchokikoo, and Nichaqwali peoples, were gathered up by Lot Whitcomb and his fellow special agents and transported to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. These people became part of the 32 Tribes who were initially removed to the reservation and formed diverse mixed Native families with many Tribal heritages on the reservation.²¹

Joel Palmer remained Indian Superintendent of Oregon until August 1856, when he was forced to resign due to political issues with the settler-led government of the Oregon Territory. Settlers in the Willamette Valley were upset that Palmer had moved

²¹ Counting the Tribes on the various ratified treaties who were all initially removed to Grand Ronde, there are 27 Tribes. Recent finds in archives, two additional signature pages for the Willamette Valley treaty, add at least five Tribes to that count. The five additional Tribes are the Northern or Chemaween Band of Santiam, Santiam Forks Band of Molalla, Mountain band of Molalla, Klatskanie and Nepechuck band of Chinookans

thousands of Indians they perceived as potentially violent to a reservation close to the principal Oregon settlements in the valley. Settlers were also upset that Palmer appeared to side with Native Tribes in his opposition to the actions of the volunteer militia led by Governor Curry. The militias had begun exterminating Tribal peoples indiscriminately and were blamed by Palmer in letters to his superior at the Indian Office and communications with General John E. Wool, Commander of the Pacific, for instigating most of the conflicts and wars with Tribes. Governor Curry managed to get federal officials to call for Palmer's resignation. Palmer then resigned during the period when he was setting up the reservations and attempting to keep the peace between settlers and Tribes in southern Oregon and north of the Columbia by separating the combatants. However, Palmer had set a good blueprint for the reservations and had plans in motion so that his former assistants were able to complete many of the plans for full removal for the Tribes and secure the necessary provisions for the reservations. Edward Geary, former secretary to Palmer, took charge as Indian Superintendent in September 1856 and continued many of Palmer's plans. And, since he lived in the valley, Palmer continued to advise many agents and take contracts for work on the reservations.²²

Question 4: What is the history of settlement and settler uses of the Tualatin Hills? If possible, specifically the land Portland Audubon occupies now, but also the surrounding Forest Park landscape.

The lands in the hills above Portland were thinly settled due to the fact that they could not sustain much farming. Land in the 19th century was only declared "useful" when settlers could farm it. Some trees were useful for logging, others were considered useless or "inferior." Many of the useless trees were logged out to make way for stands of Douglas fir trees, a noted tree that produces superior building lumber. That is now the predominant tree on the slopes of the hills, especially in the former homesteads. Otherwise the land was developed for mainly housing, and later for tourism – environmental tourism, conservation tourism, recreational tourism, and heritage tourism – over the past 140 years.

Historic Uses of the Portland Audubon Properties

The principal parcel of land, those lands which first became the Portland Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary, were settled by William Cornell, a preacher, and his family. They became wealthy and part of the elite in Portland and preached in the Tualatin Valley. They sent their girls to attend private college in Portland. In the 1880s the Cornells left the Tualatin Hills and moved to Salem, Oregon, where Cornell was reportedly involved with Willamette University. They are buried in the Pioneer Cemetery on D Street in Salem. Cornell Road is named for their early occupation.²³ Settler uses of the Tualatin Hills were light farming, dairy (Pittock), mainly livestock, and habitations. Several

²² See the Palmer Papers collection online for numerous letters from and about Palmer and his activities after he resigned in August 1856.

²³ William Cornell, Preacher, Pioneer, https://cedarmillnews.com/legacy/archive/107/william_cornell.html

mansions were built in the hills, suggesting that the hills were for the elite. This is a common enough practice of urban elites who can pay for the vistas and seclusion without requiring a working farm.

Henry Pittock is well known for owning and directing the development of the *Oregonian* newspaper in the second phase of its history, from about 1860 and for the next 45 years. The newspaper expanded and outcompeted many other similar dailies of the region. Pittock grew wealthy and had his mansion built in the Tualatin Hills. He is known for his progressive and philanthropic work in the region. Besides the mansion, Pittock had a working dairy farm and developed a large section of his property into a bird sanctuary. He sat on numerous committees that worked to develop Portland and the regional culture of Oregon. He began and directed the early Rosarians organization, with his wife, and served on the Oregon Pioneer Association. He clearly benefitted materially from the improvements to his property.

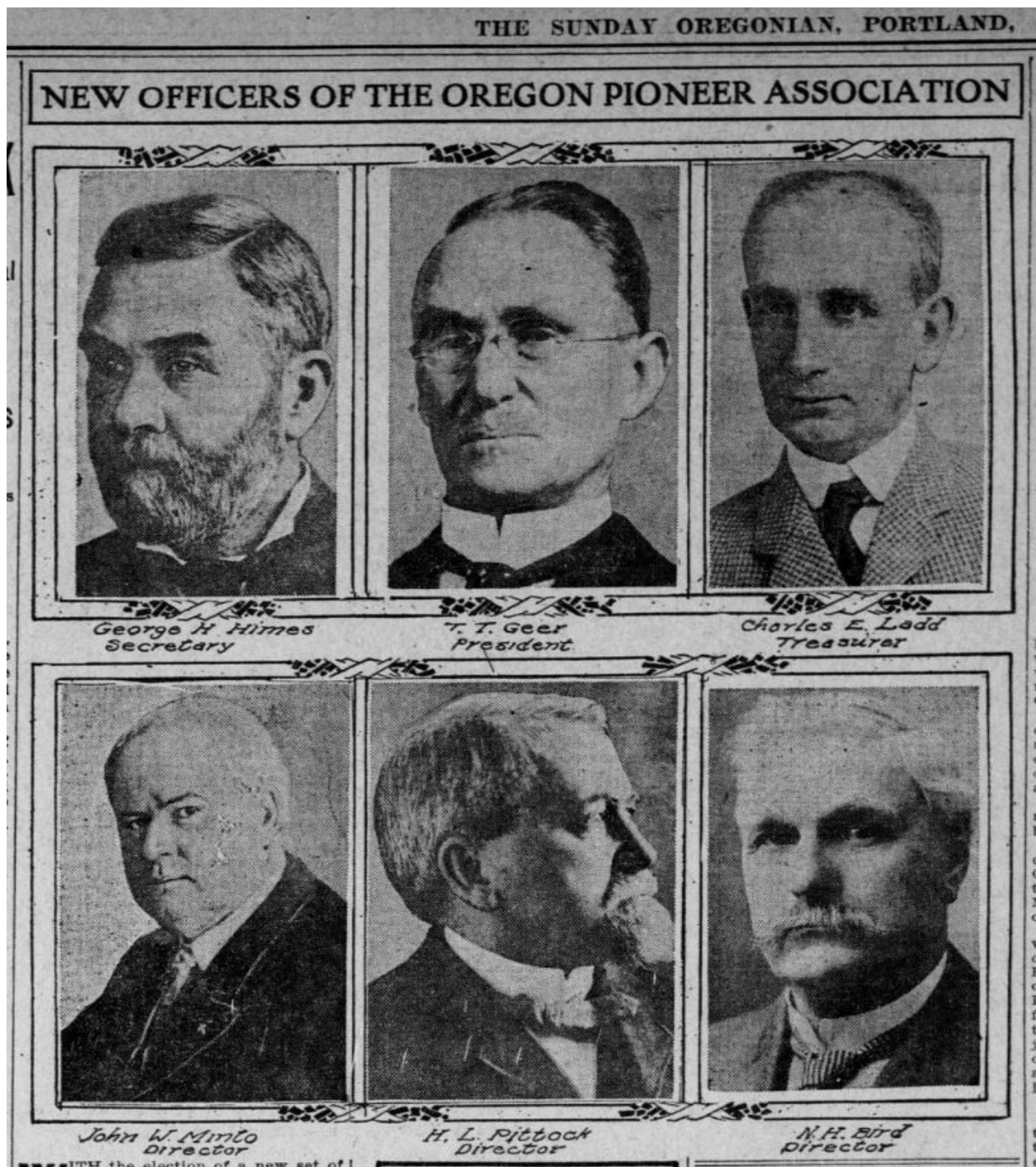


Figure 9 Image from the Oregonian newspaper. Himes was the first director of the Oregon Historical Society, Geer was the tenth governor of Oregon (1899-1903), Ladd owned the Ladd and Bush bank, John Wilson Minto was the son of John Minto, a merino sheep rancher.

Question 5: What kinds of land management/stewardship practices are used by Tribes in this area? How do Indigenous land management practices differ from those of settlers?

The Kalapuyans and Chinookans would not have employed much landscape management in the Tualatin Hills. There would have been some cultural burning with fires set by either Kalapuyans or Chinookans to stimulate growth of berries, and some harvesting of plants. The Tribes would set fires to stimulate growth and regrowth of commonly available hazel and huckleberry. Communications with Portland Audubon staff indicate that native hazel is present on several sections of the preserve. In my tour of the wildlife preserve, principally around the main buildings, many wild bushes and trees appeared missing from the landscape (if the landscape is evaluated as a traditional landscape). In this non-scientific and very short tour, I did not see much native hazel or vine maple along the trails, and these two are prominent understory plants in all of the ranges, mountains, and hills of Western Oregon. Discussions with staff indicate that vine maple is prominent in most of the sanctuary. There were a few berry plants, and berries are quite common normally.²⁴

Native people tended to set annual cultural fires on prairies and in fields of significant crops to stimulate their growth or manage them effectively. Settlers sought to reshape and reengineer the land to fit the needs of animal husbandry or agriculture. Only land that could sustain agriculture or livestock was considered worthwhile by settlers, and the rest was worthless. Settlers logged forests and would replant with a single plant species they valued. In Oregon, Douglas fir was valued and much of the second-, third-, and fourth-growth forests, after generations of logging activities, are nearly exclusively Douglas fir. This monocropping, as in agriculture, eliminates the variety of environments needed to sustain diverse species. The wildlife preserve in some areas appears to have suffered from the replanting of only Douglas fir. There are some welcome species like cedars, but the vast majority are Douglas fir, and we would expect more white oak and more varieties of maple, wild native fruits (elderberry, chokecherry, crab apple, plum) in the Tualatin Hills than what is there today. Thinning out the Douglas fir and replanting with diverse native species is advised for sustaining environments for animals and birds. Native bird species would likely be revived in response to the restoration of their traditional environment.

James Dana, geologist for the Wilkes Expedition, notes in 1841 the character of the landscape:

“Prairie nearly 3 sq miles in – just burnt over by Indian fires extending into adjoining forests & enlarging the prairie land.” (Dana Journal 37)

“... land about mouth of Willamette & opposite Ft. Vancouver – low flats flooded at high water of spring freshets intersected by numerous canals... cut up into small inlets...” (Dana Journal 38)

²⁴ The lack of these particular bushes in the area visited suggests that there has been a different focus for restoring the landscape of the preserve in the past. Present staff stated they were concerned about restoring native plants.

“hills wooded, pine forests...” (Dana Journal 38)

And this from the Henry Eld Journal, also from the Wilkes expedition of 1841:

“Our route has been through what might be called a hilly prairie country. The grass mostly burnt off by recent fires, & the whole country sprinkled with oaks so regularly dispersed as to have the appearance of a continuous orchard of fruit trees. The streams were invariably lined with trees on both sides.”

The 1854 sets of survey notes for the General Land Office (GLO) for this section noted maple, fir, hemlock, cedar, oak, and other trees in what was to become Portland. They also reported undergrowth of native hazel and ferns.

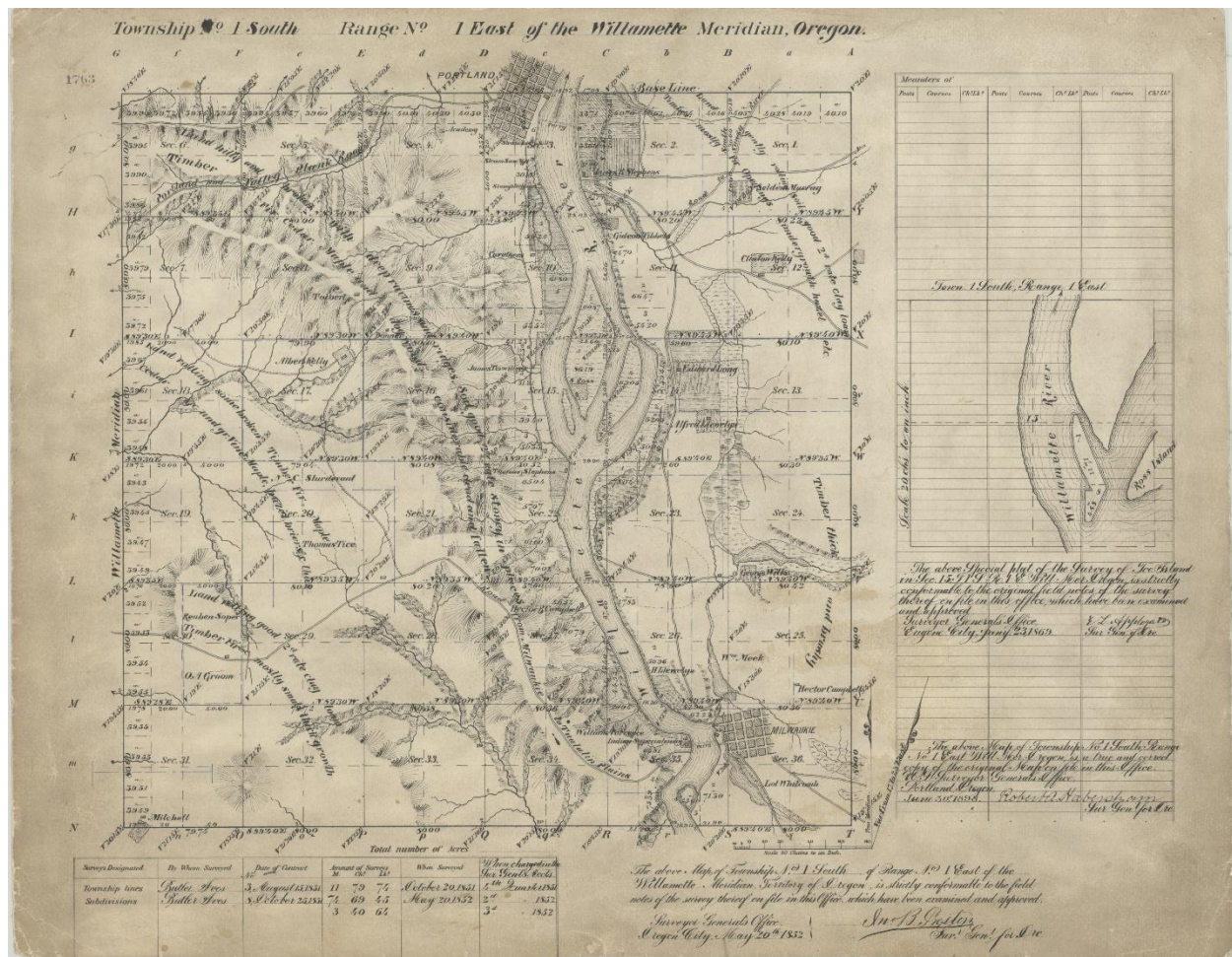


Figure 10 GLO survey map 1S 1E

The character of the land was forever changed with the building of a large city and clearing for residences, farms, and industries. These changes are reflected in the forested hills and ravines of the Tualatin Hills as settlers alternately logged the timber to

get what value they could from the land and then replanted it with worthwhile species like Douglas fir. This is a quite common occurrence throughout the West. But as we evaluate the land today, the true native diversity of some of a few sections of the Wildlife Sanctuary appears missing (again, non-scientific). Restoring diversity would result in creating more habitat for native animals and birds, which in turn would support the mission of the Wildlife Sanctuary. A scientific survey of species present compared with a characteristic native landscape would indicate the needed percentages of plants in the overstory and understory to achieve true diversity. Much of the diversity could be accomplished in the long term by replacement of naturally felled trees with more variety, as well as intentional propagation of a range of understory plants, which are underrepresented in sections of the sanctuary lands.

Question 6: How did the conservation philosophies and practices differ between Indigenous peoples and settlers?

Native peoples have a relationship with the land around them. Native people believe that everything has a spirit and is alive and those spirits are to be honored. Native people work to live with the land and honor it in various ceremonies annually to make sure they have a rebirth of the land and its plants, animals, and fishes, in the spring. Their activities would result in a wealth of new resources and food to sustain themselves. This is very different from the philosophies of the settlers, who sought to take land and extract wealth without regard for the welfare of the land, the welfare of the plants and animals, or any of the original human inhabitants. Settlers saw the land as only containing resources to be exploited and did not care what they destroyed. To them, the land and its resources are a never-ending source of wealth and so they may be destroyed without worry for the future. Since Native people are in a close relationship with and depend on natural plant and animal cycles of growth and renewal, Native peoples seek to steward those processes so they and their environment may live well into the future. Native peoples and the land they live on are in a symbiotic relationship, with Native people somewhat responsible for helping the land produce. In response, nature (metaphor for their environment and its species) will produce for the people. Ceremonies, as mentioned, serve as a way to communicate to guiding spirits, to nature, and to the land, the goodwill and wishes of Tribal people. The two philosophies, that of settler culture and that of Native culture, are at odds.

When settlers first arrived, many Native people saw opportunities for their own wealth. The Kalapuyans and Chinookans helped the settlers and worked for them to get the wealth items – guns, iron skillets, knives, fabrics, beads – that they could not produce themselves. The Tribes helped the settlers by feeding them and trading with them in the first years. Many Natives would provide the labor to build fences and barns, and learned to plow and tend livestock in exchange for food, money, or a horse, or some other valuable items in trade and payment. These initial connections benefitted all, but as settlers came to the valley in ever-increasing numbers – 1844 saw the start of the Oregon Trail and increased immigration – they eventually took all the land for themselves and left the Native people with nothing. Native people were forced to adapt to the new economic system brought by the settlers, because in a short time after

settlement, all their wild food sources – bulbs, tubers, and even oak trees – were taken to build farms or plowed under. Then domesticated livestock like pigs and cows destroyed their foods. Pigs especially would root out bulbs to eat; they are noted in 1854 by Joel Palmer as getting fat on wapato bulbs. This left the Tribes with fewer food sources each year as settlement progressed. In addition, settlers hunted and fished with very efficient firearms, and this further impacted Native food sources. The normal stores of dried and smoked foods the Tribes would put away for the harsh winters, especially camas and wapato, were no longer available, causing much starvation. Tribal people began to suffer and were forced to work for the settlers for food or starve. By the 1850s most of the valley was taken by settlers, and many had built up their farms and no longer needed excess farm labor. When the Kalapuyans were starving and no one would hire them, they had to beg for food, but many settlers would not share “their” wealth with “savages” and “vagrants,” and so many Native peoples chose to steal.²⁵ They got the reputation as thieves, and settlers sought to get rid of the vagrants in the valley. Indian agents in 1855 began to remove all Natives in the Oregon Territory to reservations. Tribes on the reservations faced starvation and neglect, causing suffering and many early deaths. The conditions on the reservations were caused by the lack of planning and attention to the rights and promises within the ratified treaties by federal Indian agents and Indian Office administrators.

The history of settler-Tribal interactions points out several philosophical differences. When settlers arrived, they did not know what foods to eat in this strange land, but Native people hosted, fed, and helped settlers build their farms. They even allowed settlers to peacefully live on Tribal lands, but settlers did not see any reason to reciprocate when they became the majority population and the Tribes were in need. Settlers were stingy with their own wealth and would not help the Tribal people. Settlers labeled Native people as vagrants, and many sought their extermination.

In Tribal society, when someone comes to your home, you are to treat them well and feed them. You would not have to purchase food if you were in great need. In this way Native people helped out their neighbors, even newcomers. But the settlers did not practice this same sense of neighborliness and charity. In part, the settlers’ issues arose from discrimination, because the Native people were not white, nor were they Christians, and Oregon was envisioned as a white Christian land by many early settlers. Then once settlers were the majority population and the territory was claimed by the U.S. government, settlers passed laws against blacks owning land in Oregon, and Native people could not own land because they were not citizens of the United States nor were they “civilized.” “Civilized” in the 1850s meant white and Christian, and this discriminatory notion continues well into the 20th century. Even selling Tribal lands in treaties did not give citizenship to Tribal people. They were considered aliens to the U.S. because Americans were not willing to give citizenship to non-white and non-civilized peoples and wanted all the wealth of the land for themselves and their Christian nation.

²⁵ These were quite common statements that appeared in area newspapers in editorials about the Indian problems in the territory.

Rather than pursue extermination, the federal government chose to concentrate Tribes on reservations under federal jurisdiction. There never was a right given to Native people to remain on their lands, even on land that was never purchased officially and legally by the federal government. For example, all of the Oregon coast lands were never officially sold to the United States. The Coast Treaty of 1855 and other treaties (Tillamook 1851, Nehalem 1851, Clatsop 1851) were never ratified, and even so, the Tribes were forced to move from their lands and go to the Coast Reservation. Those who did not go were sometimes allowed to remain in the area, but were forced to live on the outskirts of the settler towns (specifically not allowed to live in town). A good example of this is Hobsonville, a Native community outside Tillamook, where Clatsop and Tillamook people lived.

Once on reservations, the Tribes were forced to assimilate or perish. Assimilation was planned through three strategies: forcing children into boarding schools, forcing adults to become farmers and therefore adopt a worthwhile profession, and embedding missionaries among Natives to influence them to become Christianized. Assimilation policies were largely successful in Oregon. Those at the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation (including Tualatin Kalapuyans) were exposed to a Catholic missionary, Rev. Adrien Croquet, appointed by the federal government to the reservation, and many in the Tribe today are Catholic. In addition, the second and most successful boarding school at the reservation was built and operated by the Catholic Church.

The result of settlement and colonization was that lands and resources were taken from Native peoples without fair return or reciprocity on the part of the settlers. Even payments from treaties impoverished the Tribes, and many died under federal supervision. Native people on reservations were not allowed to leave without a pass, and yet they would still try to return to their homelands. Many of the escapees from reservations were forced to return after they were captured. It was not until the 20th century that Native people were allowed to freely leave and not until 1924 that they were made citizens. As a result, there are few Native people that have long-term wealth or have any significant land ownership, which is the base of most wealth in the country. Most Native people today do not have access to enough land to continue practicing their traditional culture.

Notes

The project was pursued at a time when many archives were not open because of the pandemic. Major collections at Oregon Historical Society had few references or records about the research area. The Multnomah County archives had planning documents for parks and the questions were about how parks were created in the county. There may be information there. Portland city archives were not open or available for research. Requests to Washington County archives were similarly declined. Most research then took place on the internet with established and newly found sources. This limited the ability of the project to get a deeper history. In addition, Tribal records, either governmental or ethnographic, are difficult to come by for this era following removal of

the Tribes. Tribal people who removed themselves from reservations were not well documented.

We know there were communities of shantytowns, in places like Goose Hollow in Portland, but their records are difficult to find. The one source thus far for Goose Hollow is *Goose Hollow* an Arcadia published book by Tracy Prince (2011). Otherwise nearly all Tribal histories are of the reservations. Ethnographic information was collected too late – 1870s to 1930s – to help with questions about use of the Tualatin Hills by the Tribes. By that period, most of the people were at least one generation removed from using the hills for any cultural purpose. As such, the included accounts are in many ways generalizations of what activities likely occurred based on evidence from adjacent regions. Still, we can use this research and other documents to reconstruct the cultural use of the region fairly accurately. That is the result of this project, to reconstruct as best as possible a Tribal context that can aid the Sanctuary in making decisions about its future interpretation of the culture, land, animals, and plants.

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