

Appendix R

TRIBAL GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

Introduction to Tribal Geographic Context Statements

The 10 federally recognized tribes, and one non-federally recognized tribe, consulting on the Program have been invited to prepare geographic and ethnographic context statements in lieu of standard context statements so the tribes can share information about the background of this region from their perspective and in their own words. Two federally recognized tribes have accepted this invitation. The IBR Program recognizes that the context statements prepared may not reflect the histories of those tribes that have chosen not to participate.

The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (CTGR) and the Cowlitz Indian Tribe (CIT) submitted the following geographic context statements for inclusion as appendices in the Archaeology Technical Report. These documents are reflections of their tribal identities, relationships with their homelands since time immemorial, and their historic (and ongoing) experiences with settler colonialism within and beyond the IBR Area of Potential Effects. The statements are informed by published materials including ethnographies, ethnohistories, history studies and historic accounts; unpublished grey literature and archival documents; and tribal knowledge-keepers within their own communities, both past and present.

The CIT is a federally recognized tribe whose reservation is located in Clark County, Washington. CIT members are primarily the descendants of the Coast Salish speaking Cowlitz and the Taidnapam, who spoke a Sahaptian language. The historic homelands of present-day Cowlitz include the Cowlitz, Kalama, Lewis, and Washougal Rivers, all tributaries to the Columbia River.

The CTGR is also a federally recognized tribe with a reservation located in Grand Ronde, Oregon. Its members are the descendants of over 30 tribes and bands in western Oregon, northern California, and southwest Washington State, including the Cascades, Multnomah, and Clackamas: Chinook speaking inhabitants of the densely populated Lower Columbia River.

The Lower Columbia River was a locus of trade and thus a zone of substantial interaction between Cowlitz, Taidnapam, Chinook, and other groups with ties to the area prior to the arrival of epidemic diseases in the late eighteenth century, of fur traders and missionaries at Fort Vancouver in the early nineteenth century, and government agents in the late nineteenth century.

All of these factors make for an extremely complex cultural geography of the area. This complexity, combined with the differently situated, culturally grounded perspectives that inform each tribe's context statements will inevitably result in some differences between each tribe's report.

There are also many points of similarity between both reports. Both reports note that the practice of exogamy, or marrying outside one's group, was a common practice long before the arrival of non-Indigenous peoples to the Lower Columbia. In other words, ancestors of contemporary CTGR and CIT tribal members certainly intermarried. The reports also agree that the decimation of tribal populations beginning in the late eighteenth century resulted in demographic collapse and a reorganization of Tribal groups and their habitation sites on the Lower Columbia, most significantly

Cathlapotle at the mouth of Lewis River. Similarly, the arrival of laborers to Fort Vancouver from Canada and other locations resulted in intermarriage between these new arrivals and Grand Ronde or Cowlitz ancestors, which may have been motivated, at least in part, by the eighteenth century demographic collapse. Perhaps most importantly for this study, both context statements articulate each tribe's deep and enduring ties to the IBR project area.

Home on Lower Columbia River: A Grand Ronde Context Statement for the Interstate Bridge Replacement Program

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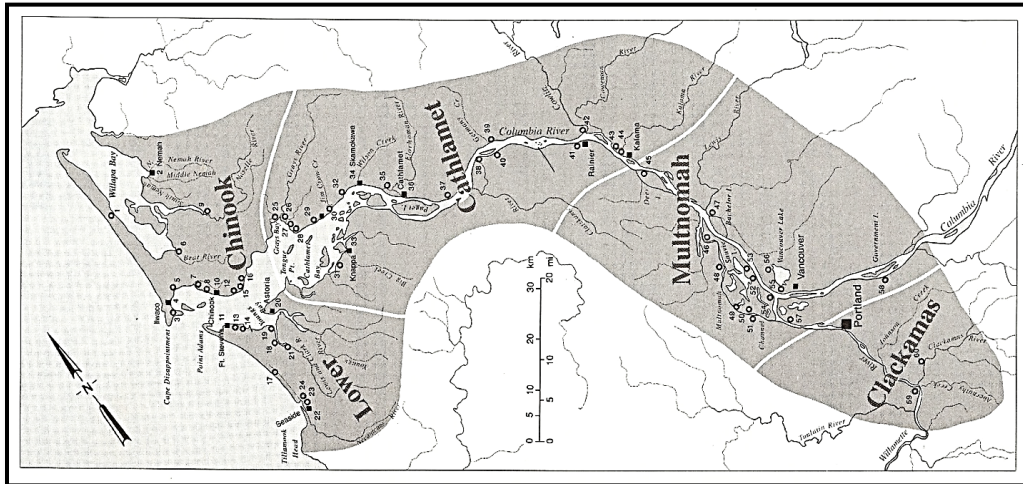
The lower reach of the Columbia River transected by the Interstate Bridge Replacement (IBR) Program and associated areas of potential effect (a.k.a. I-5 Bridge and surrounding landscape) has long been a multitribal locus, where peoples have traveled, fished, gathered, and carried out social, economic, and cultural life since the beginning of remembered time. The available record does little justice to the richness and complexity of traditional life in this place. Still, in every written account of the contact period and in the recollections of our elders and ancestors, one fact is abundantly clear: this reach is the traditional homeland of Chinookan people. This is not a matter of debate. Every published analysis of this river reach agrees on the key fact of Chinookan predominance of presence, residence, and stewardship along this reach of the river (e.g., Zenk et al. 2016; Boyd et al. 2015; Ellis 2015; Silverstein 1990; Saleeby 1983; Suphan 1974a, 1974b; Spier 1936; Berreman 1937; Hodge 1910; Gibbs 1854; see Map 1). Today, many of the descendants of these Chinookan communities are enrolled in the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR).

Along the lower Columbia, populations were large—some of the densest Native populations in what is today the United States.¹ The various Chinook communities that lined the banks of the Columbia River around today's IBR crossing had interconnected kinship networks and economies, as well as shared customs and beliefs. All of these communities spoke varieties of the Chinook language. As Franchère noted, the "Chinook language is spoken by all the native tribes from the river's mouth to the rapids" (Franchère 1967:121). They are therefore properly referred to as "Chinookan"—a term that emerged in the field of linguistics and is now widely used to encompass communities that spoke all the languages and dialects of the Chinook language family, including all of the communities along the Columbia River from the Wasco and Wishram Chinook around The Dalles to the Lower Chinook ("Chinook proper") and Clatsop people living at the ocean shore.² These peoples were prominent and powerful. A number of observers depict the Chinookan-speaking peoples as a relatively unified cultural and demographic entity along the river "from the mouth to the falls" (Franchère 1967:109–24; Ross 1849). Lee and Frost write, "These Indians of the lower country resemble each other in person and manners, and, with some slight exceptions, in dress also, and the exceptions must be *very slight*" (Lee and Frost 1844:101). Writers of the 1830s, such as George Simpson, assert that the Chinook were the most prominent people in the Northwest and occupied the entire Columbia River waterfront from the Cascades to the sea: "The Chinook tribe is the most powerful" (Simpson 1931:95–6). Father François Blanchet likewise explained that "The Chinooks are scattered along the Columbia from this fort [Vancouver] to the Pacific Ocean. Before the year 1830 they formed the most numerous as well as the richest nation of this entire part of the continent" (Blanchet and Demers 1956:18).³

Historical sources agree Chinookan peoples were skilled traders, often serving as the middlemen in trade networks centered on the lower Columbia River linking the outer coast to the Northwest interior (Boyd et al. 2015; Silverstein 1990; Ruby and Brown 1976; Ray 1938). As Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Governor George Simpson noted "they are without exception the...most acute and finished bargain Makers I have fallen in with"—a claim echoed by almost every non-Native fur trader to work on the lower Columbia (Simpson 1931:96). A culturally-rooted preoccupation with, and expertise in, trade is widely reported in both historical and anthropological literatures.⁴ Trade gatherings associated with the major villages on the Chinookan world brought together people from tribes throughout the region—not only for commerce, but for a variety of social events, competitive gaming, ceremonial activities, and other proceedings accompanying the exchange of goods (Ross 1849:90–1).

This reach of the lower Columbia was populated with large villages of longhouses, constructed of split cedar boards, that housed extended Chinookan families. These regional communities were remarkable for their large number of "fully sedentary villages" situated especially in areas of resource abundance and

transportation access (Saleeby 1983).⁵ Later sections of this statement detail those villages closest to the IBR, and the identity of their inhabitants. Also characteristic of Chinookan peoples were the numerous seasonal resource camps that served as temporary homes and processing sites for resource harvesters from these villages and beyond, infilling between the large permanent communities; thin evidence suggests such camps may have been found immediately within the IBR crossing, relating to camas harvests and other resource procurement (Kane 1859:187–88).⁶ Also located in clearings along this reach were burial sites. Some sources hint at pre-contact burials on the northern end of the IBR, though the origins of this claim remain unclear (Talbot in Hine and Lettinville 1972:119).⁷ With expert woodworking skills, the peoples of this reach produced large dugout cedar canoes that plied the lower Columbia and adjacent waterways, each capable of carrying large crews and freight, some even crossing the mouth of the Columbia to travel by sea.

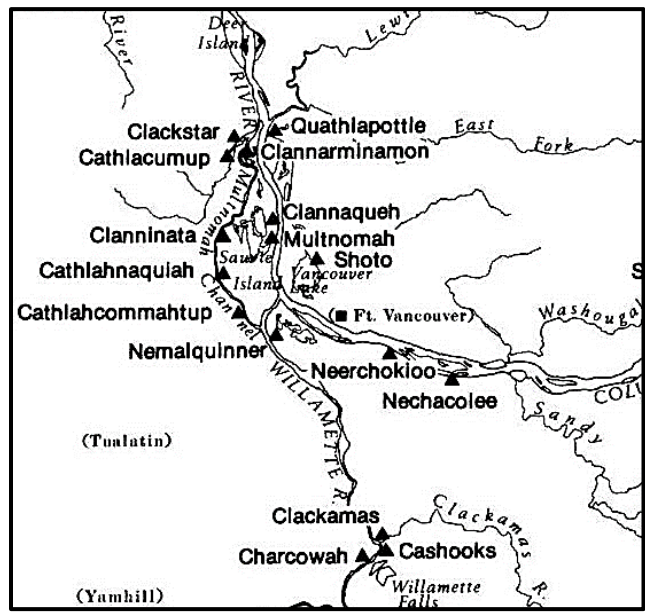


Map 1: lower Columbia River Chinookan territories from Smithsonian’s Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7: Northwest Coast. The geographical extent of Band territories remains a subject of debate, but the overall extent of lower Columbia River Chinookan lands remains undisputed in both Grand Ronde and academic documentation.
Source: Silverstein 1990.

Chinookan peoples also tended to be exogamous, with a cultural preference for marrying outside of one’s own community, particularly among elites and especially if this conferred trade advantages to the communities linked by the new union. A man of high standing might have numerous wives, ideally hailing from several different tribes so as to produce the widest spectrum of family alliances (Franchère 1967:117–19).⁸ Chinookan communities also were generally patrilocal, with women usually moving to their husband’s village at the time of marriage; the women marrying into a particular village might speak a variety of languages from their communities of origin, including but not limited to Chinook. Multilingual communities, with a female population of diverse origin, were probably the norm among the Chinookan speakers of this area. Chinookan peoples acquired slaves from throughout the region, sometimes through raiding, but also through the expenditure of their considerable trade wealth—often acquiring enslaved peoples from places as distant as Northern California (Deur 2012).⁹

Not only were resident peoples numerous on this reach of the Columbia River, but visiting tribes passed through almost constantly during peak resource harvesting times. As Duflot de Mofras observed, “During fine weather, Indian flotillas travel 300 to 400 miles to fish for salmon that swarm along this river and its tributaries” (Duflot de Mofras 1937:59). Many early authors, such as deSmet, make similar observations: “Indians linger on the Columbia as long as a salmon can be caught” (deSmet 1847:285). Peoples moved up and down the river to fish for salmon, sturgeon, eulachon, and other fish; to hunt elk, deer, waterfowl, and other game; and to gather wapato, camas, and other plant foods (Saleeby 1983). Most significantly, the IBR crossing was situated between the monumental salmon fishing stations of the Columbia Cascades and the vast quantities of wapato and other marsh and riverine resources found at the Willamette-Columbia confluence (Darby 2005). Studies of resource use and demographics suggest that the population of the

Columbia River shoreline in this general area expanded dramatically during peak resource harvests at these locations—up to three or four times its annual baseline population. The population increase was especially pronounced in spring, when salmon runs were at their peak and camas was being harvested (Boyd and Hajda 1987; Saleeby 1983).¹⁰ Downriver people from the outer coasts of Oregon and Washington, and beyond paddled each year past the IBR site en route to the salmon fishery at the Cascades,¹¹ while upriver people often moved downstream past the IBR site in search of game and marsh resources.¹² The IBR area was thus located close to permanent resident communities, overwhelmingly Chinookan at the time of contact, yet in an area attracting tribal peoples from throughout the wider region. At contact, then, other tribes clearly had connections to the IBR crossing, though Chinookan peoples were the stewards and hosts of place while all others were guests. Chinookan communities provided access to resources that were abundant and allowed entrée through these lands in all directions— within the bounds of protocols overseen by Chinookan chiefs and typically known and observed by regular visitors of many other Native nations.¹³

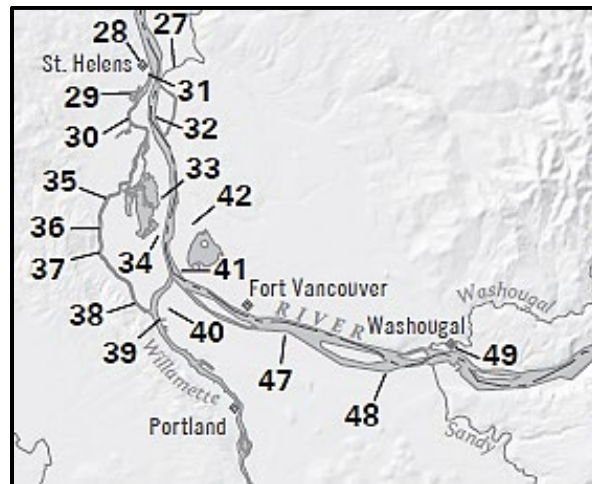


Map 2: Locations of Villages of the Portland Basin, with names largely from Lewis and Clark journals. Map indicates Fort Vancouver location adjacent to present north end of IBR.
Source: Boyd and Hajda 1987.

1. VILLAGES IN THE VICINITY OF THE IBR CROSSING

Some of the earliest writings about the lower Columbia River—including both the journals of the Vancouver expedition of 1792 and the Lewis and Clark journals of 1805–06— address the identity of villages close to the IBR crossing. The accounts of these expeditions suggest not only that the human population of this reach was dense, but the river was a locus that brought people on either side together as part of larger communities and did not serve as a divisional marker separating people, as is the case along the modern state border. These early accounts demonstrate that the IBR crossing sits at a convergence between the traditional lands of three constellations of interrelated Chinookan communities—what might be termed “Bands” of the Chinookan peoples. Specifically, the maps and written accounts in these journals make evident that the IBR sits roughly equidistant between three major villages: the village of Neerchokioo (Šáxlakš or “Cascades” Chinook) on the south bank of the Columbia, Nemaquinnee (Multnomah Chinook) near the Willamette-Columbia confluence, and the Shoto villages (Chinookan, probably Multnomah) at Vancouver Lake (see Map 2; Deur 2012; Boyd 2011; Manby 1992:198–200; Moulton 1991; Boyd and Hajda 1987; Hajda 1984; Saleeby 1983; Barry 1926:404, 1927b; Coues 1897:248–49, 915 ff.).

Beyond these early journals are many other sources that shed light on the identity of lower Columbia River villages. This subject has been a focus of several recent, thorough, and meticulous studies—assessing the full range of archival and published sources relating to the study area. Rather than reproduce the full literature review encompassed by those studies, we provide here a summary of the major findings from their results, published in peer reviewed books and journal articles (Zenk et al. 2016; Boyd et al. 2015; Ellis 2015; Boyd and Hajda 1987). While these sources exhibit minor variations, reflecting the emergence of new source materials and analyses over time, they are remarkably consistent on the details of settlement along this river reach—depicting the river as a place where multiple Chinookan communities converged in areas of overlapping Band interest.



Map 3: Detail of map showing all identified villages. The Interstate Bridge crosses the Columbia River immediately west of the point marked as “Fort Vancouver.”
Source: Zenk et al. 2016:8

Most recent among these authoritative statements is the work of Zenk et al. (2016). On the basis of an exhaustive review of available archival and published records, they produced a list of verifiable villages. The list “represents but a small subset of the total number of Chinookan villages on record. Each was identified by visitors traveling the river when the village was still populated, and/or by two or more independent mentions in later sources, notably those citing the memories of Chinookan-speaking elders” (Zenk et al. 2016:12). Their analysis comports with that of Ellis (2015) on all but a few points relating to the spelling and pronunciation of village names. Their analysis demonstrates the documented villages within approximately 10 miles of the IBR crossing are all consistently identified as “Chinookan” villages, with linguistically Chinookan names. The villages identified through that process are shown in Map 3. Excluding numbered places more than 10 miles away from the IBR, they include:

Wapato Valley Villages

- 33 - Clannahquah (Lewis & Clark—hereafter L&C)
- 34 - mátnumax—Multnomah
- 38 - Cathlacommahtup (L&C)
- 39 - Nemaquiner (L&C)—poss. nimátxʷinix
- 40 - gaťá wakšin—Gatlawakshin
- 41 - gaťá k’anasisi (wá k’anasisi)—Wakanasisi

Upstreamers (šáxlatkš—Shakhlatksh) Villages

- 47 - Neerchokioo (L&C) (gaťáťala Watlala)
- 48 - Nechakolee, Nechercokee (L&C)—poss. ničáqʷli

The geography of these villages suggests an area of intersecting, overlapping, territorial association of three Chinookan populations within the IBR crossing: the Cascades Chinooks (šáxlatkš Shakhlatksh), the Multnomah Chinooks (“Wapato Valley Chinooks”) and those of the closely related Clackamas Chinooks. All have overlapping claims at what is today the IBR crossing, and the area can be understood as existing within

a “communal range” shared by all three. As Berreman concluded of this reach, “[g]eographically this territory would seem to belong with that of the Multnomah or Clackamas, but the report of the explorers leads one to believe that it was claimed as hunting territory by the tribes at the Cascades; if indeed it was not a sort of communal range of several tribes for hunting and other food gathering” (Berreman 1937:18–19). Resource procurement sites sitting at intermediate places between villages in this reach, such as the camas patches, hunting sites, and potential fishing sites within the IBR footprint and immediately adjacent, were commonly utilized by members of all three Chinookan bands (Deur 2012; Boyd 2011; Hajda 1984; Saleeby 1983:52; Suphan 1974a, 1974b; Swanton 1953). In the following pages, we treat each Band separately, though these communities were significantly interrelated.

The Cascades Chinooks—Šáxlakš

The upriver Cascades homelands, where the Columbia River runs the gap through the Cascade Range along the Columbia Gorge. Within this range are the traditional homelands of people generally referred to as the Wasco, Wishram, White Salmon, Hood River and Cascades, proper. Typically, anthropologists and historians use the term “Cascades” to refer to the population at the time of early contact (1790s–1830s), applied most narrowly to those living in major villages ranging from the greater Wind River area to downstream from the Sandy River confluence. The Cascades people, proper, are usually designated as those living at the western end of these geological features, and are the population most relevant to the IBR crossing. In Chinook, they are among the people called “Šáxlakš” (Shaklatksh) or “upstreamers”—referring to their upstream position relative to the many Chinookan peoples of the Columbia tidewater (Zenk et al. 2016:8; French and French 1998.).

The Cascades, proper, are often referred to as the Watlala—a term referenced, for example, in the ceded lands maps of the treaty period relating to the IBR crossing (1855). Following Lewis and Clark, many sources also refer to this population as “Shahala”—a derivation of the Chinookan “Šáxlakš.”¹⁴ Summarizing early sources, Hodge describes “Shahala” as “A name given by Lewis and Clark to the Chinookan tribes living on Columbia r. [sic] from Sauvie id. to the Cascades in Oregon. They estimated the number at 2,800, in 62 houses, and mention the following tribes: Neerchokioo, Clahclallah, Wahclallah, and Yehuh. Katlagakya was the native name for the Indians of this region” (Hodge 1910:519). In this interpretation, the village population of Neerchokioo, a short distance upstream from the IBR crossing, is identified as a distinct Shahala “tribe.” Likewise, Barry designates the Neerchokioo and the Cath-lath-la-las as two distinct subpopulations of the “Sha-ha-la” (Barry 1927a:54). The classification of Neerchokioo village is significant, for it is depicted as the permanent village closest to the IBR in most written accounts, with one wooden house, 24 straw houses, and roughly 200 men occupying the site at the time of Lewis and Clark. By 1838, the Hudson’s Bay Company was still identifying this as the village closest to their post at Fort Vancouver, occupied by the Cascades Chinook: “Cath-lal-thlalah Tribe—summer village columbia Cascades winter village Banks of the columbia opposite Vancouver” (HBC 1838).

In his detailed analysis of Oregon tribal distribution, Berreman places the Aboriginal territory of the “Cascade” or “Watlala” Indians in the immediate vicinity of the IBR (Berreman 1937:18–9).¹⁵ Summarizing data from Frederick Hodge, Franz Boas, Leslie Spier, Edward Sapir, and the journals of Lewis and Clark, Berreman described the Cascade or “Watlala” Indians as including

“...all the villages from the mouth of the Willamette to and including the Cascades. This is the ‘Shahala nation’ of Lewis and Clark, most of the villages on the south bank, one eight miles and the other thirteen miles below the mouth of the Sandy River. The first consisted of one house and twenty-four temporary lodges. The lodges, they were informed, were occupied by ‘relatives’ of the occupants of the house, whose permanent homes were at the Cascades. They had come there only to hunt. Here were also 200 Skilloots probably on a trip up or down the river to trade. The second village was small, and reported as belonging to the ‘Nechacokee,’ [Neerchokioo] a band of the ‘Echeloot nation,’ which is the term by which they designated the Wasco and Wishram at the Dalles” (Berreman 1937:18).

Other writers—e.g., Hodge (1910), Barry (1927a), and Hajda (1984)—confirm this interpretation of a largely contiguous Cascade occupation at least as far west as Neerchokioo, with traditional lands apparently

extending at least as far westward as Hayden Island.¹⁶ Hajda classifies Neerchokioo as being “Shahala” or Cascades in tribal affiliation, and “upper Chinookan” in language—the “furthest downriver Shahala village” (Hajda 1984:63, 119).¹⁷ French and French identify Neerchokioo as an “Area of [Cascades] overlap with Multnomahs” and an outpost of Cascades settlement (French and French 1998).

Sources agree the Cascades people were a significant presence at the area of the IBR crossing, used this area seasonally for hunting and other subsistence tasks, and that they “covered considerable distances in their seasonal movements” in this area (Hajda 1984:67). The river islands in this reach, apparently including Hayden Island, served as campsites for Cascades peoples. When visiting Cascades people near present-day Bonneville in September 1843, Father Blanchet noted, “They leave the summer encampments and move to winter on the Vancouver islands [the river islands opposite and above Fort Vancouver], where the cold is less rigorous and hunting more abundant” (in Munnick 1972:A-13). This implies hunting territories on the adjacent riverbanks, placing Cascades people at the full extent of the IBR crossing. So too, the north bank of the IBR crossing appears to have been an anthropogenic prairie at contact, surrounded by forest—likely burned by Cascades and other Chinookan peoples to enhance camas and other plant species and to provide ideal hunting grounds. Accordingly, the north end of the crossing, the eventual site of Fort Vancouver was an open prairie at contact, called by the Chinookan term “Sketcu’txat”—also rendered “Skit-so-toho” and “Katchutequa”—implying a prairie (Strong 1959:33; Tolmie and Dawson 1884; Kane 1859:171).

One of the names frequently used in reference to the western bands of Cascades, Cathlathlala, appears in later HBC documents as one of the principal tribal groups living in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver in 1838 (Blanchet and Demers 1956:18; Ruby and Brown 1976:265; HBC 1838). Ethnographic sources are consistent in indicating that “Cath-lal-thlalah” were a population of Chinookan “Watlala,” originally living “just below the cascades” of the Columbia River (Swanton 1953; Hodge 1910). Ross indicates they were the principal Cascades group (Ross 1849). Morse reported around 500 “Cathlathlas” living “60 m. from the mouth of the Wallaumut, on the E. side” shortly before the construction of Fort Vancouver (Morse 1822:368). Stuart refers to the Cath-lath-las as well, suggesting they lived east of the confluence of the Willamette and the Columbia: “a little farther up on an Easterly Branch live the Cath-lath-las of 80 men, and along the River” (Stuart 1935:33). Of them, Spier notes, “Three villages of theirs are known on the north bank, the lowest about half a mile below the upper Castle Rock. The location of settlements on the south bank is little known” (Spier 1936:21). They were probably among the Cascades people who occupied Neerchiokoo village, either seasonally or year-round.

The Multnomah Chinooks

The people conventionally designated as “Multnomah” occupied a dense constellation of villages from the Portland area downstream to a point below Lewis River, Washington. From the beginnings of the ethnographic and historical record for the Portland Basin, the Multnomah play a prominent role, and the Oregon county now occupied by much of Portland bears their name. The demographic core of the Multnomah people was on the island at the Willamette-Columbia convergence, an area now called Sauvie Island—but also “Wapato” or “Multnomah Island” historically. In the early 1840s, Parker wrote, “This island is about eighteen miles long, and five miles wide, formed by a part of the Multnomah, branching off about six miles up the main river, running in a westerly and north-westerly direction, and uniting with the Columbia eighteen miles below the main branch. The branch which flows around and forms the island, is about fifteen rods wide, and of sufficient depth for small shipping, most of the year” (Parker 1841:150).

In the heart of Multnomah territory—the mouth of the Multnomah Channel of the Willamette, Ross reported in early decades of the 19th century, “the Indians appeared very numerous in several villages” (Ross 1849:105).¹⁸ The villages in and around Sauvie Island were large and may have been unusually sedentary due in part to abundant marsh resources—including the edible root, wapato—alongside riverine and upland resources available to most of their surrounding kin. The original name “Wapato Island” was “so called from a nutritive root [wapato] found in the small lakes in the interior, which is much sought for by Indians as an article of food” and was here found in concentrations unlike anywhere in the region (Parker 1841:150; Darby 2005).

While early sources associate the IBR crossing with Cascades and Clackamas Chinook communities, many writers associate the area with the Multnomah. Certain early 19th century observers identify Fort Vancouver as sitting amidst Multnomah traditional lands (Gairdner 1841: 255). Contemporary authors also

frequently assert a Multnomah preeminence in this area, following the lead of the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians, which places the crossing in the traditional territories of the Multnomah Chinook on grounds largely linguistic (Silverstein 1990). Lang, also reviewing the data on linguistic grounds, identifies the northern end of the crossing, at Fort Vancouver, as being in the Multnomah dialect area (Lang 2008:86). Complicating matters, Silverstein identifies Neerchokioo as "the easternmost non-Cascades village on the Columbia" (Silverstein 1990:534). He also interprets its original name as being ničáqʷli, or "stand of pines" in Multnomah Chinook. Simultaneously, it is important to note that Chief Kiesno (Cassino)—a prominent figure in Fort Vancouver trade through the period—is sometimes depicted as a Multnomah chief (Ray 1966:B-7; Spencer 1933).

The Clackamas Chinooks

The Clackamas are another Chinookan population identified in the ethnographic and historical literature. Their most prominent village sat on the confluence of the Clackamas and Willamette Rivers in what is now southeastern Portland—near the boundary between modern Gladstone and Oregon City. People identified as Clackamas occupied a constellation of villages and encampments along the lower Willamette River, perhaps the Columbia River near its Willamette River confluence, and adjacent inland areas in what is today east Portland and vicinity—including much of the Oregon County that now bears their name.

While depictions of Clackamas territory vary, early authors, such as George Gibbs, place the IBR in Clackamas territory (Gibbs 1877). In his overarching analysis of tribal distribution in the state of Washington, Leslie Spier agrees with this assessment (Spier 1936:21). Integrating additional data from Edward Curtis, Franz Boas, Frederick Hodge, and Michel LaFramboise, and Leslie Spier includes what would become the IBR program area within the Aboriginal territory of the Clackamas, which extended "on both sides of the Columbia roughly from Troutdale down to Kalama," but acknowledges the dividing line between Cascades and Clackamas areas was difficult to discern in this area (Spier 1936:21).¹⁹ On the Washington side of the river, Spier identifies major "Clackamas" settlements both above and below the IBR crossing, noting they might be designated as lands of the Clackamas tribe, though "Possibly they should be given rank as [a] separate tribe" (Spier 1936:21). These separate populations included the "...Cathlapotle (Gā́Lap!ōlx, 'people of the Lewis [Nā́p!ōlx'] River')... on the lower part of the Lewis river ['for five miles above its mouth'] and on the southwest side of the Columbia river in Clarke county, Washington" and the "Gahlawashúgwál (wacu'Xwal), at Washougal, Washington" (Spier 1936:21). He also alludes to a population called "Wakanasisi on the north side (whose tribal name was Gā́L!akanasisi) nearly opposite the mouth of the Willamette"—clearly Chinookan, but with unclear Clackamas affiliation (Spier 1936:21). Still, some researchers have sought to define linguistic rather than 'tribal' boundaries, placing the IBR within the Clackamas dialect area of the larger Chinookan realm (Kardas 1971:212). Others imply the IBR area was in Clackamas traditional lands, including Ruby and Brown, who note that the Clackamas "occupied about twelve villages, which were located mainly on the south bank of the lower Columbia River downstream from present-day Troutdale, Oregon" (Ruby and Brown 1986:25).

A number of sources allude to the Washougal population some 10 miles upstream from the IBR crossing, at the confluence of the Washougal and Columbia Rivers (between modern-day Camas and Washougal, Washington). However, little consensus exists regarding their affiliation, and Spier is somewhat unique in assigning them to the Clackamas. Curtis alludes to a battle between men from Alašhíkašh at the "site of Vancouver, Washington" in coalition with the Wašhúhwal or "Washougal" Band of Chinooks against a village at the Columbia Cascades. However, the relevance of this statement is unclear (Curtis 1911b:38). Though often described as originating from a village near modern-day Kalama, Washington, as well as from a village close to the Willamette-Columbia River confluence, the famous Chief Kiesno was often identified as Clackamas (Saleeby 1983).

2. DISPLACEMENT AND RELOCATION ON THE LOWER COLUMBIA AFTER CONTACT

The lower Columbia River experienced some of the most dramatic episodes of epidemic disease and displacement of any place in the Pacific Northwest. Epidemic diseases arrived no later than the 18th century

via early Spanish vessels and tribal trade networks spanning the North American continent (Boyd 1994). By 1792, the first non-Native ships crossed into the Columbia—the *Columbia Rediviva* captained by Robert Gray, immediately followed by the Vancouver expedition (Vancouver 1984; Gray 1941; Boit 1941). Lewis and Clark arrived 13 years later, providing the most detailed written accounts of this river reach prior to the arrival of fort-based fur traders (Moulton 1990, 1991). By 1811, the Pacific Fur Company established a fur trading post near the Columbia River mouth and by 1825, the HBC established Fort Vancouver—a preeminent locus of the 19th century fur trade—within mere steps of the IBR crossing. The resulting concentration of fur traders and ships exposed the peoples of this reach to the full effects of colonization, including new waves of epidemic disease. Chinookans continued to be central to the economies of this river reach, and disproportionately represented among the multiethnic fort community (Taylor and Erigero 1992; Blanchet 1878; Townsend 1839; HBC 1826). By 1830, a single infected individual aboard the fur trading vessel *Owyhee* at Fort Vancouver brought malaria, compounding the effects of earlier epidemics, and effectively decimating the Chinookan populations of the Portland Basin. By the end of the decade, less than 90% of the pre-contact population remained (Boyd 1999:231–61; Boyd 1990:135–48).

Entire villages of Multnomah, Clackamas, and Cascades peoples collapsed, and survivors regrouped in communities that often housed survivors from all three groups. The Cascade Chinook were among the few to retain sizable populations in the area, in part by taking in other Chinookans in the post-epidemic reconsolidation. As Hodge notes, “After the epidemic of 1829, the Watlala seem to have been the only remaining tribe, the remnants of the others probably having united under that name, though they commonly were called Cascades Indians by the whites” (Hodge 1910:922). In the early 1840s, accounts sometimes refer to a more or less cohesive “people at the Falls, the Dalles, and the Cascades, who are scattered along the banks of the Columbia from Fort Wallawalla to Fort Vancouver,” apparently consisting of integrated surviving members of what were formally semiautonomous bands of Cascade Chinooks (Blanchet and Demers 1956:18; Ruby and Brown 1976:265).²⁰ Neerchokioo became a place where many Chinookans, from the Cascades but also from other communities, regrouped at this time. Chief Kiesno and some of his community’s survivors, for example, were reportedly among tribal members reoccupying Neerchokioo village following the epidemics of the 1830s (Coues 1897:797–802).²¹

Northern tribes, formerly visitors but not permanent residents in this reach of the Columbia, became increasingly prominent, entering the vacuum created by the abrupt and apocalyptic decline of so many Chinookan communities. Among the tribes expanding along the Columbia were the Cowlitz, who spoke a Salish language without a direct linguistic relationship to Chinook. Pre-contact Cowlitz presence around the IBR crossing location, and their relationship with resident Chinookan peoples, has elicited ongoing debate.²² Historical and anthropological sources consistently indicate the heart of Cowlitz traditional territory northwest of the IBR crossing, largely off the Columbia riverfront; early accounts indicate that they lived on the Cowlitz River a short distance upstream from its confluence with the Columbia River, with Chinookans occupying the confluence (Hajda 1984, Ray 1938, 1966; Curtis 1913; McChesney 1906; Scouler 1905; Ross 1849; Henry 1992; Franchère 1967:48–9). In a dissertation summarizing the recoverable span of Cowlitz history, Fitzpatrick summarized several of these studies identifying Cowlitz territory as being north of Lewis River, extending eastward from that point into the Cascade Range (Fitzpatrick 1986). Still, early journals do include numerous references to Cowlitz traveling the river in the vicinity of the IBR—especially to trade with Chinookans and the HBC and, following the 1830 epidemic, to participate in expanded resource harvests in places where Chinookans were in decline. They apparently also frequently passed through the area by land. For example, in 1830, George Simpson reported a Cowlitz population led by chief “Schannaway” (Scanewa) “whose track from the borders of Puget Sound strikes on the Columbia near to Bellevue Point” adjacent to Fort Vancouver (in Simpson 1931:86). Accounts of Columbia River tribes postdating the epidemics of the 1830s suggest the Cowlitz increasingly occupied the riverfront for the decade or two following these disruptions before being pushed back inland by non-Native settlement (Ray 1966).

In the wake of these epidemics, the Klickitat also became a regular presence in and around the IBR crossing. Closely related to the Yakama, the Klickitat originated just east of the Cascade Range and spoke a Sahaptin language. They had a reputation for high mobility—apparently aided by their early adoption of horses—and traditionally joined other tribes fishing on the Columbia Cascades in the vicinity of White Salmon River. Prior to the 1830 epidemic, they were seasonal visitors to the area. A mid-19th century account states, “The Click-a-tats are a large and powerful tribe, inhabiting the country east of the Cascade range. Great

numbers of them, however, as soon as the snow melts from the mountains in the spring, come over to this side of the mountains, where they frequently spend the summer, trading and gambling with the different tribes, exchanging horses for money and hyagua—a shell they are fond of decorating themselves with” (Starling 1852:171). During the 1830s and 1840s, the Klickitat presence intensified, as they provided services to Fort Vancouver and early U.S. military operations, and took over certain roles in the fur trade formerly performed by Chinookan communities. An 1845 census compiled by Warre and Vavasour identifies Klickitat as the primary tribe in the vicinity of the Fort by that date, reflecting the dramatic demographic shifts of the preceding 15 years (Warre and Vavasour 1909).

Displaced by epidemics and encroaching settlement, Chinookan leaders were party to the January 1855 Willamette Valley Treaty negotiated by Joel Palmer. Affirming the primacy of Chinookan claims to this river reach, formal negotiations included representatives of the Portland Basin Chinookan bands—Clackamas, Clowewalla and



Map 4: Detail of map showing proposed ceded lands of the Wah-lal-la as recorded in treaty negotiations, January 1855.
Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs 1856

Watlala [Cascades], and Multnomah. The U.S. treaty delegation recorded the southern end of the IBR corridor as lands formally ceded by the “Wah-lal-la” Band – the Cascades Chinook (Map 4). Chinookans taking part in these negotiations also asserted claims on lands north of the river; however, territorial Governor Isaac Stevens refused to establish treaties with southwest Washington tribes, agreeing to settle claims north of the river at a later date. No treaty negotiation was later undertaken to settle Chinookan claims in those areas. The Willamette Valley Treaty therefore provided Portland Basin Chinookans with the only clear avenue for federal acknowledgment—most of the signatory communities being removed to Grand Ronde Agency in 1856. Many prominent Chinookan families, such as the surviving family of Kiesno, were part of this forced migration, becoming part of the Grand Ronde Agency and, ultimately, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (Spencer 1933). Meanwhile, U.S. Treaty negotiators did not recognize Klickitat land claims south of the Columbia River. By spring of 1855, the Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer, initiated the forced return of Klickitats north of the river—most being sent to Yakama—though a small number remained with Cowlitz communities in Washington, or within the Siletz and Grand Ronde communities (O’Donnell 1991; Curtis 1911a:37—40).²³

In spite of many restrictions, certain Grand Ronde families continued to maintain homes and carry out fishing on both sides of the river. A number of “off-reservation Indians” are reported in the Cascades traditional territories upstream from the IBR crossing through the 20th century—often members of the Grand Ronde tribal community and descendants of Willamette Valley Treaty signatories (Kenoyer et al. 2017). In spite of over two centuries of cataclysmic disruption, the Chinookan presence was never extinguished. To this day, the IBR corridor remains a place of profound importance to the Chinookan descendants and families of Grand Ronde.

NOTES

¹ Tribal population on the middle and lower Columbia River is notoriously difficult to estimate, and was in flux even prior to any firsthand written accounts (Boyd 1999; Silverstein 1990; Kardas 1971:68-71). Any population estimates for this region prior to the 1850s should be viewed with skepticism, in light of seasonal mobility, the incompleteness of written surveys, and a host of other factors—and many estimates tend to be low. This being said, population densities were reportedly high, with almost unbroken settlement among some portions of the Columbia River shoreline (Simpson 1931).

² In the field of linguistics, the suffix “-an” is used to denote a family or subfamily of languages, consisting of several individual languages or dialects that are related—and also used to denote all of the ethnolinguistic groups who speak those languages as a unit; see Goddard and Sturtevant 2006. On the widespread and conventional use of the term “Chinookan” to refer to these many different communities of Chinook-speaking people based on their linguistic and cultural kinship, including the use of Chinook languages and dialects, see for example, Boyd et al. (2015); Zenk et al. (2016); Silverstein (1990), and Sapir (1926).

³ Admittedly, many early writers used the term “Chinook” inexactly and without much attention to formal conventions—to denote any Indian of the region, or any Indian encountered on the Columbia River, for example (Boyd et al. 2015; Taylor 1974:119). Similarly, contemporary claims to “Chinook” affiliation are complex, sometimes denoting ties to the estuarine community of Chinooks or “Chinook, proper,” enrollment in the federally unrecognized “Chinook Nation” with a membership descended from certain lower river populations, descent from Chinookan speakers of the larger Columbia River region, and so on (Hajda 1984; McChesney et al. 1906). Herbert Taylor lamented when attempting to summarize Chinook materials for the Indian Claims Commission:

“The name Chinook has been widely and variously employed. Among other things, it denotes a warm wind, a game salmon and a *lingua franca* of the Northwest coast. It has also been used to denominate the people who lived on the north bank of the Columbia at its mouth, the people who lived along the lower Columbia generally, and the people who lived on the Columbia from the Dalles to its mouth. It has also been utilized as a name for a linguistic stock and as a generic term for Northwest coast Indian” (Taylor 1974:119).

The use of the term “Chinook” therefore requires some degree of clarification or qualification, and in this document, we are careful to distinguish which Chinookan communities are implied by the available written record.

⁴ Verne Ray, for example, depicted trade as being fundamental to an understanding of Chinook social structure and organization, being key to dispute resolution and to the assignment of individual and group status:

“[Trade] permitted them to exert a widespread influence of a sort which did not often lead to conflict. It resulted in both the group and many of its members becoming known and discussed over a wide area, whereas intervening peoples might be unknown and of no interest. It lead to a high contempt for groups that were “just poor people” (that is, had little to trade) and a consequent bolstering of their own self-confidence” (Ray 1938:99).

Intertribal and interregional relations also were defined by these trade relationships. Melville Jacobs noted:

“The residents of poorer villages suffered from greater economic and social ambitions and traveled more often to localities of greater wealth, economic security and social prestige; the wealthier communities were almost always downstream or to the west. Along lower rivers or coastal rivers the larger food supply permitted populations denser in numbers, relatively wealthier in household goods, and enough satisfied with their own dignity and value to travel and marry within comparatively narrower radii” (Jacobs 1937:55-57).

⁵ The lower Columbia River, both upstream and downstream from Fort Vancouver, was lined with numerous villages of this type:

“In winter they live in villages, but in summer move about from place to place. Their houses are oblong, and built of broad, split cedar-planks, something in the European style, and covered with the bark of the same tree. They are sufficiently large and commodious to contain all the members of a numerous family, slaves included. At the top or ridge pole, an opening gives free passage to the smoke; they have one or more, according to the number of families in each. But I never saw more than four fires, or above eighty persons—slaves and all—in the largest house” (Ross 1849:98).

Similarly, HBC Governor George Simpson noted

“From the Cascade Portage to the Coast they are collected into Villages of Ten to fifteen Houses and three or Four Families inhabiting the same House. They live in great comfort throughout the year, as Fish are taken at all Seasons, Roots abundant close to their Houses and Wood Animals are numerous so that they may have a variety of choice fare” (Simpson 1931:95-96).

⁶ Speaking of the Fort Vancouver area, on the north end of the IBR crossing, Kane noted, “During the season the Chinooks are engaged in gathering camas and fishing, they live in lodges constructed by means of a few poles covered with mats made of rushes, which can be easily moved from place to place, but in the villages they build permanent huts of split cedar boards” (Kane 1859:187–88).

⁷ Robert Hine and Savoie Lettinville, editors of the Theodore Talbot journals, make reference to a suggestion that “the post [Fort Vancouver] had been built on an Indian graveyard,” though the source of their information is unclear (Talbot in Hine and Lettinville 1972:119). This would be consistent with general burial patterns in the area, however: burial sites were numerous in the Portland Basin and were often found in clearings in association with nearby human settlements, such as those villages described elsewhere in this document. While the lower Columbia River is known for its many burial islands, the number of available islands was almost surely insufficient to accommodate the large populations that existed in these constellations of large villages of the scale recorded at contact.

⁸ As HBC Governor, George Simpson noted of the Chinooks, “in order to strengthen their commercial relations men of consequence or extensive traders have sometimes as many as half a Doz Wives selected from among the best Families of the Neighbouring tribes and each of those is entrusted with a small Outfit and sent on trading excursions to Her Friends & relatives and this is her constant employment” (Simpson 1931:98). Likewise, Parker noted that, “The wealth of the lower Indians is estimated by the number of wives, slaves, and canoes. Every Indian of any distinction takes as many wives as he is able to support, and his wealth is supposed to accord with the number” (Parker 1841:254–55).

Women held considerable decision-making authority within their communities and considerable influence over the economic fortunes of her household and community. Kardas, for example, noted that

“The role of older women in governing Chinook society is well attested by the 19th Century writers, who also noted the high position held by native women in general. Not only did the

women play an important role as traders (both by producing marriage alliances with their relatives and by preparing and collecting foodstuffs traded, or owning the slaves that performed these tasks), but women also had a voice in governing the villages” (Kardas 1971:56).

⁹ Head-flattening, carried out through the application of pressure on cradle boards in infancy, was the standard among free-born Chinooks and provided emblematic distinction from the population of slaves: “none but the wretched Slaves have round heads” (Simpson 1931:96). Comments on head-flattening along the lower Columbia are numerous (e.g., Ross 1849:99-100).

¹⁰ In the written accounts of early observers, accounts of this travel throughout the region between productive resource sites abounds—especially in reference to fishing sites. Travel linked a number of salmon fishing stations that were visited in season, but also sites for harvesting eulachon, sturgeon, and other fish. Briefly summarizing the patterns of resource use found in the Portland Basin in the early 19th century, Morse noted:

“About 40 miles from the mouth of the Columbia river is a famous smelt and sturgeon fishery. Also abundance of Wapatoe, a species of potatoe, an excellent substitute for the real potatoe. The smelts are taken from the middle of March to the middle of April, and at no other time. They are fat and of good flavor. The Indians dry and run a stick through a number of them and use them in the place of candles. When lighted at the top, they burn to the bottom, giving a clear and bright light” (Morse 1822:375).

Assessing reported population fluctuations in the Portland Basin, Boyd and Hajda conclude that

“some villages in the Wappato Valley [between the Sandy and Kalama Rivers] were three or four times as large in early April, at the time of important fish runs, as they were in late November.... The most likely sources for spring-season visitors are the upstream, interior locations especially subject to resource deficiencies at that time of year. The movements and shared use of resources areas...would be made possible by the numerous interlocking social networks, which not only channeled the flow of goods but which also brought distant people together for a broad range of purposes. This social system, unfamiliar to Lewis and Clark and other early observers [was] larger and more diffuse than the usual units of ethnographic research...it probably made possible the support of larger populations defined on a regional basis than would otherwise have been the case” (Boyd and Hajda 1987:321).

Some sources mention “abandoned villages” in the region (e.g., Franchère 1967:49), though this evidence lends support to the suggestion that some of these villages were abandoned only seasonally, while residents engaged in social, economic, ceremonial, and subsistence tasks in other areas. Especially beginning in the 1830s, these references likely refer to places that have been abandoned due to epidemics and associated demographic contractions.

¹¹ Tribal groups of the ocean coast, such as Clatsops and Tillamooks, often visited en route to fishing and trading at the Cascades (Coues 1897:858, 879). At other times, wars were reported between the Clatsop and the Cascades people, also bringing coastal peoples into the Portland Basin (Coues 1897:793).

¹² As Suphan notes, “Roots were gathered largely along the flats of the Columbia, the cascades people going downstream for wappato to the sloughs and flats opposite Vancouver, Washington” (Suphan 1974b:48).

¹³ Of the role of chiefs, Samuel Parker observed:

“The government of the Indian nations is in the hands of chiefs, whose office is hereditary, or obtained by some special merit. Their only power is influence; and this in proportion to their wisdom, benevolence, and courage. They do not exercise authority by command, but influence by persuasion, stating what in their judgment they believe to be right, and for the greatest good of their tribe or nation, or of any family or community. The chiefs have no power of levying taxes, and they are so much in the habit of contributing their own property for individual or public good, that they are not generally wealthy. Their influence, however, is great; for they rarely express an opinion or desire, which is not readily assented to and followed. Any unreasonable dissent is subdued by the common voice of the people. Probably there is no government upon earth where there is so much personal and political freedom, and at the same time so little anarchy; and I can unhesitatingly say, that I have nowhere witnessed so much subordination, peace, friendship, and confidence, as exist among the Indians in the Oregon Territory. The day may be rued, when their order and harmony shall be interrupted by any instrumentality whatever” (Parker 1841:255).

On the basis of numerous accounts, all attesting to the same basic pattern of governance, Saleeby summarizes,

“The village formed the major social and political unit in Chinook society.... Each village had its own chief whose powers were advisory and judicial...and who had the power to appropriate the property of others for personal purposes” (Saleeby 1983:24).

¹⁴ Hodge defines the Watlala as follows:

“A division of the Chinookan family formerly living at the cascades of Columbia r. and, at least in later times, on Dog (now Hood) r. about halfway between the cascades and the Dalles, in Wasco co., Ore. Early writers mention several tribes at or near the cascades, but as the population of that region was very changeable from the fact of its being a much frequented fishing resort, and as many of the so-called tribes were merely villages, often of small size, it is now impossible to identify them with certainty” (Hodge 1910:922).

Hajda (1984) notes that “‘Shahala’ was a term used only by Lewis and Clark, applied to people based at the Cascades some of whom covered considerable distances in their seasonal movements. It comes from an expression meaning ‘upriver’ (cf. Jargon saxli, meaning ‘up’ or ‘high’), and it was probably used in this sense as well as in reference to Cascades people” (Hajda 1984:67).

Barry differs somewhat from other accounts, reporting “Sha-ha-la” as a different population than “Wat-la-la”—designating the former as being in the area from Hood River to the Willamette and the latter as being in the area from Hood River to the Cascades (Barry 1927a:54).

¹⁵ In his analysis of Washington tribal distribution, Spier notes of Cascades distribution,

“The Cascades group (iʔaʔaʔla, “lake people,” or waʔaʔliEʔlxam) were located on both sides of the Columbia at the Cascades, and on the north side downstream at least to Skamania and perhaps to Cape Horn [upstream from modern-day Washougal, Washington]. These are the Watlala mentioned by Lewis: waʔaʔla, “lake,” was evidently at the head of the Cascades. A village may have been there; at any rate, it marked their easternmost point. The Cath-lath-la-las or Cathleyacheyachs (the latter mentioned by Ross at the head of the Cascades people. Three villages of theirs are known on the north bank, the lowest about half a mile below the upper Castle Rock. The location of settlements on the south bank is little known” (Spier 1936:21).

¹⁶ Edward Curtis recounts the Cascade villages as follows:

“Gahlahishachk, those on the north bank of the Columbia at the cascades inhabiting the following villages:

-
- a. Wahllala, "Their Lake," opposite Cascade Locks, Oregon.
 - b. Skamanyak, "Obstructed," at the middle cascades.
 - c. Kihaiagilhum, "Middle Village," a little below Skamanyak.
 - d. Kaiuchikhlqti, at the lower cascades.
 - e. Kamigwaihat, "Upper Road," a little below the former." (Edward Curtis 1911b)

Suphan, meanwhile, interpreted Cascades villages as follows:

"From the journals of Lewis and Clark we learn of three villages on the Washington shore at and about the cascades; these were Y-e-huh just above the rapids, Clah-clel-lah just below the rapids, and Wah-clel-lah at Beacon Rock a few miles above Skamania, Washington. Together these formed the explorers' Sha-ha-la Nation. The economic activities of these Indians apparently led them downstream from the cascades rather than toward Hood River and the Dalles... "In subsequent years the Indians resident at the cascades are designated by a variety of terms: Cathlayackty, Thlameoyackoack, Cathleyacheeyachs, Cathlakaheckit, Cathlathlala; identification of one with another, or equation with Lewis and Clark's villages, would at best be quite tenuous. It is evident, however, that one village was above the cascades on the north shore near Lakewood, Washington, at or near the site of the Yehuh village, while others were on the Oregon shore from about Cascade Locks to opposite Wind River" (Suphan 1974b:43-45).

¹⁷ She also depicts this village as being just upstream from the much larger "Columbia Valley" villages which included Multnomahs and other Upper Chinookan speakers. Simultaneously, she appears to classify the population at Washougal, upstream from Neerchokioo, as being "Columbia Valley" in affiliation.

¹⁸ Morse reported 500 "Mathlanobs" "At the upper end of the island above named, in the mouth of the Wallaumut" in the years immediately preceding the construction of Fort Vancouver (Morse 1822:368).

¹⁹ Reviewing the full range of literatures available in his time, Spier described the Clackamas as follows:

"This may be the collective name for a group of related tribes rather than a true tribal name. Properly the Clackamas were on Clackamas River in Oregon but both groups of them seem to have been on both sides of the Columbia roughly from Troutdale down to Kalama, where they adjoined the Kathlamet.... Linguistically Clackamas seems to be very close to Kathlamet, if not identical with it." (Spier 1936:21)

²⁰ These integrated bands appear to have included the Cathlakaheckit, Cathlathlala, Cathlayackty, Clahclellah, Katlagakya, Yehuh, and possibly others (Blanchet and Demers 1956:18; Ruby and Brown 1976:265).

²¹ Kiesno's reported marriage to a Cascades woman may have allowed him to make this move readily; still, it is likely that he would have had access to this village site regardless as part of his chiefly position in Clackamas and/or Multnomah communities (Coues 1897:797-802).

²² Hostile relations between the Cowlitz and certain Chinookan peoples appear to have been common at contact, though intermarriages were reported as well. Zenk et al. find evidence of "patterns of intergroup marriage that crossed both political and linguistic boundaries, resulting in extensive Chinookan-Salishan bilingualism on the lower river," that may reflect increased integration in the wake of epidemic diseases, primarily in Cathlamet lands and downstream locations (Zenk et al. 2016:3-31).

²³ Historically, Klickitat-Cowlitz ties have been strong. After contact and increased intermarriage with Klickitat people from east of the Cascades, some Cowlitz communities apparently spoke a Sahaptin dialect instead of or in addition to their own Salish language (Ray 1966; Jacobs 1937). The Cowlitz speaking this dialect were sometimes designated as "Taidnapam." Certain Cowlitz accounts suggest that this pattern of

intermarriage predated European contact. Nonetheless, this connection clearly intensified following epidemics of the 1830s.

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Cowlitz Indian Tribe: Geographical Context Statement for the Interstate Bridge Replacement Project

The Cowlitz Indian Tribe has just over 5,000 enrolled members and is the largest federally-recognized Tribe in southwestern Washington. The Tribe's reservation is located on the west side of Interstate Five near the crossing of Lewis River at La Center. The Tribe's administrative offices are located in Longview, Washington.

The Cowlitz Indian Tribe occupied land that today includes all or part of seven counties in present-day Washington State, as well as lands on the Oregon side of the Columbia River. The land running from the south Salish Sea to the Columbia River is also known as the Cowlitz Corridor. Trade running through this area, the foundation on which Interstate 5 rests, was heavily influenced and regulated by the Cowlitz people.

As such, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe has an enduring presence in Clark County that dates from time immemorial. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Cowlitz forged a special relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) through its construction and operation of Fort Vancouver, 1825-1860, and through Cowlitz Farm of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (PSAC), 1839-1854. Cowlitz Farm was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the HBC located at Cowlitz Prairie in the vicinity of nearly forty Cowlitz villages along the Cowlitz River. Cowlitz ancestors worked for the HBC and for the PSAC (Gibson 1985).

In 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company hired French-Canadian and metis families in the Red River District of Canada to move to Cowlitz Prairie and to Fort Nisqually to establish farming operations to raise livestock and cereal crops that the PSAC had contracted to sell to the Russian-American Company in Alaska. Several of the workers of the HBC and the PSAC married members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Their descendant surnames perpetuate that heritage and include the following: Bouchard, Cloquet, LaDue, St. Germain, Plamondon, Sereault, Bercier, Coutenoir (Cottonware), and other lineages. Other Cowlitz families carry to the present the surnames of tribal ancestors: Iyall, Kinswa, Wannassey, Satanus, Ike, and Umtux (Umtuch).

In 1838, Francois N. Blanchet and Modest Demers, Catholic priests, traveled overland from the Red River in Saskatchewan to mount missions to the Indians and Euro-Americans in the Pacific Northwest. They established St. James Mission at Fort Vancouver and St. Francis Mission on Cowlitz Prairie. The sacramental registers recorded by these priests and their successors documented the births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths of members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe starting in 1839 and continuing to the present. On April 24, 1839, Father Blanchet baptized nine "Cowlitz infidel" children. Simon Plamondon, a metis who married Thas-emuth, daughter of Cowlitz chief Scanewa, was a witness to these rites. The following day Blanchet baptized three more Cowlitz Indians. The registers recorded the burials of Cowlitz Indians at St. Joseph's Mission, at Fort Vancouver. On December 5, 1840, Father Demers buried "Joseph Cowlitz, age about eighteen, in "the cemetery of this Mission." On December 7, 1840, he buried "Marie

The Forever People

Cowlitz, "age about twenty, in "the cemetery of this Mission."

Cowlitz Indian Tribe (and others) in Clark County, Washington

In 1792, Lt. William Robert Broughton of the Vancouver Expedition explored the Columbia River estuary with oarsmen in two small boats. These British explorers ascended the river to Vancouver Point at the western entry to the Columbia Gorge. In the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century three Indian linguistic groups lived along the north bank of the Columbia River between the Gorge in Skamania County and downstream to the mouth of the Cowlitz River in Cowlitz County. It is important to note that there is no "Chinookan" language. Native languages contained no European words in this region. There is no "Chinookan" Tribe. There were no treaties signed by a tribe called Chinookan. There is no reservation for a tribe named Chinookan. Chinookan was an outsider's term that implied a tribal identity to otherwise unidentified Native peoples. Most of the people called Chinookan had other tribal identities and would have referred to themselves by their tribal identity. It is an early misunderstanding by the Lewis and Clark Expedition that has lived infamously as a false identification. The early Chinook people spoke Pinutian. Sahaptin and Salishan were probably the most shared languages among Salish villages. Whichever language the identified villages spoke, it was their own. Chinook was a trade language of minimal value except in trading, but it was picked up by non-Natives as the easiest way to communicate with Lower Columbia Native people because it was enough of a mix of many languages that it consisted of the easiest sounds to pass through a non-Native throat. Their band identities were Skillute, Multnomah, Clackamas, and Watlala. To the south in the Willamette Valley were the speakers of Kalapuyan and Molallan languages. Living immediately adjacent in southwestern Washington were the Cowlitz and Taidnapam, ancestors of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. The Cowlitz spoke a Salishan language and the Taidnapam spoke a Sahaptian language. The Cowlitz and Taidnapam were extensively intermarried. They held the watersheds of the Cowlitz, Toutle, Kalama, Lewis, Salmon Creek, and Washougal rivers in present Lewis, Cowlitz and Clark counties. Since the Chehalis River Treaty County of March, 1855, the Cowlitz and Taidnapam have acted as a confederated Tribe and were so recognized by the United States and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Isaac I. Stevens.

During their explorations of the Columbia estuary in 1805-06 the Lewis and Clark Expedition documented in its journals and manuscript maps numerous villages in the river corridor. Although the explorers did not identify a village at present Vancouver, they mapped several on Sauvie Island about five to twenty miles downstream as well as villages along the southern (Oregon) shore of the estuary upstream from the mouth of the Willamette and others in the Columbia Gorge. These explorers identified the "Hullootell" living along the north bank of the Columbia in Clark and Cowlitz counties. The *Handbook of North American Indians* (1906), edited by Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge, noted:

"Hullootell. Reported to Lewis and Clark as a numerous nation living N[orth] of Columbia r[iver], on Coweliskee (Cowlitz) r[iver], above the Skilloot, and on the Chahwahnahooks (Lewis) r[iver] in 1806. It was either a Chinookan or a Salishan tribe" (Hodge 1906[1]:577).

Gary Moulton, editor in thirteen volumes of *The Journals of the Lewis Et Clark Expedition* (1983-2001), concurred with the identification of the "Hullootell" as Cowlitz Indians. Meriwether Lewis wrote on March 27, 1806: "above the Skillutes on this river another nation by the name of the Hul-loo-et-tell reside, who are said to be numerous." On March 29, 1806, Lewis identified the Lewis River and the Indians:

"on the North Side of the Columbia a little above the entrance of this inlet a considerable river discharges itself. this stream the natives all the *Cah-woh-na-hi-ooks*. it is 150 yards wide and at present discharges a large body of water, tho' from the information of the same people it is not navigable but a short distance in consequence of falls and rapids a tribe called the Hul-lu-et-tell reside on this river above it's entr[ance]."

William Clark wrote on this same day about reaching the mouth of the Lewis or "Chah-wah-na-hi-ooks River," the place of residency of "Several tribes of the Hul-lu-et-tell Nation." Lewis and Clark in 1806 identified the village at the confluence of Lewis River with the Columbia as "Quath lah pah tle Village," a community of fourteen plank lodges (Moulton 1991[7]:18, 26, 30).

Commencing in 1829 and continuing through the 1830s, a pandemic, probably the ravages of typhoid fever, decimated the once numerous Chinookan-speakers of the Columbia estuary and the Kalapuyan-speakers of the Willamette Valley. The demographic calamity was so severe that some entire bands, such as the Multnomah and Skillute, disappeared from the historic record. An estimated eighty to ninety percent of the Indians succumbed. In this vacuum, the Taidnapam (or Hul-lu-et-tell) moved on down Lewis River to occupy Cathlapootle, the major village at the river's mouth. The linguistic affiliation of the Hul-lu-et-tell is problematic. Linguist Michael Silverstein who wrote an article on the Chinookan-speakers for Volume 7, Northwest Coast, of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (1990), said the term was Chinookan and meant 'strange country.' Yvonne Hajda who wrote an article on the Salish of Puget Sound and the Cowlitz for Volume 7, Northwest Coast, of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (1990), claimed the Hul-lu-et-tell were Cowlitz (Silverstein 1990[7]:545; Hajda 1990[7]:503-517). Because of intermarriage over millennia, these groups were extended family in a world where family connections were valued. These relocations were cousins moving to live with cousins. We gathered food in groups. We processed and traded that food in groups. Our way life was dependent on each other in every facet of life.

The destruction and dislocation of the native population along both banks of the Columbia estuary in the 1830s created a vacuum that permitted the Taidnapam to occupy and hold key sites such as the major village at the mouth of the Lewis River and on Cedar Creek near Battle Ground in the watershed of Salmon Creek. In the 1840s and the 1850s the Taidnapam were the primary aboriginal residents of Cowlitz County in the watersheds of the Cowlitz, Kalama and Lewis rivers and in also in Clark County. Robert Boyd, ethnohistorian, explained the dynamics of population decimation and replacement in the upper part of the Columbia estuary in the first half of the nineteenth century:

After the 'fever and ague' epidemics, the equation tipped in favor of the inlanders. Ethnographic patterns suggest how downstream replacement took place. Intermarriage persisted, and interior men may have taken advantage of the custom that allowed them to pay off the cost of a riverine wife by moving in and working for her father. Others may simply have moved downstream to claim the property of deceased in-laws. But the largest part probably occupied empty land. By the mid-1830s most midriver Chinookan villages were already abandoned, although some were still being used a seasonal campsites by interior visitors. By the early 1850s recorded villages were mostly inhabited by Sahaptins. Chinookan survivors were few and had become a minority in their own land (Boyd 1999:257).

The devastation of the Indian population living along the Columbia estuary was further addressed by Boyd. The village of Akanassisi was located on the north bank of the Columbia downstream about five miles from

Fort Vancouver and was identified in 1841 on the map of Duflot de Mofras, a French visitor.

Between Cathlamet and the Cascades in 1854, the only surviving settlement that might be termed Chinookan was the village of Akanassisi (gala'anasisi), or 'the Fishery.' In 1838 there had been 37 Indians at this location; in 1854 there were 30. William Tappan, Indian agent for southern Washington, stated that they were a 'mixed race, nearly all the tribes are here represented' (1854). These included some '4 or 6' from the former Wappato village of Kalama. The name 'Klikitats' frequently given to the Fishery villagers indicates their hybrid nature (Boyd 1999:255).

Regarding the use of the term “Chinookan” (historical and otherwise), Mike Iyall (Cowlitz Indian Tribal Elder and Tribal Historian) states the following:

Chinook, a person who is a member of the Chinook Tribe. Today, the Chinook Tribe lives in Pacific County, Washington.

“Chinookan” originally meant a jargon language or a Native who was a jargon speaker. Chinookan would later become a cultural and linguistic grouping. Chinookans were never under the rule of the Chinook Tribe, nor was Chinookan a term that Chinook people used to refer to themselves. Chinookan was an outsider’s term. Tribes had their own names and were proud of those names. Use of Chinookan replaces a Tribe’s real name and writes them out of history, an unconscionable act of cruelty. You never existed, you have no place in history!

Robert Boyd uses the term “Chinookan” to refer to many villages that are Cowlitz. This usage does not make them Chinook villages. The correct terminology would be to call the Tribes along the Columbia River by their correct and individual Tribal names, instead of making up a new term that is colonial in nature – Chinookan, i.e. European. Again, while there are a people who identify as Chinook, there are no Chinookan people, and there never was a Chinookan Tribe. Mike Iyall states: “In my communication with Boyd, he was clear that Cathlapotle was not a Chinook village.”

Tanna Engdahl, Cowlitz Indian Tribal Spiritual Leader, sheds light upon “outmarriage:”

When teaching, I explain that Cathlapotle was made up of powerful trading families, mostly from Lower Columbia River Tribes. Some writers have called it a Chinook village; however, this would have been impossible. Marriage taboos practiced by all Tribes in Western Washington ensured that even mid-range cousins could not marry each other, so sons or daughters had to marry someone from other villages or other Tribes. This means that one of the marital pair had to relocate.

In 1830, George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, visited Fort Vancouver and reported a Cowlitz population led by chief "Schannaway" (Scanewa) "whose track from the borders of Puget Sound strikes on the Columbia near to Belle vue Point," a location on Sauvie Island a few miles from Fort Vancouver (Simpson 1931:86).

In 1854, George Gibbs (1815-1873) served as linguist and geologist to a detachment of U.S. Army soldiers exploring a route east from Fort Vancouver to the Yakima River's confluence with the Columbia River.

Captain George B. McClellan directed the expedition to find passes for a railroad across the Cascade Mountains. In his field notes Gibbs recorded "Names of Indian Localities on the Route fr[om] Ft. Vancouver to Chequos." He enumerated the prairies north and east of Vancouver, referring to them as "5th plain, *Simsik*, 6th plain, *Man-kas*, 7th plain, *Yah-koh-tl*, also the river, 8th plain, *Cha-la-cha*, and the 1st ford, *Sp'il-yeh*." Next he wrote: "**Mouth of Lewis R. or Cathlapotel, *Wihlt-qu***" (Gibbs 1854-55). [Emphasis supplied.] This comment and other Gibbs notations confirmed the use of three terms to identify this river: "Lewis River" (named for Meriwether Lewis); "Cathlapotel," or "KathlapiJtl," or "Cathlapootl"; and "Wihlt-qu" or "Wilt-kwu."

In December of 1855, George Gibbs served under Lt. George Derby as surveyor and cartographer for the U.S. Topographical Engineers laying out the Fort Steilacoom-Fort Vancouver Military Road. While at Fort Vancouver Gibbs interviewed Yahotowit, a Klickitat Indian. Gibbs noted: "**Wilt-kwu, the mouth of Lewis' river, where Umtuts' ranch [village] is. The name Cathlapootl he did not know, said that poolt was not Klikitat**" (Gibbs 1855-56). [Emphasis supplied.] Gibbs sometimes used the term "ranch" or "rancheria" to refer to an Indian village, a usage based on his service in 1851 as secretary and cartographer to the California Treaty Commission. In his monograph on the Indians of Washington Territory, Gibbs wrote about two rivers flowing into the upper Columbia River in Clark County: "**The two principal branches on the north, below the Cascades, are the *Kathlapiitl*, or Lewis River, and *Kowlitz***" (Gibbs 1877:166). [Emphasis supplied.]

Gibbs obtained additional information from Yahotowit about the Taidnapam (Upper Cowlitz) village at the mouth of the Lewis River: "**Umtuts, or Imtuts' father was Moke-yuah. Umtuts was Taidnapam his proper country was not Wiltqu, but in the mountains at the foot of St. Helens, on the head of the Cowlitz. His people were always quarreling and he left them**" (Gibbs 1855-56). [Emphasis supplied.] The information from Yahotowit confirmed that in 1855 that *Wjhlt-qu/WUt-kwu* (or, *Cathlapotle*) was the village of Umtuch, a Taidnapam (Upper Cowlitz) chief.

The sacramental rites for Cowlitz Indians recorded between 1839 and 1855 at St. James Mission, Fort Vancouver, frequently documented their tribal affiliation and many times cited the Indian's tribal name. The presence of Cowlitz Indians within the immediate vicinity of the proposed Columbia River bridge was documented in these records:

Cowlitz baptisms:	121
Cowlitz marriages:	10

(Warner and Munnick 1972)

The Catholic sacramental records also documented Cowlitz residency on the Lewis (Cathlapootle) River in Clark County within a short distance of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe Reservation. Father James Croke wrote:

On the 8th [18th *crossed out*] day of July 1854, we missionary priest baptized, in danger of death, **Mary (a girl 7 years old) daughter of Humptux an Indian who lives at the mouth of Lewis River Washington Territory** (Warner and Munnick 1972). [Emphasis added.] See *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest, Vancouver I and II and Stellamaris Mission* (1972), Index pp. 24-27, listing Cowlitz Indians in the registers in Vancouver, Clark County, Washington and at page 148 the baptism of Mary Humptux.

Chief Umtuch of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe was murdered in November of 1855, at Battle Ground, a location ten miles southwest of the Cowlitz Indian Reservation in the watershed of Salmon Creek in Clark County. Thomas N. Strong, author of *Cathlamet on Columbia* (1906), was the son of Judge William Strong who settled in 1850 on the Columbia River when he was named to the Supreme Court of Oregon Territory. During the Indian war of 1855-56 the Washington Territory Volunteers, Company A, elected Judge Strong to serve as their captain stationed at Fort Vancouver. Company A deployed to a meadow subsequently known as Battle Ground in the Salmon Creek drainage. Thomas Strong devoted a chapter in his book to "Chief Umtux" and wrote:

The Coweliskies who lived on the Cowlitz River, when known as the Coweliskie, and along the two branches of the Lewis River in what is now known as Cowlitz and Clark Counties of the State of Washington, were not of the pure river type of Indian, nor did they live directly on the banks of the Columbia. They had a trail extending from the Cowlitz River to the gravel plains South of Olympia, Tacoma, and Seattle (Strong 1930:111-112). [Emphasis supplied.]

Umtuts, Imtuts, Umtuchs, Umtux, and Humptux are alternate spellings of Umtuch.

In addition to the Cowlitz and Taidnapam – the aboriginal residents of Clark County – hundreds of Indians between 1826 and 1858 visited Fort Vancouver to trade. Some, such as the Klickitat from the Columbia Plateau and the watershed of the White Salmon River, found employment with the Hudson's Bay Company. Klickitat became the name used by the settlers to describe Sahaptin speakers rather than a tribal identification. Here Lewis River Cowlitz were sometimes called Klickitat. This usage by settlers confused tribal identities that continues today. These Tribes became part of the nexus of trade and exchange of this commercial enterprise based in London but operating several forts, farms, brigades, and coastal trading vessels in the Pacific Northwest. The HBC investments tapped the region's potentials. At Fort Vancouver the company had multiple operations within a short distance of the projected bridge crossing. These included a dock and landing, salmon house for salting and packing fish in barrels, a shipyard, a store, residential barracks, offices, warehouses, a bakery, and a blacksmith shop. Nearby the HBC operated a grist mill and a sawmill. The company had extensive agricultural enterprises on First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Mill Plains. In these natural meadows in Clark County the Hudson's Bay Company raised cereal crops, sheep, pigs, cattle, and horses. At the fort, it had vegetable gardens and an orchard. An estimated 300 or more employees and their families resided in the fort or surrounding it. On the west side of the post, in the immediate vicinity of the projected bridge, stood the Kanaka Village. This community, located outside the stockade, was a polyglot, multi-ethnic place of residency of Hawaiians, South Sea Islanders, and Native Americans working for the company or sojourning in the area during trading expeditions or the outfitting of brigades headed to California, Oregon Coast, Puget Sound, the Great Basin, or far up the Columbia River to the interior.

By 1855, the Klickitat Tribe had withdrawn its incursion into western Oregon and Washington. The Klickitat participated in no treaty councils with Anson Dart, Joel Palmer, or Isaac Ingalls Stevens west of the Cascades. They returned to their original homes on the north side of the Columbia Gorge and on the western part of the Columbia Plateau. In subsequent years many Klickitat were affiliated with the Yakama Reservation or self-identified as the "River People," fishers in the waters of the Columbia River.

U.S. Army's Fort Vancouver and the Army-Civilian Cemetery

On May 15, 1849, Captain John S. Hathaway and two companies of the First Artillery arrived by sea to establish the U.S. Army's Fort Vancouver on the tableland directly north of the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters of the same name. Initially called Columbia Barracks, the post grew in October, 1849, with the arrival of the Overland Riflemen who had crossed the Oregon Trail with wagons of supplies destined for the new military headquarters in Oregon Territory. The fort lay directly east of present Interstate 5 and the north approach to the existing interstate bridges over the Columbia River. On July 13, 1853, the post was renamed Fort Vancouver. In 1859 the government established the U.S. Arsenal at the station. The facility was renamed Vancouver Barracks on April 5, 1879 (Fraser 1965:176-177).

By 1850 the small cemetery surrounding St. James Mission on the hillside north of the HBC's stockade at Fort Vancouver was no longer deemed suitable for burials. The Army removed its fence and encroached on the church and cemetery. The last known mission burial was Rosa F. Brant on November 15, 1855. The U.S. Army and the adjacent town of Vancouver selected four acres directly west of Officers' Row for a new cemetery. The cemetery lay in part in the subsequent location of the highway crossing on the interstate bridges and, ultimately, the route of Interstate 5 constructed in the early 1950s. It is possible that this cemetery originated as a burial site for non-Catholics (Indians and Euro-Americans) in the 1830s and that it grew rapidly in the 1850s with the arrival of Army personnel and their families and civilians settling in Vancouver.

By the mid-1850s, the priests differentiated in their records between the "cemetery of this mission" or "the mission burial ground" and "in the graveyard at Fort Vancouver." In 1855 Father Jean B. Brouilliet, priest at St. James mission, noted: "On the 24th of March, 1855, we missionary priest buried in the grave yard at Fort Vancouver the body of Frederick Curts, aged about 37 years a private in the 4th Infantry stationed at this post" (Munnick & Warner 1979:153). The new Army-Civilian cemetery was located in the forest due west of Officers' Row and abutted the western margin of the Fort Vancouver Military Reserve and the eastern margin of the city of Vancouver. In 1866 the cemetery consisted of approximately four acres of ground west of the garrison. It was enclosed by a paling fence and contained about 20 graves. There was no system or order to the initial burials. The Army reported in 1866 that there were additional graves, "those of Hudsons Bay Co. Men." An observer noted: "They were unenclosed & offended the eye by their publicity."

By 1873, the cemetery had grown extensively. The chaplain at Fort Vancouver estimated the tract at four or five acres. "It contains a large number of graves besides those of soldiers and members of their families Many containing the remains of soldiers and citizens have never been marked by head boards or else such boards have decayed and as no record can be found reaching beyond the proximate past their identification is now impossible." The U.S. Army, however, enumerated in 1871 twenty-eight graves by name, rank, company, and date of death. In 1875 E. D. Townsend, Adjutant-General of the Military Division of the Pacific declared the site to be a National Cemetery of the Fourth Class, mandated an inspection, and requested more information. The cemetery then contained 293 burials of which 170 were unknown. By 1877 the cemetery had 123 identified burials and 170 unknown graves.

Expansion of Vancouver Barracks led to reduction of the burial area, especially with the extension westward of Officers' Row. By 1880 the Army estimated between 300 and 400 burials. In 1882 the Army and civilians commenced abandoning the cemetery, removing graves of known burials, and establishing a new cemetery one-half mile north within the military reserve. In 1883 the Army closed the Army-Civilian

cemetery. The *Vancouver Independent*, September 6, reported: "Wm. Ginder has the contract for removal of the bodies and monuments from the old military cemetery to the new one, on the northeast [northwest] corner of the military reservation. He has a number of men at work, and the exhumations and re-burials are proceeding rapidly. All remains will be removed as soon as it can be accomplished. The remains of civilians will be removed also, having a plot set aside for them in the new military cemetery."

In 1917-18 the site of the HBC's Fort Vancouver became, during World War I, the location of the U.S. Army's Spruce Production Division sawmill employing 5,000 laborers manufacturing materials for airplanes. During World War II 200 acres on the adjacent north bank of the Columbia became the "ways" for Kaiser Shipyards employing 38,000 workers and constructing vessels for the U.S. Navy. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe was not directly involved in either of these changing uses of the land.

Findings of Fact

1. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe is the only federally-recognized Tribe in Clark County, Washington. The Tribe has a reservation located twenty-one miles north of the proposed Interstate 5 Columbia River bridge.
2. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe (Cowlitz and Taidnapam), Skillute, Multnomah, Clackamas, and Watlala lived on or adjacent to the Columbia River estuary in Clark, Cowlitz, and Skamania counties, Washington from time immemorial.
3. The Lewis & Clark Expedition identified the "Hullootell" as a "numerous nation" living north of the Columbia River on the Coweliskee (Cowlitz) River above the Skillute and on the Chahwahnahooks (Lewis) River. Anthropologists Hodge, Hajda, Silverstein, and historian Moulton have concurred with this identification. The term Hullootell is synonymous with Taidnapam, a term used following the Lewis & Clark explorations.
4. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe was directly involved in the economy of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1825-1860, at Fort Vancouver and in the operation of Cowlitz Farm by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Cowlitz Prairie, 1839-1855. Numerous employees, many of them metis, of the HBC and PSAC married members of Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Both of these HBC enterprises were located to be near the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, a vital trading partner.
5. Following the pandemic of 1829-40, the Taidnapam (Cowlitz) settled at Cathlapootle at the mouth of Lewis River. In the 1850s William H. Tappan, Indian Agent, identified this village and George Gibbs documented it as "*Wihlt-qu*" or "*Wilt- kwu*." Gibbs recorded information from Yahotowit, an informant, on the history of Chief Umtuch and his Taidnapam band.
6. Members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe also lived at Battle Ground, Beaver Creek, and in 1870 in a village of fourteen Indian households in Clark County. **St. James Mission adjacent to Interstate 5 in Vancouver between 1839 and 1855 was the site of 121 Cowlitz baptisms and 10 marriages. No other Indian Tribe identified in the sacramental records had a**

tally comparable to this count. [Emphasis supplied.]

7. The joint U.S. Army-Civilian cemetery, bisected by Interstate 5 in the 1950s, was the burial site of military families, civilians, Native Americans, and Hudson's Bay Company personnel. Identification of Cowlitz in the mission records mandates involvement of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe in cultural resource assessments and repatriations related to the proposed bridge.
8. A fully documented history of the initial U.S. Army-Civilian cemetery is critical to the on-going EIS process. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe is ready to research and report the historical context for the cemetery in the bridge approaches and to participate in repatriation of human remains. This essay confirms the Tribe's willingness and also the depth of information it can draw on to participate in the cultural resource assessments.
9. At the Vancouver Treaty Council, Territorial Governor Issac Stevens told the Cowlitz leaders, "I acknowledge your claims to these lands." He would later add, "they value Chalacha most and would part with it last." These lands became the Cowlitz Indian Tribal Reservation.

Please contact Rita Asgeirsson, Cultural Resources Director, if you have any questions or comments. Rita can be reached at rasgeirsson@cowlitz.org or (360) 575-6226. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Patty Kinswa-Gaiser
Patty Kinswa-Gaiser
Cowlitz Tribal Chairwoman

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