

The Peoples of John Day:

An Ethnographic and Ethnohistoric Overview
of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument

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Introduction

Located in Grant and Wheeler Counties, John Day Fossil Beds National Monument (JODA) sits at an environmental and cultural crossroads, where many peoples and resources have converged, close to the center of what is today Oregon. So too, it resides at a temporal crossroads, being a celebrated source of fossils representing some 40 million years or more of Earth's history. Established by an act of United States Congress in 1974 and opened a year later, the monument serves to promote the scientific and public understanding of paleontological resources of the John Day region, and the natural, scenic, and cultural resources within its boundaries, as well as to preserve them. Three far-flung, discontinuous units comprise the 14,000-acre park: the Clarno Unit near the town of Fossil, Oregon; the Painted Hills Unit near Mitchell, Oregon; and the Sheep Rock Unit near Dayville, Oregon. The lands and resources within these units continue to be of profound importance to the Native American communities who have long fished and hunted this region, and gathered plants, carried out social and ceremonial activities, and lived their lives in the area. The area retains its significance today as tribal members return to central Oregon for many purposes—visiting ancestral villages and other places of importance, teaching children of their heritage, and harvesting resources as part of an enduring covenant with the Creator to use and care for the resources of their traditional homelands in perpetuity.

Historically, lands now within the park were a region of convergence and overlapping interests between diverse Columbia Plateau and Great Basin tribal communities, with semiarid, mountain, and riverine environments providing many forms of sustenance to the region's tribes. As a result, the monument's three subunits are connected to the homelands of multiple Native tribes that overlap and converge at the monument. Two contemporary Native tribes—the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation (CTWSR) and the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Reservation (CTUIR)—recognize ancestral homelands that encompassed the monument, and hold enduring associations today. Reports written by both these tribes as part of this study, under separate cover, detail the richness and depth of these connections. The ancestral communities of the middle John Day Basin are still recognized within these modern tribes—the “John Day band” being one of the four constituent groups upon the Warm Springs Reservation, still holding unique associations with lands now within JODA (Murdock (1958:300). So too, Northern Paiute communities traveled and used resources within the JODA area, especially near its southern margins, their presence intensifying into the contact period. In the 19th century, non-Native settlement and military actions pushed these Paiute bands to join the Warm Springs, as well as the Burns Paiute and Klamath communities of east-central and south-central Oregon, respectively. For this reason, modern tribes with Paiute membership such as the Burns Paiute Tribe and Klamath Tribes also claim traditional associations with lands and resources now managed within the monument. Beyond these resident communities, others, such as the Cayuse and Nez Perce, also sometimes visited lands and harvested natural resources in the vicinity of JODA, perhaps amplifying these activities with the arrival of horses prior to direct contact with non-Native peoples. The Cayuse and Nez Perce of the region are today represented by federally recognized tribes in Oregon, Washington, and

Idaho—each having thinner but enduring connections to lands now managed by the monument.



Thomas Condon was a geologist and Congregational minister from The Dalles who recovered fossils along Bridge Creek near the present Painted Hills Unit and around Sheep Rock at Turtle Cove. Here, Condon is pictured with his specimens at the University of Oregon in the late 1880s. Photo courtesy NPS.

As a unit of the National Park Service (NPS), John Day Fossil Beds National Monument has many mandates, including management of cultural resources on the lands and regular consultation with tribes historically associated with the lands and resources in NPS care. A diverse range of federal laws, policies, and regulations require consultation and coordination with tribes traditionally associated with park lands—interactions that are often essential to agency operations and to upholding general federal obligations to Native American tribes. For example, the NPS has clear legal mandates to document places of cultural importance to traditionally-associated peoples and to account for these places in the present and future management of park land and resources. Among these obligations is the mandate for all federal agencies to document properties eligible to the National Register of Historic Places, including Traditional Cultural Properties, on agency lands as described in Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires the NPS to consult with culturally affiliated tribes regarding projects potentially impacting traditional-use sites and resources. Yet documenting these places and the full range of tribal associations and interests in NPS-managed lands and resources is not always an easy task. In order to comprehend the range of opportunities and responsibilities relating to tribes, NPS managers must sort through

the complex histories and territorial ties of numerous modern tribes—some living near the monument and some more distant. This requires a review of the historical and ethnographic record, and direct communication with tribes regarding places and resources of interest to them. The current document represents one component of this larger effort.



*NPS staff have long recognized that the Clarno Palisades (pictured here) and other landmarks in and around the monument have been historically used, occupied, and valued by Native American communities.
Photo courtesy NPS.*

Clear evidence in the archaeological record and in the oral traditions of Oregon tribes, reveals very long-term human occupation in and around John Day Fossil Beds—points that we summarize briefly in the pages that follow. EuroAmerican occupation rearranged tribal associations with these lands, but those connections endured even through the most difficult times. Multiple wars and other conflicts, as well as treaty-making and forced relocations of communities to reservations through the 19th century, caused demographic change, displacement, and suffering across the study area. Indeed, the events of the 19th century “Snake War,” involving U.S. military and militia battles with Paiutes and other tribes across central and eastern Oregon, prompted the initial EuroAmerican “discovery” and scientific study of fossils in the study area. As Steve Mark reminds us,

“Hostilities between the Northern Paiute and Euro-American newcomers throughout eastern Oregon became the catalyst for discovery of fossil plant and animal remains in the upper John Day Basin. A military detachment at Fort Dalles under Captain John M. Drake’s command brought back fossils from an area 30 miles southwest of Sheep Rock in 1864. The next year Thomas Condon, a geologist and Congregational minister from The Dalles, secured permission to accompany a cavalry unit into this area. Condon subsequently made finds along Bridge Creek near the present Painted Hills Unit and around Sheep Rock, in a locale he called Turtle Cove” (Mark 1996).

Paleontological study of the fossils started in 1870, even as interethnic hostilities continued across many portions of central Oregon. By 1900, as recently relocated Native communities still worked to forge new reservation-based communities in places such as Warm Springs, Umatilla, Burns, and Klamath, almost 100 scientific papers had been written regarding the fossils in the John Day Upper Basin (Mark 1996). Though displaced from this part of their traditional lands, these new reservation communities continued to maintain connections to the John Day region—recalling these places as part of their rich oral traditions and revisiting the lands and resources of John Day for social, spiritual, subsistence, and other reasons as circumstances allowed.

In spite of the many connections between tribes and the lands of JODA, prior to the present study, NPS staff reported not having detailed documentation of affiliations between Native American communities and the lands and resources in NPS management. Ethnographic documentation remained thin within park files and collections. Consultation between the NPS and monument-associated tribes has sometimes been brief, uneven, or infrequent, by the admission of all parties—reflecting such factors as staff turnover in both NPS and tribal offices. Moreover, at the onset of the present study, only about 35% of the park had been surveyed for archaeological sites. The most recent and thorough surveys prior to this study occurred in 1993-94 and 2005-06, under the direction of Greg Burtchard, Archaeologist for Mount Rainier National Park. Reflecting a long history of tribal use and occupation, there are no fewer than 125 recorded archaeological sites in JODA, including pictograph sites, an earthen dam, pit houses, and rock shelters. In its museum collection, the park houses more than 5,000 archaeological artifacts. A preliminary overview of Native American archaeology and contact-period history in the John Day River basin is described in Burtchard’s “Environment, Prehistory and Archaeology of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument Blue Mountain Region, North-Central Oregon” (1998). However, what little written documentation exists was insufficient for understanding tribal ties to the monument—and very thin indeed for the period from EuroAmerican contact to the present. Beyond this, documentation of the historical connections has been of variable quality and has not been organized in readily accessible formats. JODA lacked baseline reports on Native American associations with the park—even a relatively foundational “ethnographic overview and assessment” or “traditional affiliation study” providing a basic overview of the associations and tribes involved.

By systematically reviewing and presenting data on Native American uses of all three subunits of the monument, the current study seeks to remedy this situation. Tribes and NPS staff alike agreed that additional data was required to support a diverse range of interpretive and resource management needs, as well as to facilitate consultation associated with monument activities. The NPS thus launched the present study to meet several interconnected goals: 1) complying with the requirements of various laws such as the National Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA); 2) fulfilling obligations to consult with federally recognized tribes on a government-to-government basis; 3) managing and protecting places that contribute to the heritage of the affiliated tribes; and 4) identifying opportunities to participate in future collaborative studies and resource management activities with university and tribal partners.

The following report thus provides a thematic overview, identifying the tribes of the John Day Basin and their associations with lands and resources now managed as a national monument. This document is the product of a broader collaboration between the National Park Service (NPS), Portland State University (PSU), and a number of Native American tribes to address longstanding relationships between particular peoples and particular places now in NPS management. Through the present study, we have sought to provide ethnographic documentation for the three subunits of John Day Fossil Beds, at Clarno, Painted Hills, and Sheep Rock. NPS staff have long recognized that these places have been historically used, occupied, and valued by Native American communities.

After an assessment of documentation needs, the NPS and the PSU research team decided to approach these needs with an integrated document addressing the broad context of Native American associations with John Day. Members of the PSU research team, including Dr. Douglas Deur and research associates Rochelle Bloom and Katie Wynia, collaborated with NPS staff to scope the present research, guided in part by initial guidance from park-associated tribes. Researchers agreed to proceed with the development of a thematic written overview of tribal ties to park lands and resources, derived from a wide range of written sources. The present report is the outcome of that effort.

In the course of the study, Deur and the NPS reached out to park-associated tribes, inviting representatives of their cultural offices to provide information they wish to share about tribes' traditional ties to John Day Fossil Beds from their own perspective and in their own voice. With funding from PSU, two tribes—Umatilla and Warm Springs—produced written reports based on the outcomes of their own tribal interviews and in-house literature review, directed by the tribes' respective cultural offices. Burns Paiute expressed interest in the project but did not seek to produce a standalone written report. The Klamath Tribes also expressed interest; in light of their longstanding collaborative relationship with Deur and in lieu of writing their own standalone report, however, the Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Director asked Deur simply to incorporate into the present report select information from the tribe's existing ethnographic documentation. The present report has been amended and expanded on the basis of all these exchanges with tribal representatives and additional research by participating tribes. The reports from tribes, under separate cover and not intended for public distribution, have been delivered to JODA staff

concurrent with this report, to serve as uniquely detailed sources of information and as a foundation for further conversations and collaborations with monument-associated tribes.

Native American connections to the lands and resources of JODA based on the literatures of history and anthropology is the focus of this document. In formal terms, the current report represents an “Ethnographic Overview and Assessment” for JODA. As an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EO&A), this document provides a baseline introduction to the tribes with traditional interests in the monument. An EO&A is a basic research report commonly used by the NPS to identify groups associated with agency lands and resources who might view such lands and resources as culturally and historically significant. This type of study consists principally of literature review and archival research focusing on materials already recorded for a particular study area, augmented by agency and tribal resource staff knowledge. As directed in Chapter 2 of the NPS Cultural Resource Management Guidelines, NPS-28 for this study type, an *“initial comprehensive background study of types, uses, and users of ethnographic resources [that] reviews existing information and identifies new data needs.”* Identifying general patterns of tribal association with the parks and a range of resources of traditional importance, the *“information is derived primarily from existing archival and published materials.”* NPS units typically complete an EO&A document as a prelude to later, more specific types of studies relating to Native American connections to parks. A brief description of this report type is provided in Chapter 2 of the NPS Cultural Resource Management Guidelines (NPS-28), and this chapter can be accessed online through the NPS Cultural Resources webpage. Tribal participation in this foundational study type is minor compared with other categories of NPS ethnographic studies that typically follow the EO&A. Still, over the course of the study, certain tribal members have provided input on the present effort, especially sharing thoughts on the general cultural meaning of park lands, and tribal perspectives on future research needs and data sources. These perspectives are especially summarized in the “Conclusions and Recommendations” section at the end of this report.



Headquarters, John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, Sheep Rock Unit. Photo courtesy NPS.

In the current report, we also augmented the review of existing documentation by integrating a discussion of key episodes in the ethnohistory of park-associated tribes—an addition sometimes made to EO&A reports. An ethnohistory study addresses dynamic relationships between parks and traditionally-associated groups, and systematically evaluates the cultural functions of sites and resources associated with that history. An ethnohistory is a foundational baseline research report required by the NPS for park units nationwide. So too, this report incorporates elements more conventionally associated with an NPS “Cultural Affiliation Study.” As defined by NPS-28, a Cultural Affiliation Study employs anthropological, archaeological, ethnohistoric, historic, and other evidence “to identify cultural ties among past and present groups that used and may still use or relate to park resources and park natural and cultural resources” (NPS-28, 2E4). These added elements illuminate the broader context of tribal associations with JODA. They are not only essential to understanding the histories of area tribes, but to illuminating how ethnolinguistic groups of the contact period became the federally recognized tribes of modern times.

This project involved the systematic review and integration of existing documentation available through literature and archival research. Topics pursued in the course of the research included, but were not limited to:

- Traditional tribal association with lands in and around JODA
- Patterns of traditional Native American land and resource use in and around JODA
- Changes in land and resource use patterns emanating from historical developments

- Information on historical associations between tribes and territories that might facilitate the protection and treatment of inadvertently discovered Native human remains and associated objects in accordance with the requirements of NAGPRA
- The modern organization of tribal government and cultural offices that may be of value to agencies seeking to develop and sustain positive consultation relationships with tribes.

As with all EO&A documents, we have produced this broad thematic synthesis of available information in part to improve the parks' abilities to interpret for visitors and the wider public the historic and contemporary activities and concerns of the traditionally-associated tribal groups who access resources and lands in the region in attempts to honor and further traditions stretching back before time. Furthermore, we have produced this document to foster ongoing formal consultation with Native tribes and groups and to help inform management priorities and resource management decisions relating to places and resources of unique significance to tribes. We also hope the information assembled will serve as a background document of use to Native American communities seeking to document and commemorate their own history and culture. Cumulatively, the research suggests ties between particular tribes and lands in the monument that may serve as a background reference for tribal and agency staff as they seek to understand the monument's tribal history and to protect cultural resources of mutual concern.

In the pages that follow we address the results of this investigation, providing a compelling picture of Native American ties to the monument—including villages, camps, hunting and fishing stations, plant gathering, and ritual activity all carried out within or very near the monument historically. Yet the findings of this study also illuminate the interests and territorial associations of contemporary tribes and of their reorganization through the late 19th and 20th centuries—a primary emphasis of EO&A documents. The displacement and forced relocation and reorganization of Native peoples have much affected their relationships with lands in and around the monument, and with one another. The complex history of tribal association and removal in this area has dispersed and reorganized tribal communities so that they are represented by federally recognized tribes, most on reservations representing descendents of multiple ethnolinguistic groups of the contact period.

In addition to developing a thematic overview of these themes in the pages that follow, we include a number of elements that make this document a compendium or “handbook” usable as reference for consultation—including thematic maps and other materials relating to tribal associations with JODA. Conventional published accounts or maps of traditional territories are not always satisfactory sources on traditional tribal homelands. Too often, even widely cited sources imply that certain landscapes of central and eastern Oregon were “*terra nullius*”—effectively unoccupied land, neither occupied nor used significantly by Native communities. Maps that show vast empty spaces between traditional tribal territories are instructive but fundamentally problematic. Some anthropological accounts depict tribal territories as vast expanses of land with firm boundaries, while others show

“tribal territory” only as lands close to the principal year-round villages of the region. Neither approach depicts how tribal territory was conceived or organized historically, and both manifest the influence of EuroAmerican concepts of territory not easily reconciled with Native concepts.

Instead, we recognize that tribes possessed year-round villages in riverine and other resource-rich locations in central and eastern Oregon and visited a vast constellation of lands and resources every year as part of their regular rounds of movement. Some camps and resource-harvest areas could be multi-tribal, with some areas overlapping. Some tribes, especially Umatilla, have sought to correct these systemic errors with their own ambitious mapping efforts that share their perspectives with the wider world (Hunn et al. 2014). Perhaps in time and with expanded tribal input, maps can be produced that more accurately reflect traditional concepts and distributions of territory. For the present report, we offer maps based on existing sources—with important caveats and warnings regarding their veracity.

In outlining these patterns of tribal use and occupation, this document might serve as a compendium of information relevant to the tribal consultation process—including chapters, maps, and other materials meant to illuminate the foundations of modern tribes’ connections to lands and resources now managed as part of the two parks. The report identifies traditionally-associated Native American tribes who may be invited to participate in future studies and ongoing formal consultations for the purposes of both compliance with various laws and the fulfillment of federal obligations to consult with tribes on a government-to-government basis. The report also represents a necessary step in determining cultural affiliation under the terms of NAGPRA in the event of future inadvertent discoveries of human remains at JODA. Likewise, this document sets the stage for future studies on the traditional uses of land and resources in the three units of the monument. The researchers sincerely hope that this information, organized in this report, will aid the NPS and tribes in protecting the cultural heritage of the monument and augmenting access to resources so tribes can carry out subsistence activities on the land to fulfill cultural and spiritual obligations. This document is not assumed, in any way, to be the “final word” on Native American relationships with these lands and resources, but to be a useful tool in understanding the larger context of those relationships.

Methods

The current study represents an effort to broadly summarize traditional associations between particular Native American communities and lands and resources now in the management of the National Park Service, within John Day Fossil Beds National Monument. As such, this research involved a thematically broad review of historical and ethnographic information on these themes, drawn from local, regional, and national sources, as well as input provided by tribal and agency representatives.

This report bears the influence of the tribes traditionally associated with John Day Fossil Beds (JODA)—most notably the Warm Springs and Umatilla, who have made meaningful contributions to this document through their own in-house research. Yet this document largely consists of an extensive literature review, carried out by faculty and advanced research assistants associated with the Portland State University (PSU) Department of Anthropology and the Office of Applied Anthropological Research. So too, this document reflects the research support and editorial input of National Park Service (NPS) specialists. In this way, this research was not the work of a single individual, but a team with diverse talents. This team worked collaboratively to develop the ethnographic overview and compendium that follows, identifying historical ties between particular modern tribes and lands now managed as part of the monument. Serving as Principal Investigator and overseeing all research tasks was Dr. Douglas Deur (PSU), a research professor with approximately 25 years' experience directing NPS ethnographic research efforts. Other members of the PSU Office of Applied Anthropological Research staff served as part of the research team assembled by Deur. Rochelle Bloom, a longtime PSU research associate and a Ph.D. student in the University of Victoria Department of Anthropology at the time of this writing, is a specialist in archival research pertaining to tribal uses of NPS lands, who contributed significantly to the research and writing of this document. Katie Wynia, M.A.—who carries out archaeological and ethnohistorical research for both the NPS and PSU—also contributed significantly to the research and writing of the report. Dr. Tricia Gates Brown, a professional writer and editor, also assisted in the development of this report, bringing over a decade of experience collaborating in the development of NPS research reports. Other PSU research assistants, including Kate Barcalow, M.A., J.D.—a specialist in Cultural Resources policy and American Indian law—also assisted in certain project research and writing tasks. A number of tribal cultural resources specialists provided critical assistance and information early in the research, and provided written documentation that shaped this report in myriad ways. Individuals especially central to this effort included Shawn Steinmetz (Umatilla), Lindon Hylton, Mars Galloway, and Brandon Gilliland (Warm Springs), and Perry Chocktoot Jr. (Klamath), while many other tribal staff members and elders provided assistance, formally or informally. Eric Owen (North Coast Land Conservancy) and Gabriel Rousseau (PSU Department of Geography) provided mapping and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) support. NPS Historian, Steve Mark, provided research support throughout, and took a lead role in reviewing and editing drafts of the report. NPS resource specialists Shelley Buranek, Nicholas Famoso, and other NPS staff played a critical role in helping to scope and design the study, overseeing

tribal consultation regarding the project and reviewing written products. The resulting report is truly a group effort, and the individuals listed here deserve recognition for their contributions.

From the beginning of the project, the research team communicated with NPS staff to ascertain agency needs and interests. Needs expressed by agency representatives were key to the development of the project plan. NPS staff also communicated with representatives of the tribes with historical ties to all three parks to discuss the project and seek input; the research team later communicated with representatives of certain tribes to follow up on initial guidance and to plan for future phases of research not represented in this document. These conversations shaped the document that follows. Researchers were asked to identify traditionally-associated tribes and to provide historical context for understanding their uses of federal lands and resources at the monument. While focusing on tribes with very direct and enduring ties to these parks—Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Burns Paiute especially—the team sought to identify linkages between JODA and other tribes with demonstrable but perhaps less direct ties, such as Klamath and others. NPS staff asked researchers to provide basic information regarding the organization of area tribes today, so as to facilitate agencies' participation in the consultation process. Finally, NPS staff also encouraged researchers to note data gaps to be addressed in future research. The document that follows reflects these elements.

In order to identify information gaps and fill them through follow-up archival and literature review, the research team systematically reviewed existing documentation available from the NPS, as well as a range of published and archival sources available in other collections. Topics especially addressed in this archival and literature survey include, but are not limited to: 1) traditional American Indian territorial associations with lands and resources now in NPS management; 2) natural and cultural resources apparent in the written record that may still be of significance to tribes; 3) culturally significant places on NPS lands, and 4) the identity of tribes associated with the protection and treatment of such items as inadvertently discovered Native human remains and associated objects, in accordance with the requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).

The research that followed involved a wide-ranging review of ethnographic records pertaining to park-associated tribes and over two centuries of historical writing. This included a review of existing, published documentation, including a synthesis of the historical literature relating to lands in and around JODA, as well as ethnographic writings relating to tribes who appear to have the most direct ties to the area. To achieve project aims, Deur, Bloom, Wynia, and the larger PSU research team reviewed available historical and anthropological literatures available principally in the collections of the PSU, Oregon Historical Society, University of Washington, and UC Berkeley libraries, as well as a range of online sources relating to park-associated tribes. The research team also reviewed additional grey literature available from such sources as national and regional agency offices, and state and university sources. They recorded information from these sources on traditional uses of the monument, or on lands and resources in its vicinity that might set the context for understanding tribal use and occupation of monument lands. Additionally,

the research involved a reconnaissance-level review of archival materials relating to the study's themes in local, regional, and national collections. Researchers used information gathered in these collections to fill gaps in the existing published record and to suggest opportunities for more comprehensive future archival study. The research team directly reviewed pertinent materials with collections housed in a number of repositories, including but not limited to the following:

- National Park Service, Pacific-West Region files—Seattle, WA
- National Archives and Records Administration—Washington, D.C.
- National Park Service National NAGPRA Program—Washington, D.C.
- National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History Collections—Washington, D.C.
- Oregon Historical Society Library—Portland, OR
- U.C. Berkley Bancroft Library Special Collections—Berkeley, CA
- Oklahoma State University Library Digital Collections, American Indian Law—Norman, OK
- National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Alaska Region—Seattle, WA
- Portland State University Library, Portland, OR
- University of Washington Gallagher Law Library, Seattle

In addition to the conventional ethnographic and historical sources, other sources were important in assessing matters of tribal land claims. Drawing from materials available in the federal National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) collections, we reviewed Indian Claims Commission (ICC) documents, including published and unpublished materials available for adjudicated lands and both historical and contemporary reservations near the monument. These key legal documents provided helpful, if sometimes contested, geographical, historical, and ethnographic details that may aid future agency and tribal efforts related to the documentation of tribal areas of interest. Also of value in this effort were the Records of Superintendencies of Indian Affairs in NARA Record Group 75.15. These items provide a valuable glimpse into the mechanisms of tribal relocation, as well as the movements of tribal communities during transitions from uncontested sovereigns on traditional lands to today's reservation communities and sovereign tribal governments. Official tribal websites and other materials produced by tribes were especially useful in the crafting of later sections of this document, with contact information and other materials on the contemporary status of area tribes. Tribal representatives shared a few documents, with promise of additional documentation in future project phases. A wide range of other sources was consulted beyond this list, but not as regularly or consequentially.

Upon compiling the information gathered from these sources, we analyzed items for recurring themes. Furthermore, we identified inconsistencies and data gaps, seeking to remedy omissions through follow-up archival and literature reviews. In this effort, we sought to understand the identity and experiences of Native American people connected to the John Day region so as to place the question of tribal associations in a larger historical and cultural context. Finally, we attempted to trace the histories of the various tribal

communities into the twentieth century so as to illuminate connections between today's Native tribes and peoples mentioned in association with the parks historically. We present this information thematically in the pages that follow.

Among the goals of this effort has been to provide tribal and agency resource managers with ample original source material to be used in the management and interpretation of the region's Native American history. Toward this end, original sources have been quoted in many portions of the document, while certain items used in the study relating to treaty claims and modern tribal cultural resource management are also included. A large collection of unprocessed original quotations, organized thematically, has also been provided to the NPS as a separate compendium linked to this report. It is hoped that the quotations from original sources will be of use to readers wishing to follow up on specific themes, and that these original quotations and materials can be used by tribes and agency staff alike in assessing details regarding the monument's Native American history.

At contact, patterns of land use and occupation in this part of central Oregon were arguably complex. Nineteenth-century violence and displacement, and the formation of reservation communities and confederated tribes, only adds to the complexity reflected in the breadth and diversity of materials consulted over the course of this project. The interests of modern tribes with traditional ties to vast traditional lands across central Oregon, as well as the available documentation relating to those interests, can only be understood in those contexts. This document has, by necessity, broadly summarized major themes. It presents fine-grained detail only on topics where such detail seems warranted. An exhaustive treatment of the many tribal cultures, Indian and settler histories, and Native ties to lands and resources converging at the monument would represent a monumental work. The complexity of the region's history ensures that perhaps no one account can tell the whole story to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. Certain gaps in the current document are inevitable and should be acknowledged in advance. However, many useful works addressing the John Day region have already been produced by academic anthropologists, agency resource management specialists, tribal cultural staff, and others. The sources listed in the bibliography and cited throughout should be consulted by anyone wishing to develop a more detailed understanding of this history.

Again, this report is not the final word, but represents a compendium and summary of available written materials regarding the relationship of Native American communities to lands and resources now within JODA. There are surely gaps, and many points needing clarification—matters that can be addressed in future research and in future communications between tribes and National Park Service staff. In spite of these limitations, we nonetheless expect this report to be of independent value to tribal, agency, and academic readers wishing to better understand the tribal history of the John Day region. We sincerely hope this report documents many qualities and attributes of the tribes' history and the cultural landscape rendering it significant and worth preserving. We anticipate it will support a larger dialogue in which tribes participate more directly in collaborative research and resource management efforts at JODA, and that it documents aspects of tribal culture and history of enduring importance to contemporary tribes. In turn, we hope it supports a larger, ongoing effort to build and sustain lasting relationships

of mutual trust among NPS managers and members of monument-affiliated Native American communities—relationships essential to preserving the natural and cultural resources within the monument for the benefit of all. Information assembled here may aid in the development of educational products for the public and park visitors to promote greater awareness and appreciation of places of cultural and historical importance within JODA. It may also improve the park's ability to interpret for park visitors the rich connections between JODA and Native American tribes.

An Archaeological Overview of the John Day Region

Though the focus of this report is significantly ethnographic and ethnohistorical, we provide for context a brief overview of the archaeology of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument and the surrounding area. As our literature review revealed few archaeological studies with a specific focus on the John Day-Blue Mountain region, the scope of the section is limited. Most studies have dealt with the Columbia Plateau to the north, or the Great Basin to the south, often treating the region of JODA peripherally; furthermore, the nature of archaeological work in the region complicated our search for information on the region's archaeology. Both Burtchard (1998) and Endzweig (1994), whose works form the foundation of this section, note that most of the region's archaeology is conducted by federal and state agencies, producing results scattered across agencies and of limited circulation. Now 25 years old, Burtchard's (1998) archaeological overview for JODA still provides the most recent, detailed description of the park's archaeological record and how it relates to the wider region.



Image of Cathedral Rock with the John Day River below. Photo courtesy NPS.

Still, the archaeological overview below does lend context for the ethnographic information forming the core of this report. We refer those seeking an in-depth study of JODA's archaeology to Burtchard's work (1998). The archaeological record of the park contains evidence of how JODA lands were used in the past and hints at the cultural ties of its precontact users.

Temporal and Regional Overview

Researchers have divided the cultural sequence for the Pacific Northwest in many different ways. Here, for consistency in JODA-area archaeological studies, we base our temporal overview of the region's culture chronology on divisions used by Endzweig (1994), with reference to Burtchard's (1998) land-use intensification model.

Paleo-Indian (ca. 14,500-11,000 B.P.)

Researchers refer to the period from ca. 14,500 to 11,000 B.P as the Paleo-Indian period, a time when environmental conditions were glacial, and much colder and wetter than modern climates (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:14). Radiocarbon-dated human coprolites from Paisley Cave in south-central Oregon indicate human presence in the Pacific Northwest since no later than 14,500 years ago (Jenkins et al. 2012). In this period, people are characterized as mobile hunters and gatherers, likely hunting now extinct Pleistocene megafauna, such as mastodons and mammoth (Ames and Maschner 1999; Burtchard and Hamilton 1998). The common technology included fluted Clovis points, though evidence from Paisley Cave suggests Western Stemmed points as an earlier cultural expression (Jenkins et al. 2012). To date, no researchers have found Paleo-Indian archaeology in the John Day-Blue Mountain region, though Paisley Cave, other southern Great Basin sites like the Dietz Clovis Site, and other early Holocene sites in the Columbia Plateau north of the Blue Mountains, suggest human presence in the wider region (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:55).

Early Archaic (ca. 11,000-7,500 B.P.)

Closer to JODA, the archaeological record indicates habitation of north-central Oregon since at least 10,000 to 12,000 years ago (Toepel et al. 1980:129), a time called the Early Archaic period, dating from ca. 11,000 to 7,500 B.P. During the second half of the period, ca. 9,000 to 7,000-8,000 years ago, the climate transitioned from the cold, wet conditions of glacial times to increasing warmth and dryness. This period is called the Anathermal or Early Postglacial period and was characterized by a climate similar to modern climatic conditions (Toepel et al. 1980:11; Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:14).

Early Archaic period sites contain Windust-style points, and suggest people lived in small, dispersed, mobile populations, subsisting as broad-spectrum foragers (Endzweig 1994:41). Windust points radiocarbon date to ca. 8,000 to 10,500 years ago (8,500-6,000 B.C.). Keyser describes this cultural phase for the central Columbia Plateau:

“Living in the numerous rock shelters throughout the central Columbia Plateau, and in open campsites elsewhere, the Windust people, also nomadic

hunters, preyed on deer, elk, birds, and small mammals. Salmon bones in the Five Mile Rapid site near The Dalles, dating about eighty-five hundred years ago, are evidence that salmon fishing was added near the end of this period.

“Excavated materials from Windust Cave, Wildcat Canyon, Marmes Rockshelter, Lind Coulee, Five Mile Rapid, and other sites show that these early hunters had tool kits fully adapted to their seminomadic life style. Chipped stone tools included projectile points, knives, scrapers, choppers, and drills. Bone and antler artifacts included awls, eyed needles, fleshing tools, barbed points, beads, hammers, flakers, wedges, and atlatls” (Keyser 1992:24).

The Wildcat Canyon Site mentioned by Keyser is a significant location from this early period, near the mouth of the John Day River at its junction with the Columbia. This site is a major village site, where archaeological excavation uncovered at least 10,000 years of occupation (Toepel et al. 1980:104). Among the archaeological evidence are numerous occupation floors and house pits. The faunal remains show deer, elk, and mountain sheep as a significant part of the diet, as well as a variety of fish (Toepel et al. 1980:104).

From the archaeological evidence, researchers surmise that the John Day region has been used for resource gathering and residence for at least 10,000 years. Hafted biface projectile point styles found in the park date to as early as 7,000 to 8,000 years ago (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:iii, 85). Burtchard’s land-use intensification model for the John Day-Blue Mountain region contains two land-use periods within the Early Archaic. First, the Post-Pleistocene Foraging period (ca. 11,000-8,000 B.P.), representing a time of minimal use of the Blue Mountains by the nomadic peoples hunting megafauna elsewhere in the region (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:72). Secondly, the Rest-Rotation Foraging period (ca. 9,000-6,000 B.P.), demonstrating increased use of the Blue Mountains, with subsistence focused on medium-sized ungulates and high-return small animals and plants (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:72).

Middle Archaic (ca. 7,500-2,500 B.P.)

Endzweig (1994) divides the Middle Archaic period into two sections: the Early Middle Archaic and the Late Middle Archaic. The Early Middle Archaic (7,500-4,000 B.P.) coincides with the mid-Holocene Hypsithermal period (Endzweig 1994:42), while the

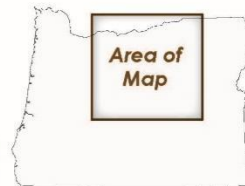
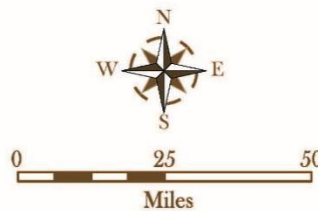
EPA LEVEL III ECOREGIONS AROUND JOHN DAY FOSSIL BEDS



Source: Environmental Protection Agency

LEGEND

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cascades Eastern Cascades Slopes and Foothills Blue Mountains 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Columbia Plateau Northern Basin and Range
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MAP 1: Sitting within the Blue Mountains ecoregion, the lands in and around John Day Fossil Beds appear to have been the focus of specialized resource harvests for millennia, situated within tribal territories that also made use of adjacent ecosystems in the Columbia Plateau, Northern Basin and Range, and Cascade Range mountains and foothills.

Hypsithermal or Altithermal period (ca. 7,500 to 4,500 B.P.) was a time of warmer, dryer environmental conditions than the previous period—with conditions even hotter and more arid than present conditions (Toepel et al. 1980:11).

The Cascade phase, or Old Cordilleran Culture, is present at archaeological sites of this time, ca. 8,000-6,500 years ago. This phase is best identified by the bi-pointed Cascade spearpoint and edge-ground cobbles used for food processing (Endzweig 1994:42; Keyser 1992:25-26). Ground stone tools evidence the use and processing of plant foods like berries and camas (Keyser 1992:25-26). In terms of other tool technology and modes of subsistence, this phase is similar to the Windust period.

Burtchard hypothesizes that during the Hypsithermal period, higher elevations in the Blue Mountains would have attracted humans, as the wetter conditions maintained flora and fauna populations otherwise reduced in dryer locations (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:57). Similarly, Armitage states,

“Prior to the Altithermal groups in central Oregon were river and playa oriented around the John Day River, the Deschutes River and Harney/Malheur Lake. With the drying conditions the area of exploitation was expanded and a pattern of seasonal transhumance was adopted where during the spring and summer months the groups would move into the higher elevations and return to their original or traditional area of exploitation in the fall and winter months” (Armitage 1983:105-106).

Burtchard does note that “however, with uncalibrated radiocarbon ages of 5,800 and 4,370 B.P. (Endzweig pers. com. 1997), the Cottonwood Creek site near Sheep Rock is the only John Day-Blue Mountain site presently dated to the mid-Holocene Hypsithermal maximum” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:57). His model calls this period the Semisedentary Rest-Rotation Foraging land use period (ca. 7,000-4,000 B.P.) (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:72). For during this period, short-term winter sedentism and storage appear, with foraging ranges broadening through the Blue Mountains.

The Late Middle Archaic period dates to 4,000-2,500 B.P., coinciding with a climatic transition to the cooler, wetter Medithermal, a period also called the Late Postglacial period, dating from 4,500-4,000 years ago to the present (Endzweig 1994:42; Toepel et al. 1980:11). Starting at the Early Middle Archaic and continuing into this period, the cultural phase following the Cascade is the Cold Springs phase, “a three-thousand-year period of significant change on the Columbia Plateau” from 4,500-1,500 B.C. (6,500-3,500 B.P.) (Keyser 1992:26). The Cold Springs phase on the Columbia Plateau is:

“marked by the appearance of various large, side-notched, projectile points and of microblades in the northern portion of the region. Both of these technological innovations facilitated hunting and butchering. Notched projectile points could be made smaller than lanceolate points, and thus could be more securely fastened to the short spears that were used with the atlatl, the throwing stick that greatly

increased a hunter's power and range. Microblades produced significantly more usable cutting edge for each piece of stone that was flaked.

"Archaeologists have characterized this period's cultural adaptation as one of increased trade and contact among local groups, with a corresponding elaboration of tools used for catching and storing fish, and gathering, processing, and storing wild roots and other plant foods. Sinkers, gorges, hooks, and fishing spears occur in Cold Springs sites, and for plant food processing the more efficient mortar and pestle largely replace the edge-ground cobble tools of the Old Cordilleran culture. Subterranean, rock-lined ovens for roasting camas were first used during this time. Recent archaeological excavations at several sites in the region have shown that people first began to live in pit house villages along major rivers during this period. Likely these villages, and the sedentism they imply, result from increased reliance on camas gathering and fishing as the major means of subsistence" (Keyser 1992:26).

At the end of the Late Middle Archaic, and leading into the Late Archaic, is the Columbia Plateau cultural phase of the Early Riverine Phase (1,500 B.C.-0) (3,500-2,000 B.P.). Keyser describes the developments of the phase:

"During this time, pit house villages became commonplace; roots, salmon, and shellfish were the primary food sources for Columbia Plateau groups. Increased use of adzes, whetstones, gouges, wedges, graving tools, and stone mauls used to make wood and bone items is evidence that wood and bone working became very important in Early Riverine villages. Corresponding to this technology is the occurrence in archaeological sites of portable art objects and the definition of localized art styles. A variety of large, corner-notched, and stemmed dart points dominate the chipped-stone tool assemblages from Early Riverine sites, indicating that hunting with spears and atlatls continued as an important activity.

"Long-distance trade, begun in the earlier Cold Springs phase, became increasingly important during the Early Riverine period. Artifacts recovered from sites near The Dalles show that galena and slate were brought from west of the Cascades, obsidian was obtained from south-central Oregon, and nephrite for adze blades was brought from British Columbia. Apparently, even at this early date The Dalles area was an important trade center, as it was situated on the main access route between the Pacific Coast and the interior Columbia Plateau" (Keyser 1992:27).

The archaeological record of 4,000-0 B.P. suggests populations in the region grew, with evidence of increasing sedentism and resource-use intensification. These subsistence strategies are marked in the archaeological record by evidence of salmon processing, food storage, plant processing, and use of the bow and arrow (ca. 2000 years ago) to catch smaller game (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:58). Another marker is the use of pithouse dwellings, and aggregations of pithouses into villages. Endzweig states: "The appearance of pithouses by 4000-5000 B.P. along the upper Middle Columbia (Campbell 1985; Chatters 1984) and the lower Snake Rivers (Ames and Marshall 1980; Brauner 1976) suggests a

decrease in mobility and ‘settling in’ of local populations” (Endzweig 1994:42-43). Most villages were near rivers like the Columbia, lower John Day, and lower Deschutes—the rivers providing access to anadromous fish like salmon. The more permanent housing of pithouse villages enabled food storage.

The Semisedentary Collecting period (5,000-1,500 B.P.) of Burtchard’s model coincides with most of the Late Middle Archaic. The lifeways of this period coincide with those above, with increasing sedentism, food storage, and orientation to rivers with anadromous fish. Burtchard adds that the climate changes would degrade ungulate habitats, causing an increase in the use of fire to improve these habitats (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:73).

Late Archaic (2,500 B.P. to contact)

Among archaeologists, the last period prior to contact is called the Late Archaic, beginning around 2,500 B.P. (A.D. 500). Scholars believe the highest precontact population levels in the history of the region existed during this time (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998). Enzweig describes the lifeways of the period as matching the ethnographic information:

“While the Middle Archaic marks the inception of pithouse construction, it is not until sometime in the Late Archaic that the so-called ‘Ethnographic Pattern’ (Swanson 1962), ‘Plateau Pattern’ (Warren 1968), or ‘Winter Village Pattern’ (Nelson 1969, 1973) is thought to have become established. As recorded by the first Euroamericans to pass through the region, this was a semi-sedentary lifeway which involved winter occupation of permanent riverine villages coupled with a more dispersed pattern of spring, summer, and fall hunting, gathering, and fishing which was pursued by much of the population in the adjacent uplands.... Subsistence organization becomes increasingly logistical (as defined by Binford 1980), and exploitation of anadromous fish, expanded during the last millennium of the Middle Archaic, is further intensified throughout the Plateau (Leonhardy and Rice 1970; Campbell 1985; Schalk 1987). A dramatic increase in the numbers of housepits is attributed to shorter periods of occupation (Ames 1988b). Concurrently, increased superposition of floors is attributed to decreased mobility on a supra-annual scale (Chatters 1989). The earliest evidence for house construction in the Pine Creek drainage coincides with the inception of the Late Archaic” (Enzweig 1994:42-43).

The central Columbia Plateau cultural phase present in the archaeological record during this time is called the Late Riverine Phase, ca. 2,000 B.P. to 1720 C.E. The end date marks the introduction of horses and European trade goods into the region. Keyser provides a summary of this phase:

“The Late Riverine period represents the material culture and lifestyle of the ethnographically known Columbia Plateau Indians. Sites of this period are more common throughout the plateau than those of any other, and, using logical

extensions and inferences from other ethnographically known cultures, we thus know more about these people's life styles than about those of earlier groups.

"...Archaeological sites include pit-house villages on most of the region's major rivers and lakes, and open campsites and rock shelters in the uplands and smaller stream valleys. Some pit-house villages are quite large, with extensive artifact assemblages and storage pits that imply almost year-round occupation. Other settlements were smaller winter villages. Campsites demonstrate seasonal movements to exploit varied upland resources" (Keyser 1992:27-28).

Furthermore, Keyser continues:

"Artifacts from both villages and campsites include a wide variety of tools for fishing, hunting, gathering, and food processing, along with tools for working wood and bone and making decorative objects. The adoption of the bow and arrow, at the beginning of the Late Riverine period, with corresponding development of small-stemmed, side-, or corner-notched projectile points represents one major technological change. Exotic materials, such as shells, stone for arrowheads, and minerals, indicate an expanded trade network that undoubtedly also included perishable items—wood, hide, basketry, textiles, and feathers—that have not been preserved.

"Accompanying increased sedentism and trade was a significant elaboration of art styles in places like The Dalles..." (Keyser 1992:28).

Burtchard's model classifies this period as Intensive Collecting (ca. 2,500-400 B.P.), with similar land use, technology, and subsistence descriptions to Endzweig's and Keyser's above (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:73).

Starting in the Middle Archaic and continuing into the Late Archaic in the Columbia Plateau, the archaeological record of the John Day area contains markers of increasing sedentism and resource intensification. Specifically, Burtchard emphasizes the abundance of pithouse features in the John Day-Blue Mountain region and the "widespread distribution of arrow-sized projectile points," going on to say:

"Almost certainly, some of Blue Mountain uplands provided seasonally available game resources exploited by collector groups tethered logistically to riverine villages. It is equally likely that forager populations in the northern Great Basin made seasonal use of Blue Mountain landscapes as well; perhaps in a manner similar to the ethnographic pattern" (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:59).

Further, lithic assemblages from JODA suggest that use of today's park lands increased during the Late Archaic. Burtchard states,

"Projectile points, while limited in number, reflect a wide range of size and stylistic attributes. Lance, dart and arrow-sized bifaces are consistent with human use of the region throughout most of the Holocene, though a higher fraction of more recent

types suggests increased use intensity during the last 2,000 years” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:150).

However, the archaeological record implies that the population was not evenly distributed in the area. Archaeologists have found fewer large aggregations of pithouses on the middle to upper John Day drainage, suggesting a much lower population level south of the Clarno Unit of JODA (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:73). Aikens describes this lower population distribution:

“Pine Creek, with its pithouse sites and various associated activity loci, enters the John Day just at the southern edge of the Deschutes-Umatilla Plateau. As noted, few sites have been excavated and reported in detail along the lower John Day. Nevertheless, such data as are available show that a pattern of riverine life, centered on pithouse residential sites, extended upstream from the Columbia about as far as Pine Creek. Beyond this point, however, as the John Day crosses from the Deschutes-Umatilla Plateau into the Blue Mountains, pithouse settlements dwindle abruptly. It appears that in prehistoric times as now, the higher mountains were a hinterland, exploited in brief forays by people whose main settlements were elsewhere” (Aikens 1993:118-119).

Alternatively, the pithouses in the John Day-Blue Mountain region may indicate a unique adaptation to the regional environment: “The common occurrence of pit houses noted by Endzweig (1994), Polk (1976) and others away from productive salmon procurement locations...suggests presence of a resident population not fully analogous to either Plateau or Great Basin adaptations” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:59). As will be discussed below, park lands and the surrounding Blue Mountain area contain a variety of resources that potentially provided a food base without a high reliance on salmon. Regional users could have followed subsistence patterns slightly different from peoples to the north and south. Moreover, archaeological surveys after Burtchard’s overview identified additional pithouses in the Sheep Rock Unit, providing further evidence of a possible resident population (Gleason et al. 2012).

Contact (ca. the mid-1700s)

In the 1700s, events significantly altered lifeways for the peoples of the Columbia Plateau. Three of the major occurrences were: the introduction of the horse, deadly epidemics, and EuroAmerican contact. These events caused major shifts in cultural patterns, with epidemics devastating Indigenous peoples, decreasing their population by as much as 90% (Boyd 1999b). The combined effects of the horse, epidemics, and EuroAmerican contact on the peoples of the John Day area will be discussed further in later chapters of this report.

Around this time, sites in the Pine Creek area near the Clarno Unit show a sudden decline of use, with archaeological records of the area having a paucity of evidence after 300 B.P. (Endzweig 1994). Endzweig interprets this decrease as evidence of a settlement shift out of

Pine Creek, possibly due to epidemics (Endweig 1994). The high population loss and social dislocation caused by the epidemics could also explain incongruity between the archaeological record of use of the John Day area and historical observations during the contact period (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:42). By the time EuroAmericans arrived, few Native Americans were living in the Blue Mountains. The John Day-Blue Mountain area was instead used for summer resource acquisition by Columbia River peoples to the north and northern Great Basin populations to the south (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:153-154). Yet while shifts occurred in material culture and subsistence strategies, it is important to note continuity. Hunn emphasizes that the overall lifestyle pattern of the Plateau people has a great time depth:

“...archaeological evidence suggests that the Plateau Indian way of life had remained fundamentally the same for ten thousand years prior to the first Euro-American influences of the eighteenth century. What demonstrable changes did occur during that long period of time can be traced to two factors: biogeographical consequences of climatic change and innovation in resource harvest strategies and techniques. The resulting changes represent subtle shifts of emphasis rather than profound redesign of Plateau economic and social patterns” (Hunn 1990:19).



Panorama of the east face of hills in the Painted Hills Unit of the John Day Fossil Beds National Monument.

Precontact Land Use and Settlement in the John Day Region: Archaeological Evidence

While the JODA region was not a regional resource procurement center, as is the case at anadromous fishing stations along the Columbia River, the environment and resources of the John Day-Blue Mountain region were attractive for human use. JODA contains numerous species of plants and animals, stone for lithic tools, fish, and abundant water in the form of the John Day River and streams. JODA's archaeological sites reflect the use of these rich resource areas. Indeed, archaeologists have recorded over 60 precontact sites with evidence of hunting, fishing, plant gathering, and short to moderate habitation.

The John Day Fossil Beds National Monument and surrounding Blue Mountains contain a variety of subsistence resources. Over 240 species of plants, around 40 species of mammals, over 50 species of birds, 10 species of fish, and various amphibians and reptiles are currently found in and around JODA lands (Endzweig 1994:13-18; NPS 2017).

Precontact peoples likely obtained the following high value subsistence resources from the Blue Mountain region: bison, elk, black bear, mule deer, mountain sheep, pronghorn antelope, jackrabbit, marmot, gopher, squirrel, galliform birds (grouse & quail), spring Chinook salmon, steelhead trout, biscuitroot, bitterroot, camas, Indian carrot, huckleberry, wild rye seed, and Indian ricegrass seed (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:37). For stone tools, chert is available within the park lands, and nearby regions offer obsidian sources. Obsidian is present at Sutton Mountain, only 3 miles northeast of the Painted Hills Unit, and Seneca area sources are located 40 miles southeast of the Sheep Mountain Unit (NROSL 2011).

As discussed previously in this report, the Blue Mountain region contains a diversity of habitats in close proximity, providing a wide array of resources in a small area. Burtchard infers that the contrasting environmental and resource distribution patterns attracted people into the region during the summer in accordance with ethnographic patterns, and that during the protohistoric and historic periods, distant populations easily traveled to the area by horse (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:15). He goes on to say: "More importantly, because of the region's environmental characteristics and large size, it is reasonable to expect the presence of a year-round residential population for most of the time that people have occupied the general area" (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:15). Endzweig similarly describes the importance of the rich resources of the Pine Creek area, including the Clarno Unit:

"[A] diversity of resources...were available to prehistoric inhabitants of the Study Area. The proximity of multiple environmental zones, conditioned by physiographic variability, affords access to plants and animals from steppe grasslands, pine forests, riparian communities, and the nearby John Day River. Sedimentary and igneous parent rock provide raw materials for tools and pigments, as well as crevices and overhangs which were used for storage and shelter. Further expansion of the local catchment was achieved through trade and travel, as reflected in the presence of non-local obsidian and other "exotic" materials. A consideration of the available resource base is essential for the understanding of prehistoric human occupation of the Pine Creek basin" (Endzweig 1994:18-19).

Furthermore, the variability in the John Day-Blue Mountain region environmental zones resulted in an abundance of available plant and animal species, as well as stone tools and shelters. This unique characteristic attracted Native Americans to the lands, possibly supporting a residential population. At the very least, the archaeological sites of JODA evidence thousands of years of human use for subsistence, pictographs, and short to moderate habitation.

As mentioned, the John Day Fossil Beds National Monument contains over one hundred known archaeological sites, with over 60 precontact sites (Burtchard and Hamilton

1998:85; NPS 2009:29). Precontact site types include pictographs; lithic scatters, isolated lithic tools, and lithic quarries; stacked rock cairns and walled hunting blinds; and shelter and habitation sites such as rock overhangs, caves, and locations with housepit depressions (Gleason et al. 2012; NPS 2008:142). Based on archaeological evidence, Burtchard describes the likely precontact use of the John Day region:

“Presence of functionally diverse assemblages, evaluated in conjunction with a growing regional database, suggest that throughout much of the Holocene the greater Blue Mountain region sustained hunter-gatherer populations that shifted residence between lower and higher elevation landscapes in accordance with seasonal changes in the distribution and abundance of critical plant and animal resources. Prairie and juniper parkland habitats characteristic of JODA probably functioned as winter residence and/or winter through spring hunting, plant gathering and fishing places within the broader Blue Mountain land-use pattern” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:iii).

Further, as mentioned above in the regional and temporal overview, this use shifted through time:

“Because of low to moderate elevation settings, the Monument’s Clarno, Painted Hills and Sheep Rock Units probably were used primarily as places for winter residence, and/or as short-term hunting and gathering locations by people moving between alternative resource patches. Initial human occupation probably began in the early to mid-Holocene in a context of very low population density. We now believe early use to have been dominated by small forager groups moving between resource patches as autonomous social units with only minimal need for stored food reserves or prolonged residence at a fixed place. During the middle to late Holocene, elevated competition for available resources created a context favoring more complex logistic strategies. It also increased the need for mass harvest and storage; both of which entail loss of residential mobility and favor population aggregation in the most productive habitats—especially near the main stem of the Columbia River. The tendency for increasing land-use intensity stopped abruptly about 250 years ago with almost simultaneous introduction of equestrian transportation and deadly epidemic diseases. By the onset of the historic period, most indigenous use of the John Day area and wider Blue Mountain region appears to have been limited to summer resource acquisition by surviving Columbia River populations and mobile foragers overwintering on the northern fringe of the Great Basin” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:153-154).

The following descriptions of a selection of archaeological sites in JODA highlight these uses of park lands.

Stone Features: Lithic Quarries and Pictographs

Lithic quarry sites are present in the Clarno Unit and the Sheep Rock Unit. These quarries contain cryptocrystalline silicate (CCS) lithic material, namely chert, suitable for making sharp-edged flaked stone tools (Gleason et al. 2012:16). Nutbed Trail Lithic Quarry (35WH0395) in the Clarno Unit contains a yellow-red chert outcrop with lithic debitage (Gleason et al. 2012:18). And in Sheep Rock, archaeologists recorded the Boundary Corner Quarry (35GR2171), a major lithic procurement source for the local area, the chert from which dominates precontact sites in the area, having originated from two bedrock sources on JODA and BLM land (Gleason et al. 2012:34). Another quarry in Sheep Rock is the Speckled Gray Chert Quarry Prehistoric Lithic Quarry (35GR2182) located in the Deer Gulch area at the north end of the unit (Gleason et al. 2012:35). Chert from this quarry is found in nearby sites such as 35GR2178, 2179 and 2180. The number of precontact sites in the Deer Gulch area suggests considerable use by precontact peoples. As of surveys in the early 2000s, the 26 sites in the area include quarries, lithic scatters, and residential sites (Gleason et al. 2012:32-39). Two of the residential sites will be discussed further below. Somewhat related to lithic tool quarries, steatite and serpentine sources are found in the John Day vicinity, according to Strong (1959:127)—materials that were used to make Columbia River stone beads.



Lithic quarry sites are present in the Sheep Rock Unit. These quarries contain chert, often used for making sharp-edged flaked stone tools by area tribes. Photo courtesy Finetooth, CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons.

Pictographs are also widely reported in the area. For example, the south end of the Sheep Rock Unit contains the Picture Gorge pictographs (35GR11), a series of six rock-art panels of red-pigmented pictographs on both sides of the John Day River gorge (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:99). Beckham and Lentz describe the

pictographs as the most significant precontact archaeological site in JODA's boundaries, mentioning that:

“Cressman [in his 1930s study] noted stylistic similarities with Great Basin pictographs, but postulated that the designs were introduced by Sahaptin-speaking tribes—the influence perhaps coming out of the east from Nez Perce territory or from the Snake River country further south (Cressman 1937:69). In 1990, a visiting member of the Warm Springs Reservation informed Monument staff that the pictographs had particular spiritual significance to the Wasco Indians. To date there has been no definitive proof of either the origin or age of the rock art at Picture Gorge (Mark 1996:237, 249)” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Pictographs are also present at the Indian Canyon One Rock Shelter (35WH003) and the Palisades Boulder Site (35WH041) in Clarno (Burchard 1998:87).

Another possible association with rock art in the wider John Day area is the presence of green tuffaceous sandstone deposits known as John Day Tuff (Osborne 1957:91). This green sandstone can be used to make green paint and has been found at excavations in the McNary Reservoir Basin near Umatilla, Oregon. Strong also mentions that shades of blue and green pigment for pictographs could be obtained in ancient sea deposits in the John Day area (Strong 1959:105).

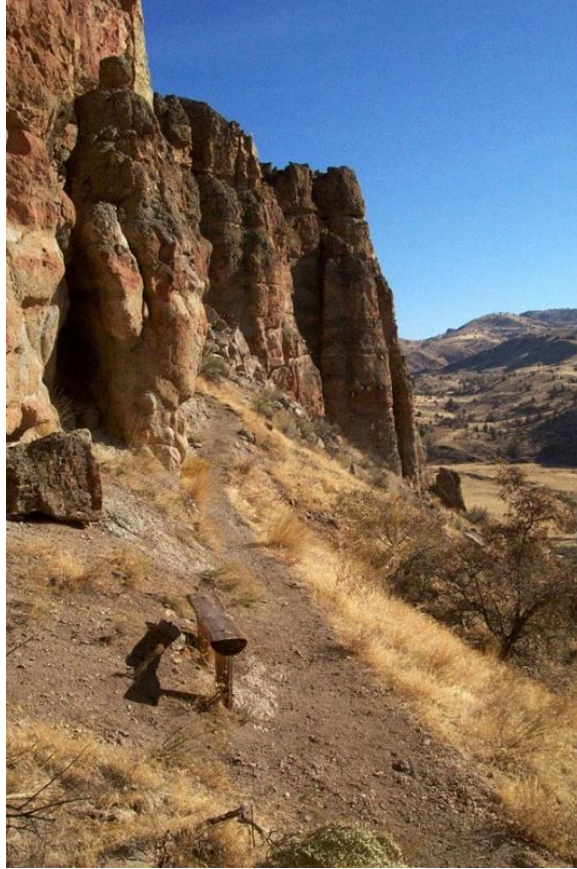


Image of the Clarno Arch trail from near the top looking at the palisades. Photo courtesy NPS.

Archaeological Signatures of Subsistence

Archaeologists have found hunting sites in both the Painted Hills and Sheep Rock Units of JODA. The Painted Hills Unit contains hunting observation locations in elevated settings with views of the surrounding area, and of stacked rock and lithic scatters, on the butte to the north and on the edge of Carroll Rim (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:96-97). Two specific sites noted are 35WH221 and 35WH246, located on top of buttes, providing superior views of the Bridge and Bear Creek Drainages (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:97).



The Painted Hills Unit contains archaeological evidence of specialized plant gathering and processing by Native harvesters. Photo by Roxray, Wikimedia Commons.

Archaeological hunting sites in the Sheep Rock Unit include hunting blind sites and ambush sites on high elevation ridge crests (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:106). One such hunting blind site (35GR1659) is near Cant Ranch, on a ridge top overlooking the Cant Ranch, the John Day floodplain, and eastern slope landscapes (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:105). This site contains stacked stone and pit features as well as lithic debris.

Multiple hunting ambush locations are present in Sheep Rock; five on the crest of high elevation ridges on both sides of the John Day canyon: 35WH243, 35GR1639, 35GR1651, 35GR1652, and 35GR1653 (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998). Burchard states:

“These sites contain an unusually high fraction of late-stage reduction flakes and broken biface fragments. Their position on the landscape is particularly distinctive in that all are found immediately atop steep inclines. ...Most are situated in and among rocky outcrops. ...None are located near water. We believe these sites most plausibly represent ambush locations associated with group deer hunting strategies. Deer frightened upslope would be at their most vulnerable point while topping the crest of these ridges. Lithic remains at these sites most plausibly reflect tool maintenance activities which occurred as hunters whiled away time waiting for game to top the ridge crests” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:109-110).

Noted in the Sheep Rock Unit near Cant Ranch (35GR1656) is a probable fishing site located on the eastern John Day floodplain terrace and unique among JODA sites for its large size and variety of lithic artifacts. Based on its location and artifact assemblage, Burtchard interprets the site as an intensively and/or repeatedly used fishing and residential site during the mid to late Holocene (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:108-109).

Archaeological evidence of plant gathering and processing in JODA is inferred from stone processing tools, such as grinding stones. These sites are recorded in both the Clarno and Painted Hills Units. In the Clarno Unit, one site with grinding stones is located in the Indian Canyon headwater area, site 35WH013, containing multiple grinding stones in stratified context (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:91-92). According to Burtchard, the size of the

assemblage and the stratified context suggest repeated use for seed or root processing as part of mass-harvest activities associated with winter residence in the area. As explained by Burtchard, the presence of other site types in the vicinity indicates a possible larger system:

“Other sites in these drainages include surface evident lithic scatters, a rockshelter site, a probable burial cairn, and a mid-elevation lithic scatter with fire cracked rock (FCR), suggesting presence of a cooking feature. It is possible that many of the sites in this area are part of a consolidated land-use system and/or reflect repeated use of the ecotonal landscape over an extended period of time. All of these sites share common association with water and the juniper/prairie ecotone” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:91-92).

Another Clarno site, 35WH216, contains a tabular grinding stone and is spatially associated with 35WH013 (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:136).

Located in the Painted Hills are two sites with evidence of plant processing and moderate-term residence: 35WH219 and 35WH234 (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:97). These sites contain ground stone slabs and are near water sources: 35WH219 by Zappa Creek—a tributary of Bear Creek—and 35WH234 on a valley terrace adjacent to a spring. Burtchard notes that giant wild rye (*Alamos cinereum*) is common on the Zappa Creek floodplain, suggesting a possible food resource utilized by users of the sites (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:97). Additionally, the complex lithic concentrations at these sites (along with another site near Zappa Creek, 35WH238) suggest multiple task activities and/or repeated use.

Archaeological Evidence of Settlements

Numerous JODA sites are interpreted as residential, primarily of short to moderate duration associated with resource gathering, with a few sites containing possible pithouse features. As of 1998, sixteen sites are categorized as residential base camps (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:136): six in Clarno, five in Sheep Rock, and five in Painted Hills. These include some of the sites described above: 35WH013 and 35WH216 (Clarno); 35WH219 and 35WH234 (Painted Hills); and 35GR1656 (Sheep Rock). At least two additional residential sites were recorded in the early 2000s in the Sheep Rock Unit and will be described below.



The Painted Hills. Photo by tsaiproject from Canada, CC BY 2.0, Wikimedia Commons.

The six residential sites in Clarno consist of three associated residential sites, two pithouse sites, and a winter hunting shelter. The associated sites are: 35WH013 (Indian Canyon 2), 35WH233 (Indian Canyon Dune), and 35WH216. Together they “constitute what appears to be a very large repeatedly used residential place associated with substantial plant processing activities” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:135-136). Possible housepit depressions are noted at two sites: 35WH041 and 35WH232, suggesting winter occupation and, subsequently, a residential population in the area (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:135-136).

In 2005, the Palisades Boulder Site in Clarno, 35WH041, was tested, providing detailed evidence of its repeated use as a winter-season hunting shelter (Gleason et al. 2012:6-7). The site is a rock shelter, containing rock art (pictographs); lithic debitage and arrow points made from local cryptocrystalline silicate and basalt, and imported obsidian; and groundstone indicating food processing. In the upper deposits, archaeologists recovered two EuroAmerican trade goods: a glass trade bead and a fragment of transferprint ceramic. The cultural material and a radiocarbon date indicate the site was used from ca. A.D. 950 to 1850, and Gleason et al. hypothesize it may be associated with the larger residential complexes in nearby Indian Canyon or elsewhere in the vicinity. Nearby sites of similar temporal context include 35WH013 (Indian Canyon 2) and 35WH007 (the Cove Creek Site) (Gleason et al. 2012:67).

Two residential sites in the Deer Gulch area of the Sheep Rock Unit were recorded in the early 2000s (Gleason et al. 2012). One is site 35GR2258 (the Green Bank Camp), described as a lithic scatter containing debitage and tools, and repeatedly used as a residential camp (Gleason et al. 2012:35). The second residential site is 35GR2166 (the Mazama Flat Site), located at the mouth of Deer Gulch ca. 100 m east of its confluence with the John Day River. Testing of the site in 2010 confirmed the site contains three precontact pithouses, the

largest of which contained multiple floors, occupied between A.D. 890 and 1780 (Gleason et al. 2012:7).

Pithouse sites are known in the park vicinity as well, including the Pine Creek Village Site (35WH14) (ca. 2,500 years ago) to the east of Clarno, and a possible pithouse site south of Sheep Rock on Cottonwood Creek (35GR1507) (ca. 1000-4000 B.P.) (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:72; Endzweig 1994:60-61). These residential sites further suggest precontact populations staying in the JODA vicinity not only for resource acquisition, but for longer stays in winter. It is possible then that some of JODA's users lived primarily in the park region. Endzweig hypothesizes what a resident population may have looked like:

“The scenario proposed here envisions for the southern Plateau a substantial, but dispersed prehistoric population which utilized the triad of salmon, roots, and game in varying proportions, depending upon local resource availability. It is not unlikely that models based on less riverine-oriented Plateau groups (cf. Anastasio 1975:139) will be more successful in explicating settlement and subsistence patterns in the present Study Area” (Endzweig 1994:489).

Much of the interpretation thus far has suggested that the archaeological record contains similarities between the park area and the Columbia Plateau to the north. As will be discussed below, determining the cultural affiliation of precontact users through the archaeological record can be complicated. Ultimately, evidence hints at ties to both northerly and southerly regions.

Archaeological Evidence of Precontact Cultural Ties

The John Day Fossil Beds National Monument archaeological record, and that of the surrounding area, contains limited evidence of cultural affiliation—and that evidence only hints at the cultural ties of precontact users. A number of factors account for this, including problems assigning types of artifacts to cultural groups, the scattered nature of archaeological reports for the region, and the possibility that inhabitants of the area adapted to the unique John Day-Blue Mountain regional environment, leaving a record not identical to either the Columbia Plateau or the Northern Great Basin. Nevertheless, evidence suggests connections to areas both north and south of the park, providing time depth to the ethnographically documented use of the area by groups of both regions.

Over the last 4,000 years, shifts occurred in the Columbia Plateau evincing a pattern similar to that of the John Day-Blue Mountain region. Some of the archaeological evidence, including projectile point styles and Endzweig's findings in Pine Creek, hint at cultural ties to the Columbia Plateau. Describing the late Holocene projectile point assemblage of JODA, Burtchard mentions:

“While stylistic attributes are considered to be ambiguous indicators of cultural affiliation, the present suite of late Holocene projectile points includes no types traditionally affiliated with the Great Basin Northern Paiute. Plausibly, absence of

these types is the result of closer cultural affiliation with Columbia Plateau Sahaptin-speaking groups during late prehistoric and protohistoric times” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:150).

Endzweig likewise observes that the relation between projectile point styles and cultural affiliation is uncertain. Remarking on the archaeological evidence from the upper John Day River area, Endzweig states, “the question of cultural affiliation remains inconclusive, with projectile points assigned to Great Basin or Columbia Plateau stylistic types according to the expertise of the analyst” (Endzweig 1994:65). Thus, the style of projectile points can be considered only a tentative indication of cultural affiliation.

For the Pine Creek area by Clarno, Endzweig does interpret the sites as connected to the Columbia Plateau culture, stating “archaeological assemblages and chronological developments...indicate strong ties to the larger Columbia Plateau” (Endzweig 1994:517). For example, the composition of some of the Pine Creek Village Site (35WH14) components suggest a semi-sedentary population and intensive use of resources, similar to Columbia Plateau lifeways:

“Bone awls and a partially finished pestle reflect energy-intensive and time-consuming activities such as basket-making, sewing of clothing, and manufacture of ground stone, while ornaments and other non-utilitarian objects, including stone and shell beads, a possible siltstone pipe fragment, and seven fossil bone gaming pieces, complement artifacts related to basic resource acquisition and processing. Direct information on seasonality of site use from faunal and macrobotanical remains is missing from component A-I and scarce for component B-I. However, evidence of substantial pithouses, together with storage features, and a rich and frequently non-portable assemblage representing diverse activities, suggest intensive and long-term habitation, and by analogy with ethnographic Plateau peoples, either winter or year-round occupation of the site” (Endzweig 1994:437).

Another possible indication of a connection with the Columbia River cultures is suggested by Andrefsky:

“Dumond and Minor (1983:157-162), moreover, suggest an occupational hiatus at the Wildcat Canyon site between approximately 5000 and 2000 B.P. The Fivemile Rapids area near The Dalles, Oregon, appears to have been abandoned during the Middle Archaic period, with human occupation before and after this period (Ames et al. 1998; Minor et al. 1987:40). However, sites just to the south of the Columbia River on the Deschutes River (Jenkins and Connolly 1996) and the John Day (Endzweig 1994b) show evidence of extensive habitation during this period of occupational hiatus along the Lower Columbia River. The proximity of these areas and the concordance of occupation and abandonment suggest a potential cultural relationship. More research must be completed among the sites and assemblages in these occupations to better understand these potential relationships” (Andrefsky 2004:30).

The connection between the sites has yet to be explored, but hints at a possible population shift to the JODA area during this period.

Sites near JODA indicate regional ties to the south as well. Artifacts from Butte Creek Cave (35WH1) west of Fossil, Oregon and northeast of Clarno, contained items characteristic of the Northern Great Basin, including Catlow basketry (Cressman 1950:378-382). Enzweig found that 70% of the obsidian from Pine Creek sites in her study came from southerly sources near present-day Seneca, situated within the ethnographic delineation of Northern Paiute territory. He suggests:

“Linear distance being roughly equal for most of the sources represented among the ninety obsidian specimens analyzed, the Seneca area focus suggests the importance of additional factors, such as facility of travel via the John Day River corridor, the inclusion of the upper John Day within the customary seasonal round of Pine Creek peoples, and/or social linkages allowing exchange between groups in the Study Area and their southern neighbors. The complete absence of obsidian from Dooley Mountain, located in the Baker area 200 km east of the Pine Creek sites (McDonald 1986), may also reflect physical as well as social barriers affecting toolstone procurement” (Endzweig 1994:459-460).

The people living at Pine Creek possibly traveled to the Seneca area regularly or had trading relationships with their neighbors to the south.

Another site in the JODA region, Mitchell Cave, contains obsidian from a variety of sources, including those to the south. East of present-day Mitchell, Oregon, Mitchell Cave is located between the Painted Hills Unit and the Sheep Rock Unit. Aikens describes the site as a small rockshelter, with artifacts and faunal remains indicating the dominant activity of hunting and meat processing, with some suggestion of vegetable food processing. According to Aikens, the sources of obsidian at the site point to people from various directions coming to the site and using the cave:

“Of particular interest in suggesting the diverse areas from which people came to Mitchell Cave is a geochemical analysis of obsidian artifacts that identified raw materials from possibly 20 different geologic sources. The locations of most of these sources remain to be discovered through future research, but several artifacts were identified with known obsidian flows 50 to 80 or more miles away. Two pieces of obsidian came from Whitewater Spring to the northeast, in the headwaters of the Silvies River. Two came from Glass Mountain, and one from Glass Buttes, both sources to the south. Finally there was one specimen each from two different sources in the Cascades, to the west and south. Although the known obsidian flows all lie south of Mitchell Cave, it would be premature to conclude that the site’s users came principally from that direction, given that many unknown sources and the relative lack of obsidian research in the region generally. Further, many small pin stem arrowpoints from the site suggest contacts to the north, where such points are common. Further research is clearly needed; for the present, the important and supportable conclusion is that Mitchell Cave attracted visitors from many different

and quite distant places (Connolly, Jenkins, and Benjamin 1993)” (Aikens 1993:119-120).

At Pine Creek site 35WH7, the lithic assemblage suggests use by different populations as well. Both Plateau and Great Basin peoples are represented at the site ca. 580-350 B.P. in the types of projectile points and stone (including obsidian), and an Olivella shell bead (Endzweig 1994:241). Endzweig thinks the latest site occupation possibly “represents a pattern of usage resembling that of the Historic period, when the area was shared both by Tenino from the north and Paiute from the south” (Endzweig 1994:242, 245). The lithic assemblages for the three sites mentioned suggest that people using land in the JODA region traveled from various directions, or at least were part of a trade network that put them in contact with other regional peoples.

In summary, the precontact archaeological record of the JODA region hints at cultural ties to both Columbia Plateau and Northern Great Basin populations. The archaeology suggests groups from both regions used today’s park lands, and the lands were more intensively used in the past than at contact. Some archaeologists theorize that a resident population could have existed in the John Day-Blue Mountain region prior to ca. 300 years ago, but was no longer present when EuroAmericans arrived. Whatever the case, the archaeology of JODA evinces the use of park lands throughout the Holocene for hunting, fishing, plant gathering, and at least short to moderate stays at base camps. Pithouses, such as those found in the Pine Creek area and the Sheep Rock Unit, indicate longer stays with repeated use. The lands within and around JODA were uniquely attractive for human use because of the variety of resources that could be obtained within a small area, an attribute absent in regions to the north and south.

Regional Patterns of Land and Resource Use

Columbia River and Great Basin groups associated with the study area shared many cultural characteristics, moved seasonally for subsistence and other purposes, and had seasonal settlements distributed widely across the landscape. Groups typically returned to the same village, camps, and resource sites each year in regular sequence. Describing the seasonal mobility and resource use widely reported among Oregon tribes, Hale wrote:

“The mode of life of the Oregon Indians, especially those of the interior, is so peculiar that it is difficult to determine how it should be characterized. They have no fixed habitations, and yet they are not, properly speaking, a wandering people. Nearly every month in the year they change their place of residence, but the same month of every year finds them regularly in the same place” (Hale 1846:200).



Bitterroot (Lewisia rediviva) is among the significant seasonally available plant resources found in the John Day Basin. Photo courtesy NPS.

The seasonal movement followed cyclical availability of resources, dictating village settlement patterns. Yet the annual subsistence cycle varied across the region, depending on available resources. Those closest to the rivers relied more heavily on salmon for food and trade, while interior groups performed more hunting and gathering. The different environments in which groups lived meant, for instance, that Great Basin groups, such as the Northern Paiute, reportedly depended more on hunting and seed gathering, while Columbia River tribes reportedly relied more on fishing and root gathering (Fisher

2003:18-19; Toepel et al. 1980:77). Yet some sources have estimated that, in general, the diet of the Plateau tribes was comprised of about 50% anadromous and non-anadromous fish, 25 to 40% plant products (a combination of *xnit*—plants dug for food; and *tmaanít*—plants picked for food), and 10 to 25% game (Steinmetz 2020:4, 13). If this is true, plant resources played a large role in the diet of Plateau tribes. According to Hunn et al., Plateau peoples used around 135 species as food sources (Hunn et al. 1998:526); over 125 plants for other uses, such as for dyes, cordage, containers, glues, weaving materials and beyond; and at least 125 plants for purposes medicinal and spiritual (Hunn et al. 1998:531-532).

Here we provide a general overview of subsistence practices in the Columbia Plateau. Several features affecting subsistence distinguish the Plateau. For example, Walker lists eight:

1. riverine (linear) settlement patterns;
2. reliance on a diverse subsistence base of anadromous fish and extensive game and root resources;
3. a complex fishing technology similar to that seen on the Northwest Coast;
4. mutual cross-utilization of subsistence resources among the various groups comprising the populations of the area;
5. extension of kinship ties through extensive intermarriage throughout the area;
6. extension of trade links throughout the area through institutionalized trading partnerships and regional trade fairs;
7. limited political integration, primarily at the village and band levels, until adoption of the horse; and
8. relatively uniform mythology, art styles, and religious beliefs and practices focused on the vision quest, shamanism, life-cycle observances, and seasonal celebrations of the annual subsistence cycle (Walker 1998:3, cited in Steinmetz 2020:3).

For Columbia Plateau peoples, seasonal subsistence activities are expressions of their covenant relationship with the land, a relationship called *tamánwit*, referred to by many as “Indian law.” According to Morning Owl, by harvesting resources according to a seasonal progression, Native people care for and give back to the land (Morning Owl 2006:3, cited in Steinmetz 2020:5). The covenant of *tamánwit* was established when Creator held a meeting with animals before the arrival of humans, who would need to be taught how to interact with the land and its resources. Out of a subsequent animal council came several developments. For example, as ethnographic sources reveal, salmon offered himself up to humans, to feed and educate them, after which other animals followed suit (Conner and Lang 2006:23). Because *tamánwit* expresses how Creator placed everything on the earth for a purpose, people adhere to *tamánwit* to honor those purposes. In this way, the relationship between humans and other creatures and resources is reciprocal. *Tamánwit* has a spiritual as well as subsistence dimension, according to tribal sources, since honoring *tamánwit* is essential for the spiritual well-being of the tribe (Karson and Steinmetz 2009:8, cited in Steinmetz 2020:10). It expresses the Plateau belief that all things have sentience and moral obligations and are able to communicate, exert power, and educate (Spier and Sapir 1930:93; Hanes and Hansis 1995:4; Radin 1914:352, cited in Steinmetz 2020:11).

Tamánwit is a general principle and does not dictate specific times of harvest, as resources availability fluctuates. But traditionally, the seasonal round in the Columbia Plateau started at lower elevations, gradually moving into higher ones as resources became available later in the season (Boyd 1999a:13; Fisher 2003:20-21; Hunn 1990:9). Sources report that high-elevation resources included various roots and several different kinds of fruits and berries (Hale 1846:200-201). Some of the most significant seasonally available plant resources included roots such as bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*) and kouse (*Lomatium cous*), both harvested in April and May; camas (*Camassia quamash*), gathered in June through September; and huckleberries, harvested in August through September (Boyd 1999a:13).

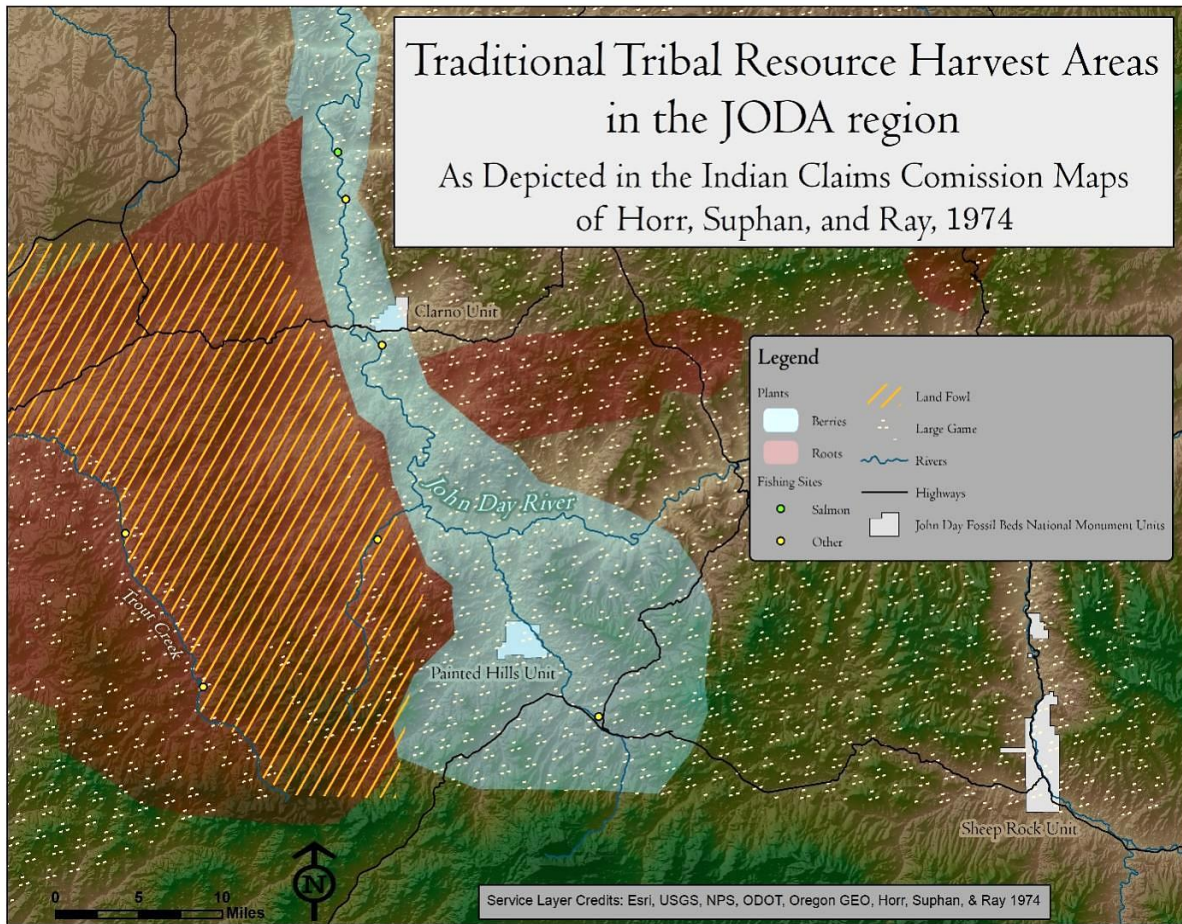
During winter, Columbia Plateau groups occupied villages along rivers, most notably the Columbia and its tributaries. According to Steinmetz, their winter villages were located along smaller Snake and Columbia River tributaries such as the Tucannon River, Palouse River, Walla Walla River, Umatilla River, John Day River, Grande Ronde River, Wallowa River, Imnaha River, Powder River, and Burnt River (Steinmetz 2020:4). As fresh food was largely unavailable, the group subsisted primarily on stored foods. And while at this time of year no salmon were running, harvesters occasionally caught steelhead and whitefish through the ice using hook and line, sources state. One of the only plant species available was the mariposa lily (*Calochortus macrocarpus*) (Fisher 2003:19-20; Hunn 1990:90). During warmer months, village residents were more mobile, with some portion of the communities traveling throughout the region during the spring, summer, and fall to engage in subsistence activities. These activities included collection of berries, roots, tule, and other plants, as well as hunting. Fisher reports that in early spring, men caught suckers until chinook runs commenced, eventually running from late April through May (Fisher 2003:21). In late spring, large intergroup gatherings occurred as families moved to root-digging grounds at higher elevations, and eventually on to camas meadows. Camps would be shared by families from different villages and at times, even from different language groups. Various activities such as gambling, socializing, and trading also occurred at this time (Aikens 1993:89-90; Fisher 2003:22-23; Hunn 1990:122-123). As water levels fell in late June and early July, many people returned to the rivers to take advantage of summer fishing runs. Sources report that they caught large quantities of chinook, sockeye, and steelhead. At this time, women also left to harvest chokecherries, dogwood berries, currants, serviceberries, and other berries. In August, many families traveled high up into the Cascades to harvest huckleberries and hunt deer and elk, with some families remaining in the mountains to pick berries and hunt through the fall (Fisher 2003:23-24; Hunn 1990:128-30) as others returned to the rivers for fall chinook runs. After the fall season, winter villages were prepared and reoccupied, and fish were prepared for winter stores (Fisher 2003:24; Hunn 1990:132-133).

According to some sources, Great Basin groups like the Northern Paiute differed from Columbia Plateau groups in key ways. While Plateau groups are generally characterized as semi-sedentary, adapting their subsistence activities to accommodate the timing of the salmon runs, the Northern Paiute are described by some sources as semi-nomadic by comparison. They are characterized as remaining in small groups and moving frequently across expansive areas in order to exploit widely dispersed resources (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:50; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:436).

During winter, from approximately November through April, Northern Paiute bands stayed in warm, low valleys near waters like the John Day and Deschutes Rivers, and the Harney-Malheur Lake waters, sources state. Sources describe them relying primarily on stored food, supplemented by whatever fresh food could be obtained (Aikens 1993:17; Armitage 1983:104). Resources were scarce in early spring, so less desirable plant foods were eaten; and in late April and early May, people left winter camps to travel uphill to root camps. As reported by several sources, root camps were multi-tribal, and the Northern Paiute shared sites with groups from the Columbia Plateau, gathering root vegetables such as bitterroot, biscuitroot, yampa, wild onion, and sego lily. Root camps were also loci of major social events, as large numbers of people converged at the locations, providing opportunities for socializing and trading with persons from a wide geographic region.

Spring was also the time to harvest animal foods of several kinds. For example, sources state that marmots were caught and stored in caches for later use (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Aikens 1993:15). From around late May through early June, salmon spawned in the major rivers, and often men moved to fishing camps while women stayed at root camps prior to joining them. Both roots and salmon were processed and stored for winter use (Aikens 1993:15). As hunting and mountain-side gathering of seeds, roots, and bulbs continued, fishing also continued (Armitage 1983; Whiting 1950:17-19 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:49). Furthermore, crickets were reportedly collected, dried, pounded, and stored for later use (Aikens 1993:15; Whiting 1950:17-19 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:49).

Large groups are described as gathering in late summer by Malheur Lake to collect *wada* (Pursh seepweed, *Suaeda calceoliformis*), with many bands participating, including the *Hu'nipwi'tika* (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15; Couture et al. 1986 in Burtchard and



MAP 2: Traditional Tribal Resource Harvest Areas, as shown in the dockets of the Indian Claims Commission. ICC dockets from Horr (1974), Suphan (1974a, 1974b), and Ray (1936, 1938, 1939), suggests a multifaceted pattern of resource use in and around lands now managed as John Day Fossil Beds National Monument - including plant gathering and hunting areas within modern Monument boundaries, as well as fishing stations nearby.

Hamilton 1998). This was another opportunity to socialize and take advantage of large numbers of people available for rabbit drives. In July and early August, the bands dispersed in small groups and left to gather early season currants and huckleberries, to catch fish, and to hunt game (Aikens 1993:15, 17).

As fall began, hunting intensified. The main species hunted in this region were deer, elk, and antelope. In fall, the Northern Paiute also gathered plant foods like pine nuts, chokecherries, Indian Ricegrass, and Great Basin Wild Rye, according to sources. Finally, by November, people returned to winter camps (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Aikens 1993:17).

While these subsistence patterns characterized the Columbia Plateau and Northern Paiute peoples, according to sources, in general each group's subsistence activities varied to some

degree depending on availability of resources in their vicinity, and on relations with neighboring groups. Specific subsistence traditions of peoples occupying the lands in and around JODA are covered in further detail in tribal sections below.

Hunting

As several sources report, tribal communities hunted a variety of game in the vicinity of the monument, including mule deer, elk, mountain goat, bighorn sheep, pronghorn, foxes, raccoons, marmots, ground squirrels, jackrabbits, cottontails, badgers, beavers, muskrats, otters, grouse, and quails (Aikens 1993:89-90; Hunn 1990:139, 142-143; NPS n.d.; Beckham and Lentz 2000). Several of these species were available historically in JODA and may still be found there today.

As movement related to fishing and gathering permitted, hunting occurred year-round. Timing and technique differed according to prey. In general, in the Plateau region, fall was the most significant season for hunting, with men hunting while women gathered huckleberries, both moving upslope to pursue game and harvest berries at the same time. However, because fall was also an important salmon fishing season along the Columbia River and its salmon-rich tributaries, hunting was less significant for groups occupying that region (Aikens 1993:89; Hunn 1982:33).

In general, Hunn estimates that hunting provided approximately 10 percent of total calories for tribes in the region, while plant foods and fishing contributed the remaining 90 percent (Hunn 1990:118). Yet it is possible the Cayuse were an exception; they are reported to have accentuated hunting more than other groups, and to have amplified their hunting of species such as beaver during the fur trade (Anastasio 1975:125). Though hunting contributed a smaller percentage of the diet than did gathering and fishing, animals were nonetheless of tremendous importance—widely valued not only for their meat, but for their fur, skins, feathers, and bones used for clothing, ornaments, shelter, tools, and other items (Anastasio 1975:123; Hunn 1990:10, 146). Sources state that many central Oregon tribal communities, such as the Walla Walla, Umatilla, Cayuse, Wasco, Wishram, and Nez Perce, also hunted in the higher elevations beyond the edges of the study area—in places like the Blue Mountains and Cascades, as well as in lands further south. While hunting territories might sometimes overlap, disputes over hunting grounds reportedly resulted in hostilities between certain Sahaptin and Great Basin groups (Anastasio 1975:125).

Fishing

The peoples of the Columbia Plateau were riverine peoples, with fish being a dietary staple and a “cultural keystone resource” of these groups. The bands associated with JODA were no exception, even if the most significant fisheries were located near The Dalles and Celilo

Falls. The Dalles and Celilo Falls were ideal for catching large quantities of fish of the highest quality, since salmon quality deteriorates as the species moves upstream and fat content diminishes. The major fishing sites of the Columbia chutes, where anadromous fish enter the traditional lands of JODA-associated tribes, were famously significant fishing stations, and centers of trade, social and ceremonial life like few other places in the Northwest. Yet, as the fish ascended the Columbia Basin rivers, they could be caught at stations higher and higher still into more interior places and up systems such as the John Day River (Anastasio 1975:123; Hunn 1982:31; Shane 1950:273).

As the Tenino people most associated with JODA lands, the John Day band are said to have fished both sides of the Columbia upstream from the Celilo and Dalles and “fished as far upstream as Willow Creek.” From there, their subsistence activities reportedly extended to the south, along both sides of the John Day River (The Commission Findings for the Treaty of 1855, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, Petitioner, v. The United States of America, Indian Claims Commission 664). After the treaty period, “the John Day Indians” were said to have occupied camps near Thirty Mile Creek, in the vicinity of the JODA Clarno Unit and about 30 miles to the south (Suphan 1974:708; Indian Claims Commission 664). The John Day band’s traditional lands included many places far from the prime fishing stations, so that they incorporated into their seasonal round more far-ranging subsistence strategies that carried them up Columbia tributaries and incorporated a greater quantity of plant foods than was seen among tribes with a limited focus on Columbia River fisheries (Hunn and French 1998:378).

Some sources estimate salmon contributed between one-third to one-half of the Plateau and mid-Columbia River diet (Anastasio 1975:122), though conservative estimates place it around 30% of the Plateau diet and no more than 40% of the mid-Columbian (Hunn 1990:148). The Columbia and its tributaries provide access to abundant quantities of salmon as they run upstream annually to spawn. Typically, Chinook salmon runs peak in April, July, and September; Sockeye salmon in August; and Coho salmon in October. While earlier runs were important for immediate consumption and short-term storage, the fish caught in the fall were leaner and were dried for winter storage (Aikens 1993:87). Some small groups branched off in warmer months to pursue resources in neighboring areas, while others remained in villages near fisheries to continue harvesting salmon throughout the summer, sources state (Aikens 1993:89). Rituals and myths associated with salmon point to their unsurpassed cultural importance. According to oral tradition, Coyote brought salmon to the river people by breaking a dam five sisters had created to block their migration. After the defeat of the sisters, salmon could swim upstream; and thereafter, the sisters, in the form of swallows, signal the return of Chinook salmon each spring (Hunn 1990:154). Contemporary longhouse feasts conducted in mid-spring are dedicated to salmon as well as to staple root foods (Hunn 1990:151, 153).

According to sources, suckers were almost as important as salmon to the mid-Columbia River peoples. The two major species available were largescale suckers (*Catostomus macrocheilus*) and bridgelip suckers (*Catostomus columbianus*). These fish spawn in late winter or early spring, typically in late February through April, in the small tributary streams of the Columbia and Yakima Rivers. Suckers were therefore particularly important

as the first fresh fish available after winter, two months before the spring Chinook salmon run (Hunn 1982:30; Hunn 1990:155). As they do for salmon, Columbia River peoples reportedly held a longhouse feast to welcome suckers. A myth associated with the fish notes that Sucker, broken after falling from the sky, was revived and reconstituted using the bones of many other animals so that people could use and enjoy them (Hunn 1990:155, 158).

Lampreys, or “eels,” were also reportedly a preferred fish—cooked on spits over open fires, with the surplus dried in drying sheds (Hunn 1990:160). Though salmon, suckers, and lampreys constituted the majority of fish resources consumed by middle Columbia River peoples, others were also harvested. For example, according to some sources, steelhead and whitefish were available almost year-round and trout, redbreast shiners, and freshwater clams were eaten as well (Hunn 1982:32; Hunn 1990:162-163, 167).

Plant Gathering

Native peoples in the Plateau relied primarily on plant foods for subsistence, with some studies indicating that plant sources constituted 50 to 70 percent of the Native diet (Fisher 2003:20-21; Hunn 1981:126-127, 130-131). Of this, it is possible that root foods alone constituted half of the Columbia Plateau diet (Hunn 1990:176). Other sources estimate a lower contribution of plant foods, placing the numbers at closer to one-third to one-half of the Plateau diet (Anastasio 1975:119).

A comprehensive list reveals that Columbia Plateau tribes collected nearly 100 different roots, seeds, berries, and herbs in the Plateau area of north-central Oregon (Aikens 1993:88). The bulk of the Plateau diet was composed of biscuitroot (*Lomatium spp.*), kouse (*Lomatium cous*), and bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), and bulbs such as camas (*Camassia quamash*), according to several sources (Anastasio 1975:119; French 1961:381; French 1965:380; Hunn 1981:126-127; Hunn 1990:171; Synergy Resource Solutions, Inc. 2014:4-5). Women dug these roots with durable wood digging sticks (sometimes replaced with forged metal tools in the late 19th century), collecting them in woven bags and baskets (Aikens 1993:88; Hunn 1990:171). Plant gathering was primarily a female activity, though men typically accompanied the women to hunt game in the same



*Camas (Camassia spp.) are among the most important plant foods of all central Oregon tribes. Growing in well-watered areas, the bulbs are delicious when cooked.
Photo by Thayne Tuason, Wikimedia Commons.*

environments (Aikens 1993:88). In early spring, Plateau women reportedly began gathering bitterroot, biscuitroot, and kouse. Harvests began at lower elevations near the winter villages, ceasing during the spring salmon runs then recommencing as families moved to camps at increasingly higher elevations. Bitterroot and kouse harvests continued until late June. Surplus quantities of the roots were cached, dried or made into cakes, or baked underground to be stored for later use (Fisher 2003:21; Hunn 1982:29). Camas was another staple, a lily with an edible bulb. According to various sources, large gatherings composed of many groups assembled at high elevation wet meadow sites to harvest camas between early June and late September (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:26-27; Hunn 1982:29). Other plant foods that supplemented their subsistence included Indian carrot (*Perideridia gairdneri*), "Indian potato" or western springbeauty (*Claytonia lanceolata*), mariposa lily (*Calochortus macrocarpus*), onions (*Allium*), and yellowbell (*Fritillaria pudica*) (French 1961:381; French 1965:380; Hunn 1982:29; Hunn 1990:171).



Wild onions, like the Tolmie's onion (Allium tolmiei), pictured here blooming at the Painted Hills in early spring, were gathered to supplement a diet that consisted largely of available roots. Photo courtesy NPS.

Important berries included huckleberries (*Vaccinium membranaceum*), blueberries, cranberries, gooseberries, currants (*Ribes spp.*), serviceberries, and chokecherries, sources state (French 1965:379, 381; Hunn 1981:126-127; Synergy Resource Solutions, Inc. 2014:4-5). Several berries, such as currants, chokecherries, serviceberries, and blue elderberries, were low elevation species harvested earlier in the summer (Hunn 1982:32; Hunn 1990:178). The huckleberry, considered the most preferred berry, was harvested later in the summer in high elevation wet meadows (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:26-27; Hunn 1982:32; Hunn 1990:178). Black tree lichen was typically harvested at the same time as huckleberries, and cooked via underground baking (Hunn 1982:32; Hunn 1990:178).

Plants also provided materials for products like basketry, tools, weapons, fishing gear, and mats (Anastasio 1975:119). For example, sources state maple was used for dip net hoops, and oak for digging sticks (Hunn 1990:184). Hunters typically made arrows from serviceberry wood (Hunn 1990:118). Plants such as Indian hemp and bulrush were an important source of fibers for nets; and materials like cedar root, beargrass leaves, and bitter cherry bark were important for baskets. Tribal craftspersons are described as using tule to make mats (Hunn 1990:189-193).

Burning and Traditional Ecological Knowledge

Significant evidence suggests that tribes associated with the study area practiced anthropogenic burning and other techniques to manage landscapes. Burning served to clear areas and decrease undergrowth, to promote the growth of new grass, and to improve

the yield of desirable plant species and seed gathering. In addition to use in plant-based subsistence practices, burning was used regionally for signaling, hunting, and collecting edible insects, according to various sources (Boyd 1999a:13; Mosgrove 1980:148; Whitlock and Knox 2002:216-217).

Indigenous peoples in the Columbia Basin, including Upper Chinookans, Sahaptins, Nez Perce, and Columbia Salish, traced seasonal subsistence rounds that, in very general terms, roughly followed topographic gradients—ascending into high elevations as snow melted in the summer, only to descend closer to valley floors in the fall and winter. According to Boyd, fire use from this region follows a similar pattern, targeting different habitats that are characteristic of specific elevations: “Low-lying areas (near villages?) ‘lately burnt,’ with new grass or clover (*Trifolium*) in May and early June; open prairie land (from Walla Walla, the Palouse region, Wascopam, and the Umatilla) during August; higher areas (in the Grand Ronde or the Blue Mountains) in late August” (Boyd 1999a:13). In the mountains, Sahaptins from the Deschutes River drainage reportedly practiced systematic burning along the lower slopes of Mt. Hood and Mt. Jefferson to open up montane areas and improve the production of huckleberries (Hunn 1982:32-33). And sources describe the Nez Perce deliberately burning in order to improve the quantity and quality of preferred plant foods such as kouse (*Lomatium cous*), Canby’s biscuitroot (*L. canbyi*), and camas (*Camassia quamash*). To improve plant quality, the effects of burning were reportedly combined with the disturbance of soil associated with plant harvesting and the replanting of unsatisfactory roots (Boyd 1999a:13-14).

The Wadatika band of Northern Paiute are recorded as managing their landscape by burning off vegetation and undergrowth that competed with culturally preferred species, pruning and weeding plants, and scattering local seeds to encourage their growth (Stowell 2008:43-44). Accounts also assert that the Wadatika burned for tobacco agriculture (Stewart 1941:376). In the vicinity of present-day Malheur National Forest, tribal communities were described as setting small fires to drive out game in early times. Fire helped reduce litter on the ground and maintain open grasslands and associated Ponderosa pine forests, which were more resistant to fire (Mosgrove 1980:148; USFS n.d.a).

Several historical accounts from the nineteenth century report the practice of Native burning in the greater region. In 1826, Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson’s Bay Company led a trapping party through the Crooked River and into the Harney Basin. He claimed that the southern Blue Mountain area was “overrun by fire,” attributing the burning to Native peoples (Robbins 1999:223; Whitlock and Knox 2002:216-217). John Kirk Townsend, a traveler on the Oregon Trail, provides an account of Native burning witnessed in the Columbia River area (Robbins 1999:223). On September 3, 1835, his party camped approximately 15 miles below the mouth of the Umatilla River, at which time he reported: “on the opposite side of the river, the Indians have fired the prairie, and the whole country for miles around is most brilliantly illuminated” (Townsend 1840:137). In 1854, the Annual Report of the Indian Agent for Middle Oregon provided another account of Native burning in the region: “As a general thing, the country is destitute of large quantities of timber, except on the mountains; owing no doubt, to the aridity of the climate and the custom of the Indians to burn the grass annually, setting fire to and destroying much valuable tinder”

(Thompson 1855:281). The *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* from 1841 includes reference to Native burning in the Willamette Valley, significantly west of the study area. This account notes that “Indians are in the habit of burning the country yearly in September, for the purpose of drying and procuring the seeds of the sunflower, which they are thus enabled to gather with more ease, and which forms a large portion of their food.” An observed byproduct of the burning was a lack of undergrowth, which began to grow rapidly once EuroAmericans took possession of the land (Wilkes 1845:358).

Trade

The geography of the Columbia River Basin oriented many trade routes, with materials moving in all directions along the river and its many tributaries. Among tribes of the Columbia Plateau, trade served important social and economic functions. It not only permitted the movement of locally available trade goods to other areas and peoples but forged inter-tribal relationships (Anastasio 1975:161; Hunn 1990:224-225). The major trade axes at the center of vast social and economic networks were located at the falls on the Columbia River at The Dalles, Celilo Falls, and Wishram at the head of the Long Narrows. Narrows and rapids amidst easily navigable parts of the Columbia rendered The Dalles an ideal trade location. It was also an excellent fishing ground and point at which to charge travelers for passage (Workers of the Writers’ Program 1940:239). As a result of these factors, populations increased exponentially every year during salmon runs, with tribal groups of the Columbia Plateau serving as the principal trade mediators. Historical sources indicate that hundreds, if not thousands, of Native people gathered in the area from across the wider region to conduct trade (Aikens 1993:91; Anastasio 1975:161; Beckham and Lentz 2000; Coues 1893:685-686; Fisher 2003:22-23; Hunn 1990:224-225; Irving 1910:89).

Included among Upper Columbia and western Plateau trade items were large quantities of pounded and dried fish from the river, obsidian obtained from central Oregon, camas bulbs, hazel nuts, huckleberries, dried berries, bear grass, basketry, tule mats, hemp twine, freshwater shell ornaments, stone artifacts, animal hides and furs obtained in the mountains, and war captives, according to sources. In exchange, Upper Columbia and western Plateau peoples obtained a range of items originating in the Middle Columbia and Lower Snake Rivers, the Northwest Coast, the Great Basin, the Klamath River, and the Great Plains. These items, received both directly and indirectly, included salmon, camas, baskets, elk and buffalo products, beads, olivella and dentalium shells, wapato roots, and dugout canoes and paddles. After the arrival of EuroAmericans, trade items also included cotton and wool clothing, firearms, metal tools, beads, kettles, metal fishhooks, and other items of utility and decorative value (Aikens 1993:91; Beckham and Lentz 2000; Coues 1893:685-686; Fisher 2003:22-23; Toepel et al. 1980:76). Tribe-specific sections below provide more detailed descriptions of tribal trade patterns.

Warfare

Despite active trade across the Columbia Plateau region, conflict was not absent. Hostility between certain groups was often taken for granted. According to Ray's Sahaptin informants, Tenino and Umatilla peoples united in opposing Paiute neighbors, and the Umatilla united with Cayuse peoples in opposing Paiute and Bannock peoples. The source also describes the Cayuse as uniting with Nez Perce peoples against Bannock and Shoshone groups. Still, Ray goes on to state—clearly from a EuroAmerican perspective, that,

“[T]he Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest territory from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare” (Ray 1938:391).

By the nineteenth century, the trend Ray described had from the EuroAmerican point of view apparently shifted, with Sahaptin groups reportedly expelling Shoshone or Paiute groups out of their traditional lands along the Columbia River. According to Ray, “several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward” (Ray 1938:392). Mooney furthered this perception, writing,

“Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian [*sic*] tribes and driven farther back to the south.... The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warm Springs [*sic*] reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later” (Mooney 1896 quoted in Ray 1938:394).

The area Mooney and Ray describe encompasses the lands within what is today JODA. References to lands changing hands over the course of prehistory and history in the post-EuroAmerican contact period demonstrate the complexity of territorial associations within JODA, as well as limitations in settlers' understandings of intertribal relations. The following sections attempt to parse out these associations using ethnographic sources and historical literature.

Territorial Geographies of Tribes Associated with JODA at Contact

Depicting pre-contact Native territories and patterns of movement presents some difficulty, as the geography of tribal land use and occupation has not remained static through time. The instability of tribal boundaries, particularly in the period immediately before and after EuroAmerican settlement, is explained in different ways. One explanation attributes the cause to the adoption of the horse at some point after 1730. The horse permitted greater mobility, enabling tribes including the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Sahaptins to travel east to the Plains to hunt bison and conduct trade. Horses also made it easier for tribes like the Northern Paiute to conduct raids. Increased mobility rendered boundaries between tribal territories less distinct (Toepel et al. 1980:31), even as extreme reductions in Native populations caused by EuroAmerican-introduced diseases, epidemics, and aggression contributed to the instability of territorial boundaries (Toepel et al. 1980:29).

Literature suggests that among the groups described above, exclusive access rights were limited, as was ownership of lands or resources outside of villages. Several groups shared the Columbia Plateau, including the Umatilla (*Imatalamłáma*), Cayuse (*Weyíiletpuu*), Walla Walla (*Walúulapam*), Tenino, Wasco, Wishram (*Niimípuu*), and others (Kellas 2002:73)—with many groups connected through linguistic and cultural similarities (Garth 1964:52). The groups also reportedly built alliances through intermarriage, economic pursuits, trade, and agreements, with Sahaptins adopting Plains cultural traits through contact with tribes of the region (Garth 1964:52; Kellas 2002:73). Umatilla people were described as close allies with Nez Perce people, who were themselves close to the Blackfoot tribe. As a result of their Plains association, the Sahaptins were introduced to horses, guns, more centralized tribal organization, and other practices typically associated with the Plains (Shiner 1961:167). Furthermore, Sahaptin tribes were described as having no record of warfare with either the Salish tribes to the north or between themselves. They conducted extended visits with their neighbors and occasionally settled permanently among them (Garth 1964:43).

Boundaries between groups were largely undefined. Wasco and Tenino groups, for instance, permitted reciprocal open access to their lands, keeping them open to anyone who wished to utilize them (Kellas 2002:73; Suphan 1974a:202-203). Exceptions to this accessibility reportedly applied within village areas (Endzweig 1994:23-24; Garth 1964:43), though hospitality was generally extended to visitors throughout the Plateau, with the expectation that all would observe group norms (Anastasio 1975:175).

The lack of strict boundaries and the mobility of Plateau groups during spring and summer as the tribes pursued resources, meant that multiple groups are described as exploiting subsistence areas together. Inter-tribal gatherings were common, particularly at root-digging meadows, desirable fishing areas, and at certain locations on the Plains. In the

spring, the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Nez Perce, and Tenino gathered in the Blue Mountains and Grande Ronde Valley to fish, hunt, and gather at the same time (Endzweig 1994:23; Garth 1964:43; Hunn 1990:12; Kellas 2002:73; Suphan 1974a:113).

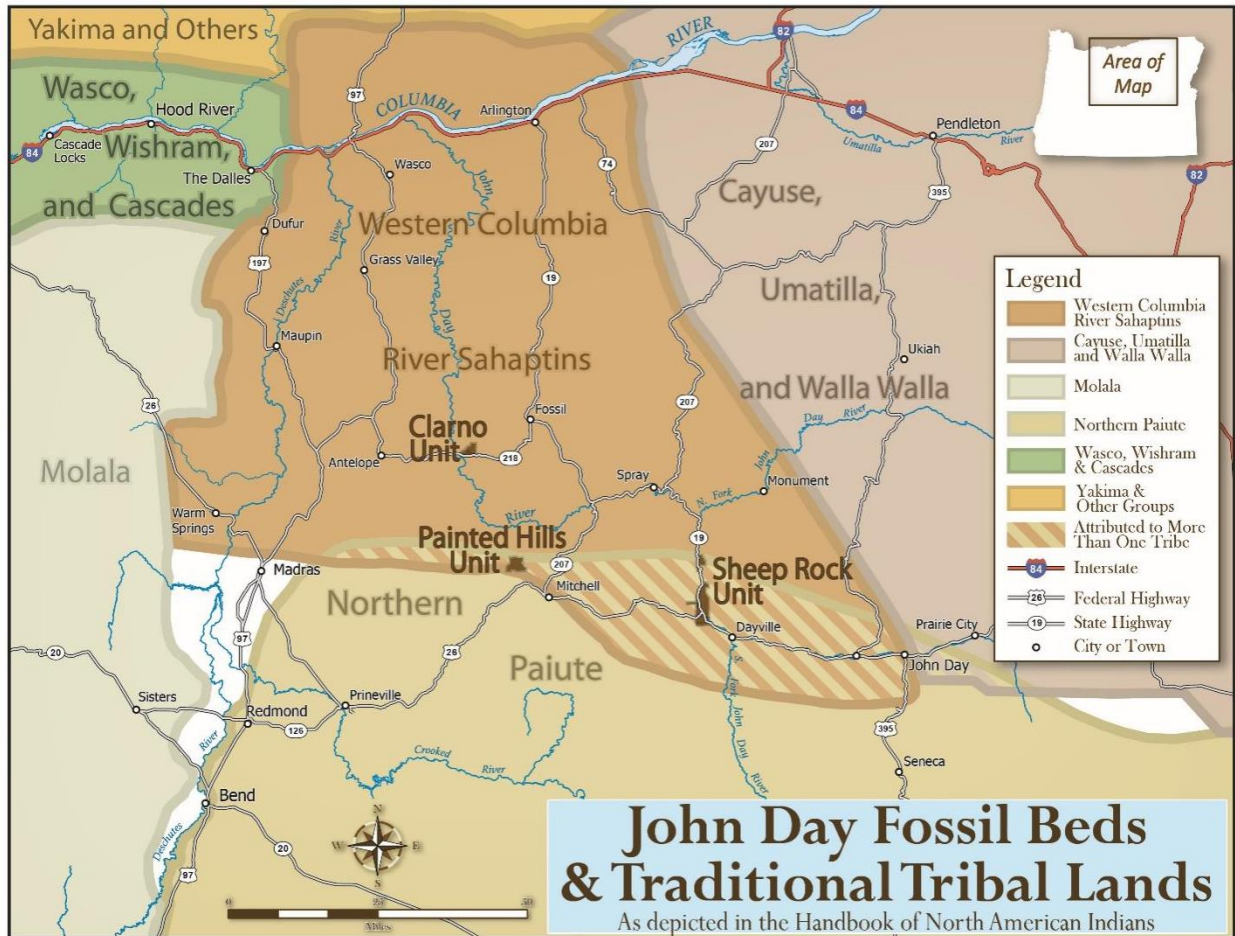
Though free access was generally granted to subsistence areas, rights to fishing sites were more controlled, sources state. Sources describe groups like the Tenino and Wasco acknowledging individual and family ownership of fishing stations passed down from ancestors, though permission was often granted for use of sites even as groups recognized owner authority (Kellas 2002:73; Suphan 1974a:33-35, 201-202). It is possible, however, that even this level of exclusive usage was not a traditional practice, but a consequence of commercial fishing exploitation after EuroAmerican contact (Endzweig 1994:23-24).

Western Columbia River Sahaptins: The Tenino People

The Tenino lived on the Columbia River between the Upper Chinookan and Umatilla tribes, and on the lower Deschutes and John Day Rivers. For subsistence purposes, they moved north and west toward Mount Hood and Mount Adams, and south and east into central Oregon (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44; Murdock 1938:395-396). Still, Endzweig places them further in the interior on the lower John Day River near Butte Creek and Pine Creek around Clarno, and further to the south and east toward Bridge Creek north of Painted Hills (Endzweig 1994:27-28 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44), while Hunn and French caution against drawing definitive lines around Tenino territory. Tenino peoples were known to travel far beyond their villages, sharing subsistence sites with members from other Tenino villages, as well as members from different language groups (Hunn and French 1998:378). According to Suphan's description, the boundaries between the Tenino and Wasco were, in particular, "more schematic than real" (Suphan 1974:21).

While exact borders should not be drawn between Tenino people and their neighbors, Lewis and Clark did report a distinct linguistic difference between Indigenous groups along the Columbia at a point about six miles below the historic site of Celilo Falls. Above that point were the Sahaptin-speaking people, whose language the explorers' Nez Perce guides could comprehend. Below that point were the Upper Chinookan-speaking peoples, whose language the Nez Perce could not comprehend (Hunn and French 1998:397).

Writers have identified four subgroups within the larger Tenino group. Murdock terms these subgroups "subtribes" (Murdock 1938; 1980), while Ruby and Brown use the term "bands" (Ruby and Brown 1986). The subtribes or bands are defined as follows: The Dalles Tenino or Tenino proper, the Wayam or Deschutes, the Tygh, and the John Day.



MAP 3: The territories of contact-period ethnolinguistic communities within central Oregon, as depicted in the Handbook of North American Indians, juxtaposed with the modern boundaries of John Day Fossil Beds.

Each of the Tenino subgroups generally occupied a set of villages—one (or more) along the Columbia River or a tributary during summer fishing months, and a corresponding village at an interior location during the winter season, from November to March. The Dalles Tenino are described as occupying two summer villages on the south bank of the Columbia River about four miles east of Five Mile Rapids, spending winters at a site six miles inland of the rapids, on Eightmile Creek (Murdock 1938:396-397; Murdock 1980:129-130; Ruby and Brown 1986:239). The Wayam of Deschutes reportedly lived on the lower Deschutes River (Cliff 1942:31). They occupied a summer village on the Columbia River at the former site of Celilo Falls, with their winter village being on the left bank of the Deschutes, just upriver from its confluence with the Columbia (Murdock 1965:200-201). Sources describe the Tygh occupying the area around the Tygh and White Rivers (Cliff 1942:31), with their winter villages being in the Tygh Valley, and their summer fishing village located at Sherars Falls (Murdock 1938:397; Ruby and Brown 1986:239). Finally, the John Day people are described as occupying summer and winter villages on the lower John Day River just upstream from where it meets the Columbia. They reportedly possessed a winter village

three miles above the John Day confluence with the Columbia, and a smaller village 1-2 miles downstream. Their summer village was located on the south bank of the Columbia on the site of the historical town of Quinook, Oregon in Gilliam County (Murdock 1938:396-397; Murdock 1965:200-201; Murdock 1980:130). Historical evidence suggests the John Day Tenino used the John Day River valley at least as far south as Clarno (Murdock 1938:396; Suphan 1974a:56-57).

Significantly for this report, the territory “exclusively used, occupied and held under original Indian title” by the John Day Tenino was delimited by the Indian Claims Commission in 1960. Though caution should be exercised in asserting exclusivity of use (see section on multi-tribal land tenure), the geographic range as described below suggests the association of Tenino peoples with JODA:

“Commencing on the Columbia River at the townsite of Grant, Oregon, or if it be south of the Columbia River, then to a point due north of Grant, Oregon, and running thence up said river to the mouth of Blalock Canyon; thence south up said Canyon to its terminus and then by a straight line to the townsite of Rock Creek; thence by a straight line southerly to the mouth of Cove Creek; thence to the mouth of Currant Creek; thence northwest to the headwaters on Long Hollow Creek; thence west and northerly to a point 6 miles due east of Grass Valley, Oregon, thence northerly to DeMoss, Oregon, thence northwest to Grant, Oregon, or if that townsite be south of the Columbia River then to a point on said river due north of Grant, Oregon, which is the place of the beginning” (Suphan 1974a:210).

Tenino Cooperation and Conflict with Neighboring Tribes

As part of a trade network that encompassed the area westward to the Pacific coast, northward to the Plateau, eastward to the Plains, and southward into northern California (Murdock 1965:202; Murdock 1980:132), the Tenino, Wasco, and Wishram bands all cooperated with one another. The homelands of these peoples encompassed famously productive fishing areas along the Mid-Columbia such as Cascade Locks, Celilo Falls, Indian Rapids, the Long and Short Narrows, and the John Day Rapids. The almost matchless fish production of their homelands placed these bands at the center of sprawling Pacific Northwest trade and social networks (Stern 1998). Furthermore, the rough waters and constricted passages of the region’s rivers required people to portage around several rapids and fisheries, occasioning ideal opportunities for interaction and trade (Stern 1998).

The trade season stretched from August to October, reaching its apex in late summer as salmon runs abated (Knox 2005:138; Murdock 1965:202; Murdock 1980:132). During this season, the Tenino conducted trade with the surrounding Columbia River Basin tribes, including not only the Wasco and Wishram, but also the Umatilla, Nez Perce, Cayuse, Sahaptin, and Shoshone, according to sources (Hunn and French 1998:380; Knox 2005:138; Murdock 1938:397). And as a result of widespread trade and intermarriage, the Tenino people experienced relatively peaceful tribal relations (Hunn and French 1998:380; Murdock 1965:203). Described as exceptions to this intertribal peace were a war with the

Molalla, a minor conflict with the Klamath, and general hostility with the Paiute. The Paiute, whom the Tenino are describe as repeatedly raiding with the aim of obtaining slaves, notably possessed few trade items for the Tenino to obtain (Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1965:203).

Murdock details the Teninos' trade items, and the intertribal trade network in which they participated:

“To this trade the Tenino contributed their own products chiefly dried salmon, fish oil, and furs and the goods they had obtained from other visitors. The principal imports were dentalia and other shells from the west; coiled baskets from the north; horses, buffalo hides, and parfleches from the east; and slaves, California baskets and beads, eagle feathers, and Pit River bows from the south. The Klamath, who mediated most of the commerce with the south, obtained dried salmon, dentalia, and horses in return for products brought from California. The Chinookan traders from the lower Columbia exchanged their shells for twined bags, bows, and skins. Trade from the north was mediated by the Wishram, who brought baskets and some horses in return for slaves, fish, and shells. Furs, hides, dentalia, bows, and dried fish were traded to the Umatilla for products obtained by the latter from tribes farther to the east” (Murdock 1980:132).

According to sources, the Tenino participated in this peaceful trade network reinforced by intermarriage that encompassed all Columbia River Basin Indians. In particular, the Tenino had “complete freedom of trade and intercourse” with the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin groups in Washington (Murdock 1938:397). According to Hunn and French, these peaceful relations resulted in shared camps and integrated socializing between groups (Hunn and French 1998:379).

Borders between groups in this region were often fluid, with groups crossing them and sharing resource areas. For instance, Tygh Valley Tenino, along with certain Northern Paiute bands and the Molalla, are described as using the same berry harvesting grounds south of Mount Hood (Hunn and French 1998:380). The Tenino and Wasco shared a close enough relationship that they granted one another free access to hunting and gathering areas (Murdock 1965:203). In a region characterized by fluid boundaries and inter-tribal trade engagements, many of the Columbia Plateau's resident cultures shared similarities, particularly in the nineteenth century when trade networks peaked. With a view to the Tenino and their Wasco neighbors, Suphan explains the phenomenon:

“[These groups] were peripheral to the foci of their respective culture areas; as a result both show an absence or attenuation of some traits and complexes generally held to be diagnostic of either Northwest-coast or Plateau cultures. Moreover, the probability of a common cultural history, the sharing of a common environment, plus much interaction occasioned by intermarriage, trade, and the Native concept of land use, have all tended to bring about a marked correspondence in some material traits and institutions. Such similarities appear to have been especially marked

in...subsistence patterns, land-use, concepts or ownership as applied to the land, and the socio-political organizations” (Suphan 1974:21-22).

While fluid borders and peaceful relations may have typified most Tenino relationships with their neighbors, some relationships were described as unfriendly. Sources describe exceptions to peaceful relations to include those with Molalla and Northern Paiute groups, both impacted by Tenino territorial expansion in the nineteenth century. According to Murdock, the Tenino raided the Northern Paiute for slaves, and “chronic hostility” marked the groups’ relationships with one another (Murdock 1938:397). Murdock writes: “Except for their war of conquest against the Molalla and one very minor skirmish with the Klamath, the Tenino have no memory of warfare with any of their neighbors save the Paiute, but conflict with this tribe, which significantly had little of value to trade, was endemic” (Murdock 1980:132).

It was around the 1820s that the Tenino reportedly began to expand their territory into neighboring groups’ traditional homelands. According to Murdock, the Tygh were an offshoot of The Dalles Tenino that appeared in the early 1800s (Murdock 1938:397). This group ousted the Molalla from the Tygh Valley and Sherars Falls on the Deschutes River. Upon expelling the Molalla from their traditional lands around the 1820s, the Tenino took control of the lands from the Columbia River south to the vicinity of the Mutton Mountains in modern Wasco County, Oregon (Ruby and Brown 1986:239). Hunn and French challenge this idea, however, writing: “The hypothesized displacement of Molalla peoples by the Tygh in protohistoric times is also doubtful, given the documented peaceful joint utilization of resource sites in this area by Sahaptin, Northern Paiute, Cayuse, and Nez Perce groups” (Hunn and French 1998:379).

Some evidence indicates that in the eighteenth century, Northern Paiute territory stretched to the Blue Mountains and included the North Fork of the John Day River (Steward 1966:195). Accounts reveal that in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Northern Paiute engaged in hostilities with the Tenino from their camps distributed throughout the Blue Mountains and Grande Ronde Valley (Suphan 1974a:207). Yet by the 1830s and 1840s, the Tenino had acquired arms, ammunition, and horses from Columbia River trade, enabling them to gradually push further south into lands occupied by Northern Paiute, who were less well equipped and less mobile (Suphan 1974a:207, 412; Toepel et al. 1980:73). By 1855, the Tenino had expanded southward along the John Day River as far south as Clarno, sources state (Ruby and Brown 1986:239-240; Suphan 1974a:207). At this time, however, the Northern Paiute reportedly still used the upper sections of the John Day and Crooked Rivers, claimed the area westward to the Cascades, and appeared north of the southern border of the present Warm Springs Indian Reservation (Suphan 1974a:207). The location of the Warm Springs Reservation on land occupied earlier by the Northern Paiute meant that the Northern Paiute continued to raid the region as late as the 1860s (Steward 1966:194). Suphan notes that the Cayuse and Nez Perce also traveled “to the foothills of the Cascades, passing south and west of the Warm Springs Reservation, and fishing on the John Day, Crooked River, and as late as 1843, the Metolius River” (Suphan 1974:207). As a result of these conditions in the nineteenth century, several groups including the Tenino,

Northern Paiute, Umatilla, and Cayuse all jointly exploited the resources of the John Day drainage near JODA (Steward 1966:195; Suphan 1974a:412).

Northern Paiute

The term Northern Paiute describes a group of peoples whose homelands encompassed territory in Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, and California. The group's vast territory covers central and southeastern Oregon, a small southwestern section of Idaho, portions of the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in California, and a large part of the northwestern section of Nevada—the area being roughly the shape of an inverted triangle with the narrow 50-mile long southern boundary just south of Mono Lake (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:435; Ruby and Brown 1986:155; Steward and Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:5-9). Due to a large overlap of land use and association with neighboring tribes, the northern extent of Northern Paiute traditional territory in Oregon and Idaho is less well-defined (Stewart 1966:194).

Swanton states that within Oregon, Northern Paiute groups traditionally occupied “the southeastern part of Oregon and formerly extended far enough north to include the valley of Powder River and the upper course of the John Day River of which they were dispossessed by Shahaptians [*sic*]” (Swanton 1968:70). More relevant to this study, Suphan identifies Clarno as their northern limit (Suphan 1974:76). Blythe's informants state that the *Hunipuitika* group had winter camps that “centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west” (Blythe 1938:403). Though she does not identify a northern boundary, she was told that they “wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman.” Fowler and Fowler place the northern boundary a little farther south, however, near the headwaters of the John Day River in the Strawberry Mountain Range, south of JODA (Fowler 1981:187).

During the 1800s, Paiute territorial distribution shifted when the Tenino, after pushing the Molalla westward, began expanding southward into traditional Paiute territory. By the time the Warm Springs Reservation was created in 1855, the Tenino had reportedly pushed the Paiute out of the John Day Valley to roughly where the river bends east, then south. According to sources, they had also pushed the Paiutes out of their former berrying sites near Ollalie Butte and Mt. Jefferson, their root collecting sites near Shaniko, and their traditional winter villages, including at Warm Springs (Murdock 1938:398). Once the Tenino settled on the Warm Springs Reservation, they found themselves victims of frequent raids at the hands of previously defeated Paiute enemies (Murdock 1938:399).

Of an encounter with Northern Paiute in the Malheur region of southeast Oregon, describing the large population he found there, Peter Skene Ogden wrote in 1826: “It is incredible the number of Indians in this quarter. We cannot go 10 yards without finding them. Huts generally of grass to hold 6 or 8 persons. No Indian nation so numerous as these in all North America. I include both Upper and Lower Snakes...” (quoted in Shane 1950:282-283). And accounts from the mid-nineteenth century unambiguously identify the

Northern Paiute in close proximity to the study area. When Howard Maupin and his family settled in Antelope Valley on the Canyon City Road in 1864, the Northern Paiute were described as controlling “all the country south of the road leading from The Dalles to the mines on the John Day River, at Canyon City” (Adams et al. 1902:391-392).

In historical documents, terminology related to Northern Paiute communities is problematic. Many historical writers grouped various peoples associated with the Great Basin, including among them the Shoshone, Paiute, “Bannock,” and “Snakes”—referencing them interchangeably. This can make it difficult to determine which tribe is being referenced, to distinguish between the groups, or to determine where the boundaries of each might have been located. Accounts agree that true “Shoshones” were scattered widely across a vast territory, largely outside of the study area. That being said, Shoshone people no doubt traversed the John Day area as part of their long-distance travel for trade and other purposes (Hale 1846:218-219; Newell 1959:144-145; Wilkes 1845:471-472).¹

Northern Paiute Cooperation and Conflict with Neighboring Tribes

As mentioned, the relationship of the Tenino to the Northern Paiute has often been characterized as an exception to otherwise neighborly relations, such as those with the Wasco and Wishram peoples. When horses were introduced from the south, perhaps around 1700, relationships began to shift among Plateau groups. Greater range of travel and greater mobility strengthened the Northern Paiute, who sources group among those who ascended socially and expanded geographically (Aikens et al. 2011). By the time of direct contact with non-Native peoples, the expansion of Paiute communities and conflict with neighbors had rearranged the cultural geography of the region, as was also being seen among Shoshone and Bannock communities to the east. Notably, Lewis and Clark wrote while traveling down the Columbia near the John Day River confluence in 1805 that “no Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river” (Moulton 2005, William Clark Journal Clark, October 20, 1805).

Yet there was clearly some cooperation, even between these groups in conflict. Though they were not as involved as some communities with trade on the Columbia River, the Northern Paiute were described as participating actively in regional trade. Written accounts suggest a mobile and diverse pattern of trade that involved multiple and often smaller trade centers. Suphan cites a Deer-Eater Paiute as stating that “the Paiute traded regularly with the Tenino living at Sherar’s Bridge, giving buckskin and roots for salmon and horses” (Suphan 1974:64). Anastasio also supports the idea that Great Basin groups traded roots and elk meat to Plateau peoples (Anastasio 1975). Additionally, archaeological evidence demonstrates that the traded obsidian obtained from Glass Buttes and surrounding areas was traded as far as British Columbia (Toepel et al. 1980:73).

Among Northern Paiute bands, boundaries could reportedly be fluid. Different groups could utilize the resources within an area without necessarily trespassing. These Paiute communities were widely reported to have not made exclusive claims of band ownership of

hunting and gathering grounds that would exclude other Paiute communities (Blyth 1938:403), though some sources note exceptions such as privately owned eagle nests (Hittman 1973:258). These feelings of amity and open borders did not always apply to other tribes, however. With its large overlap of land use and association with neighboring tribes, the northern extent of Northern Paiute traditional territory in Oregon and Idaho has been a subject of debate and disagreement (Stewart 1966:194). Yet in spite of close contact and overlapping areas of traditional interest, the Northern Paiute were very different culturally from Chinookan and Sahaptin groups. They had limited contact with the Wasco and Tenino and, what little occurred, reportedly occurred during territorial conflicts (CTWS 1984:16-17).

Many accounts stress that in the nineteenth century, the Northern Paiute were surrounded by the lands of tribes with which they were in conflict, and in all directions (Adams et al. 1902:391-392). Similarly, Lewis and Clark's journals from 1805 mention tense relations and conflicts between the Northern Paiutes and the Tenino and Wasco (Ruby and Brown 1986:155; Ruby et al. 2010). In the 18th-19th centuries, tribes living to the north, including the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Tenino, and Nez Perce, ranged southward from the Columbia River into Northern Paiute territory. These tribes to the north possessed horses and firearms, and due to their access to fisheries were better organized, making it difficult for the Paiute to retaliate. Still, their incursions into Northern Paiute lands were limited by their distance and lack of desirable resources. Sources describe the Northern Paiute excluding northern tribes from their deer hunting grounds, while these tribes are said to have retaliated by denying the Northern Paiute access to salmon fisheries (Mosgrove 1980:19, 22; Ruby and Brown 1986:155). As a result of these conflicts, around 1810 the tribes ultimately agreed to a buffer zone between territories (Ruby and Brown 1986:155; Ruby et al. 2010).

Nevertheless, the annual report of Superintendent J.W.P. Huntington for the year 1867 describes a period in which the Northern Paiute had friendly relationships with other tribes. This account states that aggressions between tribes had only started in 1855 as EuroAmerican incursions and early attempts at treaty-making destabilized longstanding tribal relationships. Still, the passage largely reflects the U.S. Military perspective of the time:

“They [the Snakes or Shoshones] were formerly friendly. The early emigrants to this coast travelled through their country with friendly intercourse, but of late years their hand is against every man. They were on friendly terms with the Wasco and Des Chutes (Terrino) [sic] Indians until 1856. It was their custom to meet those tribes at the Tygh valley (forty miles north of Warm Springs Reservation) every summer, and spend several weeks in a festival of horse-racing and gambling, returning each to their own country in autumn. In 1855 two of the Terrino [sic] tribe, with their families, returned with the Snakes to the territory of the latter, and were murdered for their plunder, their wives and children being sold to tribes further south as slaves. Retaliation of course occurred, and since that time the

conflicts between the Warm Springs Indians and the Snakes have been as frequent as their friendly gatherings formerly were” (Huntington 1868a:73).

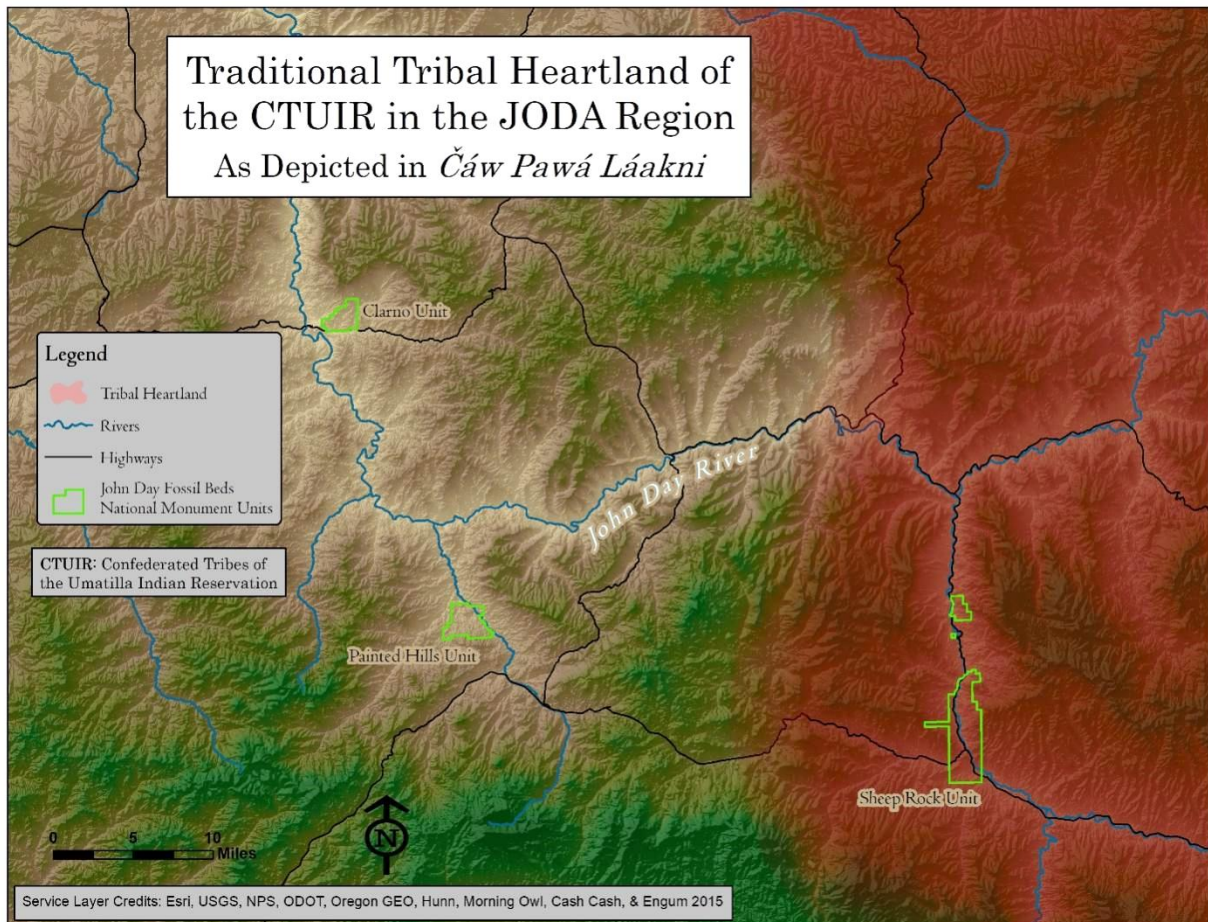
Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla: Northeastern Sahaptin Peoples

The Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla are discussed together in this document due to these groups’ close cultural and historical ties and their similarity of cultural values and practices. Besides, the current division of these tribal groups is more a modern concept: “Elders remind us that there did not used to be Tribes as we know them today, Indian people were identified as so and so’s people, were recognized by their family, or by where they come from” (CTUIR 2017).

In many instances, the various tribes of the southern Columbia River Plateau were related to one another linguistically, culturally, and through marriage. Grafe and Moorhouse state that the Walla Walla and Umatilla languages were similar to the language spoken by the Nez Perce (Moorhouse 2005:7). Curtis claims that the Umatilla language was most similar to that of the Yakima (Curtis 1911:79-80). In contrast, the Cayuse spoke a distinct language classifying them as *Wailatpuan*. Yet after they ceded their lands and moved to the Umatilla Reservation in the nineteenth century, they appear to have adopted the language spoken by the Walla Walla (CTUIR 2017; Ross and Thwaites 1904:137-138, footnote 37).

The Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse, were also characterized by their adoption of cultural traits of the Plains tribes (Ray 1936:110-11; Ruby and Brown 1986:13). Osborne et. write: “The earlier aboriginal culture of the [groups]... became masked by an amazing complex, or series of complexes of culture traits from the Plains, which penetrated nearly every phase of their cultures. This acculturation took place, apparently, from the second quarter of the 18th century well into the 19th” (Osborne et. 1961:273). The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla primarily resided eastward of the study area, around the confluence of the Yakama, Snake, and Walla Walla Rivers with the Columbia (CTUIR 2017). The Umatilla and Walla Walla were part of the wider riverine Sahaptin culture oriented to the Columbia River (CTUIR 2017). The territory of each of these groups is described below. In their work on the place names of the Confederated Tribes, Hunn et al. indicate that in their depiction of distinct tribal territories: “these territories corresponded primarily to winter village distributions. Hinterland sites used at other seasons for fishing, gathering, and hunting were generally used jointly by the Confederated Tribes and associated others but not generally with *twalxa* or *tiwelqe* ‘enemies’” (Hunn et al. 2014:35). This suggests that while the territories of each group are delineated, the lines do not necessarily depict the full extent of land-use by a particular group, nor do they indicate exclusive use.

The Umatillas lived south and west of the Walla Wallas (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7). According to Ray, in the mid-nineteenth century, Umatilla territory was situated on both shores of the Columbia River from around Rock Creek on the Washington side to a point a few miles downstream from the confluence of the Columbia and Walla Walla Rivers (Ray 1938:385-386). Their northern border was located around Horse Heaven Hills in Yakima County. In Oregon, their territory encompassed the area from the Columbia south to the John Day River, where it abutted Northern Paiute territory. Ray states that the Umatilla boundary is located near Rock Creek in Harney County in the vicinity of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, though they may have utilized



MAP 4: Traditional Tribal Heartland of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, including Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla. Note how these boundaries, based on the recollections of tribal members, placing the Sheep Rock Unit within the core traditional territories of people ancestral to modern CTUIR members.

subsistence camps as far as the John Day River. He also states that along the Columbia, where boundaries were somewhat firmer, the Tenino and Umatilla shared villages.

Describing an expedition in the vicinity of the John Day River in 1878, Sternberg recounts seeing an encampment of Umatillas: “Bill Day had lost one of the horses, and as a large band of Umatilla Indians was encamped on Fox Prairie at the summit of the mountains, about six miles east of our camp in the Cove, he had gone off in that direction to look for it” (Sternberg 1909:189-190). The largest Umatilla village was located at the mouth of the Umatilla River (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7). Suphan identifies another important site for the Umatilla on the north side of the Columbia below what is now the McNary Dam (Suphan 1974:124). This location, referred to as “*i’matilam*,” was used for annual salmon rites and the site name extended to all who gathered regularly for the ceremony. Ray records a permanent Umatilla village, *k’ami’lp*“, meaning “opening through the canyon where light penetrates,” on the north side of the Columbia River at the mouth of Rock Creek (Ray 1936:151). This village existed around 1850, with a population of at least one hundred people, marking the downriver boundary of the Umatilla.

Sources describe the Cayuse people residing on lands south of the Walla Walla, east of the Umatilla, and west of the Nez Perce (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7). They occupied a portion of the Blue Mountains of Oregon and southeastern Washington, from the head of the Touchet River to the John Day River (Curtis 1911:80); and their lands encompassed the river basins of the Walla Walla, Umatilla, Upper Grande Ronde, Powder, and Burnt Rivers, as well as the Willow Creek portion of the Malheur River (Burney 2002:35; Ray 1938:387; Ruby and Brown 1986:13). According to Ray, their territory “did not touch the Columbia at any point and bordered on the Snake for only a very short distance at the northernmost extreme, near Starbuck” (Ray 1938:387).

In discussing the traditional territorial interests of all three groups, one must recognize how cultural geographies were revolutionized by the arrival of the horse prior to direct EuroAmerican contact. All of these tribes came to have strong cultural and historical associations with horses, allowing the communities tremendous mobility and contributing to their power and influence regionally. According to oral tradition, the Cayuse first received horses from the Shoshone (Ruby and Brown 1986:13). After this introduction, the Cayuse and their neighbors reportedly retooled many aspects of their culture, including subsistence, trade, and other activities, in response to newfound mobility. The Cayuse and their kin also became more successful at warfare, allowing them to raid sedentary populations on the Columbia River, and to journey eastward to the Plains to conduct trade and engage in battle. Sources comment on the thousands of horses kept by Cayuse chiefs, that they were the prized possessions of the aristocracy, and that many warriors chose to be buried with their favorite horses (CTUIR 2017; Hale 1846:214; Ruby and Brown 1986:13). Tellingly, Ross and Thwaites note “their herds of horses were so numerous that ‘cayuse’ has become a generic term for Indian ponies” (Ross and Thwaites 1904:137-138, footnote 37).

R.R. Thompson, Indian Agent for Middle Oregon, reported that the Cayuse lived “on the west side of the Blue Mountains and south of the Columbia River” (Thompson 1855:282-283). Garth, citing missionary to the Nez Perce A.B. Smith, specifies: “Their [Cayuse] country stretches along the south side of the Columbia River, not however including the River, but along the southern tributaries of the Columbia, & extends from the country of the

Nez Percés down to the range of mountains [Cascades] where are the falls of the Columbia 100 miles below Walla Walla” (Smith 1840:328 cited in Garth 1964:46). Describing the Cayuse, as observed on the Oregon Expedition in 1841, Hale writes: “The *Waiilatpu* inhabit the country south of the Sahaptin and Wallawalla. Their head-quarters are on the upper part of the Wallawalla River, where they live in close connexion with a band of Nez-percés, whose language they usually speak in preference to their own, which has nearly fallen into disuse” (Hale 1846:214). According to some sources, the original lands of the Cayuse were in the Mount Hood-Deschutes region of Central Oregon where they lived with the Molalla. Other writers, however, dispute this affiliation (Garth 1964:45-46; Ruby and Brown 1986:13; Webber 1989:92-93).

The Walla Walla occupied the region north and west of the Cayuse and north and east of the Umatilla. The Columbia River, where it bends northward near Kennewick, served as a fairly solid boundary between the Umatilla and Walla Walla. Ray reports, “these groups did not intermingle freely. In consequence, the line dividing them was quite definite” (Ray 1938:387). In the early nineteenth century, the Walla Walla inhabited the Walla Walla River drainage and the adjacent region at the confluence of the Columbia and Snake Rivers, sources state (Curtis 1911:79; Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7). Ray states that the Walla Walla were observed on both sides of the Columbia River from the mouth of the Snake River to a point near the mouth of the Umatilla at Lyons Ferry (Ray 1938:389). Garth, however, describes their territory as extending only from the mouth of the Snake River to slightly below the mouth of the Walla Walla (Garth 1964:53). Ruby and Brown identify their territory as along the Columbia River near the mouth of the Walla Walla River, east to the Walla Walla’s confluence with the Touchet River in Walla Walla County, Washington (Ruby and Brown 1986:258). Incidentally, in 1806, Lewis and Clark were taken to a village consisting of fifteen large mat houses on the northern bank of the Columbia, opposite the mouth of the Walla Walla River. They were later transported across the Columbia to camp near the main village located by the mouth of the Walla Walla (Curtis 1911:79).

Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla Cooperation and Conflict with Neighboring Tribes

As with other groups of the Columbia Plateau, trade was a major part of life for the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse. Their position on the eastern end of the Plateau, combined with their great mobility, allowed them to act as middlemen between tribes of the Great Plains and the Pacific Coast. They traded salmon in exchange for goods not available in their region, such as buffalo meat and hides from the plains; obsidian from the south; and seafood, plants, and medicines from the Pacific Northwest coast (CTUIR 2017).

Garth describes the Cayuse as “the pre-eminent traders east of The Dalles” (Garth 1964:47). They owned large herds of horses and trapped to obtain furs for trade. However, the establishment of the Hudson’s Bay Company in their territory encroached on their trade and trapping. Thomas Farnham, an explorer who conducted a government mission in the region in 1839, provides a first-hand account of Cayuse trade in that period:

“The Skyuse [Cayuse] are also a tribe of merchants. Before the establishment of Forts Hall and Boisais, they were in the habit of rendezvousing at ‘la Grande Ronde,’ an extensive valley in the Blue Mountains, with the Shoshonies and other Indians from the Saptin, and exchanging with them their horses for furs, buffalo robes, skin tents, &c. But since the building of these [fur trade] posts, that portion of their trade is nearly destroyed. In the winter season, a band of them usually descends to The Dalles, barter with the Chinooks for salmon, and holds council over that mean and miserable band to ascertain their misdemeanors, and punish them by whipping. The Walla Wallas, however, are their most numerous and profitable customers. They live on both banks of the Columbia, from the Blue Mountains to The Dalles, and employ themselves principally in taking salmon. For these their betters, who consider fishing a menial business, give them horses. They own large numbers of these animals. A Skyuse is thought to be poor who has but fifteen or twenty of them. They generally have more than two thousand; all wild, except as many as he needs for use or sales” (Garth 1964:49).

On the Oregon Expedition of 1841, under the command of Charles Wilkes, the Walla Wallas are described as gathering at the fishing station at the “Falls of the Columbia” in August and September in order to both catch salmon and conduct trade with visiting Chinooks (Hale 1846:213).

Concepts of “boundaries” or trespass were different than those later imposed by EuroAmerican peoples. Maps of tribal boundaries were conceptualized by outsiders and were not necessarily indicative of exclusive use (Suphan 1974b:116-123). Yet establishing strict political boundaries for these tribes is problematic as the Umatilla (*Imatalamláma*), Cayuse (*Weyíletpuu*), Walla Walla (*Walúlapam*), and groups with whom they had close relationships utilized the same territory for subsistence activities, and often at the same time (Burney 2002:35). As a result, various groups shared hunting areas, root-digging grounds, berry patches, and fishing sites that were not claimed by any one group or individual (Suphan 1974b:114-115). Fishing, hunting, and gathering camps by the Columbia River could sometimes include the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Tenino—all intermingled with one another (Suphan 1974b:205). According to sources, it was common for the groups, and the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla in particular, to meet at different places during their summer rounds to conduct trade and engage in social activities (Burney 2002:35; Mosgrove 1980:22). Again, exceptions to open access were areas in the immediate vicinity of villages. Exclusive ownership and authority were recognized less in relation to the distance of the resource from the villages (Burney 2002:35; Suphan 1974b:114). Fishing sites “belonged” to a village as a unit but might be associated with a certain group that used them most frequently (Suphan 1974b:114). Yet while a certain group might be acknowledged to have special ties to a site, the site was not used exclusively. It was accessible to all friendly people. For example, the Umatilla and Walla Walla both had fishing sites along the Columbia and other rivers that were jointly used with other tribes. Suphan stresses that Columbia River Indians and Cayuse jointly exploited Umatilla fishing sites along the Columbia and Umatilla Rivers (Suphan 1974:129-130). Thus, evidence suggests that in addition to shared camps, certain groups also exploited areas outside of their “borders.” Suphan cites several historical journals, such as those

written by Ogden, Wyeth, and Fremont, describing hunting and trapping parties of Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Walla Walla as far west as the Deschutes River area (Suphan 1974:118).

Though the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla were most closely allied with each other, they shared intertribal alliances with other Plateau groups as well. For instance, the Umatilla are described as having a close relationship with the Tenino, who resided to the west of them. The tribes were close linguistically and culturally, often joining to raid Northern Paiutes to the south (Ray 1938; Toepel et al. 1980:61). The close relationship between the Umatilla and Tenino is indicated by the freedom of access tribes permitted within their territories (Suphan 1974b:205; Toepel et al. 1980:54). Ray describes the Umatilla territorial boundaries, noting that

“Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River; reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several villages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino” (Ray 1938:385-386).

The Umatilla also reportedly traveled south into Tenino lands in Grant Country to hunt, fish, and gather, and to visit with the Tenino and other groups (Toepel et al. 1980:54). Furthermore, evidence suggests the Cayuse used many of the same sites utilized by the Umatilla and Tenino in Grant County (Toepel et al. 1980:75). Suphan states that some of these sites shared by the Umatilla and Cayuse included many

“along the forks of the John Day River from about Monument eastward. Specific areas in this region include: that about Beack [sic] Creek, Oregon; the Beech-Laycock Creek junction; five sites along the Middle Fork of the John Day downstream from Bates, Oregon; Bull, Granite, and Crane Creeks. Other important areas in Grant County were on Silvies River just south of Seneca, in Logan Valley and on Poison Creek just east of Silvies, Oregon, the headwaters of the Malheur River, and the prairies between it and the North Fork of the Malheur” (Suphan 1974:132-133).

Suphan also notes that Tenino, Columbia River tribes, and the Northern Paiute would have visited and exploited sites along the John Day, Silvies, and Malheur Rivers (Suphan 1974:132-133).

Furthermore, according to sources, the groups shared areas and exploited resources with the Nez Perce (Burney 2002:35). The Umatilla had a good relationship and a war alliance with the Nez Perce to the east of them (Shiner 1961:164). The Walla Walla also had close ties with the Nez Perce, with whom they were geographically and linguistically close (Curtis 1911:79; Ruby and Brown 1986:259). And as horsemen, the Cayuse had close ties to other horse-centered groups such as the Palouse and Nez Perce (CTUIR 2017). Evidence indicates that the Cayuse and Nez Perce frequently visited, and occasionally raided, the Tenino and Wasco at The Dalles-Celilo trade center (Toepel et al. 1980:75).

The general opinion is that the Cayuse, like other tribes in the region, shared their subsistence areas with other tribes (Suphan 1974b:149-150). In contrast, however, Garth states that the Cayuse differed from neighboring groups, believing in individual or family ownership of hunting territories in the same manner as coastal tribes (Garth 1964:47). Unlike the Umatilla, who shared villages with the Tenino along common borders, the Cayuse peoples did not frequently share villages with other groups, as they tended to settle away from territorial boundaries. An exception may have been the Nez Perce to the east, with whom Cayuse peoples occasionally spent winters occupying shared villages, sources state (Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Stern 1998:396).

At times a common enemy of the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla were the Northern Paiute communities located to the south (Ray 1938:387; Shiner 1961:164; Toepel et al. 1980:61). Plateau peoples and the Northern Paiute both utilized the upper John Day region and according to sources, hostilities between the groups resulted when they encountered one another (Toepel et al. 1980:61). By the mid-nineteenth century, Hale wrote that “in former times, [the Cayuse] waged war with the Shoshonees and Lutuamis [Modoc], but of late years these hostilities have been suspended” (Hale 1846:214). Describing the reason for hostilities between the Walla Walla and Northern Paiutes from his settler point of view, Ross Cox writes:

“[The Nez Percés] and the Wallah Wallahs are constantly at war with the Shoshonés, or Snake Indians, who inhabit the great plains to the southward. The only cause assigned by the Wallah Wallahs for this war is, that the Snakes interdict them from hunting the black-tailed deer, which are numerous on their lands, and in retaliation they oppose the latter in their endeavors to catch salmon in the Columbia. They allege that this opposition would cease if the Shoshonés abandoned their claim to the exclusive right of hunting the black-tailed deer” (Cox 1831:229).

Wasco and Wishram: Chinookan Peoples

The Wasco peoples of the pre-contact era, whose descendants are now a part of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, are often grouped in the literature with the Wishram and Cascades peoples. French and French use the term “easterly Chinookans” to group the Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades peoples together in instances where the groups share traits. The authors note that these three groups, much like the Tenino and Northern Paiute, lack what they call “a truly tribal form of political organization” (French and French 1998:360). Instead, they characterize these populations as more “ethnic groups” or “subgroups,” differing from one another in geographic placement and cultural elements, including language. When authors hyphenate the names of the tribes, such as Wasco-Wishram, this refers to the Upper Chinook dialect they have in common (French and French 1998:360).

Though the tribes lived on opposite sides of the Columbia River by The Dalles, Oregon, the river served as a means of connecting the groups rather than isolating them from one another. Wascos, whose ancestors lived on the southern banks of the Columbia, were moved to the Warm Springs Reservation, more than 50 miles south of their traditional lands. The descendants of Wishram, who occupied the northern banks of the river, were predominantly moved to the Yakima Reservation in Washington (French 1961:337; French and French 1998:360).

The Wasco and Wishram are described in the sources as closely related Native communities, constituting the easternmost members of Chinookan peoples whose lands extend down the Columbia River from the vicinity of The Dalles to the sea (Berreman 1937:19-20; Cliff 1942:32; Sapir 1909:240). Both groups were located just east of the Cascade Range in Oregon and Washington and along the Columbia River (French and French 1998:360).

The Wasco were reportedly located on the south bank of the Columbia River at The Dalles, directly opposite the Wishram (Berreman 1937:19-20; Sapir 1909:240; Spier and Sapir 1930:160). They occupied lands on the Columbia River from the Cascades eastward as far as Fivemile Rapids and southward to Mount Hood (French and French 1998:361; Toepel et al. 1980:44). Toepel et al. split the Wasco into three geographic sub-divisions: 1) The Dalles Wasco or the Wasco proper near The Dalles; 2) The Hood River Wasco, who occupied the Hood River (or Dog River) drainage; and 3) The Cascades Indians or *Watlala* (Toepel et al. 1980:45-47). This last sub-division consisted of two groups, one on each side of the Columbia. They spoke a different dialect, and historical information suggests they were formerly a separate group who eventually coalesced with the Wasco around 1830 after the decimation of the populations. According to Cliff, the Wasco had many villages along the Columbia River and “claimed the south bank as far as the John Day River, although they never occupied all of it” (Cliff 1942:32). Spier and Sapir posit that the Wasco likely had villages on the south side of Tenmile Rapids, at Celilo Falls, and by the mouth of the Deschutes River (Spier and Sapir 1930:160). This, however, is disputed by French and French, who state that though the Chinookans used Tenmile Rapids and Celilo Falls, they never occupied them with permanent settlements (French and French 1998:361). Toepel et al. also identify two villages occupied by the *Watlala*: one at Cascade Locks and another a few miles below Eagle Creek (Toepel et al. 1980:47).

Sources describe the Wishram living on the north bank of the Columbia River by The Dalles (Berreman 1937:19-20; Cliff 1942:32). Their territory reportedly extended roughly from White Salmon River in the west to Tenmile Rapids in the east on the Washington side of the Columbia River (Spier and Sapir 1930:160). Their principal village was *Nixluidix*, located at the modern town of Wishram, Washington (formerly Spedis). At this location Lewis and Clark encountered an “Echeloot” village of 21 wooden houses (Ruby and Brown 1986:268; Spier and Sapir 1930:160; Strong et al. 1930:5-6). Another Wishram habitation site, described by Lewis and Clark as a mound near the Echeloot village, is located at Wakemap (Strong et al. 1930:6). They also had village clusters from Crates Point below to Ten Mile Rapids above (Spier and Sapir 1930:160).

Wasco and Wishram Cooperation and Conflict with Neighboring Tribes

The Wascos and Wishram are described as principal regional traders, and their territory as one of the most important Indigenous trade centers in the area (CTWS 1984:16; Spier and Sapir 1930:224). Augmenting the region's success as a trade network was the geographic position of The Dalles on a key stretch of the Columbia River, at a meeting point between coastal and interior tribes, along with the fish surplus available for trade (CTWS 1984:16; French and French 1998:368; Spier and Sapir 1930:224). The proximity of Celilo Falls, which also produced large quantities of fish, further attracted visitors to the region to gather and trade (French 1961:345). Spier and Sapir note that the Wishram commonly translated the name of their primary settlement, *Nixlu'idix*, as "trading place" (Spier and Sapir 1930:224). Many tribes reportedly also gathered at *Winquatt*, the main village of the Wascos (CTWS 1984:16; Ruby and Brown 1986:262). At The Dalles, the Wasco, Wishram, and some of the adjacent bands of Sahaptins alternately took on the role of trade middleman (Spier and Sapir 1930:224); and Suphan states that no trade boundaries existed between the Wasco and the Tenino, permitting free trade between the groups (Suphan 1974:201). Furthermore, French points out that though trade occurred throughout the year, it was particularly intense from spring through fall (French 1961:346-347).

Sources describe the Wasco and Wishram trading and intermarrying with several nearby groups, including the Tenino, Tygh, John Day, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Yakima. To a lesser extent, they also interacted with the Walla Walla, Molalla, and Kalapuyans (French and French 1998:363-364). With other tribes the Wasco and Wishram traded preserved salmon, salmon meal, root bread, and bear grass. They obtained in return shells, seafood, and beads from western coastal groups; buffalo robes and pemmican from the Plains by way of the Plateau tribes; and goat-hair blankets from northern groups (CTWS 1984:16; CTWS 2016a; Curtis 1911:87; French 1961:347). According to early accounts, trade with Chinook and Salishan tribes brought them most of their boats (Curtis 1911:173). Reflecting the settler perspective of the early 20th-century, Curtis details the complex exchange of items between the Wishram and other tribes:

"Owing to their favorable position for barter, the Wishham acquired an unusually varied assortment of possessions. From the Klamath, who sometimes came to The Dalles, they got elk-skins and beads, which they passed on to the Chinook in exchange for slaves and canoes, and eastern bands brought them horses, buffalo-robes, and meat. From the Klickitat they secured slaves, skins, deer-meat, hazelnuts, huckleberries, and camas, for their fish, since the Klickitat were not good fishermen, though excellent hunters. From the Wenatchee bands they obtained goat-hair robes. With the villages opposite Vancouver, Washington, they exchanged roots and berries for wapato roots, which did not grow in the neighborhood of Nihhluidih. With the Chinookan villages at the Cascades they traded their roots and berries for fish, which as obtained there were fatter than those caught by the Wishham at The Dalles. From the Yakima and other local Shahaptian bands they obtained dried roots and bread made of roots. They secured the majority of their

slaves from the Wasco, and from the Klamath, who brought Modoc and Paiute captives to the intertribal mart at The Dalles” (Curtis 1911:93-94).

The Wasco reportedly had direct trade contact with the Umatilla, who tended to stay on the south side of the Columbia, and from whom they acquired buffalo robes and, occasionally, horses. The Wishram would then trade with the Wasco for dried elk and deer meat (Spier and Sapir 1930:227).

The Wasco and Wishram are described as having positive intertribal relations with neighboring Sahaptins and other Upper Chinookan peoples (Spier and Sapir 1930:228). Though they largely remained within their own lands rather than venturing beyond, they built relationships with the many peoples visiting them through trade, recreation, and marriage (French 1961:344). This close relationship with other tribes manifested in peace and access to one another’s subsistence regions (Murdock 1965:203). An exception to these generally good neighborly relationships was the relationship with the Northern Paiute. Spier and Sapir detail hostilities between the Wasco and Wishram and the Northern Paiute, with most available information relating to the nineteenth century (Spier and Sapir 1930:228). The Wasco and Wishram intermittently engaged in warfare with the Northern Paiute of Eastern Oregon and the “Bannock-Snake” to the east. Indeed, the Wishram name for the Paiute was *itt!ua’nxayukc*, meaning “enemies.”

After Shoshonean groups acquired horses in the mid-eighteenth century, they reportedly carried out raids on the Sahaptin groups on the upper Deschutes that intensified from 1800-30. This led those groups to move northward, forcing the Cayuse and Molalla on the south side of the Columbia River to move northeast and west, respectively. Sources describe these raids intensifying, leaving Upper Chinookans like the Wasco and Wishram on the southern bank of the Columbia River exposed to direct attack by the Northern Paiute (Spier and Sapir 1930:228).

In pre-reservation times, the tribal boundaries of the Wasco and Wishram were not fixed. However, while strangers were permitted to pass through their territories, an expectation dictated that strangers, particularly EuroAmericans, would acknowledge the presence of the Wasco-Wishram and recompense them for goods or services like portaging (French and French 1998:361; Suphan 1974a:35-37). The Wasco, Wishram, Cascades and other groups would often travel beyond their permanent villages for subsistence purposes (French and French 1998:361), and the groups jointly exploited areas for hunting and gathering with the Tenino (Murdock 1965:203). As already discussed, precontact tribal groups and individuals generally did not exclusively own land, but fishing stations were an apparent exception to this practice. Rights to fishing stations were reportedly possessed by families and passed through inheritance to descendants. Others were not permitted to use the stations without permission from the owners (French and French 1998:361; Spier and Sapir 1930:175).

Molalla

The Molalla once occupied a large territory west of John Day in the central Cascade Range and stretching across the Cascade Mountains from Mount Hood in the north to near Mount McLoughlin to the south. Several sources describe their territory as encompassing a portion of today's Warm Springs Reservation and sections of the upper Deschutes River (Hale 1846:214; Toepel et al. 1980:76; Webber 1989:92; Zenk and Rigsby 1998:440). In his 1849 Report on the Indians of Sub-Agency First District South of the Columbia River, Robert Newell writes, "[the] Mol-lal-la Indians range in the Cascade Mountain or about the foot of it. Claim no land in the Valley. They are scattered along the Mountain in different places to the head of the Willamette Valley..." (Newell 1959:149). The outline presented here focuses largely on Molalla populations that resided in the Tygh Valley area and that occasionally visited the John Day region—a population only thinly described in available sources. Though these sources describe 19th-century Molalla territory, scholars note they do not represent a full picture of traditional Molalla territory prior to the 1800s.

For example, Webber describes a Cayuse tradition that Molalla once lived among them (Webber 1989:92-93). According to this tradition, in early times the Molalla lived with the Cayuse on the south side of the Columbia, though they eventually separated from them due to hostilities with other tribes. Some writers posit that the Molalla then moved to lands along the Molalla River, driving out the area's occupants and taking possession (Webber 1989:92-93). Furthermore, a number of sources claim the Molalla were forced out of traditional lands in the Tygh Valley in the early nineteenth century when a group of The Dalles Tenino took control of the fishing grounds at Sherars Falls, inundating their lands. This resulted in the formation of the Tygh Tenino subgroup.

Traditional Resource Harvests of Tribes in the John Day Region at Contact

Tenino Subsistence

According to various sources, fishing figured prominently in Tenino subsistence patterns which, while oriented around salmon runs in regional rivers, depended more on non-salmon species, for reasons described below (Hunn and French 1998:378; Suphan 1974a:23). As with other area tribes, the Tenino people followed a seasonal round that took advantage of resources during peak abundance and quality (Suphan 1974a:22; Endzweig 1994:28-29). This included meat but also the roots, nuts, seeds, and berries that reportedly comprised about sixty percent of their diet (Hunn and French 1998).



Mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus) were among the large game that served as a staple of John Day Basin tribes' diets. Photo courtesy NPS.

Tenure in winter villages involved hunting, trapping, and fishing in nearby streams (Murdock 1965:201). Yet as winter drew to a close, some groups departed for deer and elk

hunting up the Columbia tributaries and into the mountain ranges, sources state (Hunn and French 1998:38; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132). And when spring came, harvesters turned to root-gathering as Tenino families gathered in meadow environments, moving higher in elevation as the season progressed.

Hunn and French describe the significant subsistence range of the Tenino, writing, “the people of each village ranged in extended family parties systematically over a large and topographically diverse area, allowing the harvest of a diversity of species and types or resources according to season” (Hunn and French 1998:380). Eugene Hunn records accounts by, among others, James Selam, “a John Day River Tenino from *táwás* at Blalock” (Hunn 1990:119-134), who documents “a seasonal round of 600 to 1000 miles—traversed on foot, by horseback, and by horse and wagon—extending from ‘Indian Heaven’ between Mt. Adams and Mt. St. Helens, to the Blue Mountains in the south” (Endzweig 1994:30).

As for critical regional Tenino fisheries, foremost were The Dalles as well as Sherars Falls, which the Tenino reportedly overtook from the Molalla in the 1820s. According to Aikens, “To participate in the salmon harvest, and to obtain the best fish, people came to The Dalles from all over the Plateau” (Aikens 1993:87; Hunn and French 1998:380-383; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132; NPS n.d.a, n.d.b; Ruby and Brown 1986:239; Suphan 1974a:22). Yet as stated, Tenino peoples placed less emphasis on salmon than on other fish, perhaps because of scheduling conflicts and the productivity of downstream fisheries (Endzweig 1994:36).

According to sources, the Tenino diet included the meat of a number of large and small mammals in addition to fish (Hunn and French 1998:378; Suphan 1974a:23). Subsistence activities were reportedly divided by gender, with men hunting and doing most of the fishing, and women drying the meat, smoking the fish, and doing most of the gathering. Men also assisted in gathering acorns, pine nuts, and some berries (Murdock 1965:201).

From November through March, the Tenino resided in winter villages hunting, trapping, and fishing (Murdock 1965:201) before harvesters departed to hunt the river tributaries and mountains. Spring was root-harvesting season, where Tenino families gathered in meadow environments, gradually ascending in elevation. Late in March, they then moved back to summer villages. Half of summer village structures were used as living quarters and half to dry salmon. Aside from typical seasonal subsistence activities, parties from all Tenino subgroups, save the John Day, are said to have participated in special subsistence trips in early April to collect roots and salmon for a “first-fruits ceremony” held at one of the Dalles Tenino villages. After the ceremony, the Tenino were permitted to eat salmon and roots they had gathered (Hunn and French 1998:38; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1965:201; Murdock 1980:131-132).



Tribes of the John Day Basin sometimes collected the feathers of a variety of birds like the long-eared owl (Asio otus) pictured here. Photo courtesy NPS.

Summers were spent at fisheries along the Columbia and tributary rivers, with part of the population spending the season catching and drying salmon. Other groups traveled into the Cascade Mountains and other mid- to high-elevation sites to continue to hunt and gather roots before returning to the villages in July for a first-fruits ceremony for berries and venison, sources state (Hunn and French 1998:378; Murdock 1965:201-202; Suphan 1974a:23). After this harvest ceremony, the population split once again, with some families remaining in villages to trap and to fish for salmon while others moved on to gather berries and nuts.

At the end of berry collecting season in September, hunting parties reportedly ventured up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers (Murdock 1965:202). In comparison with their neighbors to the west, the Wasco and Wishram, the Tenino peoples apparently traveled farther south from the Columbia River for subsistence. In October, parties harvested tule reeds for the construction of mats; and in late fall, families returned to winter villages at lower elevations on or near major rivers (Hunn and French 1998:38; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132).

As stated, fishing provided the bulk of the Tenino diet. Pacific salmon, including Chinook (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), sockeye, and coho (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) varieties, were highly significant. Lamprey (*Entosphenus tridentatus*), rainbow trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), including steelhead, sturgeon, cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarkii*), the bridgelip sucker (*Catostomus columbianus*), the largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*), and several species of freshwater mussels also featured prominently in the Tenino diet. Several of these fish, including salmon, steelhead, trout, lampreys, and suckers

are found in John Day.² Sources describe the Tenino harvesting fish by a variety of methods, including gaffs, dip and set nets, gill and seine nets, spears, harpoons, hooks, fish clubs, weirs, dams, funnel and hoop traps, and poison (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Hunn and French 1998:380-383; Knox 2005:128; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132; NPS n.d.a, n.d.b; Ruby and Brown 1986:239; Suphan 1974a:22; Toepel et al. 1980:36). They also held the fishery at Celilo Falls, where men harvested large quantities of salmon and other migrating fish with long-handled dipnets while standing on wooden platforms, on pole footings above the water (Beckham and Lentz 2000; CTWS 1984:16). Salmon was dried for later use or to be traded with other groups. Dried salmon was often made into flour via pounding, then stored in cattail leaves lined with salmon skin (Knox 2005:128).

Though the Tenino might have used the John Day River and its tributaries for fishing, it would have been limited and supplementary to other sources. As Burtchard writes, “Lacking access to fall anadromous fish, it is not likely that the middle John Day resource base would ever have supported large aggregated populations such as those on the main stem of the Columbia River during protohistoric times” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:19). Yet many sites extending along the middle and upper reaches of the middle fork of the John Day River would have been used by several tribes including the Tenino for “fishing, hunting, root digging and berry picking” (Ozbun et al. 1997:21 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44). Hunn details the seasonal migration practiced by James Selam, a John Day Tenino, and his family, including their resource procurement along the John Day:

“James Selam’s family ... was accustomed to camp first at Olex, about twenty miles southeast of their winter village of táwasč at Blalock, on the Columbia just above the John Day River mouth and nearly opposite Rock Creek, Washington. Bitterroot and Canby’s lomatium roots were abundant here. As the season progressed they camped next at Condon, then at Fossil, each stop some twenty miles farther south. Beyond Fossil they descended to the John Day River at Spray, then moved up the North Fork to Monument (a corruption, according to John Selam, of the Sahaptin place name, mánmint) where they intercepted a spawning run of “eels” (that is, the anadromous lamprey *Entosphenus tridentatus*). Here they might join forces with families from winter villages at Roosevelt (nišxúawi) or Alderdale whose routes moved south farther to the east, up Willow or Butter creeks, to Heppner or still further east through Pilot Rock and Ukiah. Here bitterroots grow among the yellow umbels of *ɣawsč*, a cousin of Canby’s lomatium” (Hunn 1990:123, 127).

In contrast to this account, Suphan concludes that little historical evidence shows the Tenino using the upper course of the John Day River beyond Clarno (Suphan 1974:56-57). From November through July, subsistence activities around the villages near the Columbia located their fishing primarily on the Columbia River and centered their winter residence at that location. This, in conjunction “with negligible autumn Chinook runs on the upper John Day, combined to effectively relegate use of the interior Blue Mountain region to a supplemental role in Tenino subsistence practices” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:45). Certain information points to Tenino use of the *lower* John Day River for fishing. Hewes notes that “in March there was a special mass fishing for steel head in the lower John Day

River” (Hewes 1947:105). Moreover, he writes, “the chief Tenino fishing implement was the single pronged ‘spear,’ used on the Deschutes and John Day for steelhead and dog salmon.”

While fishing was the primary form of subsistence, hunting became increasingly important by the time Lewis and Clark visited the region in 1804-1805, likely advancing with the introduction of the horse (Cliff 1942:30-31). According to Hunn and French, the Tenino likely utilized lands within what are now the Warm Springs Reservation and the southern portion of the Yakima Reservation to hunt and engage in the majority of other subsistence and social activities (Hunn and French 1998:378). The Tenino reportedly hunted using a variety of methods: they surrounded game and drove them into natural enclosures; they used nets, deadfalls, and pitfalls to catch small animals like rabbits, beavers, and coyotes; they caught birds in nets, snares, and blinds. They hunted larger animals like deer, antelope, brown bears, grizzly bears, and mountain goats with bows and arrows, spears, and clubs (Beckham and Lentz 2000:9; Toepel et al. 1980:36).

Larger mammals included in the Tenino diet were mule deer, elk, white-tailed deer, bighorn sheep, black bear, and pronghorn, sources state. They are also described as hunting western gray squirrel, ground squirrel, coyote, gray fox, red fox, mountain lion, bobcat, lynx, otter, long-tailed weasel, raccoon, porcupine, yellow-bellied marmot, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbits, ducks, geese, grouse, and swan (Beckham and Lentz 2000:9; Hunn and French 1998:378; Suphan 1974a:23). In addition, sources describe Tenino families collecting eggs from Canada geese. Aside from food, several species provided the Tenino with goods like fur for clothing, decorative materials, and robes; and sinew for bowstrings, and quiver cases—including gray wolf, muskrat, grizzly bear, coyote, gray fox, red fox, beaver, mountain lion, bobcat, lynx, otter, long-tailed weasel, and raccoon (Hunn and French 1998:380-383; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132; NPS n.d.b). Many of the aforementioned species would have been available in the lands now encompassed by JODA.³ Two Tenino villages were located at the mouth of the John Day River. And though there is little documentation of traditional uses along the lower part of the river, tribal members indicated to past researchers that “the inhabitants of these settlements used the lower valley for hunting about as far as Clarno” (Suphan 1974a:56-57).

Plant gathering played an important role in the seasonal rounds of the Tenino, according to several sources. A large number of roots, berries, seeds, and other plant resources are known to have been important for the Tenino. These resources included blue camas (*Camassia quamash*), bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), wild celery (*Lomatium nudicaule*), biscuit root (*Lomatium* sp.), Canby’s desert parsley (*Lomatium canbyi*), lupine (*Lupinus* sp.), Indian carrot or false caraway (*Perideridia gairdneri*), wild potatoes (*Claytonia lanceolata*), balsam roots (*Balsamorhiza* sp.), cow parsnip (*Heracleum maximum*), wild onions (*Allium* sp.), yellowbell (*Fritillaria pudica*), mariposa lily (*Calochotus macrocarpus*), springbeauty (*Claytonia parviflora*), edible valerian (*Valeriana edulis*), field mint (*Mentha arvensis*), and black moss or lichen (*Alectoria* sp.) (Beckham and Lenz 2000; Hunn and French 1998:380-382; Knox 2005:128-129; Murdock 1980:131-132; NPS n.d.b; Toepel et al. 1980:38). In the course of interviews undertaken by Warm Springs GeoVisions for the present study, Warm

Springs tribal members spoke of a number of these important plant species in the study area (Hylton 2023).



Golden currants (Ribes aureum) were one of many berries and fruits harvested by the peoples of the John Day Basin. Photo courtesy NPS.

Additionally, berries and other fruits reportedly played a key role in Tenino subsistence. Some of the berries gathered at higher elevations during the summer months were huckleberries (*Vaccinium* sp.), chokecherries (*Prunus virginiana*), blackberries (*Rubus* sp.), cranberries (*Vaccinium macrocarpon*), golden currants (*Ribes aureum*), red-osier dogwood berries (*Cornus stolonifera*), blue elderberries (*Sambucus cerulea*), serviceberries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), strawberries (*Fragaria* sp.), and blueberries. While collecting berries, Tenino families reportedly traveled well beyond traditional territorial boundaries. As the John Day Tenino were the only Tenino sub-group to secure a permanent base on the Columbia River's Washington bank, they regularly visited Mount Adams for berry-collecting. Groups from the other three Tenino groups visited Mount Hood for berry collecting, according to several sources (Beckham and Lenz 2000; Hunn and French 1998:380-381; Murdock 1938:397; Murdock 1980:131-132, NPS n.d.b). Finally, the Tenino gathered many nuts and seeds, such as acorns, hazel nuts, and pine nuts (Beckham and Lenz 2000; Toepel et al. 1980:38).

Detailed descriptions of the gathering and preparation methods of many of these plants—methods still practiced by the Confederated Tribes at the Warm Springs Reservation—are

provided by Hilty et al. (1972). Species mentioned include blue camas (“*wa-ka-mo*”), bitter root (“*pe ah ke*”), different types of *Lomatium* including wild celery (“*cum-see*”), biscuit root (“*cous*”), and Canby’s desert parsley (“*luksh*”), wild carrot or false caraway, chokecherries, and black lichen (“*koonts*”) (Hilty et al. 1972:7-17). According to Hilty et al., bitterroot was especially popular and was considered a valuable trading material (Hilty et al. 1972:8-9).

Evidence suggests that Tenino use of John Day Fossil Beds would have been limited (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44; Suphan 1974a:56-57), though many of the plant resources used by the Tenino are found within the region.⁴ Suphan notes that the Tenino, along with the Northern Paiute, jointly exploited the root grounds at Shaniko and along the John Day out toward Canyon City (Suphan 1974:65). Within JODA, trees such as alders, willows, and cottonwoods can be found, though within limited riparian zones. Sources describe Tenino peoples using alder bark for fuel as this imparted a pleasing flavor to meat and thus was the favored cooking method for salmon. They also used cottonwood products for house construction, fish scaffolding, and fuel; and willow for a variety of purposes, including for fuel, as fishing rods, for lashing timbers for building structures and twined mats for sleeping, and in the construction of nets like those used for fishing or catching rabbits. Wood from serviceberry bushes, found within JODA near rockslides, was used to construct arrow shafts. Juniper, occurring more readily in JODA in the post-homestead area, was used for drum hoops. The Tenino also used big sagebrush, common to JODA’s xeric zones, as fuel (Hunn and French 1998:383; Murdock 1980:137; NPS n.d.a, n.d.b). Relevantly, Endzweig notes that the presence of chokecherries, roots, and other resources would have offered inducement for Tenino inland settlement in locations “on the lower John Day, roughly in the vicinity of Butte Creek and Pine Creek near Clarno, and further south and east as far as Bridge Creek north of Painted Hills” (Endzweig 1994:27-28 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44).

Northern Paiute Subsistence

Sources describe the subsistence pattern of the Northern Paiute as more characteristically semi-nomadic than that of other Columbia Plateau tribes, as the Northern Paiute were less oriented to the Columbia River. The tribe did subsist on fishing, gathering of plants, and hunting, but ranged more widely in these activities, with less time spent in seasonal villages.

During the pre-EuroAmerican contact period, the primary subsistence activities of the Northern Paiute in the Columbia River drainage reflected more general Columbia Plateau region’s subsistence patterns (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:438)—emphasizing fishing, collecting of plant foods, and hunting for large game. However as stated, the subsistence round of the Northern Paiute was reportedly more flexible. Their territorial range, and the plants and game they relied upon, required extensive migration (CTWS 1984:16-17; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; 441), thus they moved in small groups across a broad region (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:436). As Burtchard explains,

“the subsistence pattern [of the Northern Paiute]...varies substantially from that described for the logistically organized Tenino. The Tenino, while engaging in hunting and gathering forays in midsummer and fall, were obliged to adjust scheduling, collecting distance and labor to fit more vital salmon acquisition requirements on the Columbia River. Northern Paiute bands were not tethered to the constraints of a single mass-harvested and stored subsistence staple. Accordingly their subsistence round was able, and required, to maintain long-distance foraging patterns with frequent residential moves because of the widely dispersed resource base” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:50).

Northern Paiute family groups intensively exploited resources as they became available, but converged with other, larger groups at the annual root camp, salmon fisheries, and *wada* (seepweed, *Suaeda calceoliformis*) gathering sites, sources state (Couture et al. 1986:151; Whiting 1950:20).

The Northern Paiute’s seasonal rounds often brought them to the John Day region. Suphan identifies Clarno as the northern range of the Northern Paiute (Suphan 1974:76). Furthermore, a Deer-Eater Paiute claimed that “their fishing sites were strung along the Deschutes as far as Sherar’s Bridge, on the Metolius, and along the John Day upstream from Clarno” (Suphan 1974a:64). Another Paiute claim supports this assertion:

“The Paiute hunted along the John Day River, at Canyon City, at Prineville, over to Mt. Jefferson, and throughout the reservation sector. Fishing was done along the Deschutes, Metolius and John Day rivers. Paiute root grounds were chiefly at Shaniko and out along the John Day in spots extending to Canyon City; this sector was jointly exploited with the Tenino” (Suphan 1974a:65; see also Endzweig 1994:30).

As they pursued various food sources, the Northern Paiute’s seasonal rounds took them throughout the region. By the beginning of spring, available stored food was depleted and new plants were still in the growing stages (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998). In late April and early May, the Northern Paiute reportedly left winter encampments to move to the spring “root camps,” joining with other tribes from throughout Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, and California. The groups remained at these locations for up to six weeks (Aikens 1993:15; Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Couture et al. 1986:151; Stowell 2008:44; Whiting 1950:17).

According to sources, the main root collecting region was on the plateau northeast of Harney Valley, with a particularly favored location being in the Stinkingwater Mountains northeast of Malheur Lake (Aikens 1993:15; Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Couture et al. 1986:154; Stowell 2008:44). Here tribes reportedly gathered species like bitterroot, biscuitroot, yampa, wild onion, sego lily, lomatium, Indian hemp, sagebrush, rabbitbrush, camas, cattail, tule, seepweed, desert celery, and mint leaves. In

addition to vegetal foods, they gathered a number of medicinal plants. These included sagebrush, yarrow, showy penstemon, and juniper berries (Aikens 1993:15; Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Couture et al. 1986:154; Stowell 2008:44; Whiting 1950:17). Roots were dried to be stored for later use (Stowell 2008:44). Intertribal gatherings at the root camps were a major social event, providing opportunities for socializing and trade with persons from a wide geographic area—with trade items including horses, furs, buckskins, blankets, beads, roots, and obsidian (Aikens 1993:15 Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Couture et al. 1986:153). In addition to being root-gathering time, spring was for catching marmots, which could be stored in caches for later use (Aikens 1993:15).

By late spring, men moved to fishing camps on the Malheur, Drewsey, and probably John Day Rivers for spring salmon runs, while women finished the harvest at root camps, as described in several sources. Women later joined the men at the river with their collection of roots to help dry newly caught salmon. Salmon fishing would then last through June (Aikens 1993:15; Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:49; Couture et al. 1986:153; Stowell 2008:44; Whiting 1950:17).

Around July or August as the salmon run ended, camps broke up and smaller family groups left to gather and hunt (Armitage 1983; Whiting 1950:17-19 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:49). Covering large areas, they traveled, “from the high country in the north region close to John Day to the region of Alvord Desert south of Steens Mountain” (Stowell 2008:45-46). According to sources, the family groups hunted deer, grouse, sagehen, elk, and marmot; and gathered seeds, roots, and bulbs as available. At this time of year, they also gathered large quantities of camas bulbs in the northeastern part of Harney Valley. Among the first seeds to ripen were mule’s ears and balsamroot, while tumbling mustard ripened later. Seeds were stored for winter consumption. Throughout the summer, families hunted yellow-bellied marmots by the banks of the Silvies River, reportedly traveling as far as Dixie Butte near Canyon City (Couture et al. 1986:153-154; Stowell 2008:45-46; Whiting 1950:17). They also wandered toward Seneca and John Day to hunt deer in the timber (Whiting 1950:19).

In mid-July, families from the Hunibui-Eater band (*Hunipuitika*) of Paiute and the Harney Valley Paiute gathered at Cow Creek, approximately five miles east of Harney, to collect crickets. There they dried, ground, and cached the crickets for winter consumption, sources state (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:49; Couture et al. 1986:153; Stowell 2008:45-46; Whiting 1950:17-19). In the late summer and early fall, another large group reportedly gathered around Malheur Lake to collect *wada* (seepweed, *Suaeda calceoliformis*). Many people participated, including the *Wadatika* and *Hunipuitika*. Seeds like saltbush, giant wild rye, Indian rice grass, and blazing star were also gathered during this season (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Couture et al. 1986:154), which was another important opportunity for socializing and taking advantage of large numbers for rabbit drives. In July and early August, the groups also gathered currants, huckleberries, hawthorn berries, buckberries, and rose hips, according to several sources (Aikens 1993:15, 17; Couture et al. 1986:153-154; Stowell 2008:45-46)

As summer transitioned to fall, family groups moved toward the mountains and forests to the north to collect ponderosa pine nuts and cambium, with many reportedly traveling to Crow Camp, south of present-day Buchanan, Oregon, to pick chokecherries to be made into cakes and dried for winter (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15; Couture et al. 1986:154; Whiting 1950:19). In fall hunts, elk, deer, and antelope were the main species targeted (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998; Aikens 1993:17). Some sources describe families traveling to Canyon City so that men could hunt elk while women picked huckleberries (Whiting 1950:19).

In October and November, the Northern Paiute held deer hunts, antelope drives, and rabbit drives during the rutting season for these species, sources state. During these months, they also collected shooting star seeds and ponderosa pine nuts. According to French,

“Pinyon pines were not available to the Paiute (i.e., Great Basin) Indians of southeastern Oregon; they—and the peoples to the north and west of them—did, however, have access to other species of *Pinus* [ponderosa pine]. [They] had specialized gathering techniques which enabled them to use not only relatively large seeds but also those of wild grasses, chenopods, and mustards” (French 1965:378-379).

By November, the Northern Paiute moved toward winter encampments, located near springs and places where caches had been stored in previous years (Aikens 1993:17). Typically, winter caches consisted of *wada* (seepweed), *tsuga* (biscuitroot), *yapa* (Gardner’s yampah), chokecherries, crickets, dried meat, and dried fish. The Paiute of different bands were described as sharing from their store of food (Whiting 1950:20).

Of the various groups of Northern Paiute, some camped in the John Day area in late fall and winter, according to some sources (Connolly et al. 1993:14-15 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998). For example, the Huni’bui-Eaters, in particular, would “move east in the fall near the John Day River where they would spend the fall and winter months” (Berreman 1937 in Armitage 1983:30). Blyth notes that:

“The Hunibui Eaters wintered in camps around Canyon Creek, its confluence with the John Day and the John Day River Valley to the west. Their hunting grounds ran west to Dayville and south to Seneca and Izee. Blyth’s informants state that they ‘wintered on both sides of the John Day and as far north as Waterman [north of Mitchell]” (Blyth 1938:396 in Mosgrove 1980:19).

The *Wadatika* (Harney Valley Paiute) located their winter camps further south, setting up tule mat houses at winter camps on the shores of Malheur and Harney Lakes. These camps consisted of three to ten households. Activities at the winter camps included hunting, fishing, gathering, and manufacturing robes and baskets, with the Northern Paiute doing most of their winter fishing near The Narrows between the two lakes (Couture et al. 1986:154; Whiting 1950:19).

The Northern Paiute are described as using myriad smaller plant species. Vegetable foods were among the Northern Paiute's primary subsistence resources, with many such foods found around the John Day region.⁵ Roots comprised the majority of this diet, though the Northern Paiute also gathered and consumed seeds and berries to be dried and stored for later consumption (Mosgrove 1980:24). According to Fowler and Liljeblad, the tribe collected approximately 150 different species of plants (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:441). Plants eaten and otherwise used by the Northern Paiute in this region included yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), tapertip onion (*Allium acuminatum*), rock onion (*A. macrum*), swamp onion (*A. validum*), Indian Hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*), Hooker's balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza hookeri*), arrowleaf balsamroot (*B. sagittata*), sego lily (*Calochortus nuttallii*), camas (*Camassia quamash*), mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius*), rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosa*), red-osier dogwood (*Cornus sericea*), larkspur (*Delphinium nuttallianum*), yellowbell (*Fritillaria pudica*), western juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*), bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), Canby's lomatium (*Lomatium canbyi*), biscuitroot (*Lomatium cous*), desert parsley (*L. gormanii*), Henderson's lomatium (*Lomatium hendersonii*), desert celery (*L. nudicaule*), wild mint (*Mentha arvensis*), coyote tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Indian ricegrass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*), showy pentstemon (*Pentstemon spectabilis*), Bolander's yampah (*Perideridia bolanderi*), Gairdner's yampah (*P. gairdneri*), Ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), quaking aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), willow (*Salix* sp.), bulrush (*Schoenoplectus acutus*), tule, bigheaded clover (*Trifolium macrocephalum*), cattail (*Typha latifolia*), fawn lily (*Erythronium* sp.), fleecflower, yellow cress (*Rorippa* sp.), pickleweed, milkweed (*Asclepias* sp.), sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), spike rush (*Eleocharis palustris*), lambsquarters (*Chenopodium album*), and death camas (*Zigadenus venenosus*) (Couture et al. 1986:152; Fowler and Fowler 1970:138-140; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:375).

According to various sources, harvested berries and fruits included serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), Indian plum (*Prunus subcordata*), chokecherry (*P. virginiana*), golden currant (*Ribes aureum*), squaw currant (*R. cereum*), hawthorn ("blackberry") (*Crataegus douglasii*), rose hips (wild rose, *Rosa woodsii*), elderberry (*Sambucus cerulea*), buckberry (*Shepherdia canadensis*), and huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*; *V. ovatum*) (Couture et al. 1986:152; Mosgrove 1980:24). The Northern Paiute also reportedly harvested the seeds of a number of species, including *waada* or seepweed (*Suaeda* sp.; *Suaeda calceoliformis*), Indian rice grass (*Achnatherum hymenoides*), (*Leymus cinereus*), mule's ear (*Wyethia amplexicaulis*), saltbush (*Atriplex* sp.), sunflower (*Helianthus* sp.), Great Basin wild rye (*Leymus cinereus*), blazing star (*Mentzelia laevicaulis*), and tumbling mustard (*Sisymbrium altissimum*) (Couture et al. 1986:150-154; Fowler and Fowler 1970:138-140).

Pine trees also provided an important source of food for the Northern Paiute, with many groups deriving much of their diet from pinyon pine nuts, sources state (Fowler and Fowler 1970:126, 138-140). They also consumed a "pitchball" substance obtained from lodgepole and ponderosa pine by peeling away the bark and scraping the cambium (Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:375).

Finally, as mentioned, the Northern Paiute used many plants medicinally, including sagebrush, yarrow, showy pentstemon, biscuitroot, and juniper berries. They were also knowledgeable about the poisonous qualities of larkspur and death camas, both of which grow in the vicinity of JODA—what we call the “John Day region” in the pages that follow (Couture et al. 1986:154; Fowler and Fowler 1970:138-140; Stowell 2008:44).

According to early 20th-century observers, the practices of Paiute resource managers were similar to those of other regional tribes. For example, among the Northern Paiute, the *Wadatika* are reported to have practiced methods of landscape management like burning undergrowth, weeding and pruning desirable plants, and scattering seeds (Stowell 2008:43-44). Stewart notes that they conducted burning to encourage tobacco growth (Stewart 1941:376).

The hunting of various large and small mammals, waterfowl and other birds, and the harvesting of insects reportedly helped support the Northern Paiute of the Columbia Plateau. Mule deer, elk, antelope and desert bighorn sheep figured prominently in their diet, according to various sources (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:371-372). Other hunted mammals included bobcat and buffalo (Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:371-372). Moreover, they hunted deer, antelope, and mountain sheep on both communal and individual hunts, driving game with fire and dogs, and using pits, traps, corrals, and blinds to stalk and ambush animals. Sources also describe them employing bows and arrows, and disguising themselves using skins (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; Stewart 1941:366-369; Toepel et al. 1980:71). A shaman would oversee antelope drives that included brush enclosures (Mosgrove 1980:24).

Aside from large game, the Northern Paiute hunted small mammals, including hares, jackrabbits, white rabbits, cottontail rabbits, porcupines, marmots, squirrels and ground squirrels, minks, pocket gophers, kangaroo rats, muskrats, wood rats, woodchucks, chipmunks, raccoons, badgers, and beavers, sources state (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; 441; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:371-372). A hunter often caught a smaller mammal by twisting a stick into its skin as it hid in a burrow, or by smoking or flooding it out (Stewart 1941:369-370). They hunted rabbits communally in drives that occurred in the fall under a leader with supernatural powers—with men making loud noises to drive rabbits toward nets held by women. The hunters could catch several hundred rabbits in a single concerted hunt. They also caught rabbits using spring-pole traps, nooses, and pitfalls (Knox 2005:138; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:367-368).

The highly useful rabbit fur was torn into strips, twisted, and sewn together to craft blankets and long winter coats (Knox 2005:138; Mosgrove 1980:24). According to sources, the Northern Paiute also used the skins of coyote, bighorn sheep, rabbit, desert fox, badger, bobcat, deer, mountain lion, antelope, and bear for items like arrow quivers, aprons, and clothing (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:444). A significant number of both larger and smaller mammals, including deer, elk, antelope, and many of rodents, are present in the John Day area.⁶

Waterfowl and other birds eaten by the Northern Paiute reportedly included ducks, geese, doves, blackbirds, woodpeckers, robins, bluebirds, mountain quail, valley quail, loons, avocets, snipes, ruffed grouse, prairie chickens, mudhens (coots), and sage hens. Additionally, the Northern Paiute ate the eggs of ducks, geese, and mudhens (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:369, 372). Furthermore, sources state that they collected the feathers of eagle, hawk, owl, sagehen, goose, woodpecker, magpie, dove, blackbird, robin, bluebird, quail, loon, grouse and prairie chickens to use for fletching on arrows. Hunters took young eagles from their nests to raise them, or caught adult eagles for their feathers (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:370, 372). Several of the aforementioned birds used for sustenance and feathers are present in the region of John Day.⁷

While most fowl hunting was undertaken individually, the Northern Paiute did occasionally catch mudhens, young ducks, geese, and sage hens on communal drives with nets, decoys, clubs, and bows and arrows, according to various sources (Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:369). Indeed, annual drives for mudhens took place in November at locations such as Lakes Winnemucca, Humboldt, Walker and Stillwater Marshes. This season lasted for weeks, and Paiute reportedly traveled from throughout their territory to participate. Men went onto the lakes in tule boats to surround the birds and herd them toward women and children waiting onshore (Knox 2005:139-140). Stewart reported other techniques for hunting birds, including spring-pole traps, nooses in fence gaps, nets, and shooting birds from blinds (Stewart 1941:368-370).

According to sources, the Northern Paiute ate several kinds of insects, including caterpillars, grasshoppers, ants, crickets, and the “eggs” of ants, bees, and crickets. They typically dried the insects and pounded them, mixed the ground insects with seeds, and baked the resulting flour into loaves (Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:373). Several sought-after families of caterpillars are present around John Day.⁸

To supplement their diet, the Northern Paiute also fished, though only for a seasonal food source, according to reports, as fish were not as significant in their diets as were vegetable foods (Mosgrove 1980:24). The Northern Paiute caught salmon, trout, suckers, minnows, lampreys, and sturgeon, some in their own territory and some in neighboring areas. Salmon, trout, steelhead, suckers, lampreys, and minnows are all found within John Day Fossil Beds.⁹ To catch fish, harvesters reportedly employed a range of methods, including using nets, weirs, platforms, rock dams, harpoons, arrows, or hooks; hand catching in shallow water; poisoning; taking fish with baskets; and driving fish into bundles of willow (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; 441; Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:370-371). Though the Northern Paiute dried fish for preservation as other tribes did, their methods and the product were unique. For example, they are described as drying salmon in the shade rather than the sun and being unable to store salmon in large quantities or for long periods of time (Mosgrove 1980:24; Stewart 1941:376-377).

Finally, though less is written about the Molalla, they like other regional tribes followed seasonal subsistence rounds that sometimes brought them to the John Day Basin. According to Murdock, the Molalla of this region

“had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar’s Bride on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory” (Murdock 1938:397-398).

Patterns of resource utilization east of the Cascade Range were apparently similar to the tribal communities identified here and may have intersected considerably with Paiute practices in these areas.

Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla Subsistence

Like neighboring Columbia Plateau groups, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla peoples reportedly followed a seasonal settlement pattern based on subsistence activities. In 1843, missionary Marcus Whitman, living in Cayuse territory, summarized his observations of the Cayuse seasonal round. His observations shed some firsthand light on the practices of these tribes generally, though his narrow scope fails to include certain key resources, such as huckleberries:

“Their migrations are much in the following order & manner ... the middle of April is the period for commencing the Kaush (biscuit root)...a great staple of native food, they have to disperse along the streams coming out of the Blue Mountains. Some [harvest areas] are not more than ten or fifteen miles from the station [Wailatpu Mission] while others are thirty or forty....From six to eight weeks are given to gathering drying & depositing this root. During this time from the tenth to the fifteenth of May the salmon arrive & some fruits are ripe & each receive their share of attention. At this season all the smaller tributaries of the Columbia are barred by a webb or wiker [wicker] work of willows for taking salmon. The skill & resource of the natives is well displayed in this simple construction & their small toil amply repaid by the ease with which a considerable number are taken....The last week of June brings the usual period for those to leave who go after buffalo & the same period marks the time for gathering the Kamsh [camas]. A migration of from forty to sixty miles brings them across the Blue Mountains to the southeast into the Grand Round which is a large kamsh plain. Here also the river of Grand Round abounds with fish & the mountains with bear, elk & deer ... the latter part of July...to the first of October...is marked by a great number coming and remaining for a short time & then going again & others coming, than by great Numbers remaining stationary for any considerable time. During this period their attention is divided between their ... huts, hunting & fish & preparing dried fruit ... soon after ... they begin to disperse for winter quarters (Hulbert 1938:296-297, cited in Steinmetz 2020:4).

In winter the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla tribes apparently relied on stored food and camp-side fishing near low-elevation waters. During spring and fall salmon runs, they subsisted on salmon, and in spring and summer, on gathered roots and berries, sources state. In late summer and fall, groups traveled to higher elevations to hunt deer, antelope, and elk—meats that could be dried and stored for later consumption or trading (CTUIR n.d.; Knox 2005:128-129; Lozar 2013:15; Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Stern 1998:400). In many of their subsistence-use areas, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla shared use. According to Swindell, no hard boundaries separated tribes' territories and groups commonly met at various places to trade and conduct social activities (Swindell 1942:292 in Burney 2002:35).

The Umatilla followed a seasonal round revolving around the mouth of the Umatilla River (Lozar 2013:15). Summarizing the Umatilla tribe's full seasonal round, Toepel et al write:

“The permanent winter villages were located in sheltered areas along the Columbia River and the lower reaches of the Umatilla River. During the winter months, people survived by hunting, stream fishing, and living off stored food supplies. With the coming of spring, women and children dug root crops along the stream banks while the men prepared their fishing equipment for the spring fish runs which centered along the Columbia and lower Umatilla rivers. In June and July, as the fish moved up the tributaries toward the headwaters, the families followed to camp along the mountain streams. The men fished and hunted deer, elk, antelope and mountain goat, while the women and children picked berries, gathered roots and dried the fish. A family usually succeeded in drying several hundred pounds of salmon during several weeks of fishing in the hills” (Toepel et al 1980:57).

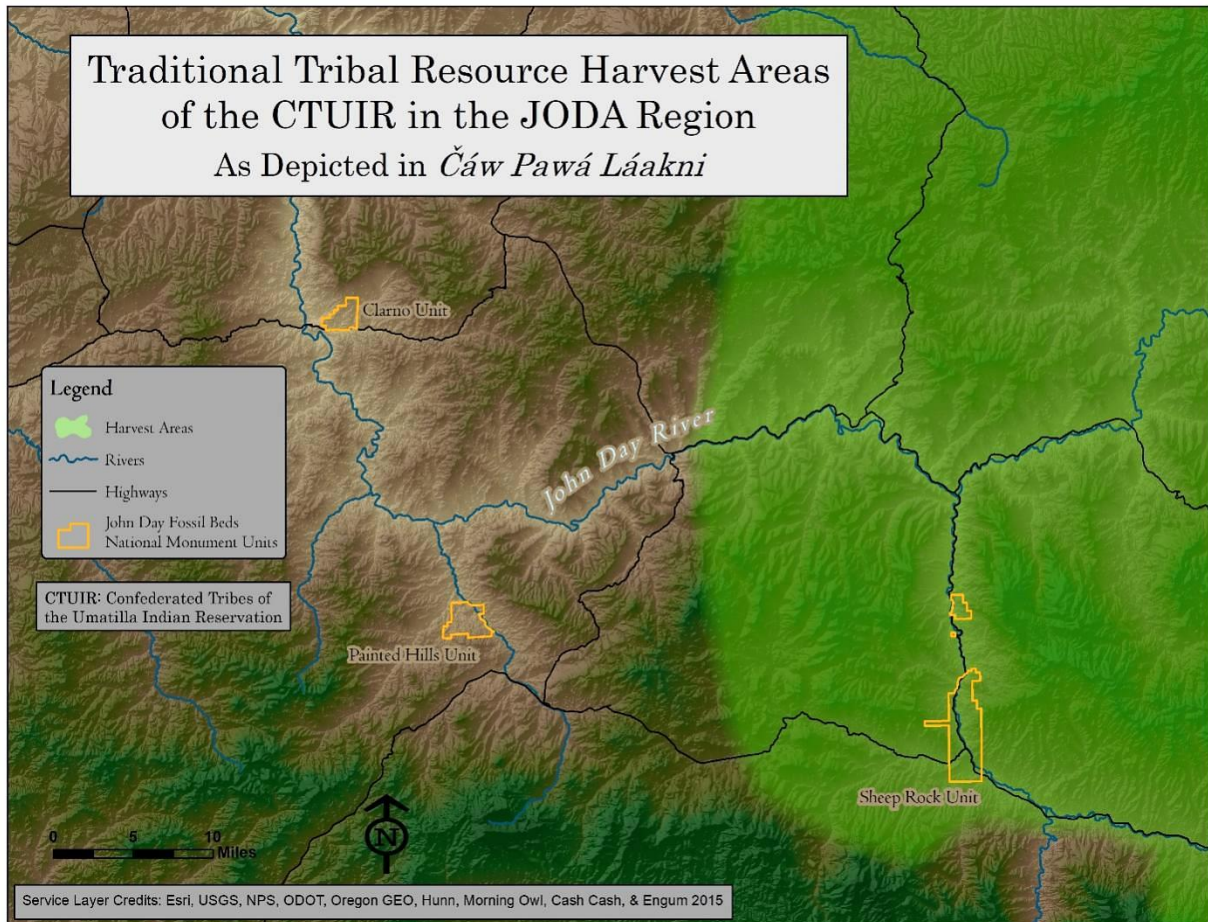
The gathering of important plants and berries like camas and huckleberries occurred in the Cascades and Blue Mountains during late summer (Lozar 2013:15). Tribes also engaged in activities with neighboring groups at this time, with the Umatilla occasionally visiting the major trading center at The Dalles in the summer and fall to fish, gamble, race horses, and trade with the Tenino and Wasco, among others. In addition, they often hunted with neighboring groups in the fall, according to various sources (Lozar 2013:15-16; Toepel et al. 1980:58).

One CTUIR Elder explains the route they and their family would travel on root-gathering journeys, explaining how, at different times of year, they would gather roots along the river in the Clarno District, as well as in hills around the area (where they could also harvest pigments). They would then travel from Clarno to Antelope in a continued quest for roots, traveling back through Clarno and towards Kimberly (Steinmetz 2020:13).

The Cayuse reportedly utilized a wide range of subsistence resources on lands centering around the Blue Mountains, spending winters in the Grand Ronde Valley and in villages along the upper courses of the rivers located between the Columbia and Blue Mountains. During spring and fall salmon runs, the tribe fished along the Columbia, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Rivers. The Cayuse spent summer and fall hunting and gathering berries and roots, and were said to have broken into as many as nine bands to gather roots and berries

most efficiently. In late fall, the tribe then moved into the Blue Mountains to hunt elk and deer, according to sources (Lozar 2013:15; Suphan 1974b:146-147). Additionally, much of the tribe traveled to the Plains to join groups of Nez Perce, Walla Walla, and other tribes to hunt buffalo from November through February (Garth 1964:47).

The Walla Walla followed a seasonal subsistence pattern similar to that of other neighboring tribes. According to Lozar:



MAP 5: *Traditional Tribal Resource Harvest Areas of the ancestral peoples of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation—including Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla—as reported by contemporary tribal members.*

“The Walla Walla, or Waluulapam, consisted of three principal bands settled around the big bend in the Columbia at the mouths of the Snake, Walla Walla, and Yakima rivers. From this zone, the Walla Walla followed a similar pattern of seasonal subsistence practices to that of the Yakama, Palouse, Umatilla, and Wanapum tribes. These groups developed an expert sense of timing salmon runs and of perennial plant availability. Though competition for resources did lead to some overlap in land

use, most groups recognized and honored their neighbor's gathering, hunting, and fishing site use rights" (Lozar 2013:16).

While much subsistence activity reportedly occurred in the lands east of JODA, the middle and main forks of the John Day River were part of the traditional subsistence range of both the Umatilla and Cayuse peoples, with the two tribes jointly using many sites (Hunn et al. 2014:37-38, 53; Ozbun et al. 1997:21 in Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44; Suphan 1974b:132-133, 148).

According to sources, some Umatilla families traveled southward to camp on the headwaters of Butter, Willow, and Rock Creeks, the last of which is a tributary of the John Day. Trails from these locations led to the Middle Fork of the John Day River, the camas meadows at Fox Valley, and into the John Day Valley. The Umatilla would then pass into the upper Malheur and Silvies drainages by way of the main John Day River and its south fork (Hunn et al 2014:37-38). Due to both the abundance of fish and the use of these locations, the upper Silvies and Malheur Rivers were considered important areas for meeting with other Indian groups for trade and social activity (Suphan 1974b:134, 148).



Blue Basin Overlook Trail in John Day National Monument. Photo courtesy NPS.

In more recent decades, the Umatilla and Cayuse have reportedly utilized various fishing, hunting, and gathering spots in Umatilla County in areas near Albee and along Camas Creek at Ukiah and Lehman Springs, and near the heads of Winom, Cable, and Big Creeks south of Lehman Springs (Suphan 1974b:132-133, 148). In what is now Grant County, the tribes have utilized areas along the forks of the John Day River from the creeks north of Monument, Oregon down to the Silvies River south of Seneca, and over to Silvies, Oregon.

One Elder reported that his family hunted throughout the Cayuse area down into John Day country (Steinmetz 2020:20).

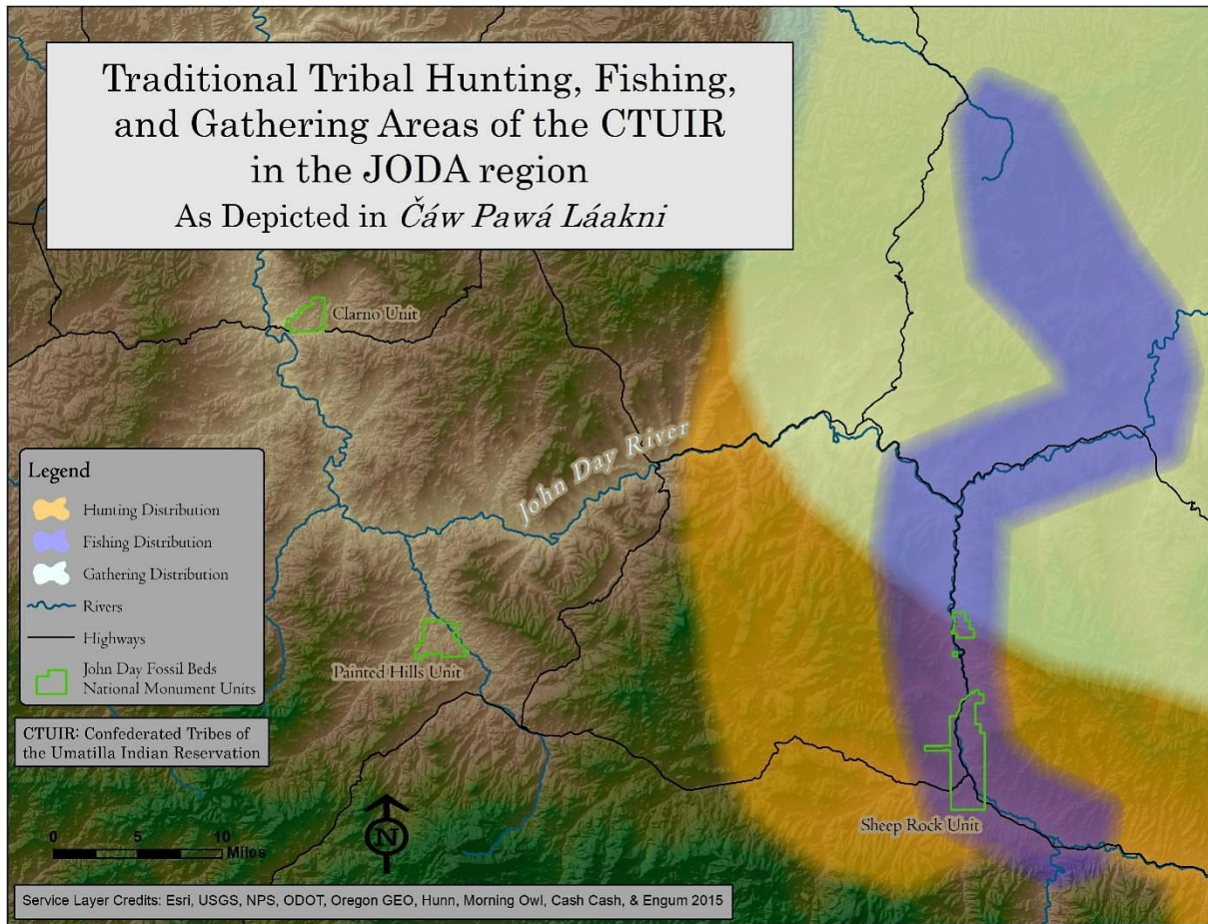
Some specific subsistence sites reported along the John Day were located by Beech Creek, Oregon; the Beech-Laycock Creek junction; and on the Middle Fork of the John Day west of Bates, Oregon, along Bull, Granite, and Crane Creeks. Other important sites have included Logan Valley and Poison Creek east of Silvies, Oregon, the headwaters of the Malheur River, and the prairies between it and the North Fork of the Malheur River. In addition to their importance as fishing sites, Poison Creek and Logan Valley were important sources of obsidian for projectile points (Suphan 1974b:132-133, 148).

For the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla, fishing was the primary form of subsistence. Different tribal Elders mentioned traditionally fishing every fork of the John Day River as well as the tributaries in between, though now only the North Fork is available for fishing (Steinmetz 2020: 20, 21). Within their respective territories, these tribes appear to have shared many areas used for fishing (Burney 2002:35; CTUIR n.d.; Suphan 1974b:136). Though tribal fishermen harvested a number of different salmon runs over the course of a year, the run on the Columbia was among the most important (CTUIR n.d.; Shiner 1961:165). Many tribal members resided along the Columbia River and its principal tributaries during fishing seasons to catch and dry enough salmon for the coming year. Salmon runs on the Columbia occurred during the spring, summer, and into the fall, with fish traveling up all of the creeks and rivers emptying into the Columbia. The river provided an abundant amount of fish, permitting some tribal members to live there year-round (CTUIR n.d.).

According to sources, the Umatilla practiced deep net fishing, centering their activities on the south shore of the Columbia River and on the tributaries of the Umatilla and John Day Rivers (Lozar 2013:15-16). Suphan provides details regarding fishing areas used by the Umatilla:

“Umatilla fishing areas along the Columbia...were at and interspersed among these villages from the vicinity of Alderdale, Washington, upstream to where the Washington-Oregon line meets the Columbia River. On the Umatilla River they extended to about Echo, Oregon. All these sites were jointly shared with the Columbia River Indians, and some with the Cayuse as well; all were considered, however, to ‘belong’ to the Umatillas” (Suphan 1974:129-130).

Regarding the Cayuse, Lozar claims they fished the Columbia, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Rivers during spring and fall salmon runs (Lozar 2013:15). According to Suphan,



MAP 6: Traditional Tribal Hunting, Fishing and Gathering Areas of the ancestral peoples of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation—including Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla—in detail, as reported by contemporary tribal members.

“The Cayuse wintered in several local groups along the upper courses of the rivers lying between the Columbia River and the Blue Mountains in what is now Oregon and Washington....

“Until as late as July the Cayuse bands remained in these winter quarters until well into spring, for salmon runs ascended the Umatilla and Walla Walla rivers and their tributaries, while roots and berries could be found close to these camp sites. Some families either then or later in the year journeyed to the Columbia to fish at the mouth of the Umatilla River with the Umatilla Indians; some went as far as Celilo falls to fish and trade. However, the Cayuse seem to have depended more heavily upon the annual migrations of the salmon into the headwaters of such streams as the Grand Ronde, Minam, and Wallowa rivers for their supplies of this staple than on Columbia River fisheries” (Suphan 1974:146-147).

And according to the observations of Horatio Emmons Hale of the United States Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes, the Walla Wallas principally harvested salmon “in the

months of August and September. At this season they assemble in great numbers about the Falls of the Columbia, which form the most important fishing station of Oregon. At this time, also, they trade with the Chinooks, who visit the Falls for the same purpose” (Hale 1846:213).

As with the Umatilla and Cayuse, some fishing areas were reportedly known to “belong” to the Walla Walla, though many of the areas had shared tribal use.

“Fishing sites considered to ‘belong’ to the Walla Walla Indians were along the Columbia on the east bank from a point about where the Oregon-Washington state line intersects the river upstream to the Snake River junction; the only known point on the west bank in this region was directly across from the entrance of the Walla Walla River. On that river fishing areas extended upstream about two miles” (Suphan 1974b:136).

For all of the Umatilla, Cayuse and Walla Walla, Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*) was the single most important fish, sources state (Cox 1831:229 Hale 1846:213; Osborne 1957:123; Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Shiner 1961:165); and before the commencement of fishing, the Umatilla performed a First Salmon ceremony to ensure a plentiful catch (Osborne 1957:123; Ruby and Brown 1986:250). In addition to salmon, species important to these tribes included steelhead, whitefish, sturgeon, and suckers (Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Stern 1998:396). They also gathered from the rivers shellfish, such as mussels, (Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Shiner 1961:165). Of the aforementioned species, chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), summer steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), redband steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss gairdnerii*), mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*), bridgelip sucker (*Catostomus columbianus*), largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*), and mountain sucker (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*) are found in the John Day area.

Tribal harvesters were described catching fish by a number of methods, including with spears, harpoons, clubs, nets, funnel traps, weirs, and dams (Lozar 2013:15-16; Osborne 1957:123; Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Shiner 1961:165; Toepel et al. 1980:58); and fishermen used several types of nets, including the long handled dipnet used to this day. They stood on wooden platforms attached to bluffs or rocks to catch fish using the dipnets. Harvested fish were dried and pounded into cakes for subsistence through winter and for trade. To dry the salmon, women hung them on long racks in the sun (CTUIR n.d.).

As part of the seasonal subsistence round, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla typically relied on hunting in the late summer and fall. But as one Elder described, people of these tribes would be out on the seasonal round for much of the year, from spring until the fifth snow (Steinmetz 2020:22). They primarily utilized the Blue and Cascade Mountain ranges to pursue deer, antelope, and elk at higher elevations (CTUIR n.d; Lozar 2013:15-16; Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Stern 1998:400; Steinmetz 2020:20). One CTUIR Elder describes hunters in his family as “nomads,” as they would go down to Long Creek, Fox Valley, Murders Creek, and all over the south fork of the John Day River (Steinmetz 2020:20). At

Fox Valley, many families tended to meet up for a long summer stay (Steinmetz 2020:21; one Elder describes his family going from John Day to Arlington to Olex to Condon to Fossil to Hardman, then to Fox [Valley], where they would stay for a long time [Steinmetz 2020:22]). Another Elder described hunting and camping for a few weeks “just before [you] get to John Day” (Steinmetz 2020:20). It was not unusual for hunting camps to include 10-15 hunters, or for them to bring back 20-30 deer. Beyond the hunt, they would spend about two more weeks in the camping area cutting and drying meat and tanning hides (Steinmetz 2020:20).

Relying on 19th-century and early-20th-century settler accounts, Anastasio describes some of the dynamics resulting from shared hunting sites among tribes:

“The Nez Perce, Palus, Wallawalla, and Umatilla, who had comparatively poor hunting sites in their home territories, hunted in the Blue Mountains and other sites to the south (De Smet 1905, Vol. 2:479-80; Parker 1846:199). The dispute over these hunting grounds was partly responsible for the state of chronic hostilities between the Sahaptins and Great Basin people who also utilized the area. Animal products were traded from localities of good hunting to those with permanent or temporary scarcity of such items.... The Wishram, Wasco, Wayam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Palus, Wallawalla, Nez Perce, Spokane, and Coeur d’Alene are not reported to have produced hunting products above local needs. As noted above, some of these groups hunted southward in lands disputed with Great Basin groups.... The Cayuse may have been an exception, since they were apparently in a good hunting area (Lewis and Clark 1905, vol. 4:322). They stressed hunting and did a great deal of beaver hunting for the fur traders (Simpson 1931:54)” (Anastasio 1975:125).

In addition to hunting elk, deer, and antelope, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla reportedly hunted species of bear, rabbits, beavers, mountain goats, and fowl (Osborne 1957:123; Shiner 1961:165; Toepel et al. 1980:57). Of the species commonly hunted by these tribes, mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), Rocky Mountain elk (*Cervus elaphus*), black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*), mountain cottontail (*Sylvilagus nuttallii*), and American beaver (*Castor canadensis*) are present in the John Day region. From November to February, the groups also likely hunted bison, which might have ranged within this region until the early 19th century, and joined other tribes to hunt them on the plains (Garth 1964:47; Osborne 1957:123; Shiner 1961:165).

As with fish, harvested mammals were dried and stored for later consumption as well as for trade purposes, sources state (Knox 2005:128-129). Techniques employed for hunting larger game, such as deer and antelope, included surrounds, drives, and stalking. Smaller mammals were smoked out of holes, and nets were used to catch waterfowl and rabbits. Tribal hunters were also described using other techniques, such as eagle blinds, disguises, decoys, and snares (Osborne 1957:123; Shiner 1961:165). The use of horses also facilitated game-hunting (Ruby and Brown 1986:250).

According to sources, women and children among the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla gathered roots and picked berries in spring and summer (Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Stern

1998:400). Sources offer more specific information on the plants gathered and used by the Umatilla, though the species listed below were likely important for the other tribes as well. Most important were camas (*Camassia* spp.) and cous or “biscuitroot” (*Lomatium cous*). Several related plants, including Gray’s biscuitroot (*Lomatium grayi*), Henderson’s biscuitroot (*Lomatium hendersonii*), bigseed biscuitroot (*Lomatium macrocarpum*), and nineleaf biscuitroot (*Lomatium triternatum*, are present in the vicinity of JODA. The Umatilla also have traditionally utilized inner bark, sap, cherries, berries, seeds, pine nuts, and acorns for subsistence, according to reports. Food items were prepared by roasting in earthen ovens or boiling in water using hot stones, and some First Fruit ceremonies were performed. Tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*), which has been historically found in the John Day Basin was cultivated in small patches, and smoked together with kinnikinnick in soapstone pipes (Osborne 1957:123-124; Ruby and Brown 1986:250; Shiner 1961:165).

Wasco and Wishram Subsistence

Like many tribes in the region, the Wishram and Wasco relied upon fishing, gathering, and hunting, though their reliance on different subsistence methods varied. According to French and French “the Chinookans were fishermen first, gatherers second, and hunters least of all” (French and French 1998:364). The ease of obtaining fish and vegetal foods such as roots, berries, and seeds, meant they were less likely than other tribes to exert additional effort in hunting. Their hunting was largely limited to satisfaction of basic needs for food, clothing, and skin bags. (Curtis 1911:86, 172-173; Spier and Sapir 1930:174; Toepel et al. 1980:49). The surplus of available resources meant that Wasco and Wishram seasonal occupations were different from those of other tribes. Wascos “remained at their village sites along the Columbia River throughout the year” (CTWS 1984:16). When they were away from the river and too far from their villages to return at night, they established temporary camps (French 1961:342).

For subsistence, the Wasco and Wishram reportedly relied heavily on fish. Salmon caught by the narrowing of the Columbia River at The Dalles was a principal component of their diets. Caught and processed between May and October, salmon also comprised the main trade item for these tribes (Ruby and Brown 1986:262, 270). As men fished, women were primarily responsible for gathering roots and berries (Spier and Sapir 1930:182). In spring, they harvested roots on mountain slopes; and in fall, they returned to the mountains to gather berries, nuts, and other plant foods, according to sources. Families and households set up seasonal camps in the mountains, so women could gather huckleberries while men hunted (French 1961:342). The Wishram gathered plant foods including cranberries and a “large flat-leafed water plant” (*Īixtǔmk!aimax*) on the southern side of Mount Adams, along with gathering black moss (*ik!u’nǔc*) from



*A number of species, including pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*) are hunted in the John Day Basin; among the fastest game species in North America, traditional hunting requiring specialized hunting skills and a detailed knowledge of antelope behavior and habitats. Photo courtesy NPS.*

fir trees in the mountains throughout the year, particularly in the fall (Spier and Sapir 1930:182-184). In late October, the Wascos typically traveled downstream to the mouth of the Willamette River to dig wapato roots, and to the valley of the White Salmon River to dig camas (Ruby and Brown 1986:262). They stored roots, berries, and nuts for use in winter (French 1961:342; Spier and Sapir 1930:182).

According to reports, the limited hunting practiced by the Wasco and Wishram was typically done in the mountains and, more specifically, “in the forests clothing the southern spurs of the Mount Adams mass, the locally-styled White Salmon and Klickitat Mountains” (Spier and Sapir 1930:180). These tribes rarely hunted deer in the summer, as their short-range bows did not yield great success. Instead, they deer-hunted in winter when snow slowed the animals, making it easier to track them or drive them into snow-covered pits. The Wasco and Wishram hunted bear in the mountains in late summer and fall, when huckleberries, blackberries, and hazel nuts were especially abundant (Spier and Sapir 1930:180-181).



Tribes of central Oregon has widely utilized game birds such as the California quail (Callipepla californica) found in the John Day Fossil Beds. Photo courtesy NPS.

Sources state that fish comprised one-third to one-half of the Wasco and Wishram diet (Curtis 1911:172; Toepel et al.:48-49). The most important fish for these tribes was salmon. Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), in particular, was available in large quantities. Indeed, the practice of first-salmon rituals to celebrate the initial catch of the season highlighted salmon's significance. At a fishing post, people reportedly steamed the first-caught salmon on hot rocks before elderly men of the community joined in eating it, rendering that fishing post lucky for harvest (Ruby and Brown 1986:270; Sapir 1909:183; Spier and Sapir 1930:248). Much of the salmon was caught where the Columbia River narrows at The Dalles. During salmon season, various tribes came to this area, one of the major trade centers of the Pacific Northwest, both to catch salmon and to participate in trade (Ruby and Brown 1986:270). In ancient oral traditions, it was held that "Coyote brought salmon to the river people during his mythical peregrinations.... Five sisters had blocked their migration with a dam. [Coyote eventually broke the dam.] The sisters were defeated and the salmon swam up to join the people. Thereafter, the sisters, as *swallows*...must signal the return of Chinook salmon each spring" (Hunn 1990:154).

Other fish important for the tribes included steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), sturgeon, suckers (*Catostomus* sp.), trout, chub, whitefish, smelt, and lampreys (*Lampetra* sp.), according to various sources (Curtis 1911:172; French 1961:356; French and French 1998:364). However, as Hunn states, while "[s]uckers, eels, and salmon provided the bulk of the fish traditionally consumed by the river people...the rest were by no means despised. ...Trout and red-sided shiners were caught by hook-and-line in mountain streams. ...Mountain white fish (*Prosopium williamsoni*; *simay*), one of the few fresh fish available at that season, were hooked in winter through the river ice" (Hunn 1990:162-163). On the other hand, "[s]turgeon and Dolly Varden were not eaten, [as] they were considered inedible, possibly due to ideas of indirect cannibalism (the sturgeon could eat a human, the

Dolly Varden ate mice and frogs—animals closer to humans than fish were)” (Hunn 1990:163-164). Among the fish used by the Wasco and Wishram, several types of salmon, trout, steelhead, lampreys, and suckers are present in the John Day area.¹⁰

Methods of fishing reported among the Wasco and Wishram included the use of dip-nets, seines, spears, hook and line, clubs, weirs, and basket traps (French 1961:356-357; Spier and Sapir 1930:176; Toepel et al.:48-49). Fish were typically caught using nets, as fishermen usually reserved spear-fishing for the summer—using a spear with two prongs and detachable points connected by a rope (Spier and Sapir 1930:176, 178). Furthermore, fishers employed different methods to catch different types of fish. For example, they used a hook and line for some fish, but a dip-net made from fine mesh for others, according to Curtis (Curtis 1911:95). Two types of basket traps caught fish of different sizes: smaller traps for small fish like trout and chub, and larger traps for salmon. The Wasco and Wishram constructed basket traps from hazel or willow twigs and placed them in creeks below low falls. And they reportedly placed weirs in larger creeks where a number of shallower falls existed (Spier and Sapir 1930:177). The primary method of catching salmon involved using long-handled dip-nets while standing on platforms over white water, near a falls and rapids. Salmon traveling upstream were caught in the nets and killed by clubbing them over the head (Curtis 1911:95; French 1961:356-357; Sapir 1909:185; Spier and Sapir 1930:176).

Harvesters used fishing stations for both spearing and netting fish, though only one method was practiced at each station, sources state. Families owned the stations and allowed use of them by others solely with owner permission. Inland tribes that traveled to the river in fishing season had to pay to use the stations. And though the stations and associated staging areas were commonly owned by the group, a single person—typically a chief or headman—had authority over each station (Curtis 1911:95; Spier and Sapir 1930:175).

Sources describe the Wasco and Wishram preparing fish in a number of ways, many of which allowed for preservation and long-term storage. They steamed fresh fish, though other preparations involved drying the fish, typically hanging it on racks (French 1961:357; Spier and Sapir 1930:178-179). One method of preparation involved splitting the salmon, drying it in the sun, and storing it in grass-lined pits (Curtis 1911:94-95; Spier and Sapir 1930:179). Another involved drying the salmon, shredding it by hand, pulverizing it in mortars, and packing it tightly into baskets. This method preserved the salmon for months and was often used in preparing salmon for trade (Curtis 1911:94-95, 172; French 1961:357; Spier and Sapir 1930:178). Yet another reported preparation technique involved mixing dried pounded salmon with fish oil (Curtis 1911:94-95; Spier and Sapir 1930:179). People also dried fish heads over fires, using them in soups to treat the sick (Curtis 1911:95; Spier and Sapir 1930:179). Lampreys were either eaten fresh, split open and dried, or roasted over a fire (Curtis 1911:95; Spier and Sapir 1930:179).

Plant foods comprised an important part of the Wasco and Wishram diets, according to sources—indeed, between one-third to one-half of the Wasco diet, with camas bulbs in particular providing a reliable source of food (Toepel et al.:48-49). The most common methods for cooking plant species were pit-roasting or stone-boiling (Spier and Sapir

1930:185). Aside from camas, edible roots included wild potato or wapato, wild carrot, wild onion, bitterroot, large sunflower roots, arrowhead roots, amaryllids and lilies, and others. Wasco peoples reportedly journeyed along the Columbia to the mouth of Willamette River to collect wapato root, and to the White Salmon River Valley to collect camas (Curtis 1911:172-173; French and French 1998:364; Ruby and Brown 1986:262; Spier and Sapir 1930:183). Women dug roots in the spring, and prepared them by boiling, baking, or sun-drying. They also formed root meal into thin cakes, drying them for preservation or using them as trade items (French 1961:356).

According to sources, the Wasco and Wishram also gathered a variety of berries, including huckleberries, blueberries, gooseberries, currants, chokecherries, serviceberries, strawberries, cranberries and blackberries. These berries were typically picked in the late summer and fall (Curtis 1911:172-173; French 1961:356; French and French 1998:364; Ruby and Brown 1986:262; Spier and Sapir 1930:184). Preparation of berries for consumption varied, with berries eaten fresh; blueberries and huckleberries often pounded, dried, and stored for the winter in tall baskets; and cranberries often boiled (French 1961:356; Spier and Sapir 1930:184).

These tribes consumed nuts and seeds as well, including acorns, hazelnuts, pine nuts, and the seeds of the water lily, sources state. They roasted acorns in pits and stored them for the winter. They also gathered hazelnuts in the fall and ate them without further preparation. The Wishram did not gather water lily seeds themselves, as they did not grow in their territory, but reportedly obtained them through trade with the Klamath (Curtis 1911:172-173; French 1961:356; French and French 1998:364; Ruby and Brown 1986:262; Spier and Sapir 1930:182, 184). They did gather lichens, mosses, and some types of fungi (French and French 1998:364; Ruby and Brown 1986:262) and ate a certain type of black moss that grew on fir trees. This black moss was pit-roasted and made into cakes (French 1961:356; Spier and Sapir 1930:184). According to various sources, they also ate the leaves and stems of several plants, such as the sunflower and leaves from the mint family (French and French 1998:364; Ruby and Brown 1986:262; Spier and Sapir 1930:184).



Tribes of the John Day Basin gathered a variety of edible roots as part of their diet, including Mariposa lilies (Calochortus macrocarpus). Photo courtesy NPS.

In addition to collecting plant items for food, the Wasco and Wishram used plants for other purposes. For example, the Wasco people are described as gathering wild tobacco to smoke, and red cedar to construct canoes and house boards among other smaller items (French and French 1998:364; 367). They grew other tobacco, planting it in the ashes of burnt dead trees, logs, or stumps (French 1961:356). The Wishram are described as using Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), present within John Day, to make dip-nets and to craft twined fabric out of tule (Sapir 1909:183). Several of the plants used by the Wasco and Wishram, such as bitterroot, chokecherries, wild onions, sunflowers, and wild tobacco, can be found within the John Day area.¹¹

To provide for some of their basic food and clothing needs, the Wasco and Wishram hunted, though as stated, it was much less important than fishing and root gathering (French 1961:357; Spier and Sapir 1930:180; Toepel et al. 1980:49). As Hunn writes, “The pursuit of big game such as deer, elk, and bear actually contributed but a small fraction to the mid-Columbia Indian food energy budget, somewhere in the order of 10 percent of total calories” (Hunn 1990:118). Game reportedly hunted by the Wasco and Wishram included deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), elk (*Cervus elaphus*), antelope, mountain sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), mountain goat, duck, quail, grouse (*Dendragapus*), squirrel, beaver (*Castor canadensis*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), wolf, fox (*Vulpes* sp.), coyote (*Canis latrans*), cougar

(*Puma concolor*), and bear (French 1961:357; Spier and Sapir 1930:181-182, 200; Toepel et al. 1980:49). A number of these species, including mule deer, Rocky Mountain elk, pronghorn, bighorn sheep, and various squirrels and ducks, are present in the John Day region.¹² Some of the species were eaten, while others were only used for furs and skins. Bear in particular was almost never eaten. As with other tribes of the region, Wishram believed the bear had been human at one time and therefore had flesh similar to that of a human. They did, however, make use of the fur, which was made into bed mattresses and certain items of clothing. Other animals that were not eaten for reasons cosmological or utilitarian include badger, rock squirrel, turtle, eagle, magpie, redwing-blackbird, dove, and *iGwai'Gwai*, a type of small grey bird, sources state (Spier and Sapir 1930:181-182).

The Wishram are described as hunting deer and elk with bows and clubs, driving them toward waiting hunters, and taking them in pit falls. Predatory animals, such as bear, cougar, wolf, and fox, were typically caught using deadfall traps and by stalking (Spier and Sapir 1930:180-181). According to sources, both the Wasco and Wishram used snares to catch wolves and coyotes (French 1961:357; Spier and Sapir 1930:182). Meat was preserved by drying it in the sun, curing it by roasting, or smoking it on a scaffold. Ducks, however, were prepared by boiling (Spier and Sapir 1930:182). Among the Wasco, animal fats, such as bear oil, were preserved (French 1961:357). And as sources state, in winter the Wishram used the pelts of bear, raccoon, deer, wolf, coyote, and mountain goat; while in summer they wore the tanned hides of deer, elk, and mountain goat (Spier and Sapir 1930:200, 206).

Table 1

List of Species Present in JODA also identified as Traditionally Utilized Species in Consulted Ethnographic Sources

List compiled by cross-referencing ethnographic texts with the Species List from NPSpecies Report Viewer for JODA (NPS n.d.b)

MAMMALS

- Badger, American (*Taxidea taxus*)
- Beaver, American (*Castor canadensis*)
- Bobcat (*Lynx rufus*)
- Chipmunk, Least (*Tamias minimus*)
- Cottontail, Mountain (*Sylvilagus nuttallii*)
- Cougar/Mountain Lion (*Puma concolor*)
- Coyote (*Canis latrans*)
- Deer, Mule (*Odocoileus hemionus*)
- Elk, Rocky Mountain (*Cervus elaphus*)
- Fox
 - Fox, Black (*Vulpes Vulpes*)
 - Fox, Red (*Vulpes fulva*)
- Jackrabbit, Black-tailed (*Lepus californicus*)
- Marmot, Yellow-bellied (*Marmota flaviventris*)
- Mink, American (*Mustela vison*)
- Mouse
 - Mouse, Deer (*Peromyscus maniculatus*)
 - Mouse, House (*Mus musculus*)*
 - Mouse, Northern Grasshopper (*Onychomys leucogaster*)
 - Mouse, Western Harvest (*Reithrodontomys megalotis*)
 - Mouse, Western Jumping (*Zapus trinotatus*)*
 - Deermouse, Canyon (*Peromyscus crinitus*)
 - Deermouse, Piñon (*Peromyscus truei*)
 - Pocket Mouse, Great Basin (*Perognathus parvus*)
- Muskrat, Common (*Ondatra zibethicus*)
- Otter, Common (*Lontra canadensis*)
- Pocket Gopher, Northern (*Thomomys talpoides*)
- Porcupine, Common (*Erethizon dorsatum*)
- Pronghorn** (*Antilocapra americana*)
- Raccoon, Common (*Procyon lotor*)
- Rat
 - Kangaroo Rat, Ord's (*Dipodomys ordii*)
 - Woodrat, Bushy-tailed (*Neotoma cinerea*)
- Sheep, Bighorn (*Ovis canadensis*)
- Squirrel
 - Ground Squirrel, Belding's (*Citellus beldingi*; *Spermophilus beldingi*)
 - Ground Squirrel, Golden-mantled (*Spermophilus lateralis*)
 - Squirrel, Douglas's (*Tamiasciurus douglasii*)
- Weasel, Long-tailed (*Mustela frenata*)

BIRDS

- Avocet, American (*Recurvirostra americana*)*
- Blackbird
 - Blackbird, Brewer's (*Euphagus cyanocephalus*)
 - Blackbird, Red-winged (*Agelaius phoeniceus*)
 - Blackbird, Tricolored (*Agelaius tricolor*)
 - Blackbird, Yellow-headed (*Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus*)
- Bluebird
 - Bluebird, Mountain (*Sialia currucoides*)
 - Bluebird, Western (*Sialia Mexicana*)
- Dove, Mourning (*Zenaida macroura*)
- Duck
 - Bufflehead (*Bucephala albeola*)
 - Canvasback (*Aythya valisineria*)
 - Duck, Ring-necked (*Aythya collaris*)
 - Duck, Ruddy (*Oxyura jamaicensis*)
 - Duck, Wood (*Aix sponsa*)
 - Gadwall (*Anas strepera*)
 - Goldeneye, Common (*Bucephala clangula*)
 - Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*)
 - Merganser, Common (*Mergus merganser*)
 - Pintail, Northern (*Anas acuta*)
 - Redhead (*Aythya americana*)
 - Scaup, Lesser (*Aythya affinis*)
 - Shoveler, Northern (*Anas clypeata*)
 - Teal, Blue-winged (*Anas discors*)
 - Teal, Cinnamon (*Anas cyanoptera*)
 - Teal, Eurasian (*Anas crecca*)
 - Wigeon, American (*Anas americana*)
- Eagle
 - Eagle, Bald (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*)
 - Eagle, golden (*Aquila chrysaetos*)
- Goose, Canada (*Branta canadensis*)
- Grouse, Blue (*Dendragapus*)*
- Hawk
 - Hawk, Cooper's (*Accipiter cooperii*)
 - Hawk, Red-tailed (*Buteo jamaicensis*)
 - Hawk, Rough-legged (*Buteo lagopus*)
 - Hawk, Sharp-shinned (*Accipiter striatus*)
- Magpie, Black-billed (*Pica pica*)
- Mudhen/Coot, American (*Fulica Americana*)
- Owl
 - Owl, Barn (*Tyto alba*)
 - Owl, Barred (*Strix varia*)
 - Owl, Flammulated (*Otus flammeolus*)
 - Owl, Great Horned (*Bubo virginianus*)
 - Owl, long-eared owl (*Asio otus*)
 - Owl Short-eared owl (*Asio flammeus*)
 - Screech-Owl, Western (*Otus kennicottii*)
- Quail
 - Quail, California (*Callipepla californica*)
 - Quail, Mountain (*Oreortyx pictus*)
- Robin, American (*Turdus migratorius*)
- Snipe, Common (*Gallinago gallinago*)

- Swan
 - Swan, Trumpeter (*Cygnus buccinator*)
 - Swan, Tundra (*Cygnus columbianus*)
 - Swan, Whistling (*Olor columbianus*)
- Woodpecker
 - Woodpecker, Downy (*Picoides pubescens*)
 - Woodpecker, Hairy (*Picoides villosus*)
 - Woodpecker, Lewis' (*Melanerpes lewis*)

FISH

- Chub, Chiselmouth (*Acrocheilus alutaceus*)
- Lamprey
 - Lamprey, Pacific (*Lampetra tridentata*)
 - Lamprey, Western Brook (*Lampetra richardsoni*)
- Pikeminnow, Northern (*Ptychocheilus oregonensis*)
- Salmon
 - Salmon, Coho (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*)*
 - Salmon, Spring Chinook (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*)
- Steelhead
 - Steelhead, Redband (*Oncorhynchus mykiss gairdnerii*)
 - Steelhead, Summer (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*)
- Sucker
 - Sucker, Bridgelip (*Catostomus columbianus*)
 - Sucker, Largescale (*Catostomus macrocheilus*)
 - Sucker, Mountain (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*)
- Trout
 - Cutthroat Trout, Westslope (*Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*)
 - Trout, Bull (*Salvelinus confluentus*)
- Whitefish, Mountain (*Prosopium williamsoni*)

INSECTS

- Caterpillar*
 - Butterfly, Brush-footed (*Lepidoptera/Nymphalidae*)***)
 - Butterfly, Gossamer-winged (*Lepidoptera/Lycaenidae*)***)
 - Butterfly, Metalmark (*Lepidoptera/Riodinidae*)
 - Metalmark, Mormon (*Apodermia mormo*)
 - Butterfly, Pierid (*Lepidoptera/Pieridae*)***)
 - Butterfly, Skipper (*Lepidoptera/Hesperiidae*)***)
 - Butterfly, Swallowtail (*Lepidoptera/Papilionidae*)***)

VASCULAR PLANTS

- Balsamroot, Serrated (*Balsamorhiza serrata*)
- Biscuitroot
 - Biscuitroot, Bigseed (*Lomatium macrocarpum*)
 - Biscuitroot, Gorman's (*Lomatium gormanii*)*
 - Biscuitroot, Gray's (*Lomatium grayi*)
 - Biscuitroot, Henderson's (*Lomatium hendersonii*)
 - Biscuitroot, Nevada (*Lomatium nevadense*)*
 - Biscuitroot, Nineleaf (*Lomatium triternatum*)
- Bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*)
- Blazingstar

- Blazingstar, White (*Mentzelia albicaulis*)
 - Blazingstar, Smoothstem (*Mentzelia laevicaulis*)
- Camas, Death (*Zigadenus venenosus*)*
- Carrot, Wild (*Daucus carota*)* [non-native]
- Cattail (*Typha latifolia*)
- Chenopodium
 - Lambsquarters (*Chenopodium album*)
 - Jerusalem Oak (*Chenopodium botrys*)
- Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*)
- Currant
 - Currant, Golden (*Ribes aureum*)
 - Currant, Wax (*Ribes cereum*)
- Dogbane/Hemp, Indian (*Apocynum cannabinum*)
- Dogwood, Red-osier (*Cornus stolonifera*)
- Elderberry, Blue (*Sambucus cerulea*)
- Gooseberry
 - Gooseberry, Desert (*Ribes velutinum*)*
 - Gooseberry, Umatilla (*Ribes cognatum*)
- Grass (*Poales/Poaceae*)***
- Hawthorn
 - Hawthorn, Black (*Crataegus douglasii*)
 - Hawthorn, Columbia (*Crataegus columbiana*)
- Juniper, Western (*Juniperus occidentallis*)
- Lily, Greenband Mariposa (*Calochortus macrocarpus*)
- Milkweed
 - Milkweed, Humboldt (*Asclepias cryptoceras*)
 - Milkweed, Showy (*Asclepias speciosa*)
- Mustard, Tumbling (*Sisymbrium altissimum*) [non-native]
- Onion
 - Onion, Manyflower (*Allium pleianthum*)
 - Onion, Tolmie (*Allium tolmiei*)
- Pine, Ponderosa (*Pinus ponderosa*)
- Ricegrass, Indian (*Achnatherum hymenoides*)
- Rabbitbrush, Douglas (*Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus*)
- Rush
 - Bulrush, Great (*Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani*)
 - Rush, Baltic (*Juncus balticus*; *Juncus balticus* var. *balticus**)
 - Rush, Jointed (*Juncus artiuclatus*)*
 - Rush, Long-style (*Juncus longistylis*)*
 - Rush, Swordleaf (*Juncus ensifolius*)*
 - Rush, Toad (*Juncus bufonius*)
 - Rush, Torrey (*Juncus torreyi*)*
 - Spikerush, Common (*Eleocharis palustris*)
- Sagebrush
 - Big Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*)
 - Big Sagebrush, Basin (*Artemisia tridentata* ssp. *tridentata*),
 - Big Sagebrush, Wyoming (*Artemisia tridentata* ssp. *wyomingensis*)
 - Sagebrush, Little (*Artemisia arbuscula*)
 - Sagebrush, Scabland (*Artemisia rigida*)
 - Sagebrush, White (*Artemisia ludoviciana*)
- Saltbush, Shadscale (*Atriplex confertifolia*)
- Serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*)
- Spearmint (*Mentha spicata*) [non-native]
- Springbeauty, Littleleaf (*Claytonia parviflora*)

- Sunflower
 - Sunflower, Common (*Helianthus annuus*)
 - Sunflower, Common Woolly (*Eriophyllum lanatum*)
 - Sunflower, Cusick's (*Helianthus cusickii*)
 - Sunflower, Nuttall's (*Helianthus nuttallii*)
- Tansymustard
 - Tansymustard, Green (*Descurainia pinnata*),
 - Tansymustard, Mountain (*Descurainia incana*; *Descurainia incana* ssp. *viscosa*)
 - Tansymustard, Richardson's (*Descurainia richardsonii*)
- Tobacco, Coyote (*Nicotiana attenuata*)
- Wildrye, Basin (*Leymus cinereus*)
- Yellowbells (*Fritillaria pudica*)

MOSSES

- Moss, Tortula (*Tortula ruralis*)

*Currently listed as Species in Review—proposed or provisional records needing additional review.

**Referred to as “antelope” within the ethnographic texts.

***Refers to family with several species represented.

Placenames in JODA

Among Native peoples, placenames convey information about place that goes well beyond geography or utilitarian nomenclature. Placenames were often given by the Creator or by figures prominent in oral tradition, such as Coyote, and tie tribes of the region to those places in integral, spiritual ways. A placename is connected to the deep, before-time knowledge of a place among Indigenous people, and to long-standing relationships and commitments between the people and the land. When placenames are used in oral tradition, they serve to recall and preserve this deep knowledge (Banks 2002:208). According to researchers, Native people remember placename information with astounding accuracy (i.e. Banks 2002:209; Hunn 1996:20, cited in Steinmetz 2020:7). Places know their names, and connections between humans and place are strengthened when names are used (Steinmetz 2020:7). Moreover, the presence and words of the ancestors “echo on the land” and tribal members connect with the ancestors by traversing the land and using Native placenames (Hunn et.al 2015:XVII, cited in Steinmetz 2020:10).

Table 2

List of Placenames and other Key Site Designations in the Vicinity of JODA
(adapted from Steinmetz 2020:8-10)

- *Ákakpa*, “Canada goose place.”

A small John Day River tributary, downstream from Rock Creek in Grant County, Oregon, in the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA (Hunn et al. 2015:150).

- *Amáayi*, “having an island.”
Fox Valley; called *Imáyi* in the Umatilla dictionary (Rude 2014:124). On an upper tributary of Cottonwood Creek, in the North Fork of the John Day drainage between Long Creek, Oregon and Monument, Oregon. A key camas-digging meadow Native people would visit from far away (Hunn et al. 2015:150).
- *Íšnima*, “river with cow parsnip.”
South Fork of the John Day River (Hunn et al. 2015:150).
- *Íšnimà*, “cow parsnip”.
A valley located on Long Creek, near the confluence with South Fork of Long Creek, including the Middle Fork of Long Creek. A fishing and hunting camp that is used heavily, especially to harvest steelhead trout and elk. Bunchgrass territory (Hunn et al. 2015:150).
- *Imáwi*.
A location near the town of Long Creek, Oregon (Rude 2014:539).
- *Íyayi*, “has valerian root.”
Located on Long Creek, near Long Creek, Oregon. Valerian was used as a traditional Native food (Hunn et al. 2015:150).
- *Múlisinma Wánat*, “river of the bubbling springs.”
North Fork of the John Day River (Hunn et al. 2015:148).
- *Mánmint*, “spread out like a skirt.”
Located in the area of Monument, Oregon, near the junction of Cottonwood Creek and the North Fork of the John Day River. Umatilla, Alder Creek, Paterson, Pine Creek, Rock Creek, and John Day peoples have used the place as a summer gathering site, and it was a good place to catch eels. The location was two days from Canyon City on horseback, and historically was a location of skirmishes between Columbia River tribes and bands of Paiute (Hunn et al. 2015:148).
- NR687. Native placename not remembered.
NR687 designates a historic Native village near the confluence of Rock Creek and the John Day River that was used for fishing and hunting (Hunn et al. 2015:151). Within the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA.
- NR688. Native placename not remembered.
NR688 designates a historic Native village on the John Day River, several miles south of Kimberly, Oregon—a historic hunting and fishing village of the CTUIR (Hunn et al. 2015:151). Within the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA.
- NR689. Native placename not remembered.
NR689 designates a historic Native village on the North Fork John Day River that was used for hunting and fishing. Northeast of Kimberly, Oregon (Hunn et al. 2015:151).
- *Ninípa*, “at aspens.”
A village on Little Wall Creek, a tributary of the North Fork John Day River, north of Monument, Oregon. At this site, Umatilla, Cayuse, Warm Springs, and Columbia River peoples fished, hunted, and harvested roots (Hunn et al. 2015:148).
- *Ninípa Wáčakt*, “aspen confluence.”
Located near the confluence of Big and Little Wall Creeks; combines the names of two local sites where Plateau tribes fished, hunted, and harvested roots (Hunn et al. 2015:148).
- *Páwaačakt*, “hang it up by hand.”
A village on Beech Creek, near the junction of the North Fork and Middle Fork of the John Day River, near Fox, Oregon; popular for fishing, hunting, and harvesting roots (Hunn et al. 2015:151).

- *Pláasiyi*, “alkali banks along the river.”

A site near the confluence of the John Day River and the John Day River’s North Fork, near Kimberly, Oregon; called *Plaašláaš* in the Umatilla dictionary (Rude 2014:237). The location is commonly used by tribal people as a campsite while fishing (salmon and other fish), hunting, and harvesting roots (Hunn et al. 2015:151).

- *Pusiáyá*, “of juniper.”

The area around Monument, Oregon. The name refers to the junipers distributed across the landscape. Junipers in the area are host to abundant black tree lichen (Hunn et al. 2015:151).

- *Skaypiya*, “where the *skayp* live.”

Briley Mountain, northeast of Monument, Oregon, overlooking the North Fork of the John Day River. Considered a sacred site where a certain spirit-power can be attained, a power received from the *skayp* “spirit” who resides there. Because this spirit is deemed unpredictable, people receiving this power will react in unusual ways. Furthermore, guardian spirits obtained in this area require obligatory observances (Hunn et al. 2015:148).

- *Súyalakt*.

On Ditch Creek, a tributary of the North Fork of the John Day River between Wall and Camas Creeks; a fishing, berrying, hunting, and root-harvesting ground used by the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Columbia River peoples. Fishing also took place at this location (Hunn et al. 2015:146).

- *Waháwpan*.

The main stem of the John Day River (Hunn et al. 2015:151).

- *Wahutanínspa*, “shale arrowhead place.”

On Big Wall Creek, near the junction with Little Wall Creek; a fishing, hunting, and root-harvesting site (Hunn et al. 2015:148).

- *Wáqmuykiyaas*, “the bucking place.”

A site in the vicinity of Spray, Oregon. Trading took place at this location during the rodeo in May. Native peoples visited the stores and traded their gloves for needed supplies (Hunn et al. 2015:149).

- *Waxi nšwáakuł* “resembles abalone.”

A site near Hardman, Oregon, in the vicinity of Barlow Butte and Madison Butte; a site for root-harvesting that was near a source of stone used for tool-making (Hunn et al. 2015:146).

- *Xúlxuli*, “has small fish/trout.”

A site in the vicinity of Dayville, Oregon near the confluence of the John Day River’s main stem and South Fork; a seasonal camp used in spring and early summer by Umatilla, John Day, and Pine Creek peoples. The location was favored for root-harvesting, as a hunting base, and for catching several kinds of fish (Hunn et al. 2015:151).

- *Yawíšiinma*.

The Middle Fork of the John Day River. Location of a fish weir and a site where Native peoples fished for salmon (Hunn et al. 2015:147).

Documented Land and Resource Use in and around John Day Fossil Beds

Specific references to Native American use and occupation of lands and resources within today's John Day Fossil Beds are relatively elusive. This reflects multiple causes, such as the relatively small "footprint" of these NPS units within the larger region, their distance from the core subsistence and settlement areas of tribes, and the displacement of Native peoples from the John Day region at the time of EuroAmerican settlement. Nonetheless, several accounts do mention traditional tribal land and resource use in and very near the monument. What follows is a thematic overview of those written references, which will be expanded in later iterations of this study.

Traditional Trails and Travel in the John Day Area

Several accounts mention tribes' trails leading through and into the Upper John Day Valley during the contact period (Murdock 1980:134, 174-175). The advantageous placement of early Native trails in this area permitted travel over the mountainous topography; indeed, many later highways incorporated parts of these trails into their routes (Mark 1996). Many of the accounts describe trails linking the Upper John Day Valley to the Columbia River—trails that both connected the areas directly on a north-south line (Murdock 1980:133-134), as well as indirectly westward by way of the Deschutes River. The latter route, often called the "Klamath Trail," was a major regional travel corridor linking the Columbia River with the Klamath Basin and places beyond. According to sources, the John Day region was also connected to the Great Basin by a trail that followed the South Fork John Day to the Silvies River heading south (Cressman 1950:371). During the gold rush, miners used the same trails as the Columbia River Indians' seasonal subsistence routes to the Blue Mountains. The creation of the Oregon Territory helped to set the stage for brokering treaties with the Indians west and east of the Cascade Mountains. But Native-settler tensions grew as gold prospecting increased in Idaho, southeastern Washington and the Blue Mountains of Oregon, encouraging more emigration; moreover, in response to mining interests, surveying parties increasingly encroached on Native lands (Steinmetz 2020:15). Certain trails following through "lower Columbia River points to the Idaho and John Day mining districts, passed through Willow Creek Valley, hastening south by way of Dixie Creek and the forks of the John Day River" (Workers of the Writers' Program 1940:265).

A number of the known traditional trails reportedly passed through or close to the units of what is now John Day Fossil Beds National Monument. Ethnographic writings demonstrate that the extensive trail system used by the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse would have brought them westward near the area of the JODA. Maps of their traditional use areas in Hunn et al. show that most of the areas are east of JODA, though the Sheep Rock Unit of the monument falls within the traditional range of hunting, fishing, and gathering locations of

the three tribes (Hunn et al. 2014). One description of travel routes east of JODA comes from a 1965 talk on “Indian Trails of the Northwest” by Cá’yaw Gilbert E. Conner:

“As the seasons progressed, when their migrations took them across the Blue Mountains in the Grande Ronde area, they followed several trails.... Some went over into the John Day area, North Fork of the John Day area and then followed eventually southeasterly towards the Huntington and Snake River area, some going on into the Boise Basin and then north towards the Payette Lakes.

“...The Umatillas who lived along the Columbia River, their migrations took them south from the Umatilla area usually across the Umatilla River towards the Heppner area, into the watersheds of the John Day. There are three tributaries of the John Day, the North, Middle, and South Forks, which area the Umatillas hunted and fished. Some Cayuses [who] intermarried with the Umatillas also used these areas, as well as the Northern Paiutes. They usually gathered in the Ukiah area as well as the area south of John Day, just because they knew when to gather in these places, for roots in the Ukiah area, Fox area, and the John Day tributaries, and then for beaver and fish migrations that came up the Malheur River. They followed across the mountains south of Canyon City into the area, which is called Seneca or Silvies, tributary of the Malheur, then southeasterly to the headwaters of the Malheur” (Hunn et al. 2014:38-39).

Additional descriptions of these travel routes suggest the tribes may have passed through, or near, the other two units of the monument. For example, Hunn et al. indicate that mounted Umatilla and Cayuse would travel “to camp with Warm Springs and John Day kin on the Deschutes River” west of JODA (Hunn et al. 2014:39).

Murdock also identifies a trail, used extensively by Tenino, that passed within the vicinity of JODA’s Clarno Unit (Murdock 1980:133, 135). This trail started at the confluence of the Columbia and John Day Rivers. It followed the John Day River upstream along its east bank past a site (see Murdock 1980:133, #24) used by the John Day Tenino during the spring root-harvesting season and again in the fall for hunting as well as chokecherry and late-season root gathering. The trail reportedly continued south past another site utilized by the tribe in the spring and late summer a few miles north of the Clarno Unit of JODA, linking into networks that extend east, near the southern end of the Sheep Rock unit. The trail network also continues west of JODA, extending along an east-west line along the southern edge of Tenino territory and linking the upper John Day Tenino and Tygh people. Slightly west of there, the trail passed a site by Shaniko that the John Day Tenino used for May root harvests and the Tygh, Wayam, and Dalles Tenino peoples used for root collection and hunts in May and June (Murdock 1980:135). Paiute use of this area has also been widely suggested, especially during the contact period as Paiute communities expanded their presence in the area.



Juniper Tree on the Arch Trail at Clarno. Photo courtesy NPS.

Hunn and French show the locations of subsistence routes and areas used by Tenino peoples in the nineteenth century (Hunn and French 1998:379). They locate two trails descending south from the Columbia River that converged near subsistence areas in the vicinity of JODA. One trail, further west, appears to begin at a site near Blalock Canyon (*táwas*) near the confluence of the Columbia and John Day Rivers, and generally follows the orientation of the John Day upstream to a root gathering area (*pláašplásš*) near the present-day location of the Clarno Unit. The trail is described as proceeding east to Monument (*mánmant*), where the Tenino went to catch eels. The other trail also begins on the Columbia River, east of the one described above. This trail leads generally south and converges with the former at Monument. From Monument, it continues south and follows the John Day to a camas subsistence area at *imáayi*, just south of the divergence of the North Fork John Day River from the main branch of the river. According to Hunn and French, the trail then splits again, with one branch leading south to *xulxulí*, an area where tribal members harvested camas and trout, close to the confluence of the main John Day River and the South Fork John Day. Both the resource areas and the trail would have been located within or very close to the Sheep Rock Unit of the monument. The other branch of the trail from *imáayi* leads southeast toward the town of John Day.

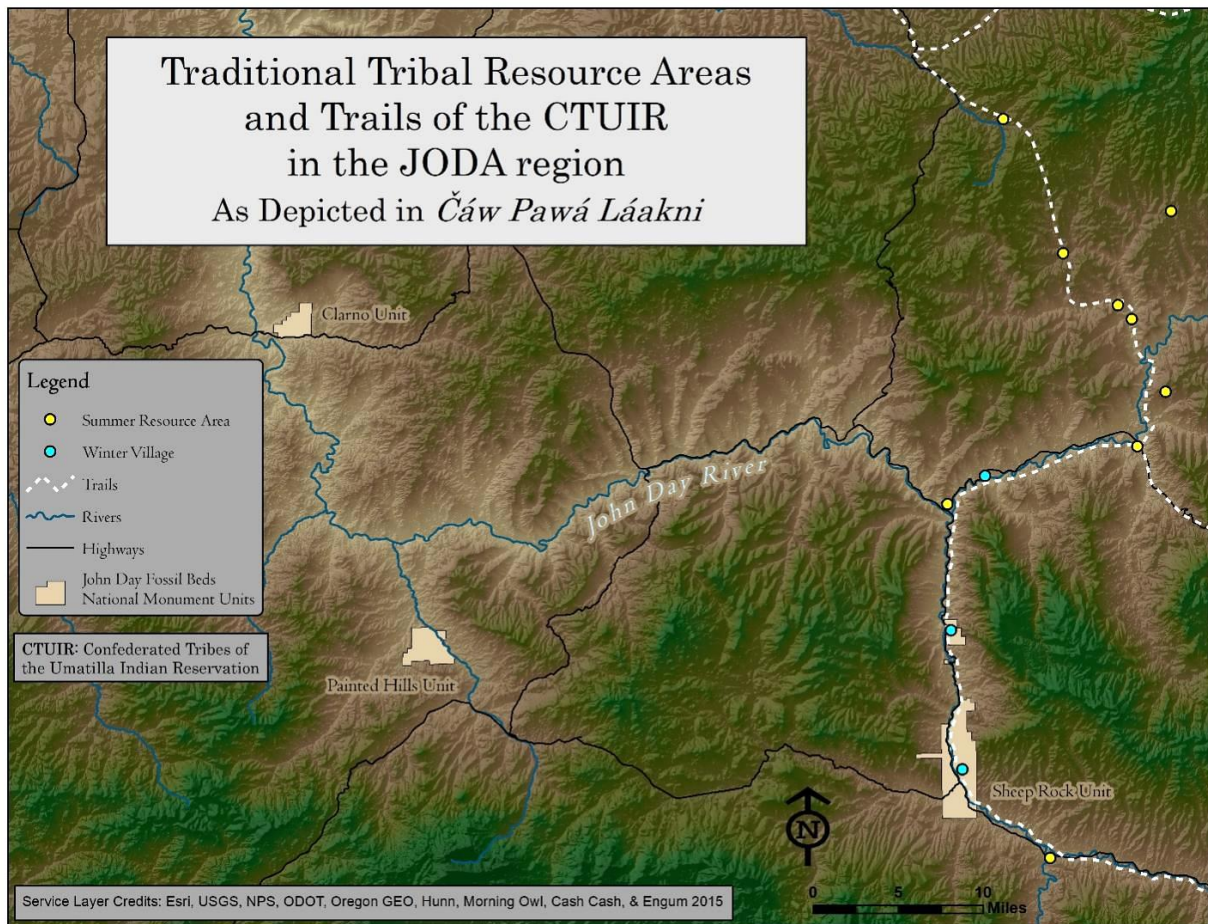
This route largely conforms to the seasonal-round account from James Selam, a John Day Tenino. According to Selam, his family first camped at Olex, Oregon, about twenty miles southeast of their winter village of *táwas* at Blalock, on the Columbia River just above the mouth of the John Day and across from Rock Creek in Washington. They then proceeded south in twenty-mile intervals, camping first at Condon, then Fossil, then moving eastward to Spray and finally to Monument. From Monument, however, Selam's family joined up with families from winter villages at Roosevelt or Alderdale whose southward routes followed paths further east. They would travel up Willow or Butter Creeks to Heppner or through Pilot Rock and Ukiah (Hunn 1990:123, 127).

The trail system described by Murdock, and implied by the references above, would have intersected with the John Day Narrows, a highly productive fishing site that included several camp sites used both in summer and winter (Aikens et al. 2011: 174; Wilde et al. 1983; Schalk 1987). The site was also a trail access point for hunting and plant-gathering areas not located on the river. According to Murdock, one such area abutted Umatilla territory and was used by the John Day people for root gathering and trade (Murdock 1980:134). This trail also reportedly led inland to the Plains as well as branching off to the south, leading to a constellation of important subsistence areas (Murdock 1980:134-135). An additional reference suggests the Tenino traveled near or through the JODA area on their way south. Stowell indicates that people from a variety of tribal groups, including the Warm Springs Indians, the Umatilla, and the *Wāda-Tika*, all traveled to Pine Creek in northeastern Harney Valley to meet and harvest resources in early May (Stowell 2008:41-42).

Historical accounts and maps indicate the locations of Native trails running through this area. For example, fur trader Peter Skene Ogden passed through the area of the Sheep Rock Unit in 1829 and noted trails in the region. One was located on the west side of the John Day, leading him to Rock Creek. After following Rock Creek westward, he came across a trail that seemingly led westward toward the Crooked River. Ogden then turned back eastward to return to the John Day River. Once there, he found another trail along the John Day that he followed northward to the current city of Kimberly, Oregon (Williams et al. 1971:164). Using a map of the region from 1863,¹³ Nedry identifies two Indian trails passing through Grant County in the vicinity of the Sheep Rock Unit—one following the North Fork of the John Day River to Granite City, and the other running along the south side of the Middle Fork of the John Day (Nedry 1952:236). During the height of the gold rush in 1862-64, the mail route also largely relied upon Indian trails to pass through this area. Riders on horseback transported mail using trails connecting The Dalles and Canyon City, one of which followed the John Day River, sources state (Workers of the Writers' Program 1940:445-446).

Settlements and Camps in and near John Day

The documentary record, including ethnographic studies, identifies multiple groups as the traditional users of JODA lands and surrounding region. Territories claimed by different tribes in the upper John Day Valley are disputed, and evidence indicates that boundaries fluctuated in different periods. In particular, different sources alternately attribute use and occupation of the area to the Northern Paiute and Tenino, though evidence also suggests its use by the Umatilla, Cayuse, and others (Biscombe 2009:27; Taylor and Gilbert 1996:19). Additionally, though certain evidence suggests the *Hunipuitika* band of Northern Paiute had winter camps centered around the present-day city of John Day (Blyth 1938:403), most groups only used the region in the spring, summer, and fall in protohistoric times (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:42; Murdock 1980:133).



MAP 7: Traditional Tribal Resource Areas and Trails, as identified by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, showing traditional trails passing through the Sheep Rock Unit of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument along the John Day River corridor.

Though the Northern Paiute are typically associated with the Great Basin and area south of the study area, several authors note that the northern extent of some of the bands, particularly the *Hunipuitika*, stretched to the upper reaches of the John Day by JODA (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Blyth 1938:403; Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:47; Suphan 1974a:64). Suphan includes the John Day River above Clarno within their range (Suphan 1974:64). Blyth's descriptions place their winter camps and hunting range immediately south of the Sheep Rock Unit by Dayville, if not within the boundaries (Blyth 1938:403; for a more detailed description of Northern Paiute territorial boundaries, refer to the section on individual tribes).

Yet historical evidence also suggests the John Day Tenino used the John Day River valley at least as far south as Clarno (Endzweig 1994:28; Suphan 1974a:56-57), and that the Umatilla used the Clarno area. Ray identifies the length of the John Day River from Spray

south to Picture Gorge as the boundary between the Tenino and Umatilla in the nineteenth century (Ray 1938:385-386). Tenino territory was on the west side of the river, while the Umatilla's was on the east. The Umatilla and Tenino permitted reciprocal free movement in the John Day-Willow Creek area. This view of their territory establishes the John Day River from Picture Gorge eastward to Canyon Creek as the southern boundary of Umatilla territory but contradicts data on Northern Paiute territorial boundaries (Davis 1977:4-5).

Burtchard and Hamilton suggest that the ecological conditions in this region made it more suitable for Northern Paiute subsistence patterns (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:50-51). The Tenino were a largely sedentary group that relied upon stores of salmon through winter. The Northern Paiute, on the other hand, were mobile, small-scale gatherers who relied less upon mass harvesting and storage of staples through winter. They state that the lack of options for mass harvests of storable items, such as salmon or camas, resulted in resource conditions comparable to the Great Basin, where highly mobile foraging would be desirable.

According to different authors, account discrepancies relate to 19th-century changes resulting in joint exploitation of the upper John Day watershed (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Burtchard and Hamilton caution it is important to consider the information in ethnographic accounts as representing a limited recent time period (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:50-51). The late 18th and early 19th centuries were marked by rapid population losses, dislocation, and reorganization that would have drastically changed cultural patterns. As a result, documented patterns should not be projected uncritically into the more distant past.

Differences in tribal ranges might be due to Tenino expansion southward in the early to mid 1800s, as well as to differences in band ranges over time in response to changes in resource availability. This resulted in joint exploitation of the area (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:47; Davis 1977:4; Endzweig 1994a:30-31; Suphan 1974a:157). Firsthand accounts by explorers, fur traders, and early settlers document the Northern Paiute presence in the region in the early nineteenth century. These are characterized by historical accounts, such as those by Lewis and Clark, Alexander Ross, David Thompson, and Wilson Price Hunt that record the aggressions of "Snake Indians" living in the Blue Mountains and the Grande Ronde Valley against the Sahaptins (Suphan 1974a:151-153)—accounts tinted with EuroAmerican bias. As referenced above, the journals of Lewis and Clark indicate that the Northern Paiute were advancing toward the south bank of the Columbia River as early as 1805 (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Peter Skene Ogden's journals recount his expeditions to the region in the 1820s, offering evidence of a Northern Paiute presence along the upper John Day River in that period, and demonstrate that the Northern Paiute were engaged in salmon fishing on the river near JODA in the summer of 1829 (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Williams et al. 1971:163-164).

However, by the 1830s and 1840s, Tenino peoples are recorded expanding southward into Northern Paiute territory—first to the Grande Ronde Valley and then eventually to the area along the forks of the John Day River. This expansion is attributed to their acquisition of arms and ammunition at Columbia River trading posts in this period (Suphan 1974a:153-

154). According to Suphan, it is likely Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla accounts of subsistence in the John Day region date to this period (Suphan 1974:153-154). By the 1850s, when the Warm Springs Reservation was established, the Tenino had reportedly ousted the Northern Paiute from “the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warm Springs, and siksi’kwi [on Seekseekwa Creek], from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river” (Murdock 1938:399). By 1855, the John Day Tenino appear to have taken control of the John Day River Valley as far as Clarno, and one of their bands continued to live there until 1878 (Suphan 1974a:207). Yet continuing EuroAmerican accounts of encounters with Northern Paiutes indicate that Northern Paiutes remained in this region as well. For instance, as of 1864, when settler Howard Maupin moved to Antelope Valley on the Canyon City road, the Northern Paiute are said to have “held undisputed sway over all the country south of the road leading from The Dalles to the mines on the John Day river, at Canyon City” (Adams et al. 1902:391).

Authors have recorded a number of settlements and camps in proximity to JODA that likely refer to diverse periods and are associated with different tribes. For example, as a result of the Tenino’s southward expansion, several authors place both the Clarno and Painted Hills Units within the Tenino culture area in the nineteenth century (Davis 1977:4; Mark 1996). Hunn mentions several sites used by the family of James Selam, his John Day Tenino informant, on their seasonal rounds, including camps at Condon and Fossil (Hunn 1990:123, 127). Condon is less than 25 miles northeast of the Clarno Unit and Fossil is about 10 miles northeast of the Clarno Unit. Murdock identifies a Tenino camp in the area north of Butte Creek on the east side of the John Day River north of Clarno (Murdock 1980:133). In both spring and late summer, the John Day Tenino regularly visited this important site, though Murdock notes the Northern Paiute disputed its possession. The camp’s location appears to correspond with *pláašplásš*, a site on the east side of the John Day River above Clarno where the Tenino gathered roots in the nineteenth century (Hunn and French 1998:379). Murdock also identifies two Tenino sites west of the John Day River between Butte Creek and Shaniko (Murdock 1980:133). The John Day Tenino used the site further east in May to gather roots. The Tygh, Wayam, and Dalles Tenino used the site by Shaniko in May and June both to gather roots and hunt game (Murdock 1980:135).

A map of Warm Springs Indian Territories and villages presented to the Indian Claims Commission locates additional Tenino sites close to Clarno. *Smz’ux*, a hunting village also used for gathering chokecherries, was located on a bench west of the John Day River, above present-day Clarno. *Kátsmtunzka’was*, another village used for hunting and gathering chokecherries, was located at the mouth of Pine Creek. *Pl’cpl’cpa*, a village used for digging roots, hunting deer, and obtaining white clay, was located on Pine Creek, near Cove Creek (Suphan 1974a:Petitioner’s Exhibit 403; Endzweig 1994:34). Additionally, Suphan relates that a small group of John Day Tenino lived at Clarno until 1878, remaining there even after other Tenino had moved to the Warm Springs Reservation (Suphan 1974:207).

Several tribes had camps in the vicinity of the Sheep Rock Unit. Sources indicate that in the pre-contact period, the *Hunipuitika* band of Northern Paiute were the main occupants of the Picture Gorge area (Biscombe 2009:27; Davis 1977:5; Mark 1996; Taylor and Gilbert

1996:19). Blythe writes that the *Hunipuitika* had winter camps “centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west” (Blythe 1938:403). Monument and Spray are among the sites James Selam mentioned with regard to his family’s seasonal rounds, Monument being about 15 miles northeast of the Sheep Rock Unit and Spray approximately 15 miles northwest of the unit (Hunn 1990:123, 127). Different accounts, including that of Selam, confirm that the Tenino used the camp at Monument (*mánmant* or *mánmint*) to catch lampreys (“eels”) during their spawning run (Hunn 1990:123, 127; Hunn and French 1998:379). Another Tenino camp, *imáayi*, was located south of Monument, about midway between the mouths of the North and South Forks of the John Day, in an area where camas was available (Hunn and French 1998:379).

Hunn et al. describe a number of villages the Umatilla and other tribes used for subsistence acquisition by the Sheep Rock Unit (Hunn et al. 2014:150-151). They identify a village located inside the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA along the John Day River close to its confluence with Rock Creek. The Umatilla and other tribes used this village, which was a prime area for elk hunting. Another hunting and fishing village was located by the Foree Area of the Sheep Rock Unit, along the John Day River roughly halfway between Rock Creek and the present-day town of Kimberly (Hunn et al. 2014:150). Several miles north of the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA, the Cayuse, Umatilla, and other tribes gathered at a site near the confluence of the main and north forks of the John Day, at the location of Kimberly. This seasonal campsite, known as *Pláasiyi*, a Sahaptin word referencing the alkali banks along the John Day River, was reportedly used as a base for collecting roots, fishing for salmon and other small fish, and hunting (Hunn et al. 2014:151). *Xúlxuli*, which translates to “has small fish/trout,” was located north of the mouth of the South Fork John Day River by Dayville and was a subsistence area for camas and trout. The John Day, Pine Creek, and some Umatilla peoples used this site in the spring to hunt, to harvest small fish, and to dig roots (Hunn et al. 2014:151; Hunn and French 1998:379).

Mosgrove also identifies winter camps in the vicinity of the Sheep Rock Unit, though he does not indicate which tribes are associated with them (Mosgrove 1980:23). Although most of the mapped camps are located further south or east of JODA, nine are located within 35 miles of the Sheep Rock Unit. Seven of the sites lie southeast of Sheep Rock: one near Dayville on the South Fork of the John Day; one south of Dayville on the South Fork of the John Day near Cougar Gulch; one near Mt. Vernon; one by John Day, Oregon; and three clustered along Canyon Creek south of John Day. Two of the sites are located northeast of Sheep Rock: one camp near Fox, Oregon; one slightly southeast of Fox.

Several early first-hand accounts record camps near the present-day location of the Sheep Rock Unit. During his travels in 1826 and 1829, Ogden records the presence of Cayuse and Northern Paiute in the upper John Day region. In January of 1826, Ogden describes abandoned Northern Paiute lodges along the South Fork of the John Day River south of Dayville:

“We started early our course W. and by N. for three miles and then North 6 miles along the main Branch of Deys River a fine large Stream—nearly as wide again as it is at the entrance of the Columbia and from appearance this river as well as the

River of the Falls [Deschutes] also Utalla [Umatilla] take their sources from nearly the same quarter consequently the two first are very long from the winding course they take and from appearances Deys River must have been well stocked in Beaver—but all along our route this day we found Snake Huts not long since abandoned and from appearances have been killing Beaver from their want of Traps they destroy not many but the remainder become so shy that it is very difficult to take them” (Rich and Johnson 1950:114).

Later that month, Ogden writes that five “Snake Indians” visited his camp. Suphan deduces that this encounter took place near Mt. Vernon on the main John Day River (Suphan 1974:153-154). In July of 1829, on his second expedition in the region, Ogden describes a Northern Paiute camp “of fifty men with their families all busily employed with their salmon fisheries” (Beckham and Lentz 2000). It appears this camp was located approximately four miles south of present-day Kimberly on the John Day River (Williams et al. 1971:164). Further south, near the southern border of the Sheep Rock Unit, Ogden encountered the “remains of a Cayouse camp of last fall.” He also notes a “Cayhouse camp road” he hoped, but ultimately failed, to find as he traveled west along Rock Creek from its confluence with the John Day River (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Williams et al. 1971:163-164).

John Work of the Hudson Bay Company also reported seeing Paiutes in the John Day region in 1831 and 1832 (Suphan 1974a:351). In July of 1831, Work writes in his field journal:

“Thursday 12. Very warm weather. Continued our route down the river, which still runs to the Westward 11 Miles when we stopped near a camp of Snake Indians who have the river barred across for the purpose of catching salmon. We with difficulty obtained a few salmon from them, perhaps enough to give all hands a meal. They are taking but very few salmon and complain of being hungry themselves” (Haines 1971:135-136).

Suphan identifies this location as near the present-day city of John Day, Oregon, which is approximately 30 miles east of the Sheep Rock Unit (Suphan 1974:154).

Sources also describe camps in the vicinity of the Painted Hills Unit. Blyth writes that the easternmost identified winter camp of the *Wadatika*, who lived northwest of the *Hunipuitika*, was located in Prineville, approximately 35 miles southwest of the Painted Hills Unit (Blyth 1938:403). Some sources also place the Painted Hills Unit within the Tenino culture area in the nineteenth century as a result of their southward expansion (Davis 1977:4; Mark 1996). Tenino sites are reported on Cherry Creek, the John Day River, and Bridge Creek. These sites, located just north of the Painted Hills Unit, were where the Tenino obtained chokecherries, game, roots, and red ochre, sources state (Suphan 1974a:Petitioner’s Exhibit 403; Endzweig 1994:27-28, 34). Significantly, Stinchfield and McLaren write that the Cayuse and Warm Springs Indians considered Burnt Ranch “a favorite camping ground before the pack trains to the Canyon City mines used it in the early [18]60s” (Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:11). Burnt Ranch is located on the southern

bank of the John Day River at the western border of Wheeler County, just above the Painted Hills Unit.

In the course of interviews with tribal members undertaken by Warm Springs GeoVisions for the present study, Warm Springs tribal members spoke of a number of the important camps and settlement sites mentioned above, as well as trails connecting them—presenting a similar geographical picture to what we describe above (Hylton 2023).

Subsistence Resource Harvests in the John Day Area

A growing literature demonstrates that Native American communities utilized the area in the immediate vicinity of John Day Fossil Beds for subsistence purposes—fishing, hunting, plant gathering, and making other pursuits. Discussing the region, Endzweig reports that roots, berries, and game were shared between the Tenino and Northern Paiute in the historic period, though neighboring groups may have utilized the area as well (Endzweig 1994:36). The extensive travel routes of the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse would also have brought these groups westward near the area of the John Day Fossil Beds National Monument. Maps of traditional use areas in Hunn et al. show that most of their subsistence areas are located east of JODA, though the Sheep Rock Unit of the monument falls within the traditional range of hunting, fishing, and gathering locations of the three tribes (Hunn et al. 2014). One description of travel routes east of JODA by Gilbert E. Conner relates that the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Northern Paiute hunted, fished, and gathered roots along the North, Middle, and South Forks of the John Day (Hunn et al. 2014:38-39). Burtchard and Hamilton support this position, stating that the Cayuse, Warm Springs Tenino, and Umatilla used several sites along the middle to upper reaches of the Middle Fork John Day River to fish, hunt, dig roots, and pick berries (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:44). They caution, however, that Tenino use of the upper course of the John Day River beyond Clarno was likely limited.

Fishing would also have occurred on the John Day, though to a more limited extent than on the Columbia. Evidence indicates that spring and summer runs of Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), coho salmon (*O. kisutch*), steelhead trout (*O. mykiss*), and lamprey eels (*Lampetra tridentata*) occurred historically on the John Day River (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:7, 25). Evidence also indicates that the *Hunipuitika* and *Wadatika* bands of Northern Paiute may have made seasonal use of the John Day for fishing (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Accounts of Tenino subsistence indicate they placed less emphasis on salmon fishing in the area, potentially due to scheduling conflicts and the presence of productive fisheries downstream (Endzweig 1994:36). The limited or absent fall run, which would have been essential for winter storage, implies an unlikelihood that resources in the middle John Day supported large populations in the manner of the Columbia River (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:19, 25).

In addition to deer and antelope, bison seem to have been hunted in early times—the most commonly cited large game hunted in the area. Though the bunchgrass prairies of the northwest would not have sustained a large continuously present population of bison, researchers find historical references to bison in the Blue Mountain region, and bovine blood-protein residues on tools at archaeological sites on the Middle Fork John Day (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:17-18).

The John Day area was also a likely source of mineral resources for tribal peoples. Green paint found at excavations by McNary Reservoir Basin near Umatilla, Oregon is known to be derived from green tuffaceous sandstone. Large quantities of this material are found in John Day country (John Day Tuff) in the form of cliffs and talus (Osborne 1957:91). Ochre and clay were also obtained from sites near John Day (Endzweig (1994:27, 34). Among the Nez Perce, obsidian was the most valued material for creating chipped implements. To obtain the material, the tribe reportedly traveled to the John Day River, which is called “obsidian river” in their language (Spinden 1908:184).

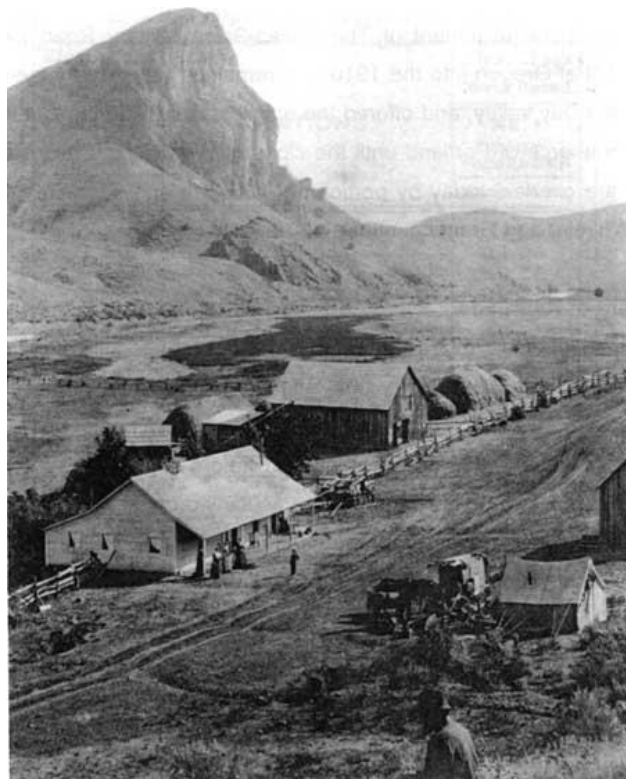


Warm Springs woman and a traditional lodge of vertical poles with cattail matting, hides and canvas. Photo courtesy NPS.

Several authors identify gathering, hunting, and fishing areas near the Clarno Unit, particularly used by the Tenino and Northern Paiute. Suphan writes that the John Day Tenino used the lower valley of the John Day River for hunting as far south as Clarno (1974:56-57), and that the Northern Paiute had fishing sites along the John Day River upstream from Clarno (1974:64-65). Hunn and French identify a site on the east side of the

John Day River above Clarno called *pláas̥plás̥s̥*, where the Tenino dug roots in the nineteenth century (Hunn and French 1998:379). Murdock identifies a site in the same general area, noting it is “an important site regularly visited by the John Day people in both spring and late summer, even during periods of hostilities with the Paiute, who disputed its possession and controlled the country farther south” (Murdock 1980:135).

On a map of former Warm Springs Indian territories and village locations that Verne Ray presented to the Indian Claims Commission, are a few other Tenino subsistence sites close to Clarno. For example, sources describe a Tenino hunting village, *Smz'ux*, on a bench west of the John Day River above present-day Clarno that was also used for gathering chokecherries. In addition, tribal peoples reportedly used the village *Káts̥mtunzka'was*, located at the mouth of Pine Creek, for hunting and for gathering chokecherries. Finally, the Tenino had a village called *Pl̥'cpl̥cpa* on Pine Creek, near Cove Creek, where they dug roots and hunted deer, according to sources. This last site was also where the Tenino acquired white clay for household and industrial use (Suphan 1974a:Petitioner's Exhibit 403 ; Endzweig 1994:34).



Burnt Ranch, ca. 1890, stage stop on The Dalles-Boise Military Road, on the southern bank of the John Day River. Photo courtesy NPS.

According to sources, Shaniko, just northwest of Clarno, is a noted root-gathering area for both the Tenino and Northern Paiute. Indeed, the Northern Paiute root subsistence areas

were located principally at Shaniko, extending to Canyon City (Endzweig 1994:30; Murdock 1938:398; Suphan 1974a:65). Murdock identifies two major sites west of the John Day River on a line between Butte Creek and Shaniko, describing the first as an “important site visited by the John Day people in May to tap the abundant root resources of the region.” The second is the “most important of a number of sites in the Shaniko region visited by the Tygh, Wayam, and Dalles Tenino in May and June to gather roots and hunt antelope and mule deer” (Murdock 1980:135).

Researchers have recorded a number of other subsistence areas associated with different tribes near or potentially within the Sheep Rock Unit. For example, Hunn et al. identify a village used by the Umatilla and Cayuse within the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA along the John Day River, close to its confluence with Rock Creek (Hunn et al. 2014). This village was by prime elk hunting grounds (See NP687 on Sahaptin Place names and Traditional Sites in the Vicinity of JODA map) (Hunn et al. 2014:150-151). They locate a second hunting and fishing village in the vicinity of the Foree Area of the Sheep Rock Unit, the John Day River roughly halfway between Rock Creek and the present-day town of Kimberly (See NP688 on Sahaptin Place names and Traditional Sites in the Vicinity of JODA map) (Hunn et al. 2014:150). Several miles north of the Sheep Rock Unit of JODA, the Cayuse, Umatilla and other tribes reportedly gathered at a site near the confluence of the main and north forks of the John Day River at the modern town of Kimberly. According to sources, tribal peoples used this seasonal campsite known as *Pláasiyi*, a Sahaptin word referencing the alkali banks along the John Day River, as a base for collecting roots, fishing for salmon and other small fish, and hunting (See Sahaptin Place names and Traditional Sites in the Vicinity of JODA map) (Hunn et al. 2014:151). Another site, *Xúlxuli*, which translates to “has small fish/trout,” was located just north of the mouth of the South Fork John Day River in the vicinity of Dayville. The John Day, Pine Creek, and some Umatilla used this spring camp to hunt, to fish for small fish, and to dig roots. The site was known to have camas and trout (Hunn et al. 2014:151; Hunn and French 1998:379).

The Tenino are also described as traveling to Monument (*mánmant* or *mánmint*), located approximately 15-20 miles northeast of the Sheep Rock Unit, to obtain lampreys during their spawning run (Hunn 1990:123, 127; Hunn and French 1998:379). And Hunn provides an account of James Selam’s family traveling to Monument, Oregon to obtain (Hunn 1990:123, 127). South of Monument and midway between the mouths of the North and South Forks of the John Day River, the Tenino also reportedly had a camas subsistence area at *imáayi* (Hunn and French 1998:379).

Evidence suggests the Northern Paiute also used the area by Sheep Rock. Describing the area utilized by Northern Paiute bands, Blyth writes that the *Hunipuitika* had hunting grounds “at least as far west as Dayville,” directly southeast of the Sheep Rock Unit (Blyth 1938:403). Another account of Northern Paiute hunting grounds mentions the area along the John Day River and at Canyon City, which was also southeast of the Sheep Rock Unit (Suphan 1974a:65; Endzweig 1994:30).

Finally, Butchard notes that camas, a highly significant plant food for Plateau peoples, was available in “one of the largest, and possibly most productive, Blue Mountain meadows...

located in the Ochoco Mountains near Painted Hills” (Butchard 1998:27). Endzweig writes that John Day Tenino who utilized sites on Cherry Creek, the John Day River, and Bridge Creek just north of the Painted Hills Unit had access to chokecherries, game, and roots (Endzweig 1994:27). Furthermore, the Tenino obtained red ochre at the Bridge Creek site (Endzweig (1994:27). Additionally, the Northern Paiute are known to have hunted in the vicinity of the Painted Hills Unit. Finally, one account of Northern Paiute hunting grounds includes Prineville, southwest of Painted Hills (Suphan 1974a:65 ; Endzweig 1994:30).

Contact and Change in the John Day Region

Beginning in the early eighteenth century, traditional lifeways in the Columbia Plateau shifted in profound ways. For example, horses were introduced into the area after 1730, impacting traditional trading patterns and cross-cultural engagement between regional groups. And roughly fifty years later, ca. 1780, the first recorded smallpox epidemic struck the region, significantly impacting Indigenous populations. This was followed by a second smallpox epidemic in 1801 and multiple other epidemics in the 19th century, further decimating Native populations throughout the Plateau (Hunn and French 1998:389). Hunn emphasizes that these changes and others disrupted patterns established over millennia:

“Archaeologists find abundant evidence of human occupation in the Plateau through the past 10,000 years. Well-documented early sites include Wakemap mound, at the site of the easternmost Chinookan village of Nixluidix, and Windust and Marmes rock shelters on the lower Snake and Palouse rivers. Evidence from these and other sites suggests that for the peoples of the Plateau, key resources—salmon, roots, fruits, and deer—were always important, though in varying proportions as climate and technologies changed. The stability of Plateau cultural ecological patterns was only altered—and radially so—by the spread of Spanish horses from the Southwest (after about 1730) and later by the importation of guns from the expanding fur-trading frontier in the Plains and by the spread of smallpox and other Old World epidemic diseases (after about 1775)” (Hunn 1990:14).

In 1805 and 1806, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Corps of Discovery traveled through Oregon territory recording some of the first written accounts of Indigenous groups east of the Cascade Mountains near the Columbia River and in the Plateau (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Hunn 1990; Moulton 1988:294-296, 301-311, 329-351; Moulton 1990:455, 468-469; Moulton 1991:341). Their journals include accounts of Native communities ancestral to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (CTWS) and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), representing some of the earliest contacts between EuroAmericans and John Day regional tribes. It is from this period that some of our earliest written accounts of the area emerge.

On their westward travel down the Columbia River in October of 1805, the expedition passed the mouth of the John Day River. In honor of company member Jean Baptiste Lepage, they named it Lepage’s River, noting settlements nearby:

“Near this little river [now known as the John Day] and immediately below it, we had to encounter a new rapid.... At the end of this rapid are four huts of Indians on the right, and two miles below five more huts on the same side....

“The inhabitants of these huts explained to us that they were the relations of those who live at the Great Falls” (Coues 1893:655).

Notably, though these communities were connected in various ways to the John Day study area, they were centered on the Columbia River. In the course of their expedition, the Corps of Discovery did not explore the John Day region further.

Yet Lewis and Clark’s journals contain observations of Indigenous life within the broader region, including detailed if often superficial accounts of cultural practices, relationships, and material culture. The journals focus attention on fishing practices, the locations of villages, diseases, relations between groups including warfare, and on many other topics. Though not directly related to the JODA study area, the accounts remain regionally salient. Some portion of their observations are referenced throughout this report.

The sections below address prominent changes of the post-contact era. Later iterations of this document will elaborate them further. The aim of our present discussion is to expound on how contact-period events affected Native societies in the region, in turn affecting tribal use and visitation of the study area in what is today John Day Fossil Beds.

Introduction of Horses to the Plateau

Horses arrived in the Plateau region from the south around 1730. This new mode of transportation enhanced the mobility of Plateau and Basin peoples, allowing them to travel further and faster, transporting larger loads than by foot. According to historical sources, resulting cultural shifts included expansion of subsistence ranges, greater trade, heightened contact between groups, adoption of Plains traits by the more eastern Plateau groups, and increased warfare between groups.

Horses that made their way to the Plateau originated from Spanish colonial settlements around Santa Fé, spreading northward on two chains toward the Plains and Pacific Northwest (Haines 1938:436.) This trade in horses began as early as 1630, progressing slowly until two developments in the late 1600s. According to Miller,

“The horse was introduced onto the Plateau about 1700, just as the climatic improvement [from the Little Ice Age] was at its peak. Although the animals were being traded northward from Spanish settlements by 1630, this early trade did not progress very far. Two separate developments combined to increase the northward flow. First, the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 put large numbers of horses into Indian hands for the first time. Second, the climatic amelioration, beginning in 1691, provided weather far more appropriate for horse breeding. This fortuitous combination of increased supply and improved conditions permitted the veritable northward flood of horses in the early eighteenth century” (Miller 2003:26).

Haines describes the horses’ route to the Plateau,

“There were two great lines by which the horses from Santa Fé were distributed to the north. One of these, well known for many years, was by way of the great plains. The other was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur D’Alene, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboine” (Haines 1938:436).

In the Columbia River Plateau, the environment and existing cultural practices reportedly eased the adoption and expansion of horses by local groups. The Plateau contained excellent food sources for horses with abundant bunchgrass, areas that stayed relatively free of snow, and valleys warm enough in winter for grass to stay relatively green (Anastasio 1975:127). In fact, horses thrived so well that some scholars believe the horse was a major factor in the extinction of bison in the Columbia Basin, conjecturing that the horse was a direct foraging competitor of the bison, and that horses improved the efficiency of bison hunters (Laliberte and Ripple 2003:1001).

Use of the horse also fit with Plateau groups’ existing mobile lifeways. According to Hunn, “The horse was adopted as if the Indians had long awaited its coming. They had always been mobile people. ...The horse was mobility epitomized. It did not radically change Plateau life so much as it accelerated existing patterns by enhancing this mobility” (Hunn 1990:24). In addition, horses reportedly filled the role of pack animal previously held by dogs (CTUIR 2016). In the Sahaptin language, horse is *kúsi*, and dog is *kúsi- kúsi* “little horse” (Hunn 1990:26). Nez Percé and Cayuse terms can be translated as big dog, *sikim* and *tuunap* respectively (Conner and Lang 2006:30-31). Hunn suggests horses and dogs were thought to be similar due to their comparable cultural roles—both being more nearly human than wild animals as they lived with humans as pets, helped humans with labor, and were considered inedible by most Plateau peoples (Hunn 1990:26).

Less than one hundred years later, EuroAmericans at contact observed plentiful horses among Plateau groups. Lewis and Clark noted horses along the Snake and Columbia Rivers all the way to the edges of forest roughly twenty-five miles downstream from Wasco-Wishram territory (French 1961:358; Hunn 1990:23). As reported by French, horses likely did not spread further west due to heavy vegetation and reliance on river transportation by groups living westward (French 1961:358). As Grafe and Moorhouse explain, historical observations describe thousands of well-bred horses in the Columbia Plateau,

“The historic record contains a litany of comments praising the sizes and quality of regional herds. During the spring of 1806, Meriwether Lewis noted that the herds he saw in Umatilla territory were ‘as fat as seals.’ ...Oregon Trail emigrants descending the western flank of the Blue Mountains four decades later noted that the large

herds of Indian ponies they encountered there were among the finest they had ever seen. Describing the participants in the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Council, Lawrence Kip stated: 'Each of the tribes now here possesses large numbers of horses, so that wherever they are, the prairies are covered with these animals, roaming at large till they are wanted by their masters'" (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7-8).

Similarly, Laliberte and Ripple describe the abundance of horses among Columbia Basin groups at contact:

"Many Columbia Basin tribes were rich in horses, and the Nez Percé were well-known horse breeders and owned large numbers of horses (Haines 1955). Sergeant Gass commented on 25 April 1806 that the Walla Walla tribe had 'a great many horses,' and on 9 May 1806 he stated, 'Between the great falls of the Columbia and this place [Camp Chopunnish in Idaho], we saw more horses, than I ever before saw in the same space of country' (Moulton 1986-1996, vol.10, p.221). Estimates of the number of horses per person for the Nez Percé, Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla tribes have been estimated to range from 4.3 to 11.7 (data from 1874). Many tribes, however, acquired their maximum number of horses between 1800 and 1825 (Ewers 1955)" (Laliberte and Ripple 2003:1001-1002).

Anastasio provides some numbers for the eastern groups, again demonstrating the magnitude of horse ownership in the 19th century:

"In 1805, 50-100 horses per individual was not unusual (Lewis and Clark 1905, Vol. 5:31). In 1840, some Nez Percé had 500-600 horses (De Smet 1905, Vol. 3:991). In 1841, a Cayuse chief had over 1000 horses (Wilkes 1855, Vol. 4:395). In 1846, among the Nez Percé and Cayuse even 'private families' had as many as 1500 horses (De Smet 1905, Vol. 2:480). In 1853, a Wallawalla chief owned over 2000 horses (Stevens 1855, Vol. 12:153). Such figures suggest that reports of herds of thousands of horses, 'vast numbers,' and 'immense herds' are not exaggerated. The Umatilla may fit this description but there is little data" (Anastasio 1975:129).

With the horse, the eastern groups of this study (Nez Percé, Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla) reportedly adopted horse pastoralism, raising large surpluses of horses and participating in bison hunting (Anastasio 1975:141; Fisher 2003:33-34). Other groups in this study situated along the Columbia (the Tenino and Wasco-Wishram) used and traded horses, but otherwise continued semi-sedentary subsistence practices (Anastasio 1975:129; Hunn 1982; French 1961:344). It seems the Northern Paiute acquired horses later. Stewart notes the Northern Paiute were organized into small bands and were "peaceful almost completely without horses or firearms before 1850" (Stewart 1939:127). Yet neighbors with horses likely gained an advantage over them, perhaps explaining the southward push of the Northern Paiute by the Tenino in the 1800s (Toepel et al. 1980:73). Furthermore, the lack of horses among the Northern Paiute suggests that the so-called "rattlesnake people" that drove Columbia River groups to the north shore or islands for safety (as observed by Lewis and Clark) were not the Northern Paiute (Hunn 1990:24).

These tribal people were likely the Bannocks and/or the Shoshones who owned horses, hunted bison, and according to one description, adopted “a wide-ranging predatory life style” at an early date (Hunn 1990:24).

According to sources, the mobility afforded by the horse accelerated and expanded both the distance of and amount of goods for seasonal rounds and trade networks. As Fisher explains,

“Though less important to River People, who tended to remain more sedentary than their interior neighbors, the *kiisi* (literally, ‘dog’) became a standard of wealth and greatly expanded the range of the seasonal round. Families could now travel further, move faster, and carry heavier loads. Horses also introduced new items into the regional diet and culture. The Nez Percés and Cayuses—accomplished horse breeders in their own right—joined Umatillas, Walla Wallas, and Yakamas in buffalo hunting expeditions on the northern Great Plains. Some Columbia River Sahaptins may have participated in these task groups, but the usual abundance of salmon made such trips unnecessary. Most river Indians preferred to trade for bison skins and the Plains-style regalia that Plateau Natives increasingly favored as clothing and adornment” (Fisher 2003:33-34).

Shifts in subsistence practices apparently included increased amounts of meat from hunting and changes to hunting locations to accommodate horses: “Horses permitted hunters to penetrate farther into the mountains after game and to bring back larger loads of meat, [thus] the fall hunts acquired added importance. Horses also changed the locations of fall hunting camps from the high, rocky slopes to sites nearer the alpine meadows where grazing was available” (Miller 2003:27). Yet Hunn points out that alongside the shifts or changes was a certain consistency:

“Though the local adoption of the horse after 1750 no doubt heightened mobility, its major effects seem to have been more social than economic, stimulating the adoption of Plains features of dress, housing, and military organization (Ray 1939:13). Bison hunting expeditions and mutual raiding between Plateau and Great Basin peoples are most likely post-horse phenomena, yet the basic Plateau subsistence round was probably little affected by these innovations” (Hunn 1982:23, 25).

For the most part, Plateau groups continued their traditional subsistence practices, though they now had the ability to travel farther and to pack more goods on horses, sources state. The extended passage below describes the horse’s impact on CTUIR subsistence practices:

“Tribal elders tell us that in those days the Indians had thousands and thousands of horses and that they needed areas for them to graze. There wasn’t enough grazing area so they had to spread the horses out. The Cayuse used to graze horses all through the Umatilla Basin, across the Columbia River on the Horse Heaven Hills all the way to Hanford to the north, on the east side of the Blue Mountains from the

Grande Ronde country all the way to Huntington, to the John Day River country in the South and all the way to the Cascades in the west.

“The horse expanded Shahaptian and Cayuse culture, improved mobility and brought the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla into contact with other Indian cultures in Montana, Wyoming, Canada, California, Nevada, and throughout the Pacific Northwest. Horses increased the Tribes mobility allowing members to travel further, faster. Horses allowed for new ideas to be introduced from new places as well as allowing other Indians to travel and trade along the Columbia River.

“While on the extended seasonal round, Indians would hunt elk, deer, and gather plant foods. Instead of packing resources themselves or by dog they would now dry meat and plants and pack them onto horses and move on to the next destination. They would go down to the river to trade and fish. If there was a surplus of food supplies and/or horses procured during the seasonal round the surplus would be used for trading to obtain desirable resources” (CTUIR 2016).

Boyd explains further how the horse boosted traditional subsistence:

“In the realm of subsistence, there are indications that the addition of the horse to the hunt led to the overexploitation and local extinction of some forms of large game (Cox 1957:258). Conversely, however, it also permitted wider-ranging (and thereby broader-based) foraging, which produced a more efficient utilization of the various wild foods of the Plateau’s many microniches, and therefore increased the ‘reliability’ of the food base for given populations. The adoption of the horse on the Plateau was, in essence, a technological advance which increased carrying capacity and created conditions favorable to population increase” (Boyd 1985:332-333).

According to sources, travel by horse provided the opportunity to carry more goods to and from trading locations and expedited the process through faster travel (French 1961:341; Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:7-8). New trade goods also entered the exchange networks. These included the horses themselves, as well as buffalo meat and robes (Miller 2003:27-28), and items from further away previously present only in limited quantities, such as catlinite, turquoise, olivella shells, abalone, and dentalia shells (Walker 1969:248-249).

As alluded to above, transportation by horse apparently allowed Columbia Plateau people to travel farther, thus heightening contact between groups. As is often the case, this interaction resulted in the sharing of cultural practices and technologies. In particular, the interaction with Plains groups by the Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla led to their adoption of Plains cultural traits and goods:

“The earliest sign of white contact came in the form of the horse which was acquired by the Nez Percé and Cayuse after A.D. 1730 (Haines 1938). The use of the horse no doubt spread quickly to the Umatilla who were eager to follow the lead of the powerful Nez Percé in acquiring the trappings of Plains culture. The Umatilla soon adopted Plains clothing, joined bison expeditions to the Plains, and placed a greater emphasis on warfare and fighting” (Toepel et al. 1980:61).

Through trade, these traits and goods were reportedly disseminated to the west to groups like the Wasco-Wishram:

“In exchange for preserved fish and trade goods, such as beads, the Wasco-Wishram received skin clothing, buffalo robes, and horses from these more distant Sahaptins. Since some of them visited the Plains for buffalo hunting and trade, and others were in contact with those who made such visits, certain types of goods reaching the Wasco-Wishram had crossed the Rocky Mountains (Lee and Frost 1844: 163). During this period and thereafter Plains Indian cultural complexes were slowly disseminated to the Wasco-Wishram, especially by the Nez Percé (cf. Gunther 1950: especially pp. 177-78)” (French 1961:347).

Increased contact between regional groups expanded social networks, likely boosting the overall economy of the region and thus providing opportunities for population growth. According to Boyd:

“Intertribal contacts certainly increased. The multiethnic convocations at favored camas plains and other resource areas noted by many early explorers (c.f. Hunn 1982) must have become more important. The horse facilitated migration to areas outside of the Plateau itself; the annual Plains bison hunt and hunting incursions into the Willamette Valley and points south were post-horse phenomena. Long distance trade became easier. On the whole, the adoption of the horse increased the geographic breadth of Plateau social networks, improved chances for migration and exchange in times of need (on the model of similar mechanisms on the coast, Suttles 1960), and facilitated the support of a larger regional population than would have otherwise been possible” (Boyd 1985:333).

Yet increased mobility provided by the horse also enabled greater opportunities for raids and warfare, according to sources—though historical accounts of these practices reflect settler biases. According to sources, this development reshaped aspects of subsistence strategies, intergroup relations, and tribal distributions. Fisher explains,

“The same horses that transported hunters east of the Rockies carried Plateau raiders and warriors deep into enemy territory. Mounted parties of Klickitats, Columbia River Sahaptins, and Wasco-Wishrams captured or purchased slaves from Native groups in southern Oregon and northern California to exchange with Chinookan peoples at The Dalles...[M]id-Columbia Indians suffered escalating attacks from mounted Shoshones-Bannocks to the south and southeast.... Even enemies occasionally came to trade, however, and periodic hostilities did not overturn the norm of peaceful relations between villages” (Fisher 2003:34).

Aside from experiencing increases in raids for slaves, Plateau peoples were raided for their abundant fresh and preserved foods, sources state (Conner and Lang 2006:32). To protect themselves from raids, some groups reportedly migrated northward to more secure

locations, such as to the north shore of the Columbia or to islands in the river. Beckham and Lentz postulate how mounted warfare affected the distribution of peoples in the John Day and Deschutes River areas:

“The earliest episodes of contact with Euro-Americans confirm a pre contact dynamic which, for a time, altered the tribal distribution in the watersheds of the John Day and Deschutes rivers. Horses were the probable decisive factor. The acquisition of horses in the eighteenth century by the Northern Paiute, Bannock, Shoshone, gave them a remarkable mobility and advantage over the Sahaptins to the north who did not have horses or who, at best, had small herds. In 1805, the Lewis and Clark Expedition found most villages along the Oregon shore of the Columbia River west of the Snake confluence abandoned. The raids of warriors on horseback from the Great Basin had literally driven the Sahaptins onto the islands or to the more defensible villages on the north shore of the Columbia” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

According to sources, the power differences between groups with horses and those without, the mobility of the horse, and the adoption of Plains style warfare altered inter-group dynamics. Equestrian warfare and raids were carried out faster and with greater force (Lozar 2013:16-17). Raids could be made on peoples farther away, as Fisher described above. Hunn describes why horses provided an impetus for increasing violence over previously peaceful relations:

“There is reason to doubt that this ‘pacifism’ (of Plateau peoples) was a matter of cultural values (cf. Kent 1980). More likely Plateau peoples maintained large peaceful intervillage relations because intermarriage and trade were more effective ways of gaining access to mates and useful supplies and of extending one’s political influence than violence pursued on foot over large distances. The horse seems to have tipped the scales in favor of violence in many cases” (Hunn 1990:24).

Miller suggests that with increased contact and warfare, groups became more unified and consolidated—more connected to one another as horses expanded their resource use territories and reduced travel time, thereby shortening the perceived distance between groups and accelerating communication (Miller 2003:37-38). This is similar to Boyd’s inference regarding expanded social networks. The increased warfare and raiding after the introduction of the horse would have necessitated a unified front for defense. Also, beginning perhaps as early as the late 18th century and continuing through the 19th, epidemic diseases had disastrous effects on many tribal communities, prompting survivors to relocate and regroup in consolidated settlements and communities (Boyd 1985, 1999b). In turn, these communities would experience additional rounds of displacement and consolidation into the era of treaties and reservation building—themes addressed in the pages ahead.

The Fur Trade

By the late 1700s, the global commercial fur trade arrived in the Pacific Northwest region, albeit tentatively and mostly along the ocean coast. Ships visited the mouth of the Columbia and the coast to trade with tribes of the area, principally trading manufactured goods for furs of sea otter, beaver, and occasionally other furbearing species (Connor and Lang 2006). To the north of the study area, “as early as 1789 the Northwest Company...gradually expanded its fur-trading network westward through what is now British Columbia” (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Using existing trade routes, goods from the north and the coast were dispersed throughout the region before the traders themselves reached the interior. Beginning with the founding of Astoria in 1811, and continuing through the decades that followed, both the United States and Britain established land-based fur trading posts in the Pacific Northwest. The interior Northwest, including lands in the vicinity of JODA, eventually became an area of operations for the Hudson’s Bay Company, where HBC traders sought beaver and other furbearing species—sometimes hunting and trapping these species, but very often trading with Native communities to obtain these pelts. According to sources, tribal groups associated with JODA participated in this fur trade in a variety of ways, finding new economic opportunities and goods, exposure to new technologies, worldviews, and diseases, and experiencing gradually rising pressures to conform to EuroAmerican expectations.

As Conner and Lang explain, groups in the study area first encountered the fur trade indirectly, through European goods originating from the maritime fur trade. These goods were passed through existing trade networks:

“The first European goods that Plateau Indians saw likely came up the Columbia River from the Chinook, Clatsop, Cowlitz, and other trading groups on the lower river. The trade network brought the world beyond the Columbia to Plateau Indians, with goods from northern people on Vancouver Island and up to Alaska; Plateau and Great Basin people in Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah; plus a wide range of European manufactured trade items from maritime ports on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The center of regional trade distribution in the Columbia Basin country was downriver at Celilo Falls, one of the great fishing places in North America. Each year, when salmon course up the river by the millions, thousands of people gathered at the Great Falls on the Columbia, where trading flourished. Lower Chinook People traded wapato and other foods from the lower Columbia, trade items from northern people along the Pacific Coast, and European manufactured goods acquired from maritime traders” (Conner and Lang 2006:33-34).

Just five years after Lewis and Clark’s visit, the floodgates of change opened further with the entry of fur traders, intent on establishing land-based operations in the area. Soon fur-trade establishments were reportedly present in the wider region surrounding JODA. For example, in 1810, American John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company set out overland to establish Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811 (French 1961:350-351). David

Thompson of the North West Company reportedly crossed through Tenino, Northern Paiute, and neighboring territories to develop a fur trade network in the region, also in 1811 (Hunn and French 1998:389). And the North West Company later established Fort Nez Perce in 1818 to the east of the study area (Phinney and Karson 2007). Finally, “Following the merger of the Northwest Company with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821, headquarters for operations on the lower Columbia were shifted to Fort Vancouver” in 1824, to the west of JODA (French 1961:350-351). In 1825, EuroAmericans moved deeper into Oregon’s interior, at which time the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) began to explore the John Day River Basin trading furs (Hunn and French 1998:389). Fur traders would operate in the region into the 1850s.

For a generation or more, land-based fur trade came to define interethnic exchanges throughout the John Day region. As David French noted,

“In the thirty years following the Lewis and Clark visit, practically all of the contacts with Whites were with travelers connected in one way or another with the fur trade. The first permanent trading post in the region was Astoria, founded in 1811 at the mouth of the Columbia by Astor’s Pacific Fur Company. It was soon sold to the Northwest Company, which also maintained a number of other posts far up the river (Johansen and Gates 1957: 122-41). Following the merger of the Northwest Company with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821, headquarters for operations on the lower Columbia were shifted to Fort Vancouver, just north of the present city of Portland (*ibid.*: 143-54). This brought a major trading post within visiting distance for the Wasco-Wishram (Hines 1885: 150). A short-lived trading post was established by an American in the Dalles area in the late 1820’s (Wyeth 1899: 175). In the early sources, ‘the Dalles’ means the rapids above the modern city of The Dalles” (French 1961:350-351).

Indeed, even the name of the John Day region originates from this early fur-trade period. American John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company established the first trading post in the region at the mouth of the Columbia River. To do so, Astor sent an overland party to the Pacific Northwest in 1810 (Beckham and Lentz 2000), which was led by Wilson Price Hunt and included a trapper named John Day (Mosgrove 1980:42). Because of an event at the mouth of the river, the John Day River is named for this trapper: in the winter of 1811-1812, John Day and Ramsay Crooks separated from their party as Day became ill. Day recovered, and in the spring, Day and Crooks made their way down the Columbia River to its confluence with the John Day River (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Here, they encountered a village of Native Americans where they were reportedly robbed of their possessions and forced out of the village (*Daily East Oregonian* 1905:6). Soon afterward, another party of Astorians rescued Day and Crooks, and Day continued to work in the fur trade until his death in 1819/1820 at the Snake River watershed (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Fort Nez Percé

Within our study area, the local fur trade was established by the Northwest Company in 1818 at Fort Nez Percé (Walla Walla)—the fort to be called Fort Walla Walla after the merger of the Northwest Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821 (Minthorn 2006:62). This fort, built at the confluence of the Walla Walla and Columbia Rivers, was accessible to the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, Palouse, and Nez Percé (Conner and Lang 2006:44).

Sources indicate that local tribes spoke with EuroAmericans a number of times regarding the prospect of a fur-trade station in their region, starting with Lewis and Clark. This was followed by communications with David Thompson of the Northwest Company in 1811, and Alexander Ross with the Pacific Fur Company two months later (Conner and Lang 2006:43). According to Ruby and Brown, tribes also dispatched representatives to engage fur traders in the maritime Northwest to express interest in the trade. Simultaneously, however, some tribal communities took exception to fur-trading efforts. As recounted by Ruby and Brown,

“On January 21, 1814, a party of Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and others visited Fort George (formerly Fort Astoria), asking its traders to come to their lands, where they said there were many beaver. They made no request, however, for the traders to hunt anything else. In fact the Cayuses and neighboring tribesmen had come to the North West Company’s post via the Willamette River, where they had given a company hunter to understand that they wanted no white men and their guns on these ancestral hunting grounds, driving the deer away and making them so wild that they could not be killed with bow and arrow” (Ruby and Brown 2005:31-32).

As mentioned, Donald McKenzie established Fort Nez Percé in 1818, a post of the Northwest Company (Curtis 1911:6). With this fort, a number of cultural shifts occurred:

“This trading structure [Fort Nez Percé] represented the first permanent change to local tribal culture. Scotch-Irish, Metís, and Algonquin intermarriage commenced locally. Regular trade at the fort yielded wool, flannel, calico, tobacco twists, tea bricks, sugar cones, mouth harps, thimbles, beads, nails, metal cups and kettles, guns, ball and powder, dice, needles, and hats in exchange for otter and beaver pelts. This also instigated the challenge to one of the tenets of traditional law—never take more than you need” (Conner and Lang 2006:46).

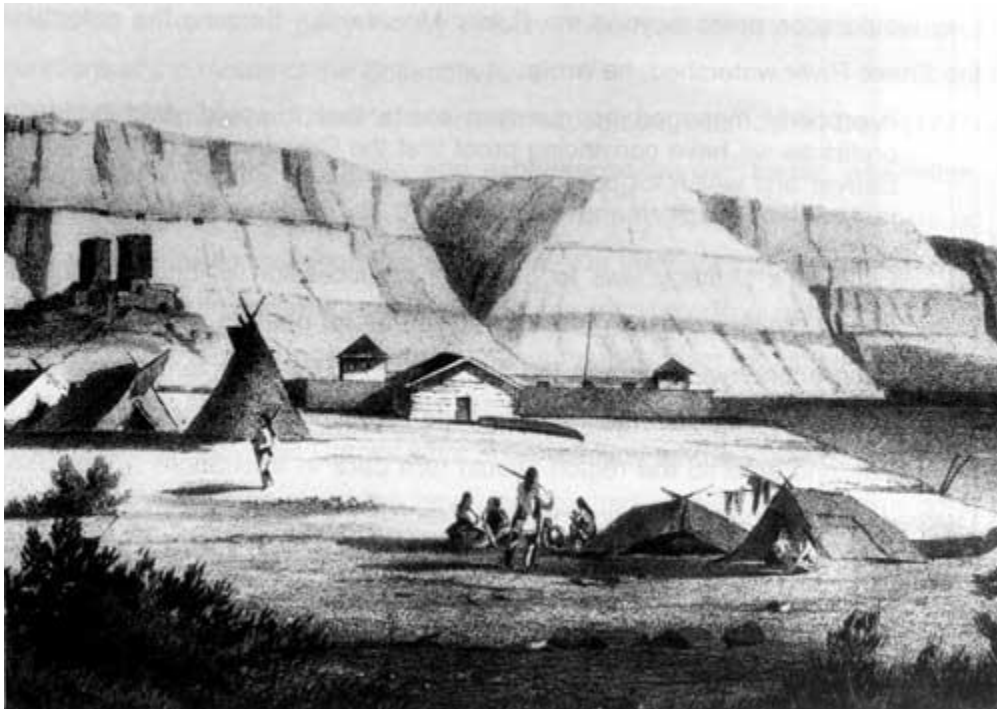
Fort Nez Percé’s importance to the fur trade system was enhanced by its ready access to horses and its position along transportation routes connecting fur-rich areas of the Northwestern interior. The fort was part of the HBC’s Columbia Department, which, as Hunn points out, never produced an abundance of furs due to a combination of relatively unsuitable habitats for prime species, the tribes of the area having relatively little interest in trapping furs for trade, and Native diets of the region involving a species mix and timing constraints inconsistent with a trapping lifestyle (Hunn 1990:36). Still, the location of Fort Nez Percé was important for transportation of furs from other areas:

“The Plateau was nevertheless strategically located for fur extraction from the highly productive New Caledonian (forest region of the headwaters of the Fraser, Yukon, and Peace rivers) and upper Snake River territories. Furs from New Caledonia could be shipped more economically via a short portage at Kamloops to the Okanogan and by that river to the Columbia, down the Columbia to the sea and to market by ship, than overland to the east.

“... The Columbia was the main link in these commercial chains and Fort Nez Percé—established at the mouth of the Walla Walla River by Donald Mackenzie in July 1818—eventually became the nerve center of the entire inland operation, located as it was at the strategic junction of the Snake and Columbia-Fraser shipping routes” (Hunn 1990:36).

Tribes near the fort also provided horses to the fur traders (Hunn 1990:36). Those peoples with the most frequent dealings with Fort Nez Percé were successful horse breeders and maintained large herds. Conner and Lang state, “HBC traders did a steady business with Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Nez Percé, who brought furs and especially horses for trade. One trader commented that even though some Indians were ‘poor in furs, they trade Horses, and a good moderate Horse, will always cost a Large Blkt...” (Conner and Lang 2006:46-47).

According to Beckham and Lentz, the horses obtained and kept at Fort Nez Percé were vital for the operations of HBC, who in exchange provided trade goods to the local tribes:



Fort Nez Perce (Walla Walla) at the confluence of the Walla Walla and Columbia Rivers, 1855. Photo courtesy NPS.

“During the fur trade, the post was singularly significant as an administrative center for the great ‘horse farm’ operated by the Hudson’s Bay Company. Horses for the brigades were supplied from the herds at Fort Nez Percé. It also was an important depot for trade goods flowing into the lives of Native Americans who resided in the region” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

The local groups’ interest in, and valuing of, the fur trade can be evinced in part by their efforts to keep the fort in its current location after the merger of the North West Company and the HBC in 1821. The HBC wanted to move Fort Nez Percé north of the Columbia in case the future boundary between the U.S. and Britain was set at the Columbia River. “The Cayuse and the Walla Walla, however, complained loudly about the proposed relocation of the fort. At least in part, the company left the fort in its location because of their concerns” (Conner and Lang 2006:46). In 1846, with the passing of the U.S.-Canadian border treaty that set the border at the 49th parallel, the fort’s importance ended (Hunn 1990:37). Around 1855, the HBC abandoned the fort (NPS 2015).

Importantly, tribes in the study area participated in the fur trade in a way that did not involve the exchange of furs, sources state. Instead, some communities became involved in the trading of salmon. Fort Vancouver operated a salmon pickling operation for shipment to Hawaii, as Ruby and Brown explain: “... Indians took their salmon catches to company stations on the lower Columbia, such as the Cascade-Dalles area and Willamette Falls. After the fish were tallied, the native women received tickets to exchange at the close of the fishing season for cottons, calicoes, blankets, beads, ammunition, tobaccos, and other goods” (Ruby & Brown 1981:66). Individuals from the more western groups covered in this study, such as the Wasco and Wishram, also likely participated in the fur trade in this capacity, if not to a larger extent.

As will be discussed below, while fur traders exerted power over Native trading partners in furtherance of business goals, the balance of power was not completely tilted in their direction. For example, sources state the administrator of Fort Nez Percé, Pierre Pambrun, was twice beaten by local tribal leaders to coerce him to meet their demands. One incident reportedly concerned the extension of credit, and another the unfavorable British rate of return as compared to American prices (Conner and Lang 2006:48). Other Native people reportedly refused to participate in the fur trade, such as Cayuse and Flathead individuals, who according to Alexander Ross, “belittl[ed] fur trading as ‘only fit for women and slaves,’ while asserting their independence because ‘their horses procured them guns and ammunition; the buffaloes provided them with food and clothing; and war gave them renown” (cited in Ruby and Brown 2005:30). Additionally, Ruby and Brown note that the high prices Native people demanded for their horses, essential to the functions of the company, “hampered company operations in the interior” (Ruby and Brown 1981:124).

French theorizes that further to the west, reported harassment of fur traders at Wasco-Wishram portage was a purposeful power play—likely an attempt to establish an effective

tribute system and to force EuroAmericans to pay attention to tribal concerns. What French calls “the harassing behavior of the Indians” can according to French be viewed “as attempts to maintain or re-establish their position of importance” (French 1961:353). Thus, Native communities were not fully at the mercy of non-Native fur traders but held sway over their interactions in myriad ways.

Fur Traders’ Observations on the John Day River

In the 1820s and 1830s, the John Day Basin was a significant field of operations for the Hudson’s Bay Company fur brigades, composed of company trappers that set out to obtain furs and bring them back to fur-trade posts (NPS 1967:21). Especially as American interests attained the upper hand in the late 1830s and early 1840s, an additional goal was to create a “fur desert” in Oregon to discourage American trappers and undermine larger American claims to the territory (USFS n.d.b.). From 1824-1829, Peter Skene Ogden led “Snake Country” brigades in southern Oregon (Beckham and Lentz 2000; USFS n.d.b.). Traveling along the main John Day River and South Fork, he recorded the first written descriptions of the basin.

Ogden’s notes record the presence of “Snake Indians,” likely Northern Paiute, along the John Day River in the 1820s. On January 14, 1826, traveling along the John Day River south of present Dayville, Ogden observed Northern Paiute lodges as well as evidence that previous inhabitants had hunted beaver for the fur trade (Beckham and Lentz 2000). He wrote:

“We started early our course W and by N for three miles and then North 6 miles along the main Branch of Deys River a fine large Stream...from appearances Deys River must have been well stocked in Beaver—but all along our route this day we found Snake Huts not long since abandoned and from appearances have been killing Beaver from their want of Traps they destroy not many but the remainder become so shy that it is very difficult to take them” (Rich and Johnson 1950:114).

On a later trip in 1829, Ogden recorded Northern Paiute salmon fishing on the John Day near Picture Gorge. Beckham and Lentz describe this event:

“Peter Skene Ogden led Hudson’s Bay Company employees through the upper John Day watershed a second time in early July, 1829. ... Continuing downriver the next day, apparently having bypassed Picture Gorge, Ogden’s party found a Northern Paiute camp ‘of fifty men with their families all busily employed with their salmon fisheries.’ In short order he bartered for fish and obtained two hundred salmon” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

A few years later in 1831, John Work took over the HBC Snake Country brigades (Conner and Lang 2006:47-48); in July of that year, he described Northern Paiute salmon fishing on

the John Day River near Dayville using a weir (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Assessing the situation from his outside perspective, he wrote:

“...we stopped near a camp of Snake Indians who have the river barred for the purpose of catching salmon. We, with difficulty, obtained a few salmon from them, perhaps enough to give all hands a meal. They are taking very few salmon, and are complaining of being hungry themselves. No roots can be obtained from them, but some of the men traded two or three dogs, but even the few of these animals they have are very lean, a sure sign of a scarcity of food among Indians. We found two horses with these people who were stolen from the men I left on Snake River in September last. They gave up the horses without hesitation, and said they had received them from another band that are in the mountains with some more horses which were stolen at the same time...” (In Elliott 1910:311-312).

The next year, Work observed Northern Paiute fishing along the forks of the John Day, as well as beaver trapping. His three passages from July of 1832 are as follows:

“Monday [July] 9 [1832] ...Raised camp and proceeded down the little fork which is now become pretty large three and three-fourths hours, eleven miles W.S.W.... We found a family of mountain Snakes, three men and their wives and six children, and had a few fresh salmon from them and two beaver. They spear the salmon along the river. Some of the men out with the traps. There has been a chance of beaver but the Indians have traps and have been taking them. The people can give us no information, we cannot understand them” (Work et al. 1923:171).

“Tuesday [July] 10 [1832] ...Owing to the bad weather it was near noon when we raised camp and proceeded down the river three and one-half hours, ten miles W. The river becoming larger as we advanced, but no beaver, tho’ in some places it appears well adapted for them. The road through woods and small plains and pretty good though hilly and stony in places. Passes three more families of Indians, only the women and children were in the huts, the men were off hunting. The people traded a few roots from them” (Work et al. 1923:171-172).

“Monday [July] 16 [1832] ...Did not raise camp, in order to send five men to the southern fork, where the Snakes have a Wear, to see if they could get any information of Soteaux. They returned in the afternoon; they found the Wear a day’s journey nearer than it was last year. No intelligence whatever of Soteaux. Two of the Indians came to the camp in the evening. They are taking no salmon now” (Work et al. 1923:173).

These fur-trader observations provide evidence of Northern Paiute utilizing the region near the Sheep Rock Unit for salmon fisheries, and for acquiring beaver for trade. The Snake Country brigades ended in 1832 when Work informed McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Columbia Department, that fur-bearing animals were too scarce in the Snake region to justify future expeditions (Conner and Lang 2006:47-48). Their goal of creating a veritable “fur desert” in the John Day Basin and beyond had been achieved.

Outcomes of the Fur Trade

The fur trade brought myriad changes to Native American lives, a few of which will be explored here. On one hand, fur trade companies presented another potential trading partner, offering new technologies along with supplies of European goods. Furthermore, through interactions with fur traders, including through intermarriage, Native communities were exposed to worldviews and concepts from a rapidly expanding range of cultural traditions. Finally, fur traders exerted pressure on Native American trading partners to act in ways beneficial to the fur trade, presaging further cultural pressures that would come with EuroAmerican settlement.

If maritime fur traders of the late 18th century had introduced a few European goods to the region, land-based fur traders flooded the region with new materials. By the early 19th century, thousands of trade articles, such as tools, guns, metal, cloth, and glass flowed through Native trade systems even before EuroAmericans set foot in the Plateau region (Conner and Lang 2006:34). These goods reportedly caused shifts in trade patterns and economy. As Conner and Lang write:

“Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla people had traded at Celilo for as long as people could remember, but the introduction of European trade goods subtly altered trade patterns. Trade in new materials—metal, glass, wool—became very desirable. Over time, the acquisition of goods that brought new wealth or enhanced life changed the economy among Plateau people in terms of content, quantity, quality, and price” (Conner and Lang 2006:35).

Among the more pivotal European technologies made available by fur traders were guns. Guns provided not only a new way of hunting, but according to sources, quickly amplified existing intertribal conflicts and fomented new conflicts. As Hunn explains, “As each group acquired guns from the fur traders, they put them to use to press their newfound advantage over their unarmed western neighbors. The latter in turn were forced to obtain guns for themselves, for defense on their eastern flank and for offense on their western borders” (Hunn 1990:25). Access to introduced goods provided Native communities with ample incentive to participate in the fur trade, but rising imbalances in access to guns and other introduced goods reportedly made participation even more urgent. During this period, fur traders also increasingly exerted pressures on tribes to reorganize their economies and seasonal activities to accommodate their needs. As Conner and Lang explain,

“Early fur traders in the region had little desire to transform the Indians in the direction of agricultural pursuits (such as farming or gardening), English education, or conversion to Christianity. The fur traders’ objective was to stockpile furs trapped and traded by Indians, an inexpensive source of production.... Inducements and incentives to engage favorable tribal leaders to promote business with the

traders would be necessary, since the Indians had not previously been in the habit of taking animals just for their hides or taking more than was needed for their own subsistence and trade practices. Leaders who served the purposes of the Pacific Fur Company would receive gifts and honors, and those whose actions were counter to the fur traders' desires were penalized. Because these white men and their Métis, French, and Algonquin recruits did not bring women with them to the Northwest, another way to make inroads to the local culture was through intermarriage. Fur traders also induced participation by extending credit, paying for services such as delivery of wood or horses, granting storage privileges within the fort, and giving special consideration in the acquisition of guns and ammunition" (Conner and Lang 2006:44).

The Hudson's Bay Company significantly exerted, or attempted to exert, power over their trading partners to benefit their business,

"The [HBC] company strove to establish a sphere of predictable and peaceful trading, a 'pax H.B.C.,' as one scholar put it, but they did not hesitate to use force to gain advantage and arrange trade on their own terms. HBC controlled the landscape near each of their armaments, sentinels, fort structures, and rules of engagement with Indian traders. They also tried to establish special arrangements with select Indians, with families that traded frequently at the fort—the so-called Home Guard, who also lived close to the fort and profited from an ongoing relationship with HBC traders" (Conner and Lang 2006:46-47).

According to Conner and Lang, at Fort Nez Perce, "Walla Walla families dominated in this [Home Guard] group, while Cayuse had the reputation of exerting influence on the Columbia as far downriver as Celilo Falls" (Conner and Lang 2006:47).

Multiple sources mention other changes or disruptions brought by the fur trade. Ruby and Brown, for example, summarize the period by noting that the fur trade disrupted Native trading patterns, including a shift from trading in the location of Grand Ronde to trading at Fort Hall and Fort Boise (Ruby & Brown 1981:56). Traditionally, Grand Ronde had been a trading location for the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Nez Percé, and Shoshone. The fur traders also reportedly prompted a growing shift from traditional barter systems to a cash economy in which non-Native interests were the source of currency (Ruby & Brown 1981:124). Then, their economies already retooled to accommodate the fur trade, Native communities faced another round of transformative change as the fur trade collapsed in the late 1840s and 1850s (Ruby & Brown 1981:124).

An important change tied to the fur trade involved marriage options. According to sources, fur traders (including Europeans, Americans, Métis, etc.) intermarried with local peoples to secure trading relationships with their families. These marriages expanded Plateau Indian social networks to include people with different worldviews, and these worldviews and customs rippled out to others involved in the fur trade (Hunn 1990:37).

The nature and extent to which the fur trade altered Native traditions is a complex matter, and continues to be debated:

“Ethnohistorians do not agree on the degree to which participation in the fur trade altered Native American cultures in the Plateau. Walker (1968) found that the fur trade contributed to changes in Nez Percé social organization; Schultz (1971) argued that the fur trade led to severe economic exploitation and dependency on Euroamerican material culture in the Upper Columbia area; and Chance (1973) concluded that the Hudson’s Bay Company had a major impact on the material culture, ideology, and social system of the native inhabitants of the Fort Colville area. In contrast, Edsel (1977) built an impressive case that the fur traders represented one small, albeit important, faction in an extensive trade network, and the Indians related to them as they would to any other important trading partner. Thus adaptation to the fur trade did not require any fundamental changes in native economic or social orientation. Meinig’s (1968) discussion of the problems encountered by the traders—poor productivity of furs and dependence on Indians for horses—suggested that the traders did not have the upper hand economically” (Campbell 1990:20).

To Campbell’s last point, examples do exist of tribal groups in our study area exerting demands and influence over fur traders, as described above. Power in these interactions was not exclusive to one side.

Hunn feels that fur-trade impacts on Plateau life were mostly benign or unintentional (Hunn 1990:37). For example, traders discouraged warfare, but mainly because it negatively impacted the ability of trapping brigades to move freely through the region. Europeans unintentionally spread diseases around and from fur posts given the close proximity of Native peoples congregating at the posts, especially during winter. And finally, a point by Hunn that was already mentioned: intermarriage expanded Plateau social networks to include people from different worldviews—a seismic shift that was also unintentional.

Yet whether unintentional, subtle, or not, the fur trade exerted great influence over Native Americans in the 19th century. Missionaries, settlers, U.S. government representatives (treaty makers, Indian Agents), and the military affected the lives of tribal groups in the study area in complex and often contradictory ways as well, a subject to which we now turn.

Epidemics and Demographic Change in the John Day Region

Beginning in the late 1700s, European-introduced diseases became epidemics, devastating Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest. The killing of an enormous percentage of the population by epidemics had profound impacts on social and cultural aspects of their lives,

impacts that complicate our understanding of pre-epidemic lifeways and that partially explain the seeming emptiness of the John Day-Blue Mountain region at contact. Multiple theories attempt to explain when the first epidemic struck, its origin, and how many people were killed over the course of combined epidemics.

For example, Campbell's study of the Northern Columbia Plateau posits the earliest hypothesized epidemic (Campbell 1990). This study found archaeological evidence of an epidemic and related population decline in the Upper Columbia between 1475 and 1525 C.E., corresponding roughly with the first North American small pox epidemic in 1520 C.E. Campbell also indicates that archaeological sites included in the study support ethnohistoric reconstruction of a population decline after 1775 C.E., a decline of at least 50% (Campbell 1990:186). While Campbell's focus is outside the study area of this report, it may be relevant to the JODA region. He writes, "Although the study addresses only a small area of the Plateau, because of the nature of disease transmission, the initial epidemic must have been fairly extensive across the Plateau" (Campbell 1990:187).

Miller believes the earliest epidemics came to the Plateau from the south:

"A disease frontier moved across America in virulent waves during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though we have no record of the earliest Plateau epidemics, they probably followed the same northward course as the horse. If so, the Numic peoples would have borne the brunt of the infection, which may have contributed to their downfall during the eighteenth century. In the first major epidemic for which we do have evidence [(small pox)], a group of these people were the carriers of the disease" (Miller 2003:33-34).

Another early source of European disease affecting the Pacific Northwest could have been the Plains:

"A consequence of the invasion of the homeland by traders and immigrants was the spread of deadly pathogens. Disease had accompanied European exploration and settlement of North and South America from the earliest contact with native people, and waves of pestilence had swept both continents from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. Smallpox was the most devastating disease to invade the Columbia Plateau. Most evidence suggests that it came from the Plains, striking in the early 1820s. A decade later, malaria sickened people in the homeland, most likely brought here from the lower Columbia, where the epidemic devastated Chinook populations below the Cascades and up the Willamette and Cowlitz rivers" (Conner and Lang 2006:53).

Another theory holds that the first Pacific Northwest small pox epidemic originated from fur-trading ships along the north Pacific Coast in ca. 1775 rather than the well-documented epidemic of 1782 in the Plains (Hunn 1990:27).

The first widely accepted epidemic in the Plateau region was a smallpox outbreak in the 1770s (Boyd 1985; Vibert 1995). One historical source for the epidemic comes from fur

trader Ross Cox, who observed smallpox scars on the faces of elderly southern Plateau peoples in 1814. Cox reports that smallpox ravaged Native American populations in the west about thirty years prior (Cox 1957 [1831]:169 in Vibert 1995:207-208). It continued to infect people in the 1780s and 1790s (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Ruby and Brown 1986:270), with another major outbreak ca. 1800-1802 (Boyd 1985). Smallpox likely killed 30-45% of the population prior to Lewis and Clark's arrival in 1805 (Endzweig 1994:25; Hunn 1990; Vibert 1995:206). According to Vibert, the cross-cultural ties and mobility of Plateau cultures may have rendered the smallpox epidemic(s) even deadlier:

“One might intuitively expect that the low population density of the Plateau would have hampered spread of the disease. But an accurate ‘political ecology’ of smallpox requires consideration of human activity in the region. The precise nature of human settlements—their location, form, and duration—has recently been posited as a key factor in establishing rates of contagion (Ramenofsky 1990: 41-43). The nature of social interaction is also important. The intricate web of intergroup relations that characterized the aboriginal Plateau and the extensive mobility of its peoples may well have neutralized the effects of low population density. Given the amply demonstrated pattern of smallpox to ‘spread throughout entire regions where there is no significant discontinuity in settlement or intergroup contacts,’ ...Boyd’s contention that the 1770s epidemic would have swept the entire Plateau appears persuasive” (Vibert 1995:207).

Another epidemic, sometimes conjectured to be smallpox, came in 1824-1825 (Boyd 1985; Hunn 1990). George Simpson, a Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) official, recorded that the Cayuse were unable to trade in the winter of 1825 due to a “mortality” (Ruby and Brown 2005:47). Boyd notes that this mortality is documented amongst the Walla Walla, Yakima, Wanapam, Columbia Salish, and Coeur d’Alene as well and, based on ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence, is thought to have been present all along the Columbia (Boyd 1985:340). In the 1820s and 1830s, fur-trade forts became a veritable vector of disease transmission for Native peoples. Interactions with fur traders, particularly for tribes who relocated to live near fur-trade forts, increased infection from European illnesses. Colds and flus spread in winter in the 1820s and 1830s (Boyd 1985:344).

For the people of the lower Columbia River, an illness that possibly started at Fort Vancouver had an especially devastating effect, according to sources. Starting around 1829 or 1830, the illness called the “intermittent fever” or the “fever and ague” struck along the lower Columbia with a high mortality rate. This disease likely originated at Fort Vancouver and is now typically identified as malaria, with a few scholars believing it was influenza (Hunn 1990:27-31; Ruby & Brown 1981:59). Its presence at the fort is further discussed by Stern:

“McLoughlin, in his correspondence, seems to associate it [(the intermittent fever)] with the inception of large-scale farming operations at Fort Vancouver. For this view there appears to be a factual basis, for Larsell believes it probable that the plowing of the low-lying fields left pools in which the *anopheles* mosquito bred, thereafter

disseminating the malaria that, together with typhus, in his view were the major causes of death. Responding to the simple association of farming with the epidemic, some Indians saw the disease as a response to the violation of Earth, and incorporated in the new religions a prohibition against cultivating the soil” (Stern 1996:5).

This fever continued for four years, striking intermittently as it died back in the winter then reemerged in the summer (Hunn 1990:27). Populations of the lower Columbia saw death rates of 80-90% during this time, sources state (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Hunn 1990:31). Entire villages collapsed as most, or all, of the inhabitants died.

Samuel Parker described the situation caused by the epidemics below Columbia Falls:

“I have found the Indian population in the lower country, that below the falls of the Columbia, far less than had expected, or what was when Lewis and Clarke made their tour. Since the year 1829, probably seven-eighths, not as Dr. McLoughlin believes, nine-tenths, have been swept away by disease, principally by fever and ague. ...So many and so sudden were the deaths which occurred, that the shores were strewn with the unburied dead. Whole and large villages were depopulated; and some entire tribes have disappeared, but where there were any remaining persons, they united with other tribes...” (Parker 1846:191).

The consequences of such rapid, widespread deaths, as described by Parker, undoubtedly occurred at other villages during other epidemics as people struggled to cope with impacts.

According to sources, this epidemic did not severely affect groups at The Dalles and eastward, an area that includes the groups highlighted in this study (Hunn 1990:31; Ruby & Brown 1981:59). Historical documents suggest the illness spread as far as the mouth of the John Day River and infected a few people who visited the Lower Columbia at Fort Nez Percé and Fort Okanagan (Boyd 1985:347-348). Yet the severe population decline among Chinookan groups along the lower Columbia—groups primarily outside the study area—certainly would have had repercussions for the wider region, particularly for the settlement of the Oregon territory.

As Americans began to arrive in the Oregon territory around 1843, additional epidemics struck Columbia Plateau groups. Groups along the Oregon Trail, such as the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla and Nez Percé, were exposed to diseases brought by immigrants (Beckham and Lentz 2000), including measles, scarlet fever, and whooping cough (Hunn 1990:31-32), and dysentery, typhoid, and typhus (Boyd 1985:349).

In 1847, a major measles epidemic reportedly occurred in the Plateau and Northwest Coast (Boyd 1985:350). Measles may have originated with the immigrants or spread from California via “a mounted party of Walla Walla and Cayuse, who had travelled to the Sacramento Valley to purchase cattle” (Boyd 1985:351). Missionary Elijah Spalding described the conditions among the Cayuse, writing:

“It is distressing to go into a lodge of some ten or twenty fires, and count twenty or twenty-five, some in the midst of the measles, others in the last stages of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth, of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no mean alleviating their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of two sick ones. They were dying every day; one, two, and sometimes five in a day, with the dysentery, which generally followed the measles” (in Bagley 1906:36-37).

In the view of some historians, the devastation and fear sparked by this measles epidemic were the impetus for the Cayuse killing of the Whitman missionaries at *Waiiletpu* mission (Brouillet 1858:14; Carey 1922:362-363; Ruby and Brown 1986:15). In turn, this epidemic precipitated a chain of events leading to the Cayuse War and the eventual forced removal of the Cayuse to a reservation.

Epidemics continued into the 1850s and 1860s. One that affected the Plateau in particular was a smallpox epidemic that spread down the Columbia into the Plateau in 1853 (Boyd 1985:322). In all, population declines caused by one hundred years of epidemics can only be estimated, though evidence suggests an apocalyptic loss—two-thirds to 90% of the population, depending on locality.

According to sources, epidemics devastating the Pacific Northwest in the century spanning the 1770s to the 1870s caused population loss in the tens, if not hundreds, of thousands. The first federal Indian agent in the Northwest, Elijah White, estimated that from 1800 to 1845 the Native population west of the Rocky Mountains went from five hundred thousand to twenty-seven thousand (Allen 1848:317; Miller 2003:35). As previously discussed, groups on the lower Columbia saw a loss of 90% or more of the population due to the epidemics. The Columbia Plateau population was likely reduced by two-thirds (Campbell 1990:25). According to one estimate, from contact to 1900 the Plateau population declined from around 80,000 to 19,000 people (Laliberte and Ripple 2003:1001).

As explained by Pond and Hester, population losses in the Pacific Northwest were part of a larger pattern throughout North America:

“In the early years of Indian-white contact, a familiar pattern developed that involved native depopulation and land reduction. Based on one estimate, about five million people inhabited North America in the contact period; by 1890, their numbers had fallen to 250,000. Because the natives had no immunity to the hidden vectors that carried pathogens from abroad, disease epidemics such as typhus, smallpox, and measles wiped out whole villages. Many tribal groups became extinct. This, in effect, created a new wilderness vacuum that was void of native peoples and, with that, fit into the whites’ stereotyped image of ‘a vanishing Indian.’ In 1807, after Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis, they reported that the mid-Columbia River Indians had lost about one-half to one-third of their numbers to imported diseases” (Pond and Hester 2006:96).

It is difficult to quantify the consequences of the epidemics, especially the personal and cultural losses survivors experienced. One outcome suggested by many sources is distributional shifts of populations. When they could no longer remain independent and manage the necessities of everyday life, survivors migrated and regrouped. Population reductions and migrations following the epidemics likely contributed to the scarcity of historical references to Indigenous people and villages in the John Day-Blue Mountain region.

Fisher summarizes the consequences of the epidemics for survivors, often requiring consolidation for survival:

“The social and cultural impacts of precontact pestilence remain difficult to determine. Clearly, the deaths of so many in such a short time traumatized families and disrupted kin networks along the Columbia River. When disease killed relatives and in-laws, many people lost their links to other communities. Elders died in droves, depleting the rich stores of knowledge and memory that supported social identities and cultural traditions. More immediately, some groups probably lost the ability to remain independent. As residents succumbed to illness or sought refuge with relatives living elsewhere, many hearth units (paired nuclear families) and winter lodges broke apart. Consequently, some villages collapsed or combined with neighboring settlements. At the western end of the Columbia Gorge, for example, the Middle and Lower Cascades people formed a single village following the malaria and influenza epidemics that decimated their ranks in the early 1830s. Similar migrations and mergers almost certainly occurred above The Dalles” (Fisher 2003:35).

This re-grouping and shifting were possibly reflected in observations of outsiders at the start of EuroAmerican contact in the early 1800s. As Boyd explains,

“It should be noted in passing that the ethnic mixing which seems to have been characteristic of Lewis and Clark’s time may have been to a large degree a product of recent heavy depopulation in the riverine areas which allowed upstream peoples to move in. This was certainly a pattern in the post-fever (1830 following) period” (Boyd 1985:286).

As Fisher mentioned, the deaths of so many left survivors unable to continue independently, requiring consolidation of groups for survival. One reason was the requirements of their subsistence system:

“The demand for consolidation was also enhanced by the demographic disasters wreaked by the ever encroaching disease frontier. In a nonagricultural economy in which cooperative effort was demanded, the decline of suppliers also created a decline in supplies. Therefore the precipitous reduction in population left the scattered bands unable to defend themselves or to exploit the economic resources they needed to survive” (Miller 2003:38).

Illnesses also disrupted the subsistence system in the short term, potentially creating food shortages, sources state: "It is quite possible that major disruptions in traditional practices and beliefs occurred in response to these illnesses. It was not uncommon for mortalities caused by European diseases to run from 50 to 90 percent. People who did survive often were interrupted from their food gathering activities and suffered or starved as a result" (USFS n.d.a.). Campbell suggests that survivors of an epidemic in the Columbia Plateau as early as the 16th century had to shift and regroup:

"Even if radical change in social content did not occur, it is highly likely that population decline in the early 16th century resulted in a redistribution of population and possibly changes in the subsistence focus. Some important social and economic activities may have required minimum group sizes and had strongly preferred locations, thus population movements would have occurred in response to changed population densities" (1990:187-188).

According to sources, survivors in the 19th century likely faced a similar situation. As Mark explains:

"European-introduced diseases from roughly 1800 onward brought further territorial instability by decimating a number of Pacific Northwest tribes. The changes brought by contact with non-Indians encouraged loosely affiliated bands to begin working together (and even [becoming] confederate in some instances) for the purposes of maintaining trade, making treaties, or protecting home territory" (Mark 1996).

The destruction of families, villages, and kinship networks reportedly left survivors unable to continue their previous lifeways. The shifting and consolidation of the remaining peoples may explain historically documented tribal distributions that seem at odds with the archaeological record. Specifically, for the John Day Region sources suggest the lack of documented villages during the contact period may be thusly explained:

"The first written descriptions of large numbers of Indians dying from disease are recorded along the Columbia River. These same epidemics probably decimated most groups using the Malheur Forest. Indeed it is quite likely that many groups were entirely wiped out which would account for the lack of early historic references to Indians villages along the upper John Day River" (USFS n.d.b.).

Enzweig also considers the variance in archaeological village sites (at least for Clarno) versus the historical and ethnographic record for the John Day area in the context of the epidemics (Enzweig 1994). Around the time of the epidemics, a decrease or shift of occupations is evident in her study area:

"The near-absence of Euroamerican trade goods from sites excavated in the Study Area, as well as a decline in radiocarbon-dated occupations between two and three

hundred years ago, are suggestive of a late prehistoric or protohistoric settlement shift in the region. The high density of archaeological sites recorded along the John Day River as contrasted with its limited treatment in ethnographic and historic accounts supports the impression of a population reorganization” (Endzweig 1994:26).

Finally, it is important to note that ultimately the Plateau groups did not disappear but persisted through all of the changes to come in the 19th century, as sources describe. For example, Fisher notes, “Plateau communities survived the invasion of foreign microbes. Damaged but not destroyed, the web of kinship stretching between them continued to order social relations along the Columbia River” (Fisher 2003:36).

Missions

The mission period in the Pacific Northwest began in the 1830s. Protestant and Catholic missionaries established stations among various Native groups in the region, including the Wasco, Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Perce. No missions were established in the John Day region. Throughout the 19th century, missions played a role in events that drastically changed life for Native peoples. Missionaries introduced new religions and encouraged the adoption of agriculture. Still, sources indicate that the missionaries’ most significant influence on the larger history of the region was in opening the way for EuroAmerican settlement.

In 1832, a delegation of four Nez Perce and Flathead men reportedly arrived in St. Louis to petition for Christian missionaries, or teachers, for their people (Conner and Lang 2006:49; Hunn 1990:38). According to reports, they were inspired by the success of a man named “Spokane Garry” who could speak English and read the Bible due to his education from the HBC (Hunn 1990:38). Then they were received in St. Louis by General William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition (Schafer 1905:147-149; Workers of the Writers’ Program 1940:107). Their journey occurred during a period of heightened religious zeal in the U.S.— part of “The Second Great Awakening and the quickening of evangelical Christianity in the United States” (Beckham and Lentz 2000). When the men’s story was published in religious papers, a group of missionaries were reportedly inspired to travel to the Pacific Northwest. Unfortunately, all four men died from illness before returning home.

In the 1830s and ‘40s, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries established themselves in the region, sources state. Protestants arrived prior to Catholic missionaries, establishing a number of missions in Oregon territory. These included Methodist missions “in the Willamette Valley, at the falls of the Willamette, on the Clatsop Plains, [and] at Fort Nisqually” between 1834 and 1840 (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Those closest to JODA were of the *Waiiletpu* mission, near present-day Walla Walla, Washington, and Wascopam, on the

south side of the Columbia and west of the Deschutes, at the current location of The Dalles, Oregon.

Historical sources describe Marcus and Narcissa Whitman establishing the *Waiiletpu* mission in 1836—Marcus Whitman being a missionary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a joint Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reform effort (Hunn 1990:39). The Whitmans established their mission in Cayuse territory, about twenty-five miles east of Fort Walla Walla (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:8-9) and thirty miles up the Walla Walla River from its confluence with the Columbia (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Their ABCFM colleagues, Henry and Eliza Spalding, established a mission in Nez Perce territory on Lapwai Creek (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005).



Wascopam Mission, Methodist outpost at The Dalles, in 1849. Photo courtesy NPS.

According to sources, the *Waiiletpu* mission promoted both Christianity and agriculture, focusing on the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla peoples (Conner and Lang 2006; Drury 1936:157-158). But in the 1840s, relationships between the *Waiiletpu* missionaries and the local peoples deteriorated. Sources describe this period as one of rising tensions around American Indian deaths from epidemics, and around ever-increasing numbers of EuroAmerican immigrants (Drury 1936; Minthorn 2006; Ruby and Brown 1986). In addition, disagreements arose between missionaries and the Cayuse over land and understandings of the missionaries' objectives. The end of the *Waiiletpu* mission is marked by the killing of the Whitmans and others in 1847 by a Native group. The resultant Cayuse War is discussed further in the section 'Interethnic Warfare.'

The Wascopam mission, located by Celilo Falls on the west side of the Deschutes, was founded in 1838 by Methodists Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins (Hunn 1990:39). This mission reportedly worked amongst the Wasco and other Native groups who fished the

Columbia (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Ruby and Brown 1986:264). Like other missionaries, those at Wascopam promoted agriculture and Christianity, hoping to “civilize” its converts (Hunn 1990:39). Just prior to his death in 1847, Marcus Whitman purchased Wascopam. However, the deaths of the missionaries at *Waiilatpu* prompted the abandonment of all ABCFM posts in the Pacific Northwest (Beckham and Lentz 2000). And in 1848, the Wascopam mission became a Catholic mission called St. Peter (Ruby and Brown 1986:264).

Catholic missionaries arrived in the Pacific Northwest in 1838, first establishing missions west of the Cascade Mountains, sources state (Beckham and Lentz 2000). In 1847, they expanded into the Columbia Plateau with the Diocese of Walla Walla. Two missions to the north and east of the John Day region were Saint Rose on the Walla Walla River and Saint Ann on the headwaters of the Umatilla near Pendleton, Oregon (Ruby and Brown 1986). Following the killings at *Waiilatpu*, Saint Ann was abandoned, only to be burned in early 1848 during the Cayuse War (Ruby and Brown 1981:103). The church was, however, reestablished in 1851 (Ruby and Brown 1986:250), though the Catholic mission closed entirely when the diocese dissolved in 1853 (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Sources note that missionaries in the Columbia Plateau had limited success in Christianizing the Native people (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Hunn 1990; Minthorn 2006). Furthermore, their efforts to introduce agriculture and turn the Native people into farmers were also largely unsuccessful (Hunn 1990; Minthorn 2006). Most eventually left the missions and returned to their seasonal rounds for subsistence (Anastasio 1975; Hunn 1990).

Regarding the historical trajectory of the region, perhaps the most lasting influence of the missions was encouraging EuroAmerican settlement—as mentioned above. According to Beckham and Lentz, the missions promoted settlement by both showing that emigration to the “frontier” was possible, and by familiarizing Americans back east with Oregon country through accounts of missionary experiences (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Later during the 1840s, missions provided stopping points on the immigrant trail. In the historical timeline, the Whitman killings and subsequent reactions would link the legacy of missionaries in Oregon Territory with the eventual EuroAmerican takeover. As Hunn explains:

“The heyday of this first round of missionary activity on the Plateau was brief, beginning with Whitman and Spalding’s arrival in 1836 and ending abruptly after the death of the Whitmans in 1847. The ‘massacre’ at *Waiilatpu* led to the precipitous abandonment of most existing mission stations, Protestant and Catholic alike. It marked the beginnings of military pacification, the forced Indian resettlement on reservations, and the onslaught of white settlement, a process essentially complete in the Plateau by the early 1880s” (Hunn 1990:40).

As sources describe, the mid- to late-1800s was a period of EuroAmerican invasion, warfare and violence, with forced relocation for Native peoples in the study area.

Ethnographers often cite the killing of the Whitmans and their followers as the start of increased violence between the groups. Whatever the instigating factors, escalating bloodshed made new immigrants progressively reticent to settle the territory, according to sources (CTUIR n.d.; Phinney and Karson 2007; Stern 1998). The conflicts, coupled with the Donations Land Act of 1850 that essentially opened up Indigenous lands in Oregon and beyond for EuroAmerican settlement, created a climate wherein the U.S. government saw removal of Native peoples as necessary to make room for immigrants flooding the region (Hunn and French 1998:389; Walker and Sprague 1998:151).

The subject of EuroAmerican settlement will be discussed next, followed by a chapter on interethnic warfare.

EuroAmerican Settlement

Native peoples living in the interior Northwest experienced EuroAmerican emigration as an overwhelming invasion of foreign peoples that compounded the destabilizing effects of the contact period. The major initial migration into Oregon Territory occurred in the 1840s and steadily increased over the next decades. The wider John Day Fossil Beds National Monument area saw increasing settlement in the 1860s to 1880s—stalling occasionally during that period due to interethnic hostilities, floundering early agricultural efforts, and other challenges. By the time EuroAmericans had effectively settled the John Day region, the formation of reservations and “Indian Wars” had significantly displaced Native Americans from the area, though certain connections to the region endured.

Settlement in Oregon Territory

The first major wave of immigration into Oregon via the Oregon Trail occurred between 1843 and 1847, bringing more than 10,000 people (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:9). Almost half of these arrived in 1847 alone, as emigration accelerated and the Oregon Trail became more firmly fixed in American national consciousness (Mosgrove 1980:29). Increased migration was also undoubtedly spurred by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, establishing the land south of the 49th Parallel and west of the Rocky Mountains as United States territory (Beckham and Lentz 2000). In the 1840s, immigration surged rapidly, particularly from those traveling the Oregon Trail. Increased disease, forced assimilation, strain on resources, missionization, and conflicts all afflicted the tribes as a result (CTUIR n.d.; Stern 1998). One CTUIR Elder recalled stories from their grandmother about people on the Oregon Trail, in which she reported seeing wagons go through, with women walking beside them. According to reports, settlers would trade with Native people and Native people gave them food. The Elder’s *Kotsa* [grandmother] said the settlers sometimes traveled on horseback (Steinmetz 2020:14).

The Organic Act of 1848 established Oregon Territory and encouraged even more settlement, even as immigration further swelled under the Donation Land Claim Act of

1850, escalating tensions between tribes and settlers (CTUIR n.d.; Phinney and Karson 2007). According to sources, this led to acts of aggression and retaliation on both sides. By 1852, the stream of settlers increased exponentially to 12,000 individuals that year alone—an influx of EuroAmericans that created discord with Indigenous groups of the area as EuroAmericans introduced new economic systems and religions (Hunn and French 1998:389; Walker and Sprague 1998:151).



Oregon Trail, descending the western flank of the Blue Mountains, 1849. Photo courtesy NPS.

Although immigrants passed through the lands of Plateau groups, most continued westward to the fertile Columbia and Willamette River valleys. Again, after calamitous population declines centered on the Lower Columbia region, much of the land in the western part of Oregon was unoccupied by Native communities, according to historical sources; these lands were also well-watered and suitable for European-style agriculture. These factors fostered rapid American settlement of northwest-Oregon river valleys (Cook 1955:303). Indeed, until the 1860s when a gold rush sparked settler interest, immigrants continued to pass by the John Day region. Before turning to EuroAmerican settlement of the John Day basin, we discuss some of the effects of the Oregon Trail on tribal groups.

Immigration Routes across Tribal Lands

Along the immigration routes to the western river valleys of Oregon, settlers and Native peoples often came into contact. These interactions were sometimes friendly, while others were antagonistic. Sources indicate that as the number of immigrants increased, Plateau groups became alarmed at the stream of people moving into their region.

Though early effects of the Oregon Trail were modest and early interactions were often positive, Conner and Lang explain how the Oregon Trail eventually brought disruption to the lifeways of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla:

“The immigration, which began in 1841, received an important boost from Whitman’s successful wagon journey over the Blue Mountains in 1843, bringing more than two hundred wagons through the heart of the homeland. The Oregon Trail cut across prime hunting territory and created a months-long disturbance that was more disruptive than anything the fur traders had created.

“When the immigration of whites to the West began with the explorers, it was a trickle passing through the homeland. By the 1830s, with migrations from the Red River in Canada and Americans leaving by way of Missouri, it became a stream of people. All the early contacts were hospitable, and many tribal oral histories demonstrate how curious the immigrants were to local people” (Conner and Lang 2006:51).

Yet for the Cayuse, the immigration also reportedly brought trading opportunities:

“It was not uncommon during the immigrant season—late summer and early fall—for the Cayuses to ride along the Immigrant Trail, sometimes as far east as Forts Hall and Boise, to trade their horses for worn-out cattle. Sometimes they exchanged fresh oxen for twice as many jaded ones. Often along the trail the Cayuses, some of them speaking English, bartered fish from late Umatilla River runs and vegetables from late harvests for calicoes, nankeen cloths, and clothing. They continued to trade with immigrants after the latter reached the Willamette Valley” (Ruby and Brown 2005:95).

In Central Oregon, some Northern Paiute were described in settler accounts as antagonistic toward the immigrants: “Much later a similar mobile, predatory lifestyle [(in comparison with the Bannocks’ attacks on mid-Columbia River Indians)] became the norm among Northern Paiutes of northern Nevada and southern Oregon, but with white migrant trains as the targets (cf. Steward and Wheeler-Voegelin 1974)” (Hunn 1990:24-25). In turn, these Northern Paiute attacks reportedly influenced the route of the immigrant trail:

“Between 4,000 and 5,000 emigrants came overland to Oregon in 1847, nearly all by the Snake River and Columbia Basin route following the Oregon Trail. Various attempts were made to locate a route through central Oregon. However, the area was inhabited by Paiutes who were antagonistic toward parties who attempted crossing and they were often attacked and robbed” (Mosgrove 1980:29).

According to sources, apprehension also grew among tribal groups. Grafe and Moorehouse note that as thousands of people followed the Oregon Trail route, “the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse people grew alarmed by the increasing numbers of emigrants passing

through their lands” (Grafe and Moorehouse 2005:9). Further west, groups along the Columbia River had similar feelings:

“As a transportation and commercial link, the Columbia River became even more central to the newcomers than it had been for the Indians. In 1843, 1,000 immigrants passed through The Dalles; in 1847 that number swelled to 4,000. By 1852, up to 12,000 settlers were crossing Wasco and Warm Springs territories each year. Most of these people moved on, but some stayed. Although they had always welcomed newcomers in the past, the Indians along the Columbia River began to realize that they could no longer control what was happening on their lands” (CTWS 1984:20-21).

As subsequent wars and treaties would prove, feelings of alarm and lack of control were not unfounded.

In the John Day region, one recorded example of Native American opposition to immigration occurred in August 1844. Dr. Elijah White, the first Indian Agent for Oregon, was journeying eastward to present the Oregon Territory legislature’s petition for statehood in Washington D.C., when his traveling party encountered a group of Native peoples on the John Day River (Allen 1848:265). His account, displaying mid-19th century settler attitudes toward tribal peoples, states:

“...they followed on, and that evening reached the John Day river.... Here they met a considerable body of Indians, whose saucy, boisterous behavior, excessively annoyed Brown. It was a tribe who had been habitually troublesome to emigrating parties. Dr. White was a little in the rear, but came up in time to check the excitement, and prevent disturbance. He coolly said to them, ‘you see my party is too small to set a guard over our horses; if any of you want my property, go take it; but I expect to find it all in its proper place, in the morning.’ To the surprise of some of the party, this confidence was not misplaced” (Allen 1848:280).

As EuroAmericans flooded the region in the 1860s, several acts of Native resistance would reportedly occur in the John Day area.

Early EuroAmerican Settlement in the John Day Region

As stated, EuroAmerican settlement of the John Day region transpired somewhat later than in western parts of the state, in part because the area was initially less attractive to settlers. River valleys west of the Cascades were fertile and well-watered, no longer populated by Native inhabitants to a large degree, and near already established towns. These features made them especially attractive. The lands of the John Day area, on the other hand, were arid, isolated, and in a region of large tribal populations and unsettled interethnic relationships, sources state (Mark 1996; Toepel et al. 1980:146-147).

Nonetheless, with the discovery of precious metals in the late 1850s and early 1860s, emigration to the region became heightened. In 1859, people discovered gold and silver to the south of our study area, in the Owyhee basin in Oregon and in Idaho (Fowler and Liljebld 1986). A few years later in July of 1862, gold was found on Canyon Creek, prompting a rush of miners to the area (NPS 1967:19). Substantial mining settlements began to appear in Northern Paiute territory, including Canyon City, roughly 40 miles east of the study area. And by the fall of 1862, an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 residents were in the upper John Day watershed (Beckham and Lentz 2000). By 1863, miners in the Canyon City area alone numbered almost 10,000 (Kenny 1957:5). Miners found gold in numerous locations across the John Day River Valley (Toepel et al. 1980:161), including a “gold belt” in the Blue Mountains east of Canyon City and John Day (Mark 1996). According to Toepel et al., “The heaviest mining activity in the Canyon City District occurred between 1862 and 1867, and approximately \$26,000,000 in gold eventually was recovered from placer operations there. Mining continued as a significant occupation in Grant County throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Toepel et al. 1980:161).

Communities developed during this period were characterized both by mining and homesteading. Toepel et al. summarize the factors leading to the settlement of the John Day region in the 1860s:

“During the decade of the sixties, a number of events occurred which attracted potential settlers’ attention to the lands comprising the study area. The discovery of gold in 1862 at Canyon Creek, a tributary of the John Day River, lured thousands of prospectors, suppliers, and camp followers through the region to the gold camps. This event also stimulated the building of roads through the area, helping provide easier access to future markets as well as improving transportation for immediate needs. In addition, the army was removing another barrier to settlement by reducing Indian depredations. Finally, the growing scarcity of land in the Willamette Valley, coupled with continued migration, was driving up land prices” (Toepel et al. 1980:147).

In the same year as the gold rush, the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862 offered another enticement to settle the region (Toepel et al. 1980:148-149).

Beckham and Lentz also describe the rapid formation of settlements during this period:

“The gold rush became the primary factor in drawing both Euro-American settlement and a transient Chinese population to the watershed of the John Day River. Almost overnight, towns and villages appeared after 1862. Some survived; a number vanished. Settlers moved in to raise foodstuffs to supply the miners and to take advantage of other resources. These included grasslands suitable for stock-raising, tillable lands where they could plant crops, and timberlands where they could fell trees to cut into lumber. The region, in spite of its isolation, possessed sufficient magnetism to attract and hold a new population” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Newcomers established a rural economy based on livestock grazing and farming, and towns developed to meet their needs. Canyon City was the first EuroAmerican-settled community in Grant County and in 1864 became the county seat (NPS 1967:19). Mark indicates that by 1868, settlers had reached the vicinity of Sheep Rock, Painted Hills, and Clarno (Mark 1996). And in 1869, eighty claims were made on the main John Day River, with 9,064 acres fenced and 3,608 acres under cultivation (Beckham and Lentz 2000). In only eight years, EuroAmericans established towns and homesteads throughout the greater JODA area. The bottomlands of rivers and streams throughout the John Day Basin became occupied by new settlements, farms, and grazing lands. Beckham and Lentz explain further: “Into the 1870s, settlers—the majority from the Ohio Valley and the upland south—spread along the bottomlands of the John Day and its tributary streams. These newcomers adapted to ranching and subsistence agriculture, establishing a viable rural economy that outlived the excitement of the gold rush” (Lentz 2000). The new activities effectively, if often inadvertently, displaced Native camps and village sites, fishing stations, hunting and plant gathering areas, and other lands that were until then used seasonally by Native communities.

At the time, the John Day region was relatively isolated from other towns and cities. Early on, trails leading north and west to The Dalles became important routes for travel, transporting supplies, and for shipping gold out of the area (Mark 1996; Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:4). Mark writes,

“Discovery of gold along Canyon Creek in 1862 quickly made an old route to The Dalles the main access for non-Indians to enter the upper basin. A series of trails went up the Deschutes drainage from The Dalles, joining the John Day’s main stem between Pine Creek and Bridge Creek. Although rough and sometimes dangerous because of problems with the Northern Paiute, river and rail access at The Dalles made it the logical supply point for much of eastern Oregon” (Mark 1996).

This main route is often referred to as The Dalles-Canyon City Wagon Road or The Dalles-Canyon City Military Road. In May of 1864, a stage line began operating along the route, increasing transportation options (NPS 1967:19). As a major travel route, the road spurred settlement along its path and into the John Day region (Mark 1996; Biscombe 2009:27). Stinchfield and McLaren describe the road’s path through Wheeler County, and settlements along the road:

“This route entered Wheeler County near where the Burnt Ranch post office once stood, followed the John Day River to Bridge Creek, went up Bridge Creek to Mitchell, up the east branch of Bridge Creek to the north branch of Badger Creek, down Badger Creek to where Caleb once stood, and east along Mountain Creek to border what is now Grant County, about three miles west of the John Day River”(Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:4).

From the border of Grant County, the road continued to the towns of John Day and Canyon City (Mark 1996). In the late 1860s, the route was further developed by The Dalles Military

Wagon Road Company as part of a federal government land grant program encouraging private companies to develop transportation routes (NPS 1967:19; Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:4). Sections of the road are still used today as parts of U.S. Highway 26 and other roads in Grant and Wheeler County. For more information on historical period transportation in the John Day region, see Beckham and Lentz (2000).

By 1870, the gold rush in the John Day Basin ended and the population declined significantly (Biscombe 2009:27). However, the mining industry continued to attract people to the area for mining of placer deposits (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Hundreds of Chinese immigrants labored in the mines and worked as store owners, herbal doctors, cooks, and laundrymen. According to sources, settlers also continued to establish homesteads and ranches in the region into the 1880s.

The lands in Wheeler County were primarily settled in the 1860s (Toepel et al. 1980: 151). Indeed, the Clarno Unit derives its name from the early history of EuroAmericans in the area: “Clarno was a small town on the John Day river, near the bridge. It was named for one of the earliest white settlers on the John Day, Andrew Clarno, who settled in the John Day valley in 1866. The post office was established in 1894.... The bridge at Clarno was constructed in 1897” (Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:12). The lands in Grant County, around the Sheep Rock Unit, saw initial settlement into the 1880s:

“Shortly after mining commenced near the mouth of Canyon Creek [(ca. 1862)], homesteaders took up land in the nearby John Day River Valley. By 1869, 3,608 acres were under cultivation in the valley. Settlement of the other lands in Grant County (Long Creek and Fox valleys, Ritter, Monument, Silvies, and Izee areas) included in the study area occurred in the 1870s and 1880s. Most early settlers engaged in livestock and farming operations. Until about 1882, stockmen raised cattle and horses, gradually shifting to sheep thereafter. Isolation from outside markets because of poor transportation facilities delayed the development of farming by homesteaders in Grant County. The large stock operations only reluctantly surrendered the open range in the county to the small farmer or mixed farming and stock enterprise” (Toepel et al. 1980:153).

During the late 19th century, livestock raising became a major industry in north-central Oregon, with the open-range cattle business seeing its high point in the 1870s and 1880s (Toepel et al. 1980:150-151). In the summer, Willamette Valley ranchers increasingly herded cattle to grazing rangelands east of the Cascades—their reach extending gradually eastward toward the John Day Basin. However in the late 1880s, the cattle business reportedly declined due to the arrival of railroads, influx of farmers, and competition with sheep raising. The sheep industry relied on native bunchgrass as forage, and the bottomland along the John Day River could host alfalfa during summer, and function as pastureland for sheep in the fall (Stinchfield and McLaren 1983:12). But the sheep industry peaked between 1890 and 1910, according to reports (Toepel et al. 1980:151). In general, livestock raising declined in the 1900s due to overgrazing and federal regulations on grazing within forest reserves—regulations that started in 1906. In the 20th century,

farming would overtake ranching as the main agricultural activity. Yet according to Mark, livestock grazing did continue around JODA:

“Indian treaties aided white settlement in the upper John Day Basin, but distance to markets, semi-arid climate, and a limited resource base stifled population growth. Despite these limitations, a relatively stable rural economy based on livestock grazing prevails around Sheep Rock, Painted Hills, and Clarno, as it does elsewhere in the upper basin at present. Consequently, a number of property owners around John Day Fossil Beds National Monument have been in the area for several generations and a few of them are descendants of the first settlers” (Mark 1996).

Reported Effects on Native American Communities

Native displacement prior to EuroAmerican settlement was not as dramatic in the study area as west of the Cascades. Still, the effects of disease and disruption made portions of the John Day Basin seem relatively empty and open, even during the earliest moments of non-Native settlement. As in the west, this relative openness rendered the lands more appealing to settlers, as Burtchard and Hamilton report:

“By the time Euroamerican immigrants were arriving in substantial numbers in the mid 1800s, much of the central Blue Mountain area was uninhabited by Indian people. Most use of the area was relegated to seasonal collecting by populations residing on the outer margins—particularly near the Columbia River on the north and northern Great Basin/High Lava Plains on the south” (Burtchard and Hamilton 1998:42).

Nonetheless, Native presence had endured through the time of active non-Native settlement; and this settlement along with the gold rush had lasting effects on tribes of the area, according to sources. In order to support their large settlements, emigrants often occupied the most desirable and fertile lands (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986). And the establishment of homesteads, ranches, towns, and mines made traditional subsistence gathering increasingly difficult for Native peoples of the region. Not only did the outsiders take over locations critical to Native peoples’ lifeways, but they ruined critical resource areas:

“Suddenly and dramatically the Indian people were a minority in their own land.... The relationship between the Indians and the settlers deteriorated significantly during this period [from 1862-1880]. The great influx of outsiders took over important camping and travel routes. They competed for game and destroyed camas fields by plowing and draining them. They fouled the streams with waste from their mining and so reduced the fish runs. Conflicts with settlers became increasingly violent and newspaper accounts show that the settlers wanted a solution to the ‘Indian problem.’ Recommended solutions ranged from keeping the Indians on reservations to outright murder and genocide” (USFS n.d.b.).

Furthermore, decreased fish runs, noticed as early as the 1880s, reportedly exacerbated circumstances for Native peoples:

“The native trout and salmon runs on the John Day and Malheur rivers have been greatly reduced. This was already being noted in the 1880’s with the blame being placed on run off from mining operations. Many of these changes affected plant and animal resources on which the native people were dependent. This put them in a situation of extreme poverty and inflamed the conflicts between the native Indians and the encroaching settlers” (USFS n.d.a.).



Early gold Dredging near John Day, Oregon. Photo courtesy NPS.

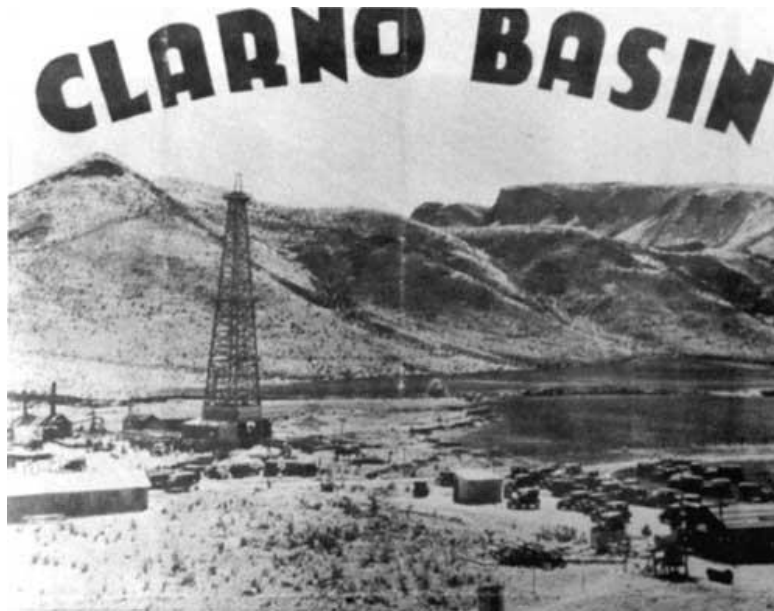
As the two groups essentially competed for resources, they sometimes came into conflict. Some Native people actively opposed the invasion of their homeland. A few accounts of interactions during this period between EuroAmericans and Native peoples in the JODA area are summarized below.

As an example, Brogan mentions Andrew Clarno’s interactions with Native Americans who frequented the area close to the Clarno Unit. Notably, not all interactions were negative: “Andrew Clarno was a friend of the Indians who seasonally moved through the John Day basin, close to the great mesa east of the river, a mesa that was to be known in later years as Iron Mountain—a lava-covered upland overriding colored strata of the John Day formation. Frequently the Indians visited the Clarno ranch house” (Brogan 1977:86).

Around 1861, an account by early settlers near the Sheep Rock Unit illustrates perceptions of Native peoples at the time—both positive and negative, and the types of encounters

happening between people groups. It also evinces the ongoing use of the area by Native peoples after the formation of reservations:

“... we proceeded to the John Day River. Here I met some old Lane county friends, a Mr. Driskol and his son, a young man of about 21 years of age. They had driven over the mountains a band of cattle and turned them on the range at John Day and Rock Creek.... Driskol and his son now asked me to remain with



Detail from promotional literature for the Clarno Basin Development Company, ca 1927. Photo courtesy NPS.

them and assist in rounding up the cattle preparatory to leaving them for the winter.... The men at the ferry told us that the Columbias were friendly and to be trusted. They cautioned us that the country further up the river and Rock Creek was frequently raided by roving bands of Snake Indians. These savages were hostile at all times, and this was one reason it was desirable to prevent the cattle straying too far and thus falling an easy prey to the Snakes.

“... we decided to go up Rock Creek above the cattle and drive them down.... While we were eating an Indian rode into camp, who hailed us in jargon and we assumed at once that he was a Columbia. He said he had lost a horse while deer hunting and if we were going any further south he would like to travel with us. We thought little of the matter and readily gave permission, the more so as he carried a good rifle and would be a welcome addition to our party in the event of a ‘scrap’ with the Snakes.... The old gentleman was busy with the pack, when suddenly, quick almost as a flash, the Indian leaped upon young Driskol’s horse and started off.... The probabilities are that he was either a Snake or a renegade Columbia or Umatilla Indians, and counted on getting our horses” (Thompson 1912:37-41).

The strain and conflict between the two groups contributed to the efforts, both before and after this account, to establish treaties and reservations, and to the wars between EuroAmericans and Native peoples. For the immediate study area, these conflicts would culminate in the “Snake War” of 1864-1868.

Interethnic Warfare

Armed conflict between Native peoples and EuroAmericans in the Pacific Northwest began in 1847. These conflicts, often termed “Indian Wars,” continued for over 30 years, ending with most tribal groups confined to reservations (Hunn 1990:32). The wars grew out of rising tensions between Native people and the EuroAmericans, particularly settlers flooding the region in this period. During these conflicts Native people fought for their survival. The territorial and federal governments, for their part, hoped to eliminate threats to American expansion. Though written sources do not record skirmishes or battles within JODA lands, fighting occurred in the wider region surrounding JODA. The period of conflict during the wars is relevant to understanding the history of the area and the tribal groups included in this study.

Cayuse War

Within our study area, the first conflict to be widely described as an interethnic “war” was the Cayuse War of 1847-1848, prompted by the killing of missionaries at *Waiiletpu* in November 1847 (Elliott 1910). Discord between the Cayuse peoples and the Whitmans grew out of disagreement over ownership of the mission lands, the deadly measles epidemic of 1847, and years of increasing EuroAmerican immigration (Ruby and Brown 1986:15).

Prior to the killing of the Whitmans in 1847, the Cayuse peoples had made their discontent with the Whitman mission known. For example, in the early 1840s, the grist mill at *Waiiletpu* was burned by a group of Cayuse, who also attacked Marcus Whitman, as sources describe (Allen 1848:174-177; Newell 1959:92). Due to lack of converts, the American Bureau of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had decided in 1843 to close the mission (Minthorn 2006:64). But in response, Whitman traveled to New York to argue against the closing, successfully convincing the board to keep the mission open. Then, to the displeasure of Cayuse leaders, he “returned leading a covered wagon train of immigrants over the Blue Mountains and through Cayuse territory on their way to the Willamette Valley” (Minthorn 2006:64). Minthorn goes on:

“When Marcus Whitman returned east to protest the proposal to close *Waiiletpu* Mission and, on the return trip, when he brought more people to settle the Oregon Country, the Cayuse leaders warned him that what he was doing was not the understanding they had with him. His expressed purpose for being with the Cayuse was to teach them about the Christian religion. But he brought more people, developed more land, and brought sickness that killed many Cayuse. Whitman refused to listen to the warnings” (Minthorn 2006:64).

Further,

“The Cayuse asked Marcus Whitman to close his mission and trading business, but he refused. In November 1847, the Cayuse attacked the Whitman Mission and killed Marcus Whitman and twelve others and took prisoners. The Cayuse had retaliated because of a measles epidemic, the taking of more land for the mission, and the bringing of more settlers to their country. This started the Cayuse War of 1848” (Minthorn 2006:63-64).

As some sources contend, Whitman was killed not only for violating his agreement with the Cayuse, but for his inability to cure Cayuse peoples, and because of beliefs among the Cayuse that he was purposefully poisoning them—especially during the 1847 measles epidemic (Carey 1922:362-363; Curtis 1911:80; Drury 1936:331-332). This could have been tied to a cultural practice of killing healers who failed to cure patients (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Ruby and Brown 1986:15).

Sources record retaliation against the EuroAmerican settlers’ invasion elsewhere during this time (see the EuroAmerican Settlement section). A passage from Bancroft records a tale about a settler party near the mouth of Rock Creek at the John Day River:

“John E Ross, an immigrant of 1847, describes the attitudes of the Cayuses and the Walla Wallas. He met Whitman on the Umatilla, who advised him to use great caution, which advice he followed by encamping early, taking the evening meal, and then, when it became dark, moving to a secluded spot away from the road for the night to avoid being molested and getting into an affray. After leaving the Umatilla he met a small party of natives, who appeared morose, and on the third day came to a place where it was evident an attack had been made. Beds, books, and various articles were scattered about and destroyed. Alarmed by this proof of hostility, his party, consisting only of men, travelled by night, and on coming to the mouth of Rock Creek, a branch of John Day River, were met by some Columbia River Indians, who notified them that there was trouble before them. About two miles from this crossing, in a cañon, they found four families who had been robbed of their cattle and stripped of their clothing. Six women and some children were left naked. They had, however, rescued a bolt of white muslin, out of which they had hastily made coverings, though they offered little protection against the cold air of evening. The outrage occurred while the men were absent from the wagon looking for the stolen cattle, and the perpetrators were Walla Wallas” (Bancroft 1886:645).

At the time of the Whitman killings, the U.S. military was not yet present in the Oregon territory. Thus, the Oregon territorial government issued a call in December of 1847 for volunteers to organize a militia to respond to the killings. That month Peter Skene Odgen of the Hudson’s Bay Company ransomed those taken captive during the mission attack (Carey 1922:363); and the volunteer militia pursued its goal of apprehending individuals involved with the killings.

Sources describe the militia and Native fighters engaging with one another in early 1848. On the Native side, the Cayuse gained support from groups like the Tenino, Wasco, and Umatilla (Ruby and Brown 1981:102; Ruby and Brown 1986:250). In late January, they skirmished on the Deschutes, about 30 miles south of The Dalles (Ruby and Brown 1981:102), with the largest battle occurring on February 24th near Sand Hollow west of the Umatilla, below its mouth at the Columbia River (Bagley 1906; Minthorn 2006:82). Until five Cayuse men surrendered in 1849, the volunteer militia continued to fight the Cayuse on multiple fronts. It remains unclear whether these individuals were those involved in the mission attack (Minthorn 2006:82). Ultimately, "Their purpose and sacrifice for surrendering themselves were to protect the Cayuse homeland and people from further harm" (Minthorn 2006:64). In 1850, these men were tried, found guilty, and hanged in Oregon City (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

In July of 1848, the acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs declared Cayuse territory open for settlement. As Carey explains:

"In order to induce volunteers to remain, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, who had assumed the duties of superintendent of Indian affairs on the resignation of Joel Palmer, offered to give written authority for the colonization of the Cayuse country and this had the desired effect. More than the requisite number offered their services. Lee wrote in a letter, which was published in the Oregon Spectator, July 13, 1848, in which he informed the people of the Willamette Valley that 'there are now in the Cayuse country, grist and saw mills, black smith's anvil and bellows, with some tools, a quantity of iron, plows, harrows, a crop of wheat, pease, potatoes and corn, with almost every convenience and facility in forming a settlement.' Lee wrote of the superior and peculiar adaptability of that section to the growth of wool and the raising of horses and cattle, while the climate, he added, 'for health, and the scenery for beauty, cannot be excelled by any spot of earth.' Lee obtained the approval of Governor Abernethy of this new policy of introducing settlers into the very midst of the Indian country, and proclaimed the forfeiture of all the lands of the Cayuses, making no exception in favor of friendly members of the tribe" (Carey 1922:557).

According to Grafe and Moorhouse, this granting of land to the militia volunteers, along with the appropriation of Cayuse horses and livestock during the war, destroyed the Cayuse peoples' economic base (Grafe and Moorhouse 2005:9).

Establishing a U.S. Military Presence

The U.S. military arrived in the Pacific Northwest in 1849. This was the outcome of earlier Congressional action, influenced by the Cayuse War:

"In August of 1848, largely in response to the 'Whitman massacre' and the escalating Cayuse War, Congress hastily completed formal designation of Oregon as a United States Territory and ordered the establishment of a standing military force in the

Pacific Northwest. U.S. Secretary of War, W.L. Macy, authorized the development of a central military post in the Northwest in order to protect growing American settlement and to combat warring tribes in the Portland Basin” (Deur 2012:139).

In May of 1849, a military post was set up at Fort Vancouver in present-day Vancouver, Washington (Clark 1953); and the U.S. military was involved in future conflicts between the U.S. and Native people, sometimes drawing in volunteer forces. According to Carey, volunteers made up the majority of the EuroAmerican forces through the Yakama War of 1855-1856 (Carey 1935:523-524). During the Indian wars, Fort Vancouver acted as a sort of central hub for the military, serving as a training ground, supply depot, administrative center, and prison (Deur 2012).

The U.S. government established other military posts or camps in the Oregon and Washington territories in the 1850s. Near the study area these included:

“Camp Drum, subsequently known as Fort Dalles, in 1850, at the eastern end of the Columbia Gorge on the Oregon Trail (Knuth 1966: 297). In 1855 it erected Fort Cascades at the lowest rapids on the Columbia in the western Gorge and stationed troops in nearby strategic blockhouses—Fort Raines and Fort Lugenbeel at the Middle and Upper Cascades (Beckham 1984b)” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Yakama War

In June of 1855, a number of Native groups signed treaties ceding land to the U.S. and establishing reservations. This included a treaty with the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla; a treaty with the Yakama, Klickitat, and Wishram; and one with the Tenino and Wasco. The treaties will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Unfortunately, the treaties did not actualize a primary aim: stopping violent skirmishes between tribes and settlers in the region. The discovery of gold in the Yakama area incited a flood of gold prospectors who continued to invade Native lands despite Governor Stevens’ promise to keep settlers off Native land during the treaty ratification process (Phinney and Karson 2007; Stern 1998). Subsequently, the Yakama War broke out in October 1855, lasting until September 1858. According to sources, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla joined with the Yakama and Nez Perce tribes to resist increasing violence to their people and invasion of their homeland.

The Yakama War was a widespread, low-intensity conflict, with fights stretching all the way to the Pacific Coast as tribal groups allied with the Yakama cause (Minthorn 2006:82). This period of fighting also included conflicts termed the Walla Walla War (1855-1858) and the Coeur d’Alene War of 1858. The Walla Walla War was sparked by the burning and looting of the HBC’s Fort Walla Walla in 1855 (Ruby and Brown 1986:260). In reaction, Colonel James Kelly and Oregon Volunteers left Fort Dalles and marched toward Fort Walla

Walla, eventually meeting with Chief *PeoPeoMoxMox* of the Walla Walla, who arrived under a flag of truce (Mincho 2003:39-40; Minthorn 2006:82-83). But *PeoPeoMoxMox* and other companions were taken hostage, and the Oregon Volunteers continued to move toward Fort Walla Walla. A few days later, the Battle of Walla Walla occurred between Oregon Volunteers against the Walla Walla and their allies—a four-day battle, lasting from December 7 to 10, 1855, near the site of the old *Waiiletpu* mission. During the fight, *PeoPeoMoxMox* was killed, and members of the Oregon Volunteers scalped and mutilated his body, later distributing pieces across Oregon Territory (Minthorn 2006:82-83). Walla Walla individuals continued in the fight until its end in 1858.

The Coeur d'Alene War of 1858 was the final phase of the larger Yakama War (Glasse 1953:143). Fighting occurred in Idaho and Washington territories involving the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Palouse, Northern Paiute, Walla Walla, and Cayuse (Minthorn 2006:82). This war, along with the related Yakama War and Walla Walla War, ended with the Battle of Spokane Plains on September 5, 1858.

Involving federal troops under Colonel George Wright and allied Native people from various tribal groups, the Battle of Spokane Plains took place near present-day Spokane, Washington (Mincho 2003:65). Fighting continued for a few days as, despite attempts to negotiate surrender, Wright continued to pursue the Native groups (Glasse 1953). According to Minthorn “the Indians suffered high casualties, whereupon they scattered to their villages. The army column continued its trek through Indian lands, rounding up dissidents” (Minthorn 2006:82). After the battle, the U.S. Army slaughtered around 1,000 horses owned by Native people and hanged 15 men (Mincho 2003:65). The pursuit of the dissidents and hanging of tribal leaders lasted until October 9th, 1858 (Glasse 1953:150).

These three years of fighting took place in the Columbia Gorge and northward, outside of the John Day region. Historical sources indicate that the Native peoples of the John Day watershed did not participate in the conflict. Beckham and Lentz write:

“The conflicts of 1856-57 occurred in the Columbia River Gorge and in Washington Territory north of the river. As in so much of the early historic period in the Pacific Northwest, the John Day country remained ‘out back of beyond.’ It was neither a field of conflict nor of Army, volunteer, or Indian military movement. The Indians of the John Day watershed, as of August 1857, remained in their homeland. A. P. Denison, Agent for Northeast Oregon, wrote:

“The John Day Rivers occupy the country in the immediate vicinity of the river bearing that name. Throughout the late war they were with the hostile party; since then they have been friendly and well disposed. They will require but little assistance from the department the present year. The resources of their country are such as to preclude the probability they will require much aid hereafter” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Other sources indicate that in 1856 the military, including the Oregon Volunteers, pursued a campaign of constantly harassing Native peoples in the general John Day region even

though they did not participate in the war (Carey 1922:614; Victor 1894). This caused many to “surrender” and be relocated to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Victor describes events around 1856 in which the military drove neutral individuals and bands in the John Day region onto the Warm Springs Reservation:

“[Colonel] Shaw’s command crossed the Cascades by the Nachess pass, falling in with Wright on the river Nachess, with whom he offered to cooperate, but who declined his services, when he proceeded to the Walla Walla valley, where he arrived on the eighth of July with all his command, except a force of seventy-five men under Captain Goff, who had joined Major Layton of the Oregon rangers, with whom he was making a march through the John Day country, capturing Indians and taking many Indian horses.

“This constant marching through their country, taking away their horses and supplies, gradually forced the needy and the neutral individuals and bands onto the reservation at Warm springs, and together with the somewhat similar policy of Wright, caused the surrender of over nine hundred Wascos, Tyghes, Des Chutes, and John Day Indians to the agents, thus lessening the numbers liable to commit depredations or act as go-betweens. There were, however, still the fighting forces of the Cayuses and Walla Wallas and a part of the Nez Percés to overcome either by arms or diplomacy” (Victor 1894:476).

A newspaper in 1856 reported the surrender of local Native people at The Dalles:

“Latest from The Dalles.—By the Senorita of Tuesday, we received a letter from our correspondent from the Dalles, giving us the following news items:

“About 200 De Shutes and John Day Indians have come in and surrendered their arms. About 50 of the number are young men capable of bearing arms. The remainder are old women and children.... There are about 5,000 grown Indians at the Dalles under charge of agents. The friendly Indians there are much dissatisfied because the hostiles are received and fed and clothed by the whites, better than they who are who have continued friendly” (*Daily Alta California* 1856a).

Another newspaper also reported the surrender of local tribal peoples, and that almost 5,000 tribal peoples were brought to The Dalles: “The DeShutes and John Days River Indians have mostly come in and given up their arms. Between four and five thousand Indians have been brought in to the Dalles, and are in charge of the Government Agent” (*Oregon Argus* 1856).

These sources indicate that during the Yakama War the military removed hundreds of Native peoples from the John Day watershed. Only a few years later, conflicts between groups and a sudden flood of EuroAmericans to the area would lead to the next war.

Rising Tensions in the John Day Area

As early as 1859, conflict arose among tribal groups in the study area. Into the 1860s, raids and retaliatory actions transpired between those living on the Warm Springs Reservation and Northern Paiute groups. In his 1859 report, A.P. Dennison, agent for the Indians of the eastern district of Oregon, noted both a raid on the reservation and retaliatory actions on the Northern Paiute:

“Since my last report, the Indians within my district have remained friendly and well disposed, with the exception of the Sho-sho-nes, or Snake tribes, who have committed some depredations upon the friendly Indians. The Indians under my charge have received but little from the department in provisions and clothing during the year, except those located upon the Warm Spring reservation, to wit: Wascoes, Tyichs, and Des Chutes.... There has been one great drawback to their advancement during this spring and summer, which I hope will be provided against before another spring.

“The Drawback I refer to is the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians, who live on the western slope of the Blue mountains, directly opposite the reservation, on the east side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks have generally been made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed. The Indians upon the reserve this spring were very poor, and had to subsist principally upon wild roots. To obtain these, they were compelled to go considerable distances from the agency, and, after these attacks were commenced by the Snakes, they became so frightened that they would no longer go out to procure them; and having but little means at my command, wherewith to furnish them with subsistence, many of them failed to put in any crop, and left the reservation, and came into the neighborhood of the settlements with their stock. The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the department, and threatening to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the officer commanding the military department of Oregon, General W.S. Harney, for a force sufficient to protect the public property and the lives and property of the Indians upon the reservation: if no force could be furnished, then forty or fifty United States rifles, with fixed ammunition” (Dennison 1860:432-433).

Dennison’s appeal to the general was effective. He continues, describing the outcome based on General Harney’s direction:

“I received forty United States rifles, with ammunition, but no force, and forwarded them to the reservation. There I immediately organized a company of Indians, fifty-three in number, and placed them under charge of Dr. Thomas L. Fitch, gave them arms and ammunition, and such provisions as I had at the agency, and directed them to proceed into the Snake country, and make the best effort they could to recover the stolen property, and to punish those who had been engaged in stealing it. (Up to this point there had been stolen about one hundred and fifty head of horses and

cattle, besides what had been killed.) They proceeded about one hundred and twenty miles up the valley of John Day's river, when they came upon two lodges of Snakes. They succeeded in killing all the men belonging to these lodges, and taking the women and children prisoners, and also in recovering several of the stolen horses. There were several lodges on the opposite side of John Day's river, but that stream being much swollen, and their provisions exhausted, after spending two days in trying to cross, they gave up the attempt, and returned to the agency, which they reached on the 3d of May. The result of this little expedition was to prevent a renewal of attacks upon the reserve for several days" (Dennison 1860:432-433).

In an 1867 report, J.W.P. Huntington, a superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote that the raids on the Warm Springs Reservation continued every year following the 1859 incident (Huntington 1868a:70-71). A newspaper article from 1859 suggests that some Northern Paiute also told settlers to leave the area:

"The *Dalles Journal* of the 19th inst. says: "The Snake Indians who made the recent murderous and plundering descent upon the Warm Springs Reservation, unquestionably were mounted in great part upon mules which had belonged to the government, and were under the influence of strong exaltation, such as some recent success inspires in the Indian.... It is understood that the Snakes have given notice to some of the settlers in the valley of the John Day river, to vacate before the 'present moon shall be gone'" (*Daily Alta California* 1859).

As mentioned above, an increase in tension came with the discovery of gold in 1861 in the Canyon City area, which drew more EuroAmericans to the region. This takeover of Native traditional territories was undoubtedly disruptive in many ways, and possibly strained subsistence practices. As Endzweig states: "The pressure on the native population in this land of limited water and fragile ecology must have been considerable and it is no small wonder that clashes between Euroamerican settlers and Native Americans become increasingly common throughout the 1860s" (Endzweig 1994:21; Huntington 1865, 1887).

Throughout the 1860s, Northern Paiute individuals reportedly made attacks on settlers and travelers along the Canyon City Road, and raided ranches and mining camps in the Canyon City area (Cliff 1942:67-68; Jette 2004). According to Carey, one attack on the John Day River resulted in the deaths of prospectors (Carey 1922:662). This brought to the area a company of volunteers under Captain George B. Currey to apprehend the suspects in March of 1862. The suspects were not found, but during the search Currey's company attacked and took hostage many innocent Native peoples: "A number of indian villages were raided by Currey's troopers, several old indians were taken as hostages for the future good behavior of their tribes, and a good deal of ground was covered by forced marches, but the murderers of the prospectors were not found" (Carey 1922:662).

“Snake” War

As tensions in the John Day region increased, so did violent skirmishes. In the 1860s, military campaigns intensified against Northern Paiutes and other tribes in the area, ultimately leading to the Shoshone or “Snake Wars”¹⁴ that lasted from 1864 until 1868 (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Ruby et al. 2010). The U.S. Army’s campaign intended to subdue or exterminate the Paiutes, attacking them wherever they were found (Ruby and Brown 1981:208, 1986:56). This period of intense warring, starvation, and general hardship caused an estimated death of two-thirds of the Northern Paiutes in Oregon (Toepel et al. 1980:145).

Near the study area, the military established during this period a presence in the Canyon City region at Camp Watson. Endzweig explains:

“In July of 1864, Camp Watson was established some 20 miles southeast of Mitchell to protect the road between The Dalles and Canyon City. Along with Camp Lincoln, Camp Logan, Camp Dahlgren, Camp Maury, and Camp Gibbs, it served as a base for relentless military campaigns against Northern Paiute raiders. Camp Watson was decommissioned in 1869” (Endzweig 1994:21).



A contemporary sketch of Camp Watson. Photo courtesy NPS.

A newspaper article from 1864 reports the military’s intention to clear the area of Native peoples:

“From The Oregonian of July 14, 1864.

General Alvord had received a letter from Captain George B. Curry, First Oregon Cavalry, dated at Camp No. 46, northeast of Harney Lake, July 2, saying that he was joined there by Captain Drake and his command and saying: ‘I found it in good condition and 100 strong. With the two commands I will start in the morning direct towards Canyon City, intending to clear the region of John Day’s River of Indians...’” (*Morning Oregonian* 1914:6).

Yet, as summarized by Beckham and Lentz, these actions against the Northern Paiutes did not end the conflict:

“Tensions in the region did not abate with the military missions. Between September, 1865, and August, 1867, numerous incidents occurred which involved Northern Paiutes and residents of the upper John Day watershed. These ranged from armed encounters and killings to petty thieving, raids of isolated ranches and mining camps, and periodic sweeps by volunteer companies seeking the ‘enemy.’ Indian Superintendent Huntington summarized eight packed pages of these encounters in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1867...Indians suffered numerous deaths; stock drivers lost their animals and cursed the Indians. Indians raided settlements and escaped. Troops rounded up Indians and killed them. The situation was nearly guerilla warfare” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

Ultimately, EuroAmericans gained control of the region, and on December 10, 1868 at Fort Harney, the federal government negotiated treaties with the three Northern Paiute leaders Egan, Oytes, and Weahwewa. However, the U.S. Senate never ratified the treaty and it never came to fruition (Ruby et al. 2010). The Northern Paiute were eventually provided the Malheur Reservation in 1872, but as a result of the Bannock War of 1878, the reservation was returned to public domain 10 years later (Ruby et al. 2010; Soucie 2007).

Bannock War

The Bannock War of 1878 was the last major fight between Native peoples and the U.S. military in the study region. Bannocks were living on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho under poor conditions that reportedly included tensions with EuroAmericans, lack of supplies, and starvation (Toepel et al. 1980). In May of 1878, Buffalo Horn led a party of Bannocks out of the reservation and began fighting and raiding in Idaho (Thompson 1912:134-135). In June, they moved into eastern Oregon to join forces with Northern Paiute from the Malheur Reservation, led by Egan and Oytes (Beckham and Lentz 2000). Minthorn describes the motivations for their actions: “on the brink of starvation, the Bannock and Northern Paiute broke free from the confines of their reservation and united in a desperate war of survival” (Minthorn 2006:84). They saw their efforts as a fight for their lives.

Following a battle on Silver Creek in the Harney Lake area on June 23, the Bannock and Northern Paiute fighters moved northward toward the Columbia River with the hopes of gaining support from the Umatilla (Beckham and Lentz 2000). According to sources, they passed through the vicinity of Canyon City and briefly fought with some EuroAmerican settlers, burning structures and raiding cattle and horses as they moved northward (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Thompson 1912; Toepel et al. 1980:145-146).

As with other wars, historical sources suggest Native peoples were attacked indiscriminately during the conflict. One instance was published in the *Daily Alta California* newspaper in early July, 1878. An account at Celilo states:

“Three of my Indians have just come in, bringing the following intelligence: They had started for Camas Grande, where a large number of friendly Indians were gathered for the purpose of digging roots, but when within one day’s ride of the place they were stopped by a large crowd of white men at a rancher’s named Fleet, living in the mountains, on John Day’s River, who told these Indians to come back to Celilo; if they went to Camas Grande they would get killed, as the Indians there were fighting the soldiers. They gave them a ‘good Indian’ paper, of which the following is a copy:

“July 4th—These Indians belong to the Warm Spring Reservation, and had started to Camas Grande, but got scared and returned and are now on their way to their homes. They also state that there are no Warm Springs Indians at Camas Grande, and they have not taken any part in the war. They are ashamed of the actions of the soldiers, and further state that in their opinion, notwithstanding the soldiers are the aggressors, that they will not carry this settlement. The Indians that are fighting were peacefully digging roots for subsistence, as they have done for hundreds of years, and were attacked by the military, who attempted to drive them off. The Indians are acting only in self-defense. All should allow them to pass peaceably to their homes. (Signed,) W.G. Fleet” (*Daily Alta California* 1878).

In July, Bannock and Northern Paiute forces continued moving northward toward the Columbia River, pursued by General O.O. Howard and the U.S. Army (Thompson 1912). On July 7th, a major battle occurred near the head of Butter and Birch Creeks in the Blue Mountains, about 18 miles south of Pilot Rock (Toepel et al. 1980:145-146). Historical sources describe skirmishes in the Pendleton area as well. Later in mid-July upon reaching the Umatilla Reservation area, the Northern Paiute leader Egan was killed by Native fighters who decided not to support the Bannocks’ fight (Glassey 1953:236). Following his death, the Bannock and Northern Paiute fighters disbanded, with many heading homeward until they were pursued by the U.S. Army, other Native people, or EuroAmerican settlers, and were captured or killed (Glassey 1953:238; Mosgrove 1980:57).

The Bannock War of 1878 reportedly undermined efforts to establish an enduring Malheur Reservation. According to sources, a minority of Northern Paiute left the reservation to join the resistance against EuroAmericans (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Ruby et al. 2010). Yet, as

Soucie (2007:47) reports, while “most Paiutes did not participate in the Bannock War of 1878, they suffered from it nevertheless. Many were killed in their sleep or attacked by troops in their camps.” After this war, the federal government rounded up many of the Northern Paiutes and Bannocks and relocated them to Washington, beginning in the winter of 1879. It was described as a harsh journey that included many fatalities:

“After the Bannock War had ended several months later, all of the Paiute, including those who didn’t take arms, were sent to Fort Simcoe near Yakima. This was a forced march in winter with inadequate clothing and provisions. Army records indicate that at least two adults and three children froze to death on the trip and many others perished in the stock sheds in which they were housed at the fort. The oral histories of the Burns Paiute Tribe indicate that many more lives were lost during the journey. An unsuccessful effort was made to place the Oregon Paiutes with the Yakima but most fled to the Warm Springs Reservation, Nevada or parts of their old reservation” (USFS n.d.b.).

Sarah Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute from Nevada, observed this march and imprisonment and reported the following, as paraphrased, to Mosgrove:

“In her book, Sarah says that after the Bannock War was over the hostiles were rounded up and guarded by the soldiers to protect them from the citizens. Fifty wagons took them to Fort Simcoe near Yakima. It snowed all the way and was very cold. The Indians were poorly dressed. Some children froze to death and some women died. When they arrived at Fort Simcoe the only place they could be housed was in stock sheds. The cold was terrible. Sarah was there with the army as interpreter and did what she could to relieve the suffering” (Mosgrove 1980:57).

The austere and inhospitable living conditions led many of the surviving tribal members to escape in order to return to their homeland in Harney Valley (Couture 1978; Soucie 2007). But as a result of the Bannock War, another hardship would fall on the Northern Paiute of Harney Valley. With Northern Paiute scattered to various locations, the Malheur Reservation was considered empty or abandoned, and was returned to public domain in 1882 (Shane 1950). Additional information on the history of the Malheur Reservation is provided in the following section on the formation of reservations.

The “Boy’s War” of 1898

In the study area, anti-Native sentiment continued after the Bannock War of 1878 (Mosgrove 1980:61-62). As people from tribal groups continued to hunt, fish, and gather in their traditional areas, they sometimes faced attacks and gunfire from EuroAmericans (Mosgrove 1980:61-62; USFS n.d.b.). Sources state that these tensions precipitated the events of the “Boy’s War.” In the fall of 1898, a fight broke out between EuroAmerican young men and Native peoples near Izee when a series of misunderstandings arose around

missing horses. The settler party pursued the Native group—leading to a confrontation at “a point about two miles upstream from where Yellow Jacket Creek (now Dead Indian Creek) enters the North Fork of Deer Creek, a tributary of John Day’s South Fork” (Mosgrove 1980:61-62). Exchange of gunfire resulted in the deaths of a settler, George Cutting, and one of the Native young men, Chief Albert (USFS n.d.b.). According to Mosgrove, no further action was pursued on either side of the conflict:

“News reports were many and varied with an exaggerated number of Indians involved and killed. The settlers were fearful of reprisal and many were removed to places of greater safety. The Indians were more fearful, however, and there were no further incidents. No reports of this ‘last Indian war in the United States’ were forwarded to any government agencies. Since this appeared to be the action of reckless youths who had acted against the advice of their elders, the local people were not anxious to discuss the affair (Porter 1977)” (Mosgrove 1980:61-62).

This incident was the last armed conflict between Native peoples and EuroAmericans termed a “war” in the study area.

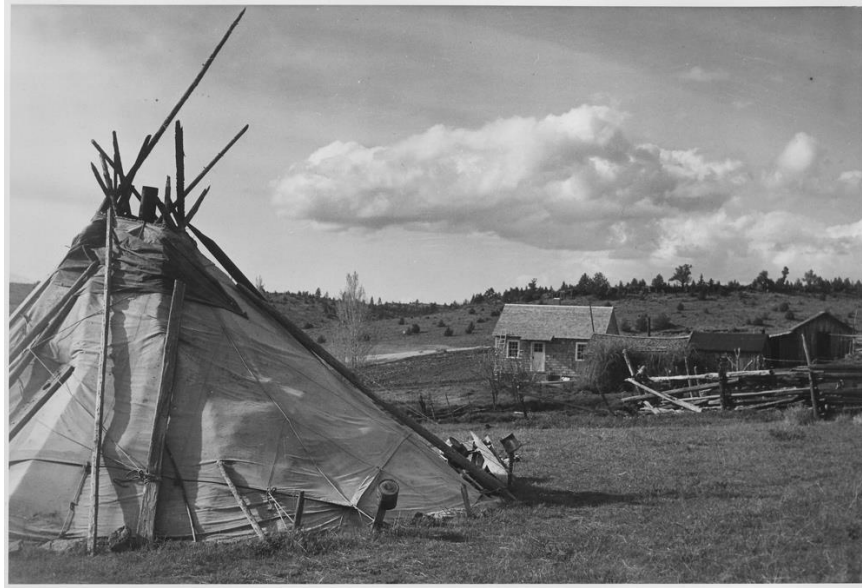
Treaties and Reservation Creation

As EuroAmerican presence and settlement intensified in the late 1840s and 1850s, tensions and outright violence between EuroAmericans and Native people escalated. Treaty-making efforts by the U.S. government starting in the 1850s were spurred by these conflicts in eastern Oregon and Washington Territories. The government saw treaties as a way to resolve conflicts by clearing Native peoples from desired lands, thus assuaging settlers' fears over mounting violence and opening pathways for their takeover.

Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs

As in the history of other area tribes, increased EuroAmerican settlement (particularly in the mid-1800s) brought greater conflict to the territory of the Wascos and Warm Springs (Tenino) (Woody 2007). Focused on the need to clear Native inhabitants for EuroAmerican settlement, Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer entered into treaty with the Wascos and Warm Springs (Binus 2003; CTWS 2016a; Mcconnell 2006; Tonsfeldt et al. 2014). In June 1855, he and the tribes engaged in a three-day council near The Dalles, Oregon (Binus 2003), in which he warned Wasco and Warm Spring bands and tribes that his plan outlining cession of their traditional territory in exchange for a reservation "offered them their only protection from the coming hordes of white settlers" (CTWS 1972). Accepting this as a precondition for land cession and removal to reservations, the assembled leaders of certain bands signed the Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon on June 25, 1855. Their land cession included what is today all three units of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, as well as much of central Oregon. The exact language of the treaty is included in Appendix A of this document.

Under the Treaty of 1855 the tribes gave up title to about 10 million acres of traditional territories for a reservation that was a fraction of the size, about 600,000 acres (CTWSRO 2023; Ruby and Brown 1986:56). Within a year of the treaty's signing, the Warm Springs Tribes were forced to relocate to the new reservation; roughly two years after the arrival of the first bands, on March 8, 1859, the treaty was ratified (CTWSRO 2023). The agreements of the treaty included the important provision that tribal members would retain the "exclusive right of taking fish in the stream running through and bordering said reservation . . . and all other usual and accustomed stations, in common with citizens of United States." According to the treaty, they were also allowed to erect "suitable houses for curing the same," and the ability to hunt, gather, and keep livestock on unclaimed lands, also like U.S. citizens (CTWSRO 2023). Along with securing a land base within the tribes' traditional territory, the treaty also promised the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs (CTWS) various compensations in the form of annuities, health and education services, and construction of buildings.¹⁵ The treaty also enshrined certain rights of resource use and land access that extend into the vicinity of what is today JODA.

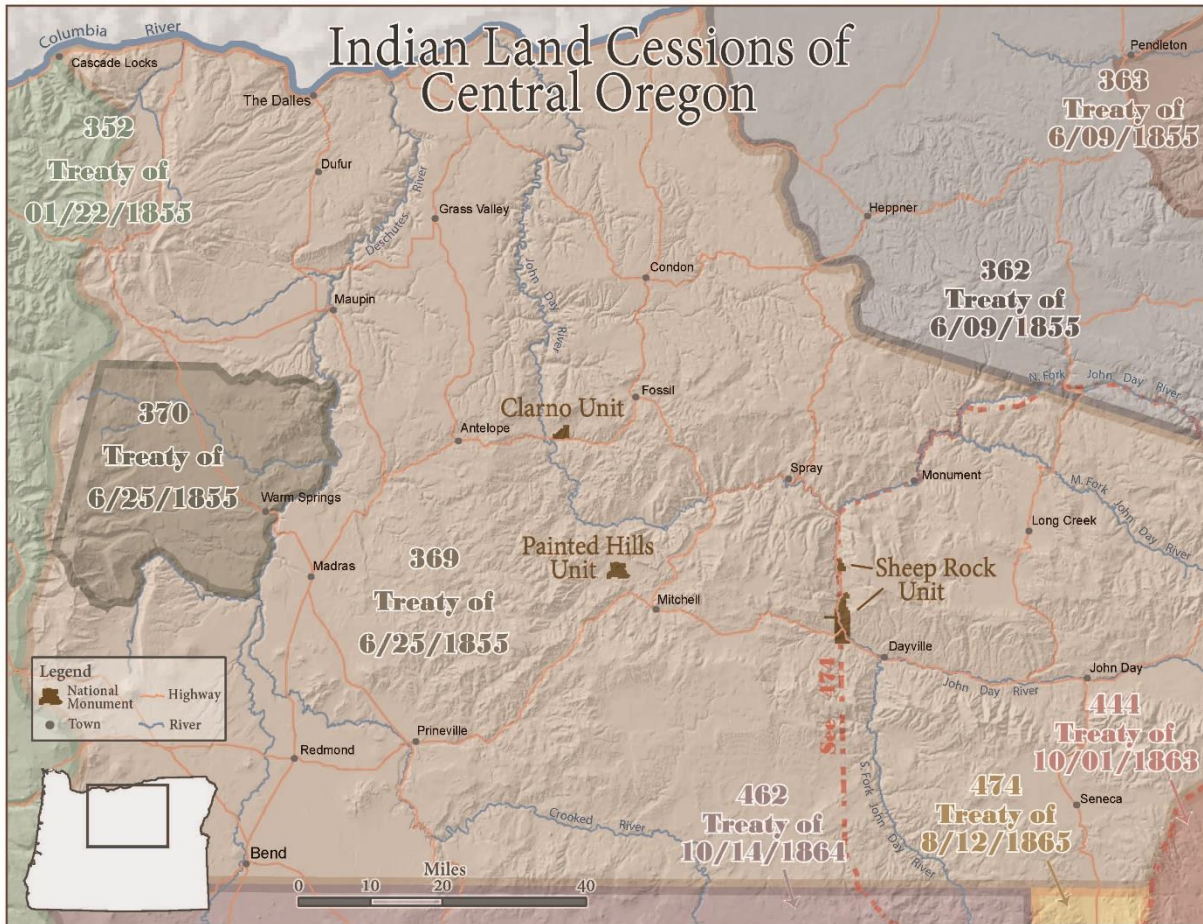


A scene from the Warm Springs Reservation. Band leaders of Wasco, Warm Springs, and other tribal communities entered into a treaty negotiated by Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer in 1855. Their land cession included what is today all three units of John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, as well as much of central Oregon. National Archives and Records Administration; Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Like other treaties between the federal government and tribes, the terms of the Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon primarily favored the United States, notably by removing tribes to marginal lands (Binus 2003; Tonsfeldt et al. 2014). The 1855 Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon proved, in the words of Tonsfeldt et al., to be

“advantageous to the U.S. government because it largely removed the Upper Chinookan and Sahaptin peoples from the Columbia River corridor. The river was destined to become a major east-west route connecting the Pacific slope and the western valleys to the inland regions of the Pacific Northwest. The land that the Warm Springs tribes reserved for their own use was a remote corner of their territory” (Tonsfeldt et al. 2014).

During the treaty session, numerous tribal representatives expressed their displeasure at the quality of the land chosen for the reservation:



MAP 8: Reservations and lands ceded by tribes through treaty to the United States. The Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon (12 Stat 963) ceded all three units of John Day Fossil Beds on June 25, 1855. This treaty also created the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation still recognize their association with all three units of JODA as part of their ceded lands.

“As the session progressed, it became increasingly clear to the Indians that they would be forced to move onto the reservation Palmer had selected for them. Chief Mark, another representative of The Dalles Band, objected to Palmer’s proposal:

“The place that you have mentioned I have not seen. There are no Indians or white men there yet, and that is the reason I say I know nothing about that county. If there were Indians and whites there, then I would think it was a good country.’

“Similar objections were voiced by other tribal representatives. Some expressed their preference for lands in the Tygh Valley, some for lands along the Columbia River, some for lands in the root-digging areas east of the Deschutes River. But Palmer warned that unless the tribes agreed soon, they would lose everything. The tribal spokesmen realized that they had much to lose, but little with which they could negotiate. After three days, 89 Indian leaders signed Palmer’s treaty. Included were members of the Walla Walla, the Tygh, the Wyam, the Tenino, and the John

Day bands.... Also present were members of The Dalles and Dog [Hood] River bands of Wasco Indians” (CTWS 1984:24).

Over the next few years, the population of the reservation increased as Native groups slowly moved onto it. According to Murdock, “The bulk of the Tenino were removed thence in 1857, and the Wasco and kindred Chinookan peoples followed in 1858. Reservation records of 1858-59 report the presence of 850 Tenino on the reservation with about 60 Wayam and 100 John Day not yet established there” (Murdock 1980:130). Later, in 1878, a portion of the John Day River Indians living in the Clarno region moved to the reservation (Suphan 1974a:198).

In 1862, agents record that people of the Warm Springs Reservation continued to leave the reservation to fish the Columbia (Hamil 1863; Logan 1863:289). Some also left because of attacks and raids by the Northern Paiute. Agents viewed this mobility negatively, partially because it hindered Native peoples’ involvement and success in agriculture. Agents also claimed they did not fish all of the time, instead partaking in what the agents described as “less innocent” activities (Hamil 1863:291-292). A report from the Superintendent William H. Rector similarly criticizes their mobility and fishing:

“There were not fifty Indians at the agency at the time of my visit, and the patches of corn, potatoes, &c., which they had been induced to put in had been abandoned, or wholly neglected. I was informed by the agent that the Indians were visiting the fisheries, from fifty to eighty miles distant. This privilege is guaranteed to them by treaty, and they avail themselves of its provisions to the fullest extent; frequently remaining away during the entire summer. During their absence they do not remain at the fisheries and devote themselves to fishing with a view of obtaining a sufficiency for water use, but seek the opportunity to prowl the country over, visiting such places where they would be most likely to obtain whiskey, and indulging in such practices as tend to degrade and demoralize. In view of these facts, I cannot regard this provision of their treaty, granting exclusive privilege to fish, &c., otherwise than being very prejudicial to their true interests. The agent has used every exertion to induce the Indians to remain upon the agency and cultivate their crops, but all to no purpose...” (Rector 1863:257-258).

Yet, he goes on to admit that reservation land is not good for farming,

“I am not favorably impressed with this location of this reservation. There is but little land susceptible of cultivation upon it, and that little is difficult of access, lying in narrow strips between towering mountains—destitute of timber or anything else that could be turned to account for man or beast....

“The saw and grist mills are new, having been erected this summer, and the best I have seen upon any of the reservations, but unfortunately located upon an agency where there is no use for them” (Rector 1863:257-258).

Rector's account evinces the contradiction between agents' expectations of Native communities adopting farming, and recognition that the reservation is not well-suited for cultivation.

In 1865, efforts to further restrict residents of the Warm Springs Reservation resulted in a fraudulent treaty that ceded off-reservation fishing rights (Beckham 1991). Not only did BIA personnel wish to control the movements of Native peoples, but Shane suggests the treaty was an outgrowth of white settlers' perceptions that the Native peoples were abusing their off-reservation privileges, "infringing on selfish conceptions of rights of the white pioneers" (Shane 1950:290). Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs J.W. Perit Huntington convinced the leaders of the CTWS to sign a treaty that relinquished rights to leave their reservation for hunting, fishing, and gathering. They could only leave the reservation if issued a pass by the reservation agent. Afterward, members of the CTWS quickly objected, indicating that they did not understand the terms of the treaty, and it was not properly interpreted to them, sources state (Shane 1950; Smith 1870:161). According to Agent Smith, in 1870 members of the CTWS expressed that,

"They do not wish to regain the land, but they wish to have the free and unmolested right to take fish at the said fishery near the Dalles guaranteed to them; and that provision be made that no person or persons may assume control of the said fishery to the exclusion of these Indians. Salmon is to an Indian what bread is to a white man; and I hope this matter will receive your attention, and that these Indians may be permitted the use of said fishery in common with the whites" (Smith 1870:161).

The situation was eventually resolved 23 years later, as Beckham explains, "Finally in 1888 Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins observed, 'I think it highly improbable that the Warm Springs Indians would have relinquished their rights in these valuable fisheries for the mere asking'" (Beckham 1991:45). The treaty was thus ignored by the federal government, and the CTWS regained their off-reservation fishing rights (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

In numerous years, reservation agents note the necessity of fishing, and of other traditional foods, for Native subsistence and survival, often in the context of poor crop yields. In the 1860s and 1870s, Agent John Smith reported that during his tenure at the reservation (1866-1886), he let residents leave to obtain traditional foods for sustenance (Smith 1868:85, 1870:161, 1872, 1878). In 1872, he wrote,

"In anticipation of a failure of crops, I gave them leave to go into the mountains to dig roots, which are an excellent substitute for bread, and they obtained a large quantity. I furnished them with the usual amount of salt, and gave them permission to go to the Dalles fisheries; they were very successful in their salmon-catch. I estimate that 10 tons of salt and 2 tons of dried salmon were put up. This will give them a good supply of provision aside from their crops, and will enable them to dispose of their cereals for cash" (Smith 1872:366).

In the same year, a report from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker mentions that despite the poor condition of reservation land for farming, some residents met with success, while others left the reservation (possibly pursuing traditional subsistence practices):

“Warm Springs agency.—The Indians at this agency, known as the ‘Confederated tribes and bands of Indians in Middle Oregon,’ comprise seven bands of the Walla-Walla and Wasco tribes, numbering 626. They have a reservation of 1,024,000 acres, located in the central part of the State, set apart for them by the treaty of June 25, 1855. Though there is but little really good land in this reservation, many of the Indians, by reason of their industry, have succeeded measurably in their farming operations, and may be considered self-sustaining.... There are some, however, who are disposed to wander off the reservation, and lead a vagabond life” (Walker 1872:63).

The Bannock War of 1878 (see ‘Bannock War’ section above) affected the Warm Springs Reservation both during and after the war. According to Agent John Smith, individuals living off-reservation relocated to the reservation for safety (Smith 1878:124). This may explain why the John Day band around Clarno moved to the reservation in 1878, as mentioned by Suphan (1974:198). Smith also point out that subsistence practices were disrupted by the war, drawing more people to the reservation:

“I have some fears that the supplies of food will be short of actual wants ere another crop season comes around, since on account of the Indian war nearly all the Indians, but more especially the ‘wild’ ones, have been prevented from laying in their usual supplies of roots, fish, &c., and have had to subsist on food raised on the reservation, of which there will be but little if any surplus by those raising grain to spare from their own needs. Fortunately the late run of the salmon was the best, and considerable quantities have been put up, both of dried and salted. Lately I have given passes to many of them to go into the Cascade Mountains to hunt and pick berries. Their favorite hunting grounds are mainly in the Blue Mountains, but I consider it unsafe for them to go even near the settlements, and I will not allow them to go across the Des Chutes River except to Prineville, where they go to sell vegetables” (Smith 1878:125).

The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation includes Paiute tribal members, along with the Wasco and Warm Springs, but the Paiute path to the reservation was unique, going back to the Bannock War. However undeserved, U.S. military forces and settlers ended up perceiving the Northern Paiute as being in alliance with Bannock fighters participating in that revolt against American occupation of traditional lands. When the U.S. military quickly put down the Bannock rebellion in 1878, Paiute tribal members were forcibly removed from a reservation in Malheur and moved to reservations in Yakama Reservation and Fort Vancouver (Allen 2005; CTWSRO 2023). Additionally, in 1879, 38 Paiute were resettled to the reservation at Warm Springs, with more Paiute eventually

joining them (CTWSRO 2023). Indeed, all Paiute members who had been placed on the Yakama Reservation were again relocated by 1883, either to the Warm Springs Reservation or their traditional homeland in Harney Basin, becoming part of what would become the Burns Paiute community (Allen 2005). Paiute people also retained a foothold along the John Day for a time after reservation-creation. According to findings of the Indian Claims Commission, Captain Whaling reported in 1859 that Paiute people were camped on Crooked River and holding “lands from the headwaters of the John Day River as far south as Two Buttes or Mt. Pauline near the Deschutes headwaters, and that most of their camps were south of the reservation” (Suphan 1974:617; Indian Claims Commission 557). These people found their way to Warm Springs in time. Some three decades after reservation creation, after the arrival of Paiute peoples from these many directions, the Warm Springs Reservation population in 1885 hovered around 900 (Correspondence, Warm Spring Agency 1885).

When the Dawes Allotment Act was passed in 1887, it had arguably less negative impact on the Warm Springs Reservation than other reservations in Oregon Territory. This allotment process by which tribal land was turned into private parcels for tribal members who could sell the parcels after 25 years of residence, required surveying the territory. The large size of the Warm Springs Reservation prolonged the surveying process, requiring over 15 years from start to finish. Moreover, the enormous size of the reservation meant that the number of allotments were far more than the number of tribal members. In the end, only about 20% of Warm Springs Reservation lands went into allotment. Very few tribal members resided on those allotments for the 25 years required for the parcels to reach sellable status (Tonsfeldt et al. 2014).

The largest shift in the Warm Springs Reservation boundary resulted from the Confederated Tribes’ one-hundred-year struggle to rectify the erroneous survey of their reservation’s boundary. This dispute centered on the placement of the western and northern boundaries (CTWS 1972; Ruby et al. 2007). T.B. Handley made the first survey in 1871, placing the northern boundary south of the line contemplated in the 1855 treaty. Because of the description in the 1855 treaty of the reservation boundary, the movement of the northern boundary also affected the western boundary. Cliff indicates that by 1885, some of the reservation land was categorized as public lands and EuroAmerican settlers were encroaching upon the reservation:

“The extension of public surveys in the vicinity of the Reservation in 1885 showed that the boundaries on the north, south and east had not been properly respected, and that some of the lands belonging to the Reservation had been surveyed as public lands.

“White settlers had taken up land along the edges of the Reservation, and, particularly on the northern border, had allowed their herds to graze on the slopes of the Mutton Mountains. Indian herders and white herders disputed ownership of the region, and the white Agents were helpless in settling the difficulty for markers could not be discovered which would give a basis for either Indian or white claims...” (Cliff 1942:124-133).

Thus in 1887, government surveyor John A. McQuinn resurveyed the territory. He concluded that the Confederated Tribes' understanding of the boundary was correct. Decades later in 1972, after a long legal and political struggle to settle the boundary dispute, Congress passed Public Law 92-427, mostly identifying the boundary according to the Confederated Tribes' terms (CTWS 1972). As of 2006, the Warm Springs Reservation totaled 644,000 acres (Ruby et al. 2007:88).

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation

In 1854, upon the recommendation of Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer, the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided to halt settlements in eastern Oregon until tribes could be removed by treaties. By July of that year, Congress authorized treaty making. Palmer, along with Washington's newly appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac Stevens, endeavored to treaty with the various tribes in their territory. In May of 1855, treaty negotiations began near Mill Creek, six miles north of the Cayuse's *Waiiletpu* village in the Walla Walla Valley of Washington. Tribes present at the negotiation included those with traditional territories in present-day southeast Washington and northeastern Oregon, including the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla peoples. Leaders representing the tribes included *PeoPeoMoxMox* for the Umatilla, *Weyatenatemany* (also noted in texts as Young Chief) for the Cayuse, and *Wenap-Snoot* for the Walla Wallas (CTUIR n.d.; Phinney and Karson 2007).

In a June 1855 letter to Indian Commissioner George Manypenny, Governors Stevens and Palmer described the negotiation process as arduous and drawn-out. The two governors "tried for days to convince the Indians it was in their best interest to cede land to the United States. White settlers, Palmer said, would soon be coming to the region 'like grasshoppers on the plains'" (Phinney and Karson 2007:184). The governors originally sought to create two reservations: one for the Yakama in Washington and a second in Idaho for the Nez Perce, Spokane, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla peoples. However, the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla rejected this offer, citing a desire to stay in their homeland. Thus, Governor Palmer offered to create a third reservation in eastern Oregon for the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla (CTUIR n.d.; Phinney and Karson 2007). In a June 12, 1855 letter addressed to Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny, Stevens and Palmer said that in order to get treaties signed, they had to agree to a separate reservation, which would become the Umatilla Indian Reservation (Steinmetz 2020:16). On May 31, 1855, the subject arose of accessing resources in traditional gathering sites on and off the reservation. Stevens answered this concern by stating: "We do not want you to agree not to get roots and berries, and not to go off to the Buffalo; we want you to have your roots and to get your berries, and to kill your game; we want you if you wish to mount your horses and go to the Buffalo Plains" (Stevens and Palmer 1855:12).



Scenes from the early Umatilla Indian Reservation, housing Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and other tribal communities relocated from their homelands across central and eastern Oregon and adjacent states. OSU Special Collections & Archives, via Wikimedia Commons.

A factor contributing to difficulty in treaty negotiations may have been the incongruity between the idea of selling land and the Native belief system or laws termed *tamánwit*, discussed above. Trafzer explains,

“*Tamánwit* is essentially the ‘rules to live by’ that come out of the Indian religion and are espoused in song and ritual. *Tamánwit* emerged when life first began on earth. This was the time when Natítayt, ‘the people,’ received the spirit and the law. Through their translators, the Indian leadership at the Walla Walla Council tried to convey to Stevens and Palmer their deep and profound belief in *tamánwit*, so that these non-Indians might understand that the Indian leaders could not sell their land and resources. To do so would violate *tamánwit*, or Indian law. To sell the land, the leaders would have to break the spirit and the law, handed down to them for generations from the time of creation to 1855. The ideal of selling their land was abhorrent to the Indian leaders, so in their presentations at the Council, they emphasized the sacredness of the earth and all its bounty. This became the underlying theme of the native leadership at the Council as recorded in the speeches given by Indian leaders, a theme common to Indian people in their dealings with whites.

“Throughout the proceedings of the Walla Walla Council, the Indian leadership explained again and again that they had a singular relationship with the prairies, mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, trees, roots, berries, fish, and animals. The relationship had emerged at the beginning of creation, before mankind, when the plants, animals, and places made ready for the arrival of human beings. The Creator and all the creative powers had prepared the earth and its bounty so that humans

could exist. Every Indian leader that attended the Walla Walla Council understood this precept, and every leader tried—in his own way—to protect the special relationship of their people to the earth” (Trafzer 2006:77).

Ultimately, the three tribes and U.S. government signed a treaty on June 9, 1855 requiring the three tribes to cede to the U.S. 2,151,680 acres of their homeland in Oregon Territory and another 1,861,120 in Washington Territory (Phinney and Karson 2007; Ruby et al. 2010). In exchange, the tribes reserved roughly 512,000 acres for a reservation, as well as rights to fish, hunt, gather plants, and raise livestock on their traditional lands, which were to be held in the public domain (Phinney and Karson 2007). The 1855 treaty also laid out monetary compensation and construction for particular buildings on the reservation. Beyond settling issues of Native title and clearing the land for settlement, the treaty aimed to acculturate the CTUIR, particularly with the establishment of farming (Stern 1998).

The off-reservation rights for hunting, fishing, and gathering were directly addressed in the Treaty of 1855. For example, the treaty language states:

“That the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians, and at all other usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same; the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands in common with citizens, is also secured to them” (Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla, June 9, 1855, 12 Stat. 945).

Treaty minutes reveal dedication by the tribal people to hunting, fishing and gathering outside of reservation lands. And as the Stevens quote above states, Governor Stevens made efforts to assure them the treaty would not hinder traditional practices. According to the Treaty of 1855, tribes reserved all rights not granted to the United States. This was to include gathering material resources such as wood, plants, and obsidian, and was seen not only as central to their culture and economy, but the basis of the tribe’s economy (Steinmetz 2020:16).

Another of the U.S. government’s goals for the treaty process, stopping violent conflicts in the region, was not reached by the treaty. As mentioned earlier, in October 1855, shortly after the treaty-signing, the Yakama War began as gold prospectors invaded Native lands. The war continued until September 1858. Congress responded to the conflict by postponing ratification of the treaty until 1859—a delay that put “[i]n motion a series of legislative events over the next several decades that would further reduce the size of the reservation, providing more Indian land for white settlement and fostering continued discontent between the people who gave up their homeland and the intruders who claimed it as their own” (Phinney and Karson 2007:186).

Cumulatively, the actions, and sometimes non-actions, of the U.S. government would have lasting effects on CTUIR’s traditional land-base. EuroAmericans continued to target

Umatilla Reservation lands for settlement, especially desiring the fertile lands for crop-growing (Stern 1998). In fact, as the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation explain,

“[b]y the 1880’s the 1855 Treaty and Reservation had been breached by non-Indians many times. The Walla Walla’s were not paid for Peo Peo Mox Mox’s land claim; the Oregon Trail was not moved south of the Reservation; the Reservation Boundary was mis-surveyed; the town of Pendleton was allocated 640 acres of the Reservation; and the railroad was making plans to come through the Reservation” (CTUIR n.d.).

Reports from BIA agents and other officials describe the efforts of EuroAmericans to obtain the reservation land in the 1860s through the early 1880s. In the following quote, an agent notes the influx of settlers because of gold mining. According to the report of the Umatilla Reservation’s Superintendent in 1862,

“The thoroughfare to the gold mines of Powder River and Granite Creek passes immediately through the reservation, not less than four thousand persons having passed directly by the agency during the last four months. The influx has had, and is having, an evil influence on the minds of the Indians. They imagine their lands will soon be stolen and themselves driven away; and with the constant tide of travel through their country” (Barnhart 1863:270).

Agents often indicated that they feared further violent conflict, presenting a solution similar to that of the treaties: remove Native peoples to make way for the settlers. A report from J.W.P. Huntington, Superintendent at Umatilla, describes in 1867 the efforts of settlers to obtain reservation lands:

“The reservation contains about 800 square miles, and is a superior tract of country for agricultural and grazing purposes ... it is coveted by the whites, who see the advantages of it, and also see how little use those advantages are put by the Indians.

“The Indians, who are superior to most tribes in intellect and energy, are very much attached to their home, and very reluctant to abandon it. Some thoughtless whites have talked quite freely about driving the Indians off and taking possession by force. During a visit last spring to that agency and vicinity I heard threats of that sort repeated many times. Public meetings of citizens have been held to devise means to have the tract opened to settlement, and petitions for the same object to Congress and to the State legislature have been circulated and numerous signed. The Indians are hence very uneasy and very much alarmed” (Huntington 1868a:67-69).

Huntington goes on to say that he fears one of the settlers will provoke a war and offers to move the CTUIR peoples. He states that their ownership of the land must be protected as long as reservation residents remain peaceful. However, Huntington clearly believed conflict to be inevitable, and thought removal of the CTUIR from the area to be preferable.

Two years later, in 1869, Superintendent A.B. Meacham recommended removal and sale of the reservation,

“My predecessor, and also late Agent Barnhart, have, at various times, set forth the reasons why these people ought to be removed to some other country. My own observations convince me that they could do better situated than as now, surrounded by settlements of white people, who constantly encroach upon their rights. Occupying, as they do, a large territory of valuable land, they will be constantly annoyed and harassed by bad men, despite the efforts of the agent to protect them.

“I would recommend that a commission be appointed to act in conjunction with the superintendent and agent in charge, to negotiate some arrangements for their removal, either to a new locality, or for the sale of their lands, and their settlement on other reservations” (Meacham 1870:153-154).

Later in 1872, as reported by Francis A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, an attempt was made to convince the CTUIR to sell their land:

“Umatilla agency—The tribes located at this agency are the Umatillas, Cayuses, and a portion of the Walla-Wallas, and number 837. They have a reservation of 512,000 acres, situated in the northeastern part of the State, set apart for them by treaty of June 9, 2855. This reservation is very fertile, and, as usual in such cases, has attracted the cupidity of the whites. A proposition was made last year, under the authority of Congress, to have the Indians take land in severalty, or sell and remove to some other reservation. The Indians, however, in the exercise of their treaty rights, refused to accede to this proposition” (Walker 1872:63).

Ten years later in 1882, Agent R.H. Fay reported the continued encroachment of settlers onto reservation land (Fay 1882). Disagreement between settlers and Native peoples on the true location of reservation boundaries prompted Fay to recommend a resurvey of the reservation. He also described the right of way for the railroad being cleared through the reservation by Native people, both paid and unpaid.

Yet by fathoms, the most far-reaching congressional acts with regard to the CTUIR were those implementing allotments of tribal lands—most notably the Slater Act of 1885 and the Dawes Act of 1887. As a result of these acts, CTUIR reservation land was divided, with individual parcels given to tribal members and the remaining land divvied up for EuroAmerican settlement. Allotments led to tribal members holding highly fractionalized land shares (CTUIR n.d.; Phinney and Karson 2007). As of 2006, the reservation totaled only 172,882 acres—a fraction of the original treaty lands (roughly 512,000 acres) (Ruby et al. 2010:83).

Reports from reservation agents in the latter half of the 19th century document the continued practice of traditional subsistence among peoples on and associated with the Umatilla Reservation. The agents mention some adoption of farming, the continuation of

traditional subsistence practices that often involve leaving the reservation, and the refusal of some Native people to live on the reservation. In 1862, Agent William H. Barnhart describes individuals refusing to live on the reservation, as well as groups he sees as “pretending” to live on the reservation: “Many of these Indians, parties to this treaty, have never been removed to the reservation, and they declare by messages to the agent that they never will live on it. They have ever refused to recognize the binding obligations of the treaty, and continue to roam at large free and untrammelled, content to get their living by fishing and digging roots...” (Barnhart 1863:269). Further, he writes:

“So long as the Indians are permitted to roam at large over the country, to go and come when they please, the reservation can never become self-sustaining, and the humane policy of the government to civilize them can never be consummated. Those Indians who pretend to live on the reservation are constantly moving their lodges from one spot to another, never living longer than a few weeks in one place. They move in parties of half a dozen lodges, and there live and move about whenever they please. Their lodges are composed mostly of a kind of grass matting made by the Indian women, and a few have Buffalo lodges procured from other Indian tribes who go annually to the Rocky mountains to hunt...” (Barnhart 1863:271).

In 1867, A. Vermeusch, a teacher for the Umatilla agency, describes his students leaving to gather plant resources with their families, writing: “The number of scholars has during the year varied from 35 to 46 until the present month. I have found it necessary to grant some of the scholars leave of absence to accompany their parents to the mountains, in their annual expedition after camas and other roots and berries; these, however, I have no doubt, will soon return” (Vermeusch 1868:84). Two years later, Agent Barnhart gives most of the residents leave to hunt and fish in preparation for the winter in 1869: “Anticipating a scarcity of food the coming winter, I have permitted nearly all to go to the mountains and streams to hunt and fish, with the privilege of remaining away until they have loaded their horses with dried meat and salmon, that they would be better prepared to meet a rigorous winter if it should come” (Barnhart 1870:158). In a study of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Lozar notes that “agent reports and correspondence confirm that the ‘Indians’ left the reservation every year from 1866 to 1880, ostensibly for food collection purposes” (Lozar 2013:56). When combined with farming, traditional subsistence methods provided a much more stable diet, according to Lozar:

“The Indians understood the importance of a diverse subsistence economy and therefore incorporated farming into their shifting subsistence cycle. From 1862 to 1880, agents consistently remarked on the native food collection and production rotation. This began on the reservation in the spring of 1862 after an abnormally harsh winter postponed the food collection season. Sufficient harvests, however, frequently fell victim to extended droughts and the notorious grasshopper plagues. This left the Indians little choice but to supplement a meager harvest with salmon, camas, and deer. Indian farmers recalled from their connections with Marcus Whitman the benefits of planting foods like ‘wheat, barley, oats, peas, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables’ early in the year to allow for a timely fall harvest. Agent

Barnhart described the Indians' perpetuation of this arrangement in 1868: 'after their spring crops were planted most of them repaired to the mountains for roots and fish, as is their usual custom.' Seven years later, Cornoyer reported the same trend: 'the Indians having finished their harvesting have nearly all with my permission gone to the mountains to hunt fish and dig roots'" (Lozar 2013:75-76).

So too, Lozar explains that the CTUIR continued to hunt, fish, and gather in their accustomed locations into the early 1900s until, due to outside pressure, they no longer could. A shift to contract seasonal labor allowed maintenance of some aspects of their culture:

"In reaction to the public outcry against unrestrained Indians operating off the reservation, the tribes began to engage in labor practices more palatable to non-Indian society. They adjusted by transferring their gathering skills to the market economy. Beginning in 1900, Indian families and bands from Umatilla began working as contracted seasonal laborers in the beet and hop industries in Oregon and Washington.... While on the surface, it appears the *Natiitayt* were simply using their unique skills to 'earn bread for their children,' the Indians were actually reinterpreting and engaging the seasonal round according to principles of *tamanwit*. They endeavored to maintain aspects of their culture through the transformation of their economy" (Lozar 2013:139-140).

Malheur Reservation

Treaties with the Northern Paiute of Oregon occurred later in the 1860s. This decade brought new challenges to the Northern Paiute as their lifeways and survival were threatened by the increasing numbers and involvement of American settlers and the U.S. government. Sources note that the more distant location of the Northern Paiute in southeastern Oregon resulted in later contact with EuroAmericans (CTWS 1984; Whiting 1950). However, the influence was felt as EuroAmerican settlers essentially pushed Paiute groups to the peripheries, southward toward Harney Valley (Whiting 1950).

Rising tensions and ensuing conflicts between the Northern Paiute, Warm Springs Reservation residents, and EuroAmerican settlers in the 1860s culminated in the Snake War in 1864-1868. As previously described, the war was an effort of the U.S. Army to subdue or eliminate Northern Paiute peoples and would lead to the deaths of two-thirds of their population.

During this time, treaties were signed with Northern Paiute groups. In a treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and the "Yahuskin Band of Snakes" in October 1864, the Yahooskins Band relocated to the Klamath Reservation (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Clemmer and Stewart 1986; Whiting 1950).¹⁶ On August 12, 1865, the *Walpapi* (*Hunipuitōka*) band of Northern Paiute signed a treaty under the leadership of Paulina that ceded land (Beckham and Lentz

2000) and agreed to relocation to the Klamath Reservation (Whiting 1950:21-22). Summarizing Indian Affairs documents of the time, Beckham and Lentz note,



A map of the Malheur Reservation in eastern Oregon, U.S., an Indian reservation established by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1872, until two executive orders, one in 1882 and another in 1883, dissolved the reservation, forcing tribal members to relocate to Washington. C. Roesser, General Land Office, Department of the Interior; Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

“It is probable that signatories to this treaty included people who had regularly fished and lived in the upper John Day country. Their treaty ceded lands at Snow Peak in the Blue Mountains, ‘near the heads of the Grande Ronde River and north fork of John Day’s River; then down said north fork of John Day’s River to its junction with the south fork; thence due south to Crooked River . . .’ and on to Harney Lake and east into the Malheur watershed” (Beckham and Lentz 2000).

The *Walpapi* (*Hunipuitōka*) signed the treaty to obtain release of Northern Paiutes held hostage by U.S. forces, including Chief Paulina’s wife and son (Jette 2004; Ruby and Brown 1986:156-157). At least some of the Northern Paiute, including Paulina, left the reservation in 1866 to continue fighting, and Paulina was killed in 1867 “during a retaliatory attack led by settlers James Clark and Howard Maupin” (Jette 2004). Ruby and Brown indicate that from 1866 to 1870, the military brought small groups of *Walpapi* to the Klamath Reservation (Ruby and Brown 1986:157). Yet some escaped or were driven by starvation to leave.

With a treaty on December 10, 1868, the war with the Northern Paiutes came to an end. In the treaty, Northern Paiute leaders agreed to live on unspecified reservations (Shane 1950), as the treaty did not establish a reservation for them in their homeland nor did it

provide them with goods or services (CTWS 1984:37-38). However, as mentioned previously, this treaty was never ratified.

On September 12, 1872, almost four years later, President Ulysses S. Grant established for the Oregon Northern Paiute the ca. 1.8 million-acre Malheur Reservation via executive order (DOI 1872; Ruby et al. 2010; Soucie 2007). The purpose of the reservation was for the federal government to “locate all the roving and straggling bands in Eastern and Southeastern Oregon [(i.e., Northern Paiute)], which can be induced to settle there” (DOI 1872:453). As explained by Ruby and Brown, EuroAmerican settlers encouraged the action: “Finally, after numerous complaints from whites about the roaming Paiutes, Major Otis in an April 1872, letter to the assistant adjutant general of the Department of the Columbia recommended that a reservation be established large enough to support the different Paiute bands” (Ruby and Brown 1981:210).

The Malheur Reservation was located in Harney Valley, in modern-day “Harney and Malheur Counties, and was bounded by the Silvies River on the west, Strawberry Butte on the north, Castle Rock on the east, and Malheur Lake on the south” (Couture 1978:13-14). Yet the reservation boundaries were barely established when settlers started pressuring politicians to put back into public domain portions of the reservation ideal for grazing and water access (Beckham and Lentz 2000; Soucie 2007). As a result, an executive order in 1876 significantly reduced reservation boundaries.

According to sources, conditions at the Malheur Reservation were relatively stable under the first superintendent Samuel Parrish from 1874 to 1876 (Mosgrove 1980:56; Shane 1950:284; USFS n.d.b.). However, Congress would not appropriate operating funds, causing Parrish to resign. Under the second and final superintendent, W.V. Rhinehart, conditions at the Malheur Reservation deteriorated. Rhinehart mistreated people on the reservation, fomenting an antagonistic relationship and increasing the numbers of foraging and trading parties who left the reservation (USFS n.d.b.). Evidence suggests that Rhinehart embezzled funds and goods, and intentionally worked to drive the Northern Paiute off the reservation (USFS n.d.b.; Mosgrove 1980:56). When they left the reservation to practice traditional subsistence strategies, he accused them of abandoning it:

“When spring came, many of the Northern Paiute people annually headed to the meadows, where their people had gathered different varieties of edible roots as food for thousands of years as part of their subsistence cycle. As the weather warmed, they also went into the mountains to hunt antelope and mule deer. In his reports, Rhinehart reported to the government that these Indians were abandoning the reservation. In his judgment, these traditional activities constituted abandonment. However, the boundaries of the one-million-plus acre reservation actually extended to include many of these sites, so the people had often not even technically left the boundaries of the Malheur Reservation. This alleged abandonment undermined the longterm stability of the Malheur Reservation. In the absence of a Senate-ratified treaty establishing the reservation a subsequent executive order could dissolve the reservation at any time. Also, in a letter from Lindsay Applegate, a Sub-Agent at Yainax (located near Klamath Falls, Oregon), the

so-called disappearance of the Native Americans from reservation meant ‘they left with hostile intent...and are now far from harboring feelings of amity towards whites.’ Their movement to practice old traditions was used by Applegate to impute that the Paiutes contemplated new hostility against white people” (Lerner 2013:18).

The malpractices of Rinehart in the documentary record are also detailed in the oral history of Wilson Wewa, a Northern Paiute Elder and spiritual leader, who told

“...of times when Rinehart did not distribute the blankets, sugar, flour, and other necessities from the government on the reservation. Rinehart implemented the use of corporal punishment, and there are many accounts of Rinehart whipping men and even children on the agency. He justified [sic] his actions by claiming he was ‘with the military.’ He was known to charge the people for the produce that they had grown themselves, and he was certainly mistrusted by the people living on the reservation. Rinehart is similarly thought to have sold produce to local miners and livestock to a local ranch. The trail of money obtained from these sales remains unknown, but according to oral history, when confronted Rinehart lied and said that the beef had been distributed throughout the agency” (Lerner 2013:17).

As previously discussed, the Northern Paiute living on the Malheur Reservation also suffered from the Bannock War of 1878. A minority joined the resistance, at least in part, due to the above-described conditions on the reservation. Minthorn’s earlier-mentioned characterization of the war as a survival attempt by both groups, who were on the brink of starvation, is supported by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. Living at the head of the John Day River, Winnemucca received a visit in 1878 from Paiutes of the Malheur Reservation—around the same time Bannocks had arrived to seek an alliance with the Northern Paiute. The Northern Paiute visitors explained to Winnemucca that Rinehart had driven them off the reservation, and they were fishing for much needed food. Bannock families from Fort Hall had joined them:

“...they came back again on the 29th of May, the same men and three others, making six in all. They were very glad to see me, for they said they were afraid I had gone away. They had come back to tell me again about Agent Reinhard’s doings. He had driven them away from the agency; and their people were all down the river, about twenty-five miles away from it. [The men stated that:]

‘They’re trying to catch salmon to live upon, as they had nothing else to eat, and we can catch enough for all that are there. There are with us about fifteen families of Bannocks at the fishery. They came from Fort Hall’” (Hopkins 1883:138).

At this time, some Bannock from Fort Hall also reportedly went to the Malheur Reservation to ask for rations (Shane 1950:284).

During the Bannock War, many Paiutes not involved with the conflict were also killed or attacked by troops (Soucie 2007:47). And after the war, with the relocation to Washington, they faced more fatalities and inhospitable living conditions. According to Shane, over 500

Northern Paiute living on the reservation were forcibly relocated to the Yakama Reservation (Shane 1950:284). Many escaped over time to return to their homeland. Eventually in 1882, General Nelson Miles, commander of the Department of the Columbia, recommended that the Paiutes be allowed to leave the Yakama Reservation (Ruby and Brown 1986:56; Shane 1950:284).

A report from R.H. Milroy, Agent at the Yakama Reservation, details the subsequent departure of the Northern Paiute from the reservation over the course of about six years (Shane 1950:285). He reported that 543 Paiutes were brought to the reservation as prisoners of war in 1878; and by 1880, only 472 remained. In the summer before his letter, 300 Northern Paiute left Yakama. Only groups under Paddy Cap and Oitz (Oytes) remained, both of whom left in the summer of Milroy's writing (1889 or 1884).¹⁷ Paddy Cap and his group went to Duck Valley, and Oitz (Oytes) and his group to Warm Springs. In August of 1884, Oytes and 70 Northern Paiute arrived at the Warm Springs Reservation (Ruby and Brown 1986:56), with sources stating that all Northern Paiute had left Yakama by the end of 1884. Regarding the reason for their slow departure, Soucie states that when the Northern Paiutes at Fort Simcoe in Washington were asked whether "they wanted to return to Harney County. Many being suspicious, opted to remain where they were—or to go onto other reservations such as Warm Springs, Fort McDermitt, and Owyhee in Nevada. Many others moved to Duck Valley and settled in the area of Miller Creek" (Soucie 2007:48).

Unfortunately, encroachment on the Malheur Reservation by ranchers intensified during the time of forced relocation. In addition, after the war sources describe "United States troops from Fort Harney occup[ying] the Malheur Agency, stealing, destroying and selling improvements, supplies and equipment" (Shane 1950:284). When Northern Paiute returned to their reservation, they found it substantially intruded upon by settlers (Clemmer and Stewart 1986; Couture 1978; Soucie 2007).

Through executive orders dated September 13, 1882 and May 21, 1883, the Malheur Reservation was ultimately discontinued, restoring "the Malheur to the public domain—except for 317.65 acres that were reserved from the reservation's North Half for the Camp Harney military post, which itself was restored to the public domain by executive order on March 2, 1889" (Ruby et al. 2010:227). Although the tribal members had been forced to relocate to Washington, the federal government cited the lack of any tribal peoples at the Malheur Reservation as a reason for its discontinuation (Soucie 2007:48).

The few Northern Paiute in Harney Valley who returned from the Yakama Reservation or other re-settlements, or who had managed to escape during removal, received 160 acres in accord with the Dawes Act of 1887. However, this did not happen until 1897 when the federal government granted 115 allotments to the Oregon Northern Paiutes. These allotments are located just east of Burns, Oregon (Ruby et al. 2010). Whiting's ethnography provides a description of the Northern Paiute at Burns, though the date and number of allotments is slightly different:

“Around 1908 the government sent a special agent to Burns to look into the conditions among the squatters. He was told to allot the land to some of the Indians. One hundred and four grants of 160 acres were made at this time, most of them to former members of the Wada Eater band, some of whom had escaped from Yakima and some of whom still resided on the Malheur Reservation when it was dissolved. The land given them, however, was what was left over after all the cattlemen had taken what they wanted and, according to Donegan, it was so poor that it would not even support a jackrabbit” (Whiting 1950:23).

As of 2010, 71 allotments totaling 11,736 acres still exist. The tribe acquired two additional pieces of land in 1928 and 1935. From the two parcels of land, totaling 770.32 acres, a reservation was officially established on October 13, 1972 (Ruby et al. 2010). The Burns Reservation will be further discussed below.

Persistence and Displacement: Native Removal from the John Day Region through the Early 20th Century

Of course, not all Native peoples in this region relocated to reservations after their establishment, as some resisted federal efforts, refusing to recognize treaty stipulations and/or to live on reservations. Additionally, some did not stay confined to reservations. According to sources, many continued to use the landscape much as they had for millennia, maintaining traditional subsistence lifeways.

For the immediate JODA area, two 19th-century instances of Native people residing outside of reservations are particularly relevant. As mentioned, sources indicate that members of the John Day Tenino group continued to live in the Clarno region until 1878. On October 4th, 1877, Agent Rinehart of the Malheur Agency relayed the report of a “Special Agent” Turner, who had visited a group of “non-treaty Columbias” under Chief Waltsac who resided on Bear Creek in the John Day Valley for several summers. Turner states:

“On Bear Creek, one of the northern tributaries of John Day’s River, I found seven lodges, with a headman calling himself ‘Walsuth.’ This man professed great friendship for the whites, but insisted on his right to do precisely as the whites do, living and going where he pleased. He told me plainly that his people would not go on either Umatilla or Malheur Reservations, preferring to roam over the country gathering their own subsistence....” (Turner in Rinehart 1878:116).

Turner goes on to mention that settlers wanted Native peoples removed from the John Day Valley:

“This feeling of hostility is growing among the whites, who complain that the band have no right to any portion of the country adjacent to John Day’s Valley, it having belonged to the Piutes, and that this non-treaty band are taking advantage of the withdrawal of the Piutes by occupying their abandoned territory. During the past season Walsuth and his tribe have pastured thousands of horses on the stock ranges of the settlers, and this practice alone, if persisted in, will eventually end in serious trouble. I would not advise any decisive action at the present time, however, as these Indians are scattered over a large extent of country in small bands. I would suggest that during the winter or in the early spring, when they can all be found on the Columbia River, would be the proper time to treat with and remove them” (Rinehart 1878:116).

Rinehart later mentions that Waltsac’s band is of Priest Rapids on the Columbia (Rinehart 1878:117). According to Lozar, Waltsac was a practitioner of *Washani*, connected to the 19th-century movement of Smohalla’s Dreamer religion:

“Some Umatillas who also avoided the reservation actually became prophets similar to Smohalla. Wilatsi, Luls, and Waltsac all served as practitioners of *Washani*, proselytizing around Umatilla villages off the reservation. The work of these Dreamer prophets and their ability to induce followers to leave the reservation drew the ire of frustrated Indian agents lacking the means to round them up” (Lozar 2013:65).

These sources along with others indicate individuals from various groups, such as the John Day, the Northern Paiute, and the Umatilla, resided in the John Day area into the late 1870s. Only later did these families relocate or affiliate with the federally recognized tribes of today.

New conflicts emerging into the early 20th century complicated these events, as non-Native settlers occupied, settled, and established farms and ranches on traditional tribal lands. While tribal members reportedly still sought to visit and use traditional lands from the reservation land base, settlers often pushed back—attempting to dislodge tribal uses and associations with the John Day region. Indian agents in Warm Springs and Umatilla found themselves under growing pressure to contain tribal members on-reservation and to sever ties between tribes and their ceded lands.

For example, archival sources record efforts by Grant County settlers in 1904 to eradicate horses belonging to the tribes—in part to discourage further visitation of resettled off-reservation lands (Henkle and Davis 1904; Los Angeles Herald 1904). The horses were thought to spread disease among the ranchers’ stock. Furthermore, according to reports, settlers viewed Native peoples as “roaming” (Los Angeles Herald 1904), supposedly “terrorizing the settlers and scattering the mangle” (Henkle and Davis 1904). In response to

these sentiments, the Secretary of State Dunbar ordered that horses belonging to tribes be killed. Settlers also demanded supervision of Native peoples who left the reservation (Los Angeles Herald 1904). An account of an armed fight near Dayville describes the inter-group tensions of this time:

“Excitement in this vicinity is running high, and much indignation is felt against the government agents who permit these predatory bands to rove from the reservation. Their failure to exercise more careful supervision over their charges is likely to result in a pitched battle should the Indians return. The ranchmen are well armed, and will protect their homes and their herds at all hazard” (Henkle and Davis 1904).

The written record features many such accounts from this time. For example, a 1911 newspaper article records the killing of Native owned horses by EuroAmerican settlers because settlers objected to Indians hunting in the area. The article states:

“Determined to stop the slaughter of game by Indians irate John Day farmers shot and killed twenty horses belonging to a party of aborigines, according to information here today.

“The Indians had been warned to decamp and when they failed to do so, the ranchers overtook them near Ritter and shot down the horses which had been turned out to graze while the Indians hunted.

“The ranchers complain that the red men kill nearly everything they see regardless of law, when hunting” (Morning Union 1911).

Such events suggest the tension and conflict surrounding enduring off-reservation Native presence throughout the early 20th century. They also evince the intense pressures and biases that discouraged Native land use in these areas.

The situation clearly complicated subsistence practices and other traditions related to off-reservation lands. As Lozar suggests, until the early 1900s members of the CTUIR continued to travel to subsistence areas until outside pressures made it nearly impossible (Lozar 2013). The same was true throughout the early 20th century for CTWS and for Northern Paiute communities to the south.

Enduring Tribal Ties with John Day through the 20th Century

A number of written sources suggest that tribes held enduring ties to the John Day area in the 20th century. Native peoples continued to travel through the area for subsistence practices like deer hunting and fishing along the John Day River, or other activities like wool-gathering, trading, or working on new farms and ranches developed by non-Indians on former tribal lands. For example, Endzweig’s 1994 study of the Pine Creek Drainage near the Clarno Unit included accounts from local residents regarding Native use of the area into the 1940s. A 1975 account by Gannon, recounted in Endzweig’s document, reports:

“In a personal communication, Charles Conlee has recounted that Indians were still moving through the area as recently as the 1940’s. They would usually camp along Pine Creek or up in the timbered areas during the summer and fall, moving on to the Columbia River for the winter. In the spring they would migrate west to the ‘flatlands’ (Deschutes River area?), then back into the Clarno Basin, thereby completing the circuit. Several groups, however, also passed through the area in the spring. The trading and breaking of horses was apparently the main livelihood among the men. The women would acquire deer skins from local ranchers in trade for a pair (or pairs) of gloves made from them and returned the following year. Sometimes these and other leather goods were sold at nominal prices. The women would also gather sheep wool from the fences, which they would utilize in weaving. The diet consisted chiefly of deer and the meat of smaller mammals (including rodents) which, along with ‘Indian Root,’ were made into a stew. ‘Cous’ (*Lomatium*) was also gathered and ground into flour, and probably pressed into cakes. Habitations consisted of ‘tipis’ with canvas coverings replacing the hides of earlier times, and erected over shallow depressions in the ground” (Endzweig 1994:34-35; c.f. Gannon 1975:9).

Additionally, Gannon recorded the recollections of other early settlers to the John Day region, such as that of Vera McCulloch of Fossil who had a childhood remembrance of Warm Springs people camping in that area. According to her memory, Native families camped downstream from Clarno, on the east side of the river, and gathered wool caught in fences. The women also traded handmade leather gloves for deer skins from local ranchers (Gannon 1975:9). Another local resident interviewed by Gannon was Lester Reinhart of Fossil, who remembers tribal people using the area around Fossil to gather subsistence foods like camas bulbs (Gannon 1975:9).

More details of such activities were revealed on a hand-written note from December 19, 1975, found by Endzweig in the OMSI project records at the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology (Endzweig 1994:35). Endzweig believes it part of an interview with the same informant, emphasizing use of the Clarno area in spring:

“Charlie told me they would [come] through mainly in the spring time. They would gather ‘Indian root’ (a long ‘tuber’) and cook by boiling. They also gathered ‘cous’ which was ground to flour and ‘baked’, etc. They would winter and fish on the Columbia River in the winter—presumably at Celilo. Also in the spring, wool was collected around the Clarno area, after lambing. Charlie said they would be all over the place. During the fall on the Columbia River, was the time when many ‘tribes’ got together to fish and smoke meat (for the winter). Charlie wasn’t sure where they went in the summer, but presumably ‘on the Columbia.’

“Charlie told me some Indians he met, when he was young...the woman was cooking eel woven on a stick. Charlie said it smelled and looked like bacon (good)” (Endzweig 1994:35).

These accounts suggest the Clarno area was part of a seasonal round for these individuals—their activities including plant gathering, wool gathering, and selling and trading of leather goods. It is possible they also hunted deer, as other sources indicate the continuance of deer hunting in the broader John Day region.

A few sources indicate that Native people, including members of the CTWS, traveled to the John Day area to hunt deer in the 20th century. A 1902 newspaper article records an encounter with an elderly Native man identifying as a “Columbia River Indian,” who described hunting deer in the John Day area as well as pressures against the practice. The Native hunters had been told by settlers to “go some other place” and that if they killed deer they would go to jail. Yet there was “no more place to go,” according to the man. The Native hunters were scared, however, so they left (Lockley 1902).

Taylor and Gilbert reference deer hunting and other activities in the region, some similar to activities described in Endzweig (1994) (Taylor and Gilbert 1996:39). Referencing Cant Ranch in the Sheep Rock Unit, they summarize activities of Warm Springs peoples in the 1920s:

“In addition to fellow ranchers, Warm Springs Indians also visited the ranch periodically during the 1920s and apparently made quite an impression on the children. They traveled in large groups of between 50 and 130 people which were made up of families that traveled from the Dalles to John Day country every summer and returned to the Dalles again in the fall. They camped along the mountain streams and fished and hunted deer. Some traveled by way of the John Day River where they interacted with ranchers including the Cants. These Native Americans traded Indian ponies, made deer skin gloves in exchange for deer hides, and collected wool that had been caught on brush and fences or from dead sheep, to weave into blankets” (Taylor and Gilbert 1996:39).

Also related to hunting and the Sheep Rock Unit is a report from James Cant on a lookout and lithic workshop (presumably related to hunting) used by Native peoples in the 20th century—located on the ridge above Goose Rock (Section 31, T11S, R26E) (Davis 1977:28). In addition, “He said he often visited their camp in the foothills east of the ranch headquarters, probably in Section 1, T12S, R26E, and that they came by trail over the ridge from Rock Creek because the gorge was impassable” (Davis 1977:28).

In 1941, a surveying expedition with Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla Elders identified subsistence sites in the John Day vicinity—places that were, in many cases, used by tribal people from Warm Springs and other communities (in Suphan 1974:61-63). Drawing from this and other materials in a summary of traditional resource harvesting areas used by Warm Springs tribal members, Suphan included the “John Day River valley south to the neighborhood of Clarno,” though ultimately, he suggested that activity in the John Day region was growing infrequent (Suphan 1974:64). Summarizing a range of sources, he produced a list 20 Native village and camp that existed historically in the upper John Day River region. Included among these areas are camps in the southern

reaches of the John Day River drainage, the Seneca-Silvies area, the head of Malheur River, and areas along the John Day River between Bates and Susanville (Suphan 1974:64).



*Members of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs report traditionally hunting bighorn sheep throughout the John Day River Canyon, a practice that has continued in recent years, despite a range of new difficulties.
Photo courtesy NPS.*

More recently, the *Spilyay Tymoo* reported on bighorn sheep hunting in 2004 by members of the CTWS. The State of Oregon set aside two tags for bighorn sheep hunting within the ceded lands of the CTWS, one for the Lower Deschutes River Canyon and another for the Lower John Day River Canyon (*Spilyay Tymoo* 2004:6). The article noted: “Bighorn sheep in the John Day Canyon are typically found on public land, but often times the best land access to the sheep is through private property. Landowners often allow hunters to cross their lands, but the privilege is generally granted for a fee...” (*Spilyay Tymoo* 2004:6). It goes on to report that tribal biologists also negotiated the release of bighorn sheep on the Warm Springs Reservation in the Mutton Mountains later that year.

An interview with James Cant Jr. in the early 1980s provides additional information regarding tribal use of the study area in the early 20th century. He mentions travel routes near Cant Ranch, Cal Smith Springs, and the area near Murderers Creek:

“Oh, down here on our ranch. When the Indians come in that far up the river they had a choice; they had a choice of coming up through the Gorge or going up to what we called the Lone Pine Trail and going over the mountain into Rock Creek and coming through these saddles that you’ve seen here. As they went out to Murderers Creek, that was their stomping ground. They came back another way in the fall but through there they always come up, some of them would come through the Gorge.

“And then there’s what they call the Lone Pine Trail or the Cal Smith Springs, up there in the Basin, and many’s the time when they were coming up before we went to the timber, they would come there. And then some of them would come down and up the river and get through the Gorge the best they could. Other ones would wait a lot of times while they were coming up over this Lone Pine Trail” (Cant and Cant 1984:18).

He goes on to say that one reason Native people came to the ranch was to pick wool from fences, brush, etc., and that at night they camped at Johnson Spring (Cant and Cant 1984:18-19). They also traded with the Cants, including with beaded leather gloves (Cant and Cant 1984:21-22).

Finally, Cant mentions that most of the Native peoples were coming from the Columbia River, specifically Celilo. At times he saw them fishing at Celilo Falls, where they gave Cant fish in exchange for allowing them to pick wool around his ranch, or so he presumed (Cant and Cant 1984:19-21).

According to sources, those who continued traditional practices in the John Day region did encounter difficulties and impediments, as noted earlier—such as EuroAmericans challenging Native hunters. In addition, government agents were separating Native children from their families, sending them to boarding schools. “These schools were often hundreds, or even thousands, of miles away and the children were severely punished for speaking their own language” (USFS n.d.b.). Abusive and coercive schooling was also present on the reservation itself, as agents and missionaries pursued assimilation (Steinmetz 2020:16-17). For example, as evidenced in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868, the Superintendent of the Umatilla Reservation sought to assimilate children on the reservation:

“Allow me again here to repeat that a simple day-school among the Indians is not calculated to produce any lasting benefit for their civilization, and I am glad to know that this is also the opinion of Mr. Superintendent Huntington, and indeed of all those who have had much experience of the habits of Indians. And if it were not that as priest I can do something for their spiritual welfare, I could not prevail on myself to continue teaching any longer; but as I am still in hopes that the contact made by the government for the establishment of a boarding school may be carried out, either here, or, in the event of removal, at some other place, I will still continue the arduous duties of teacher” (Barnhart 1868:115).

The reservation did not provide sanctuary from settler coercion and violence as envisioned by treaty negotiators and signers (Steinmetz 2020:17).

And while in later decades like the 1930s and 1940s traditional subsistence practices continued, the traditional lifeways of tribal peoples became increasingly disrupted in many ways, sources state. For example, one CTUIR Elder recalled trying to take advantage of his fishing rights in the Dayville area but being arrested in the process (Steinmetz 2020:21). Another Elder talked about plant harvesting around Monument but having to keep an eye out for non-Native people, and having to move on when people were spotted (Steinmetz 2020:21). Another Elder mentioned limited access and “lots of no trespassing” near JODA (Steinmetz 2020:21).

As changes occurred, people increasingly relied on the wage economy, including labor as farmworkers (USFS n.d.b., Pond and Hester 2006:121-122). As tribal people were integrated into the wage economy, it reportedly became difficult to get away for two to three days to, for example, visit good root digging areas such as from Hardman to Fossil to Lone Rock (Steinmetz 2020:21). Still, Pond and Hester note evidence of cultural continuance despite the shift to wage jobs for members of the CTUIR:

“Even with all of this external pressure to assimilate, much of Indian life continued as normal. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Indians living on the Umatilla Reservation moved about the land as fishers, hunters, and food gatherers; but since they lived in two worlds, they not only carried on their tribal traditions but, being economically depressed in the white Euro-American sense, they became employed as seasonal farmworkers. As related to their traditional food-gathering activities, the people held on to their old ways and traveled by horseback to their old family haunts in the mountain streams and valleys that surrounded the reservation. The extended families sought employment picking strawberries at Gresham, Oregon, cherries and apples at Milton-Freewater, Oregon, potatoes in the Blue Mountains, and hops in the Yakima Valley in Washington. Many families traveled to Celilo Falls to harvest the fall Chinook run and prepare and store food for the winter months” (Pond and Hester 2006:121-122).

The descendants of Native peoples who traditionally used the John Day region and who continued to do so through the 20th century, are primarily associated with three tribes. These are the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, the Burns Paiute, and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. These contemporary tribes are profiled in the following section. The oral traditions of these tribes, and the written records in their possession, are sure to expand dramatically on the brief summaries outlined here.

Contemporary Tribes Associated with John Day Fossil Beds

Today, three tribes have the most direct associations with John Day Fossil Beds: the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, the Burns Paiute Tribe, and the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Indian Reservation. What follows are brief overviews describing these modern tribes, summarizing their historical ties to the John Day area, and discussing modern tribal governance and cultural resource management. The sections provide short, encyclopedic summaries with a view to facilitating ongoing communications and collaborations between NPS staff and the staff and leadership of today's park-associated tribes.

Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs

The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs (CTWS) governs the Warm Springs Indian Reservation of Oregon (Warm Springs Reservation), located approximately 120 miles northwest of the John Day Fossil Beds Monument. The west side is flanked by the Cascade Mountains, while the Deschutes River forms the reservation's eastern border (CRITFC 2019).

The Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon of 1855 formed the Warm Springs Reservation. Article 1 of that treaty defines the Warm Springs and Wasco tribes' traditional territory, measuring approximately 10,000,000 acres in size, as

“[c]ommencing in the middle of the Columbia River, at the Cascade Falls, and running thence southerly to the summit of the Cascade Mountains; thence along said summit to the forty-fourth parallel of north latitude; thence east on that parallel to the summit of the Blue Mountains, or the western boundary of the Sho-sho-ne or Snake country; thence northerly along that summit to a point due east from the head-waters of Willow Creek; thence west to the head-waters of said creek; thence down said stream to its junction with the Columbia River; and thence down the channel of the Columbia River to the place of beginning” (USOIA 1855a).

According to the NPS, the three units of the John Day Fossil Beds National Monument lie within the territory described here and within lands ceded in the treaty (NPS 2009:9-10). Under the treaty, the tribes reserved about 5% of their original territory (CTWS 1984:24-25).

After the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act and with much deliberation, the tribes of Warm Springs accepted the Act's conditions in 1934, sources state. The tribes subsequently adopted by-laws and a constitution in 1937, and the next year, agreed to a corporate charter from the federal government allowing the tribes to begin self-government and form their own businesses (CTWSRO 2023).

By 2006, the Warm Springs Reservation totaled 644,000 acres (Ruby et al. 2007:88). Other tribal-owned lands are present as well, such as the Pine Creek Conservation Area, adjacent to the Clarno Unit across State Highway 218 (NPS 2009:41).

Members of the Confederated Tribes trace their ancestry to the Wasco, Tenino (Warm Springs), and Northern Paiute peoples (CTWS n.d.). While the Warm Springs Tribe tended to reside "further up the Columbia, and on the Deschutes and John Day Rivers and their tributaries, during aboriginal times," the Wasco traditionally lived along the lower Columbia River (CTWS 1992:1). The Warm Spring bands are comprised of the Dockspuses (*Tukspush*) of the John Day River, Teninos, Tyghs of the Upper Deschutes, and Wyams of the lower Deschutes; the Wasco include the Dalles, Dog River, and Kigaltwalla bands (Ruby et al. 2010). Although the Northern Paiute were not a party to the Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon of 1855, Northern Paiute bands originally residing in Oregon's present-day Lake Harney and Malheur Counties settled at the Warm Springs Reservation beginning in 1879, as discussed above (CTWS 2016a). The Wasco and Warm Springs later included Northern Paiute as part of their government, with all three tribes forming a confederacy in 1938 (CTWS 1992).

According to the 2010 census, the population of Warm Springs on the Warm Springs Reservation was 2,945 (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). And as of April 2019, tribal membership totaled 5,321 (CTWS 2019). The CTWS operates various enterprises including Indian Head Casino, Kah-Nee-Tah Resort and Casino (until 2018), Warm Springs Composite Products, Warm Springs Construction Enterprise, Warm Springs Telecom, and several other business and development ventures (CTWS 2016d). They have also created Warm Springs Power and Electric and are one-third owners of Pelton Dam (Warm Springs Community Action Team 2023). Along with these ventures, the Warm Spring tribes continue to participate in their seasonal round in adaptive ways, including resource gathering and participating in traditional fishing and hunting (Synergy Resource Solutions, Inc. 2014). Celebrating various 'first food' feasts such as the spring Root Feast (*Xnit Sapálwit*), the Salmon Feast celebrating the first catch (*Nusux Sapálwit*), and the early fall Huckleberry Feast (*Wiwinu Sapálwit*), the tribes keep alive their rituals of respect (Synergy Resource Solutions, Inc. 2014).

When the tribes formed their confederacy in 1938, their adopted constitution and by-laws made provision for a tribal government, the central governing authority being the Tribal Council, an eleven-member body, according to the CTWS (CTWS 2016a). This includes eight elected members serving three-year terms, and three tribal chiefs serving for life (CTWS 1984:9). At the time of this writing, Austin Greene Jr. is the current Tribal Chairman. Governmental services provided to its members include tribal police and court services, basic municipal services, health care, education, recreation, employment assistance,

housing support, and management of the reservation's natural resources (CTWSR 1984:59). The CTWS administration building is at 1233 Veterans Street in Warm Springs, Oregon, and can be contacted at (541) 553-1161.

A Natural Resources Branch of CTWS manages resources such as fisheries, forestry resources, water, and other natural resources, and includes the Cultural Resources Office (CTWS 2016b). The Cultural Resources Office acts as the technical advisor to the CTWS on Federal and State cultural resources laws, including the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA). According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, Roberta Kirk is the contact for agencies' NAGPRA compliance activities (NPS 2019). Kirk is the assistant THPO and NAGPRA coordinator, available at (541) 553-3555; Roberta.kirk@ctwsbnr.org (NATHPO 2019).

In the spring of 2019, Oregon Senators Jeff Merkley and Ron Wyden, and Representative Greg Walden introduced the 1865 Treaty Nullification Act (KTVZ 2019). As described in the section of this document on treaties and reservation formation, a contested 1865 treaty ceded the CTWS off-reservation rights for fishing, hunting, gathering, and the ability to leave the reservation without permission. Although the treaty has been widely recognized as fraudulent and not enforceable, this legislation sought to formally nullify the treaty. The 1865 Treaty Nullification Act was passed by both bodies of the Oregon Legislature, and in September 2020, was signed by President Trump (Cook 2020).

Burns Paiute Tribe

The Burns Paiute Reservation is located in central eastern Oregon, northwest of the city of Burns, Oregon, less than 100 miles southeast of the John Day Bed Fossil Beds Monument (Soucie 2007). Members of the Burns Paiute Tribe (BPT) are primarily descendants of the *Wadatika* band of Northern Paiutes (BPT 2014), with traditional homelands stretching 5,250 square miles across central-southeastern Oregon, western Idaho, northern Nevada, and northwestern California (BPT 2019b). As the JODA units are within the traditional territory of the Northern Paiute, the Burns Paiute have an interest in JODA (NPS 2009:9-10). Residents of the reservation affirm aboriginal use of the lands in and around the units (Mark 1996).

According to Ruby and Brown, after the Malheur Reservation was returned to public domain in the early 1880s, the Northern Paiute in central Oregon were landless until 1897. In that year, individuals received 115 public domain allotments (Ruby and Brown 1986:9). Decades later, in 1935, the Burns Paiute Indian Colony was established near Burns, Oregon (Beckham and Lentz 2000), including a 760.32-acre parcel purchased for them that year under the National Industrial Recovery Act (Ruby and Brown 1986:9). Today, Burns Paiute lands also include approximately 10 acres about a half mile west of Burns, referred to as Old Camp, and 71 remaining allotments that total 11,014 acres, less than 25 miles east of Burns. The Burns Paiute Reservation was officially established in 1972 (BPT 2014). At the

time of this writing, the tribe has 410 members (BPT 2019a) and a land base totaling 13,736 acres (OBB 2019).

Some of the land owned by the BPT is comprised of off-reservation properties where the tribe carries out habitat renewal and conservation, sources state (NRCS 2019), including Logan Valley and Beech Creek property in Grant County, and the Jonesboro property in Malheur County. In addition to resource-management efforts, the tribe hosts an annual week-long culture camp for tribal youth at Logan Valley. At the camp, tribal youth take part in a variety of activities in which they connect with elders and land. Another significant activity for the BPT was the reintroduction of ceremonial salmon in 2016: “Through negotiations with the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife (ODFW), the tribe and ODFW released adult Chinook into the Malheur River on May 25, 2016, providing Tribal members with their first opportunity to harvest Chinook from the Malheur River since 1919” (NCRS 2019). As this was the first time in nearly 100 years that the BPT were able to perform significant traditional ceremonies at the site, it was a deeply meaningful event. Furthermore, the gathering of other traditional foods across customary Paiute lands remains an important activity for BPT members. This includes plant food gathering (roots, leaves, and fruits) and game hunting, and the gathering of medicinal and spiritual plants (see Couture et al. 1986:150, 155).

On June 13, 1968, the Burns Paiute adopted a constitution and by-laws (Ruby and Brown 1986:9) and are presently governed by a General Council and seven-person Tribal Council, with the Tribal Chair at the time of this writing being Eric Hawley (BPT 2019). The BPT office is located at 100 Pasiago St. in Burns, Oregon; the phone number for the Tribal Council is (541) 573-1910, and the administration number is (541) 573-2088. Government departments include administration, social services, Wadatika Health Clinic, Tu-Waa-Kii Nobi Youth, Maintenance, Natural Resources, Education, and Police and Court.

In addition, according to the BPT, the tribe recently re-established a Culture and Heritage Department that oversees federal cultural resources management activities and assists in the preservation and revitalization of tribal history, language, and traditional lifeways (BPT 2019b).

The THPO for the Burns Paiute is Charisse Soucie (NATHPO 2019). Soucie’s contact information is: (541) 573-8066, Charisse.soucie@burnspaiute-nsn.gov. The National NAGPRA consultation database lists Diane Teeman as the NAGPRA contact. Teeman can be reached at phone number (541) 413-1190 and at email address diane.teeman@burnspaiute-nsn.gov (NPS 2019).

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation

Members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) descended from the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla tribes. These groups were predominately independent and distinct tribes though they traditionally engaged in commerce, inter-

married, and shared similar customs and practices (Phinney and Karson 2007, Stern 1998). Conner and Lang provide further description of the identities of the CTUIR ancestors:

“The tribal identities used today—Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla—classify peoples with little consideration of any place-specific distinctions. These modern identifications are based on external observations and assumptions and were created for the convenience of outsiders desirous of transacting business efficiently with an unfamiliar people. These are not the names we called ourselves. While the newly arrived Euro-American interlopers would have preferred a centralized, integrated political structure with which to deal—and they tried to help create such by deeming leaders friendly to their purposes ‘chiefs’—that was not our system. Our vast extended families were kinship communities. These communities recognized their citizenship by relations. These communities did not share homogenous identities. Peculiarities due to village remoteness or easy accessibility, differences in obtainable foods and herbs, divergence in clothing due to climate, greater or lesser use of livestock due to available grazing, and variations in size of village all played into the dynamic identities of the ancestors whose descendants now comprise the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation” (Conner and Lang 2006:24).

The exact configuration of CTUIR traditional lands is contested, though all sources suggest the traditional land base is vast and includes the John Day region. The 1855 treaty describes the tribes’ traditional territory as:

“Commencing at the mouth of the Tocannon River, in Washington Territory, running thence up said river to its source; thence easterly along the summit of the Blue Mountains, and on the southern boundaries of the purchase made of the Nez Perces Indians, and easterly along that boundary to the western limits of the country claimed by the Shoshonees or Snake Indians; thence southerly along that boundary (being the waters of Powder River) to the source of Powder River, thence to the head- waters of Willow Creek, thence down Willow Creek to the Columbia River, thence up the channel of the Columbia River to the lower end of a large island below the mouth of Umatilla River, thence northerly to a point on the Yakama River, called Tomah-luke, thence to Le Lac, thence to the White Banks on the Columbia below Priest’s Rapids, thence down the Columbia River to the junction of the Columbia and Snake Rivers, thence up the Snake River to the place of beginning” (USOIA 1855b).

This area is approximately 6.4 million acres that includes watersheds of the Grand Ronde, Imnaha, John Day, Tucannon, and Walla Walla Rivers. Still, the CTUIR do not see this as the whole of their traditional territory. According to the tribe, they filed a claim with the Indian Claims Commission in 1951 for an additional 3,840,000 acres not included in the treaty (CTUIR n.d.a; Ruby and Brown 1986). This claim, combined with two claims regarding fisheries loss and reservation boundary errors, was settled out-of-court in the tribe’s favor in 1966, resulting in monetary compensation (Ruby and Brown 1986:53-54). CTUIR now presents a range of compelling evidence demonstrating that these adjudicated boundaries

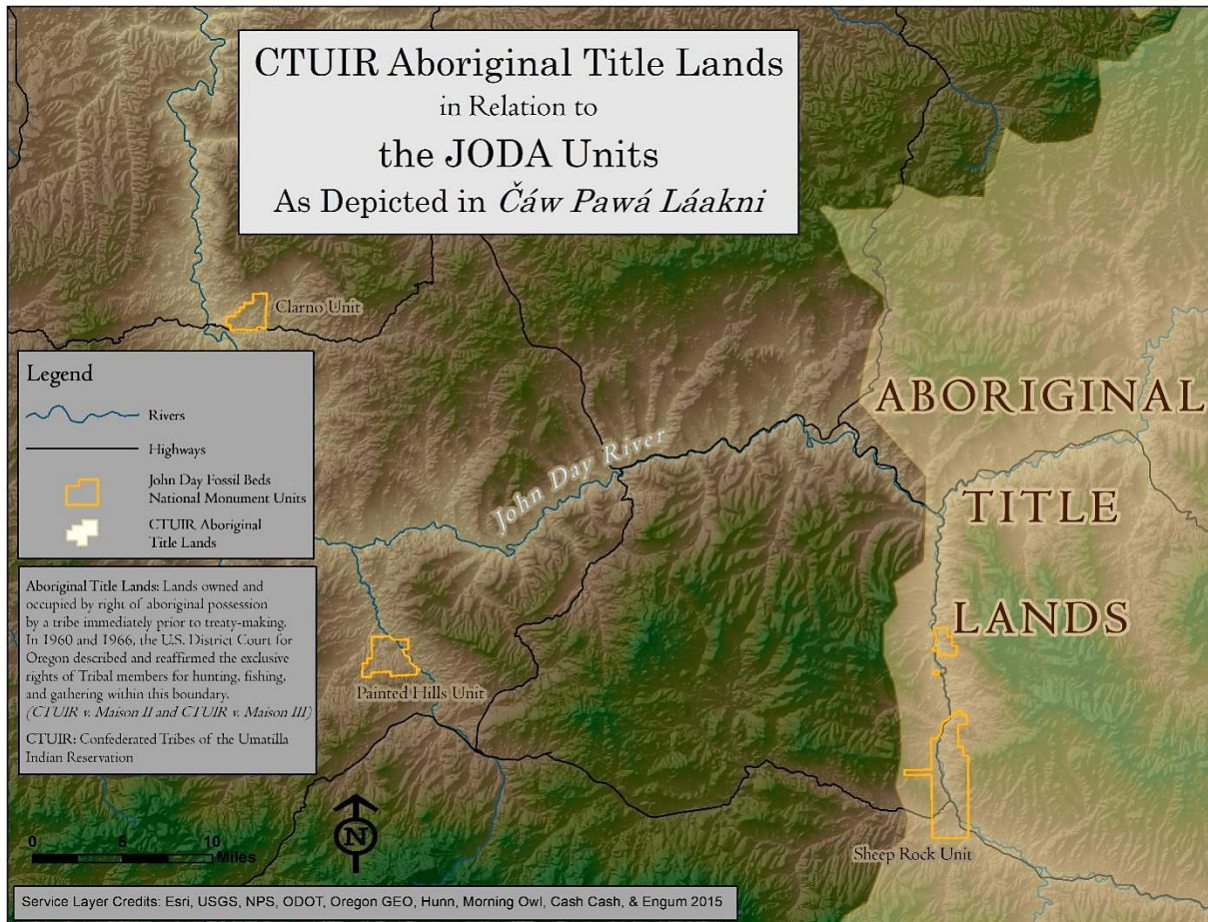
do not fully or adequately encompass traditional Umatilla lands. Mapping and other documentation undertaken by the tribe are represented in this report.

With its current boundary approximately 100 miles northeast of the John Day Fossil Beds Monument, the Umatilla Indian Reservation is about 273 square miles (CTUIR n.d.). Although the monument is not located within the ceded lands of the CTUIR as defined in the treaty, CTUIR has interests in the region. Residents of CTUIR affirm aboriginal use of central Oregon including lands in and around JODA (Mark 1996; NPS 2009:9-10).

Today, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation have over 3,100 members, sources state (CTUIR n.d.d.). Almost half of the tribal members live on or near the reservation, which also includes 300 members of other Native tribes and about 1,500 non-Indians. Tribal members still celebrate the Root Feast on the Umatilla Reservation and “many of the Indian people of the Umatilla Indian Reservation still eat traditional foods like roots, berries, deer, elk and salmon as part of their every day diet” (CTUIR n.d.a).

The present Umatilla economy includes hunting, fishing, agriculture, livestock, timber, recreation, and commercial developments (CTUIR n.d.e). Commercial developments include: a grain elevator, a mini-market/gas station, trailer court, the Wildhorse Resort which includes the Tamastlikt Cultural Institute, and Cayuse Technologies. Around 1,600 people are employed by the CTUIR including over 800 at the Wildhorse Resort and nearly 300 at Cayuse Technologies, with the Confederated Tribes government having a staff of nearly 500 (CTUIR n.d.d.).

With the adoption of a constitution and bylaws on November 4, 1949, the constituent tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation were confederated (Ruby and Brown 1986:52). A General Council and Board of Trustees are included in the CTUIR government, with the council consisting of tribal members age 18 and older (CTUIR n.d.b); and from within the council, an elected nine-member Board of Trustees that governs tribal affairs (CTUIR n.d.b; Ruby and Brown 1986:53). Board members serve 2-year terms (CTUIR



MAP 9: CTUIR aboriginal title lands. The Umatilla have actively contested the originally narrow interpretation of their traditional lands by the Indian Claims Commission, including litigation in the 1950s and 1960s that reassessed the western extent of their “aboriginal title lands.” The cases of CTUIR v. Maison II and CTUIR v. Maison III resulted in a court-supported definition of aboriginal lands that includes the Sheep Rock Unit of John Day Fossil Beds.

2017); at the time of this writing, Gary Burke serves as Board Chairman. According to their own sources, the tribal government “includes departments such as administration, health and human services, natural resources, economic and community development, tribal services, education, fire protection, and police” (CTUIR n.d.b). The Nixyaawii Governance Center is located at 46411 Timine Way in Pendleton, Oregon. The phone number is (541) 276-3165.

Within the natural resources department is the Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP) whose mission statement reads: “The CRPP promotes the protection, preservation, and perpetuation of the CTUIR’s culturally significant places and resources for the benefit of current and future generations” (CTUIR n.d.c). The CTUIR started the CRPP in 1987. At the time, it was one of the first tribal cultural resource management programs (Stapp

2002:xi). For the CTUIR, cultural resources include elements beyond what others may define as cultural resources:

“The CTUIR regard their cultural resources as more than ‘stones and bones.’ Cultural resources significant to the CTUIR worldview include the Indian peoples themselves, their communities, and their way of life; Indian Elders with unique information regarding their personal histories as well as tribal histories; clean air; clean water for the salmon and other varieties of fish, eels, and riverine resources; the root grounds and berry patches scattered throughout the Blue Mountains (Abee 1982:3, 9). The fishing, hunting, and gathering of roots and berries traditional to the CTUIR way of life constitute types of ‘subsistence magic,’ oftentimes associated with specific geographic locations, as part of the larger world-view of sacred geography” (Burney 2002:33).

According to Burney, the cultural resources management approach of the CTUIR involves integrated efforts to preserve and maintain many aspects of their culture, and encompasses historic properties, ancestral sites, and cultural resources on reservation lands and on lands no longer in tribal control (Burney 2002:34). In recent decades, the CTUIR cultural resources program has become a model, statewide and nationally, for how tribes can manage a diverse range of cultural interests within and beyond their reservations.

The THPO for the CTUIR is Carey Miller (541) 429-7234; careymiller@ctuir.org (NATHPO 2019). Miller is listed as a NAGPRA contact, along with Teara Farro Ferman (NPS 2019). Farrow Ferman is the CRPP Program Manager and can be contacted at (541) 429-7230; tearafarrowferman@ctuir.org.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The connections between Native American communities and the lands in and around John Day Fossil Beds are longstanding, and of profound significance. Sitting along and near the John Day River, the three units of the modern National Monument—Sheep Rock, Painted Hills, and Clarno—each have been significant in various ways. These connections are demonstrated by the detailed written record of Native American use of lands around the Monument, in the historical and ethnographic literatures of the region reviewed in the course of this research. This significance is also suggested by the archival record relating to monument-associated tribes, which has been selectively incorporated into this project report. And, significantly, interviews carried out for this study by the cultural offices of monument-associated tribes make these facts clear, expanding much on our understanding of the rich tribal history recorded in the existing written record. In these interviews, elders of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation report deep ancestral roots and enduring traditional knowledge of lands now within JODA. Other regional tribes could make similar assertions as well. Interviewees from both tribes spoke of the diversity of resources found on JODA lands and those surrounding them—noting that all parts of the monument sit within the traditional resource harvesting areas used by tribal ancestors (Hylton 2023; Steinmetz 2020). While these reports are confidential and unavailable for public review due to their sensitivity, they remain on file to guide NPS engagement with tribes. Furthermore, their lessons are woven into the present document in myriad ways.

Information presented in the aforementioned sources points to the same central conclusions. All three units sit within the traditional lands of Native communities that are ancestral to modern tribes—most notably Warm Springs and Umatilla, but also the Burns Paiute, Klamath, and other, more distant tribes. On these lands, ancestral bands fished the John Day Basin for salmon, trout, and other species; hunted for large and small game; and harvested a remarkable diversity of plants for foods, medicines, materials, and a range of other cultural and spiritual uses. Almost every widespread plant and animal species within JODA has traditional uses and has held traditional cultural significance. As tribal members noted, these resources are traditionally harvested with care and respect. And, guided by Traditional Environmental Knowledge transmitted between generations across time, traditional harvesters employed an understanding of traditional management methods that likely contributed to the localized abundance of culturally significant species. Families have traditionally traveled seasonally throughout the John Day Basin to obtain these natural resources, arriving in each place as the resource became abundantly available. Over the course of a year, these travels took people to places throughout the Basin, fostering enduring connections across wide areas. Access to the entire spectrum of landscapes and habitats was key to the success of this subsistence tradition: the diets, economies, spiritual traditions, and cultural practices of central Oregon tribes depended on it. It was within this context that the lands and resources now managed as part of JODA held significance in Native communities, each being visited in the course of patterned movements across the landscape, occurring in regular choreographies across deep time.

Beyond this, each unit of the modern monument once sat along or near tribal trail networks that linked villages, resource harvest sites, and other places of cultural significance internally within the region, while also connecting these Native communities to major centers of economic, cultural, and social significance beyond—most notably the fishing stations and villages of the Columbia River falls. Especially near the river at Sheep Rock Unit, there were settlements within or very near the monument boundaries. The communities of the John Day region were not existing in isolation or in the backwaters of the Native Northwest but were integrated into the whole region by shared resource interests, kinship, and many other social and economic ties. Though tribal elders have not offered exact descriptions or locations, it is abundantly clear that places of spiritual significance abound in the vicinity of JODA and continue to be valued by tribal members today. Some of these places show signs of such connections, such as rock art, while many more lack clearly visible physical evidence of their great value. Some of these ceremonial sites have related very directly to the resource procurement traditions of the John Day Basin and spiritual practices relating to harvest, while many relate to other dimensions of traditional spiritual belief and practice. In each of these ways, the lands in and around JODA have been significant, and still retain their significance, to a number of Native American communities—past and present. While tribal communities experienced organized violence and forced relocation to reservations in the 19th century, and the reoccupation of their traditional homelands by non-Native settlers thereafter, these connections to the homelands persist.

In light of these connections, JODA is still a highly meaningful place to many tribal members, and modern tribal governments remain eager to consult with the NPS on matters such as land management, interpretation, access, and cultural site protection. Tribal members participating in this study have made a number of comments and recommendations on these points that deserve attention. Many called for more frequent and direct interactions between tribal members, especially cultural staff, and the staff of the NPS. In making these suggestions, tribal members expressed a view that these communications must go beyond the limits of routine consultation, to foster a more meaningful two-way conversation and rapport regarding topics of mutual concern. Some expressed a desire to have a broader, more proactive conversation with NPS staff regarding archaeological resources and their protection in the park. They acknowledge a long history of archaeological research in and around the park, and that standards for tribal engagement have varied over time. Some also called for a discussion of the protection of potential burial sites and the development of protocols outlining appropriate responses for the inadvertent discovery of human remains in the monument. The disturbance of archaeological sites or human remains is a possibility, some suggest—not only due to archaeological investigations, but also due to paleontological investigations in the monument, or routine management activities that involve ground disturbance.

Some tribal members called for a “renewal of regular relations” and for organized visits by tribal members to JODA lands with NPS staff—including trips involving knowledgeable elders and, if possible, tribal youth still seeking to understand their heritage in and around the modern monument. Some also advocated recording these visits in detail, with audio,

video, and written documentation, so that tribal youth might benefit from the information shared at these events for many years to come. Such organized trips have happened in the past, and many tribal members wish to see these continue—so that tribes may sustain their cultural connections to these places, instruct tribal youth on the meaning and significance of this part of their traditional homelands, and convey to NPS staff the information needed to manage and interpret the Native American history of these places with accuracy and respect. On the last point, several tribal members commented: interpretive signage and media on the monument’s deep Native heritage is needed, and conspicuously absent in many settings where it would be a welcome addition. In the course of the present study, NPS staff have expressed to the lead author similar perspectives, noting the need for expanded collaboration with tribes in developing interpretive media on cultural and historical themes. Such collaborations, all parties suggest, are in their mutual interest. They might help to convey accurate information to monument visitors, but also to instill respect among these visitors for the lands and waters of JODA, the living creatures that call these lands home, and the Native communities who have cared for all of these things since the beginning of remembered time.

As part of the NPS mandate to identify and nominate sites of significance to the National Register of Historic Places, the NPS is required to consider the potential existence of “Traditional Cultural Properties” (TCPs) on NPS-managed lands. As explained by National Register Bulletin 38, TCPs are places of special significance, eligible for National Register listing due to their unique association with the living cultural practices, values, and beliefs of modern communities—most commonly Native American communities. While the present study has not yet identified standalone “Traditional Cultural Properties” on NPS lands, these investigations have made it clear that a) lands within the monument remain culturally significant to traditionally associated tribes, and b) there are archaeological resources of enduring cultural significance in NPS management at JODA. Importantly, there are archaeological resources already listed, or known to be eligible to, the National Register of Historic Places at JODA that have additional levels of cultural significance to living tribal members. In any future National Register nominations for individual sites or districts, this enduring cultural significance should be noted in National Register context statements and associated documentation, pending the approval of park-associated tribes. To properly document, nominate, and manage such places, the NPS might consider an integrated approach to the many archaeological resources in NPS management, designating one or more National Register “districts” on JODA lands, while also noting how these resources are ethnographically significant and meet certain TCP criteria by virtue of their enduring cultural importance to modern tribes.

Of course, this report reflects the outcomes of an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EO&A) and, by definition, this kind of report has clear limitations. Focusing mainly on preexisting literatures, this document is meant largely to place JODA in its ethnographic and ethnohistorical context based on widely available information. Detailed discussions of the cultural significance of NPS managed lands and resources are somewhat beyond the scope of an EO&A, yet these themes are hugely significant to the future management of the monument and to the continued relationship between JODA and monument-associated tribes.

To move forward in documenting these topics in more detail, and in more completely understanding tribes' perspectives on JODA, the NPS might consider a range of options. As noted, one key way to achieve these goals is through expanded consultation with tribes, and communications that expand beyond the limits of routine consultation—facilitating candid discussions and interpersonal connections that may help illuminate many points of mutual interest and concern. The NPS might also wish to discuss with tribes the possibility of expanding on the present research with a “Traditional Use Study”; as defined in NPS-28, this kind of study allows for more in-depth investigation and “fills the data gaps identified by the ethnographic overview and assessment” (CFR-28, 10[B]3b). The reports written as part of the present study by Warm Springs and Umatilla offer welcome glimpses into those tribes' perspectives on the monument; still, both reports had very small scopes and budgets. Moreover, both tribes expressed that additional research could, and probably should, be undertaken. They have additional knowledgeable tribal members who have not yet been interviewed, and older recordings of interviews pertaining to the study area that remain in need of transcription. It is for this reason that the modern tribal perspective and knowledge of the monument remains an enduring “data gap” and deserves expanded attention if the tribes express support for such an undertaking. Such a study might help the NPS in better understanding the past and present significance of the monument and, by extension, the full extent of the agency's responsibilities under a spectrum of federal laws and policies—the National Historic Preservation Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and well beyond. Tribal members expressed much interest in traditional resource use and harvests in the study area, including the rich botanical resources of lands in and near the monument. Ethnobotany and even potential plant gathering interests of tribes could be among the topics addressed in a Traditional Use Study. (Plant gathering regulation standards identified under 36 CFR 2.6 would likely be pertinent to this work.) The existence of potential TCPs might also be revisited through more focused interview protocols as part of such a study. Monument-associated tribes have their own highly developed cultural programs, with skilled research staffs; whether Portland State University might have a role in such future research is negotiable and would occur entirely at the discretion of participating tribes and the NPS.

As tribal members have reminded the research team at every opportunity: John Day Fossil Beds National Monument is a place of importance—associated not only with the tribes' cultural histories but also their ongoing culture practices, values, and traditions. Tribal members have struggled to sustain their connections with these lands in many ways, including resource harvests and other cultural activities undertaken on the margins of the relatively new monument and agricultural activities nearby, and intentionally outside of the view of non-Native communities. They do so out of an enduring attachment to the land, to the work of their ancestors, to their own identities as modern tribal members and—as some suggest—to uphold sacred covenants with the Creator to care for the land and its resources. Hunting, fishing, and gathering traditions persist, and knowledge of those practices continues to be transmitted across generations of tribal members today. With these practices, the land continues to be known, familiar, and highly valued by each successive generation. While the NPS has its own policies and agendas, certain Native values clearly resonate with many of the core mandates of the agency. In understanding

these traditional practices, in accounting for them in the management and interpretation of the monument, NPS staff uphold the letter and spirit of the law pertaining to tribal interests in park lands, and foster this ongoing relationship between people and place across the generations. In doing so, the NPS and the tribes might improve their care for the land and ensure that it remains as unimpaired as possible for the benefit of future generations.

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Appendix A:

TREATY WITH THE TRIBES OF MIDDLE OREGON, 1855.

June 25, 1855. | 12 Stats., 963. | Ratified Mar. 8, 1859. | Proclaimed Apr. 18, 1859.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Wasco, near the Dalles of the Columbia River, in Oregon Territory, by Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, on the part of the United States, and the following-named chiefs and head-men of the confederated tribes and bands of Indians, residing in Middle Oregon, they being duly authorized thereto by their respective bands, to wit: Symtustus, Locks-quis-sa, Shick-a-me, and Kuck-up, chiefs of the Taih or Upper De Chutes band of Walla-Wallas; Stocket-ly and Iso, chiefs of the Wyam or Lower De Chutes band of Walla-Wallas; Alexis and Talkish, chiefs of the Tenino band of Walla-Wallas; Yise, chief of the Dock-Spus or John Day's River band of Walla-Wallas; Mark, William Chenook, and Cush-Kella, chiefs of the Dalles band of the Wascoes; Toh-simph, chief of the Ki-gal-twal-la band of Wascoes; and Wal-la-chin, chief of the Dog River band of Wascoes.

ARTICLE 1.

The above-named confederated bands of Indians cede to the United States all their right, title, and claim to all and every part of the country claimed by them, included in the following boundaries, to wit:

Commencing in the middle of the Columbia River, at the Cascade Falls, and running thence southerly to the summit of the Cascade Mountains; thence along said summit to the forty-fourth parallel of north latitude; thence east on that parallel to the summit of the Blue Mountains, or the western boundary of the Sho-sho-ne or Snake country; thence northerly along that summit to a point due east from the head-waters of Willow Creek; thence west to the head-waters of said creek; thence down said stream to its junction with the Columbia River; and thence down the channel of the Columbia River to the place of beginning. Provided, however, that so much of the country described above as is contained in the following boundaries, shall, until otherwise directed by the President of the United States, be set apart as a residence for said Indians, which tract for the purposes contemplated shall be held and regarded as an Indian reservation, to wit:

Commencing in the middle of the channel of the De Chutes River opposite the eastern termination of a range of high lands usually known as the Mutton Mountains; thence westerly to the summit of said range, along the divide to its connection with the Cascade Mountains; thence to the summit of said mountains; thence southerly to Mount Jefferson; thence down the main branch of De Chutes River; heading in this peak, to its junction with De Chutes River; and thence down the middle of the channel of said river to the place of beginning. All of which tract shall be set apart, and, so far as necessary, surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white person be permitted to reside upon the same without the concurrent permission of the agent and superintendent.

The said bands and tribes agree to remove to and settle upon the same within one year after the ratification of this treaty, without any additional expense to the United States other than is provided for by this treaty; and, until the expiration of the time specified, the said bands shall be permitted to occupy and reside upon the tracts now possessed by them, guaranteeing to all white citizens the right to enter upon and occupy as settlers ay lands not included in said reservation, and not actually inclosed by said Indians.

Provided, however, That prior to the removal of said Indians to said reservation, and before any improvements contemplated by this treaty shall have been commenced, that if the three principal bands, to wit: the Wascopum, Tiah, or Upper De Chutes, and the Lower De Chutes bands of Walla-Wallas shall express in council, a desire that some other reservation may be selected for them, that the three bands named may select each three persons of their respective bands, who with the superintendent of Indian affairs or agent, as may by him be directed, shall proceed to examine, and if another location can be selected, better suited to the condition and wants of said Indians, that is unoccupied by the whites, and upon which the board of commissioners thus selected may agree, the same shall be declared a reservation for said Indians, instead of the tract named in this treaty.

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

And provided, also, That if any band or bands of Indians, residing in and claiming any portion or portions of the country in this article, shall not accede to the terms of this treaty, then the bands becoming parties hereunto agree to receive such part of the several and other payments herein named as a consideration for the entire country described as aforesaid as shall be in the proportion that their aggregate number may have to the whole number of Indians residing in and claiming the entire country aforesaid, as consideration and payment in full for the tracts in said country claimed by them.

And provided, also, That where substantial improvements have been made by any members of the bands being parties to this treaty, who are compelled to abandon them in consequence of said treaty, the same shall be valued, under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment made therefor; or, in lieu of said payment, improvements of equal extent and value at their option shall be made for them on the tracts assigned to each respectively.

ARTICLE 2.

In consideration of, and payment for, the country hereby ceded, the United States agree to pay the bands and tribes of Indians claiming territory and residing in said country, the several sums of money following, to wit: Eight thousand dollars per annum for the first five years, commencing on the first day of September, 1856, or as soon thereafter as practicable. Six thousand dollars per annum for the term of five years next succeeding the first five. Four thousand dollars per annum for the term of five years next succeeding the

second five; and Two thousand dollars per annum for the term of five years next succeeding the third five. All of which several sums of money shall be expended for the use and benefit of the confederated bands, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time, at his discretion determine what proportion thereof shall be expended for such objects as in his judgment will promote their well-being and advance them in civilization; for their moral improvement and education; for building, opening and fencing farms, breaking land, providing teams, stock, agricultural implements, seeds, &c.; for clothing, provisions, and tools; for medical purposes, providing mechanics and farmers, and for arms and ammunition.

ARTICLE 3.

The United States agree to pay said Indians the additional sum of fifty thousand dollars, a portion whereof shall be applied to the payment for such articles as may be advanced them at the time of signing this treaty, and in providing, after the ratification thereof and prior to their removal, such articles as may be deemed by the President essential to their want; for the erection of buildings on the reservation, fencing and opening farms; for the purchase of teams, farming implements, clothing and provisions, tools, seeds, and for the payment of employees; and for subsisting the Indians the first year after their removal.

ARTICLE 4.

In addition to the considerations specified the United States agree to erect, at suitable points on the reservation, one sawmill and one flouring-mill; suitable hospital buildings; one school-house; one blacksmith-shop with a tin and a gunsmith-shop thereto attached; one wagon and ploughmaker shop; and for one sawyer, one miller, one superintendent of farming operations, a farmer, a physician, a school-teacher, a blacksmith, and a wagon and ploughmaker, a dwelling house and the requisite outbuildings for each; and to purchase and keep in repair for the time specified for furnishing employees all necessary mill-fixtures, mechanics' tools, medicines and hospital stores, books and stationery for schools, and furniture for employees.

The United States further engage to secure and pay for the services and subsistence, for the term of fifteen years, of one farmer, one blacksmith, and one wagon and plough maker; and for the term of twenty years, of one physician, one sawyer, one miller. One superintendent of farming operations, and one school teacher. The United States also engage to erect four dwelling-houses, one for the head chief of the confederated bands, and one each for the Upper and Lower De Chutes bands of Walla-Wallas, and for the Wascopum band of Wascoes, and to fence and plough for each of the said chiefs ten acres of land; also to pay the head chief of the confederated bands a salary of five hundred dollars per annum for twenty years, commencing six months after the three principal bands named in this treaty shall have removed to the reservation, or as soon thereafter as a head chief should be elected:

And provided, also, That at any time when by the death, resignation, or removal of the chief selected, there shall be a vacancy and a successor appointed or selected, the salary, the

dwelling, and improvements shall be possessed by said successor, so long as he shall occupy the position as head chief; so also with reference to the dwellings and improvements provided for by this treaty for the head chiefs of the three principal bands named.

ARTICLE 5.

The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole, or such portion as he may think proper, of the tract that may now or hereafter be set apart as a permanent home for these Indians, to be surveyed into lots and assigned to such Indians of the confederated bands as may wish to enjoy the privilege, and locate thereon permanently. To a single person over twenty-one years of age, forty acres; to a family of two persons, sixty acres; to a family of three and not exceeding five, eighty acres; to a family of six persons, and not exceeding ten, one hundred and twenty acres; and to each family over ten in number, twenty acres for each additional three members. And the President may provide such rules and regulations as will secure to the family in case of the death of the head thereof the possession and enjoyment of such permanent home and the improvement thereon; and he may, at any time, at his discretion, after such person or family has made location on the land assigned as a permanent home, issue a patent to such person or family for such assigned land, conditioned that the tract shall not be aliened or leased for a longer term than two years and shall be exempt from levy, sale, or forfeiture, which condition shall continue in force until a State constitution embracing such lands within its limits shall have been formed, and the legislature of the State shall remove the restrictions.

Provided, however, That no State legislature shall remove the restrictions herein provided for without the consent of congress.

And provided, also, That if any person or family shall at any time neglect or refuse to occupy or till a portion of the land assigned and on which they have located, or shall roam from place to place indicating a desire to abandon his home, the President may, if the patent shall have been issued, revoke the same, and if not issued, cancel the assignment, and may also withhold from such person, or family, their portion of the annuities, or other money due them, until they shall have returned to such permanent home and resumed the pursuits of industry, and in default of their return the tract may be declared abandoned, and thereafter assigned to some other person or family of Indians residing on said reservation.

ARTICLE 6.

The annuities of the Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

ARTICLE 7.

The confederated bands acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all the citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredation on the property of said citizens; and should any one or more of the

Indians violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of their annuities; nor will they make war on any other tribe of Indians except in self-defence, but submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States, or its agents for decision, and abide thereby; and if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on other Indians, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in the case of depredations against citizens; said Indians further engage to submit to and observe all laws, rules, and regulations which may be prescribed by the United States for the government of said Indians.

ARTICLE 8.

In order to prevent the evils of intemperance among said Indians, it is hereby provided, that if any one of them shall drink liquor to excess, or procure it for others to drink, his or her proportion of the annuities may be withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

ARTICLE 9.

The said confederated bands agree that whensoever, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the public interest may require it, that all roads, highways, and railroads shall have the right of way through the reservation herein designated, or which may at any time hereafter be set apart as a reservation for said Indians. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Joel Palmer, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned, chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the said confederated bands, have hereunto set their hands and seals, this twenty-fifth day of June, eighteen hundred fifty-five.

Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, O. T. [L. S.]

Wasco:

Mark, his x mark. [L. S.]

William Chenook, his x mark. [L. S.]

Cush Kella, his x mark. [L. S.]

Lower De Chutes:

Stock-etley, his x mark. [L. S.]

Iso, his x mark. [L. S.]

Upper De Chutes:

Simtustus, his x mark. [L. S.]

Locksquissa, his x mark. [L. S.]

Shick-ame, his x mark. [L. S.]

Kuck-up, his x mark. [L. S.]

Tenino:

Alexsee, his x mark. [L. S.]

Talekish, his x mark. [L. S.]

Dog River Wasco:

Walachin, his x mark. [L. S.]

Tah Symph, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ash-na-chat, his x mark. [L. S.]

Che-wot-nleth, his x mark. [L. S.]

Te-cho, his x mark. [L. S.]

Sha-qually, his x mark. [L. S.]

Louis, his x mark. [L. S.]

Yise, his x mark. [L. S.]

Stamite, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ta-cho, his x mark. [L. S.]

Penop-teyot, his x mark. [L. S.]

Elosh-kish-kie, his x mark. [L. S.]

Am. Zelic, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ke-chac, his x mark. [L. S.]

Tanes Salmon, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ta-kos, his x mark. [L. S.]

David, his x mark. [L. S.]

Sowal-we, his x mark. [L. S.]

Postie, his x mark. [L. S.]

Yawan-shewit, his x mark. [L. S.]

Own-aps, his x mark. [L. S.]

Kossa, his x mark. [L. S.]

Pa-wash-ti-mane, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ma-we-nit, his x mark. [L. S.]

Tipso, his x mark. [L. S.]

Jim, his x mark. [L. S.]

Peter, his x mark. [L. S.]

Na-yoct, his x mark. [L. S.]

Wal-tacom, his x mark. [L. S.]

Cho-kalth, his x mark. [L. S.]

Pal-sta, his x mark. [L. S.]

Mission John, his x mark. [L. S.]

Le Ka-ya, his x mark. [L. S.]

La-wit-chin, his x mark. [L. S.]

Low-las, his x mark. [L. S.]

Thomson, his x mark. [L. S.]

Charley, his x mark. [L. S.]

Copefornia, his x mark. [L. S.]

Wa-toi-mettla, his x mark. [L. S.]

Ke-la, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pa-ow-ne, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kuck-up, his x mark. [L. S.]
Poyet, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ya-wa-clax, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tam-cha-wit, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tam-mo-yo-cam, his x mark. [L. S.]
Was-ca-can, his x mark. [L. S.]
Talle Kish, his x mark. [L. S.]
Waleme Toach, his x mark. [L. S.]
Site-we-loch, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ma-ni-nect, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pich-kan, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pouh-que, his x mark. [L. S.]
Eye-eya, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kam-kus, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sim-yo, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kas-la-chin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pio-sho-she, his x mark. [L. S.]
Mop-pa-man, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sho-es, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ta-mo-lits, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ka-lim, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ta-yes, his x mark. [L. S.]
Was-en-was, his x mark. [L. S.]
E-yath Kloppy, his x mark. [L. S.]
Paddy, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sto-quin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Charley-man, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ile-cho, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pate-cham, his x mark. [L. S.]
Yan-che-woc, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ya-toch-la-le, his x mark. [L. S.]
Alpy, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pich, his x mark. [L. S.]
William, his x mark. [L. S.]
Peter, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ischa Ya, his x mark. [L. S.]
George, his x mark. [L. S.]
Jim, his x mark. [L. S.]
Se-ya-las-ka, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ha-lai-kola, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pierro, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ash-lo-wash, his x mark. [L. S.]
Paya-tilch, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sae-pa-waltcha, his x mark. [L. S.]

Shalquilkey, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wa-qual-lol, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sim-kui-kui, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wacha-chiley, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chi-kal-kin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Squa-yash, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sha Ka, his x mark. [L. S.]
Keau-sene, his x mark. [L. S.]
Che-chis, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sche-noway, his x mark. [L. S.]
Scho-ley, his x mark. [L. S.]
We-ya-thley, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pa-leyathley, his x mark. [L. S.]
Keyath, his x mark. [L. S.]
I-poth-pal, his x mark. [L. S.]
S. Kolps, his x mark. [L. S.]
Walimtalín, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tash Wick, his x mark. [L. S.]
Hawatch-can, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ta-wait-cla, his x mark. [L. S.]
Patoch Snort, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tachins, his x mark. [L. S.]
Comochal, his x mark. [L. S.]
Passayei, his x mark. [L. S.]
Watan-cha, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ta-wash, his x mark. [L. S.]
A-nouth-shot, his x mark. [L. S.]
Hanwake, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pata-la-set, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tash-weict, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wescha-matolla, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chle-mochle-mo, his x mark. [L. S.]
Quae-tus, his x mark. [L. S.]
Skuilts, his x mark. [L. S.]
Panospam, his x mark. [L. S.]
Stolameta, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tamayechotote, his x mark. [L. S.]
Qua-losh-kin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wiska Ka, his x mark. [L. S.]
Che-lo-tha, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wetone-yath, his x mark. [L. S.]
We-ya-lo-cho-wit, his x mark. [L. S.]
Yoka-nolth, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wacha-ka-polle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kon-ne, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ash-ka-wish, his x mark. [L. S.]

Pasquai, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wasso-kui, his x mark. [L. S.]
Quaino-sath, his x mark. [L. S.]
Cha-ya-tema, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wa-ya-lo-chol-wit, his x mark. [L. S.]
Flitch Kui Kui, his x mark. [L. S.]
Walcha Kas, his x mark. [L. S.]
Watch-tla, his x mark. [L. S.]
Enias, his x mark. [L. S.]

Signed in presence of——

Wm. C. McKay, secretary of treaty, O. T.

R. R. Thompson, Indian agent.

R. B. Metcalfe, Indian sub-agent.

C. Mespotie.

John Flett, interpreter.

Dominick Jondron, his x mark, interpreter.

Mathew Dofa, his x mark, interpreter

Notes

¹ The expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark encountered the Shoshone and described the tribe's geographic distribution as such:

“The Shoshonees are a small tribe of the nation called Snake Indians, a vague denomination which embraces at once the inhabitants of the southern parts of the Rocky mountains and of the plains on each side.... Within their own recollection they formerly lived in the plains, but they have been driven into the mountains by the Pawkees, or the roving Indians of the Sascatchewan, and are now obliged to visit, occasionally and by stealth, the country of their ancestors” (Coues 1893:554).

Hale (1846:218-219) identifies the core lands of the Shoshone as being south of the Lewis or Snake River and east of the Salt Lake. Wilkes (1845:471-472), while agreeing that they extended east of Salt Lake, writes that the Shoshones stretched north of the Snake River. He also notes that their largest band was located near Fort Boise. In his Report on the Indians of Sub-Agency First District South of the Columbia River in 1849, Newell (1959:144-145) also describes the territory of the Shoshone in relation to the Lewis River and the Great Salt Lake:

“The Sho-Sho-nee or Snake Indians inhabit a section of country on the West side of the mountains from the summit North along Wind River Mountain to Henry's Fork, down Henry's Fork to the mouth of Lewis River, down Snake River about forty miles below Fort Hall; then Southerly to the Great Salt Lake, thence Easterly across the Summit by the way of the headwaters of Bear River, a tributary of the Great Salt Lake.... There are Sho-Sho-nees from the headwaters of Snake River to the Grand Round in small bands however. A distance of four or five hundred miles upon this river the Sho-Sho-nees are to be found on either side of the Snake River Valley.... The country south of Snake River from Forty miles below Fort Hall to the Grand Round and from Snake River south in the direction of the Great Salt Lake and West towards the California Mountains is inhabited by the Ponashta [Bannock] Indians. They, however, have mixed with the Sho-Sho-nees and intermarried so much that it is hard to discriminate; but the Pon-ash-ta appear to be the predominant tribe.”

Shiner (1961:164) places the territory of “Northern Shoshoneans” at the Snake River south of Lewiston, Idaho and in the mountains lining the northern Great Basin.

² Salmon, steelhead, and trout in John Day include spring chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), summer steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), redband steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss gairdnerii*), westslope cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*), and bull trout

(*Salvelinus confluentus*). Coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) is on the list of species currently in review. Lampreys include the western brook lamprey (*Lampetra richardsoni*) and Pacific lamprey (*Lampetra tridentata*). Suckers include the bridgelip sucker (*Catostomus columbianus*), largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*), and mountain sucker (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*).

³ The following species used by the Tenino are found in John Day: mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), Rocky Mountain Elk (*Cervus elaphus*), bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*). Belding's ground squirrel (*Citellus beldingi*; *Spermophilus beldingi*), golden-mantled ground squirrel (*Spermophilus lateralis*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), red fox (*Vulpes fulva*) and black fox (*Vulpes Vulpes*), mountain lion (*Puma concolor*), bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), common otter (*Lontra canadensis*), long-tailed weasel (*Mustela frenata*), common raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), common porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), yellow-bellied marmot (*Marmota flaviventris*), black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*), mountain cottontail (*Sylvilagus nuttallii*), and American beaver (*Castor canadensis*).

There are several types of ducks, including wood duck (*Aix sponsa*), northern pintail (*Anas acuta*), American wigeon (*Anas americana*), northern shoveler (*Anas clypeata*), Eurasian teal (*Anas crecca*), cinnamon teal (*Anas cyanoptera*), blue-winged teal (*Anas discors*), mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), gadwall (*Anas strepera*), lesser scaup (*Aythya affinis*), redhead (*Aythya americana*), ring-necked duck (*Aythya collaris*), canvasback (*Aythya valisineria*), bufflehead (*Bucephala albeola*), common goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*), common merganser (*Mergus merganser*), ruddy duck (*Oxyura jamaicensis*). Other birds include Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) and swans such as the trumpeter swan (*Cygnus buccinator*), tundra swan (*Cygnus columbianus*), and whistling swan (*Olor columbianus*). The blue grouse (*Dendragapus*) is currently on the list of species currently in review.

⁴ Several plant species used by the Tenino can be found within John Day Fossil Beds. These include: bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), serrated balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza serrata*), onions such as Tolmie onion (*Allium tolmiei*) and manyflower onion (*Allium pleianthum*), tortula moss (*Tortula ruralis*), yellowbells (*Fritillaria pudica*), greenband mariposa lily (*Calochortus macrocarpus*), chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), golden currant (*Ribes aureum*), red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera*), serviceberries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), and blue elderberry (*Sambucus cerulea*). There are several kinds of *Lomatium*, including Gray's biscuitroot (*Lomatium grayi*), Henderson's biscuitroot (*Lomatium hendersonii*), bigseed biscuitroot (*Lomatium macrocarpum*), and nineleaf biscuitroot (*Lomatium triternatum*); Gorman's biscuitroot (*Lomatium gormanii*) and Nevada biscuitroot (*Lomatium nevadense*) are on the list of species currently in review.

Wild carrot (*Daucus carota*) is listed a non-native spies and is on the list of species currently in review. There is no field mint, though spearmint (*Mentha spicata*) is listed a non-native species present at the park. Wild potatoes (*Claytonia lanceolata*), which are mentioned in the text, are not found within John Day, however littleleaf springbeauty (*Claytonia parviflora*) can be found there. Though the specific type of tule used by the Tenino is not specified in the text, a few types of rushes are found in John Day: common

spikerush (*Eleocharis palustris*), great bulrush (*Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani*), Baltic rush (*Juncus balticus*), and toad rush (*Juncus bufonius*).

⁵ Plant species used by the Northern Paiute within John Day Fossil Beds include: bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), Indian ricegrass (*Achnatherum hymenoides*), Basin wildrye (*Leymus cinereus*), serrated balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza serrata*), Tolmie onion (*Allium tolmiei*), manyflower onion (*Allium pleianthum*), shadscale saltbrush (*Atriplex confertifolia*), cattail (*Typha latifolia*), Douglas rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus*), Humboldt milkweed (*Asclepias cryptoceras*), showy milkweed (*Asclepias speciosa*), spiny Saltbush (*Atriplex confertifolia*), dogbane (*Apocynum cannabinum*), white blazingstar (*Mentzelia albicaulis*), smoothstem blazingstar (*Mentzelia laevicaulis*), coyote tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*), greenband mariposa lily (*Calochortus macrocarpus*), yellow bells (*Fritillaria pudica*), western juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*), and several types of grasses (*Poales/Poaceae*). Tumbling mustard (*Sisymbrium altissimum*) is listed as present, but non-native. Death camas (*Zigadenus venenosus*) is on the list of species in review.

Two types of chenopodium- lambsquarters (*Chenopodium album*) and Jerusalem oak (*Chenopodium botrys*) are present. There are several types of biscuitroot: Gray's biscuitroot (*Lomatium grayi*), Henderson's biscuitroot (*Lomatium hendersonii*), bigseed biscuitroot (*Lomatium macrocarpum*), and nineleaf biscuitroot (*Lomatium triternatum*). Gorman's biscuitroot (*Lomatium gormanii*) and Nevada biscuitroot (*Lomatium nevadense*) are on the list of species currently in review. John Day has several types of sunflowers: common woolly sunflower (*Eriophyllum lanatum*), common sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*), Nuttall's sunflower (*Helianthus nuttallii*), and Cusick's sunflower (*Helianthus cusickii*). Tansymustard within the park includes green tansymustard (*Descurainia pinnata*), Richardson's tansymustard (*Descurainia richardsonii*), and mountain tansy mustard (*Descurainia incana*; *Descurainia incana* ssp. *viscosa*). There are several types of sagebrush: little sagebrush (*Artemisia arbuscula*), white sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), scabland sagebrush (*Artemisia rigida*), big sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*), basin big sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* ssp. *tridentata*), and Wyoming big sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* ssp. *wyomingensis*). Relevant berries found within the park include chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), blue elderberry (*Sambucus cerulea*), golden currant (*Ribes aureum*), wax currant (*Ribes cereum*), and Umatilla gooseberry (*Ribes cognatum*).

Though the specific type of tule used is not specified in the text, a few types of rushes are found in John Day: common spikerush (*Eleocharis palustris*), great bulrush (*Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani*), Baltic rush (*Juncus balticus*), and toad rush (*Juncus bufonius*). Jointed rush (*Juncus artiuclatus*), long-style rush (*Juncus longistylis*), swordleaf rush (*Juncus ensifolius*), Torrey rush (*Juncus torreyi*), and *Juncus balticus* var. *balticus* are currently on the list of species in review.

⁶ Many of the species used by the Northern Paiute are found within John Day. Species eaten and used include mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), Rocky Mountain elk (*Cervus elaphus*), pronghorn (antelope) (*Antilocapra americana*), bighorn sheep (*Ovis Canadensis*), bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), American mink (*Mustela vison*), common porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*), mountain cottontail (*Sylvilagus nuttallii*), northern pocket gopher (*Thomomys talpoides*), Ord's kangaroo rat (*Dipodomys ordii*),

common muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*), bushy-tailed woodrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), common raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), American badger (*Taxidea taxus*), American beaver (*Castor Canadensis*), Belding's ground squirrel (*Citellus beldingi*; *Spermophilus beldingi*), golden-mantled ground squirrel (*Spermophilus lateralis*), Douglas's squirrel (*Tamiasciurus douglasii*), least chipmunk (*Tamias minimus*), and yellow-bellied marmot (*Marmota flaviventris*).

⁷ Birds utilized by the Northern Paiute that occur within John Day include: the Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*), mourning dove (*Zenaida macroura*), American robin (*Turdus migratorius*), mountain bluebird (*Sialia currucoides*), western bluebird (*Sialia Mexicana*), California quail (*Callipepla californica*), mountain quail (*Oreortyx pictus*), black-billed magpie (*Pica pica*), golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*), mudhen/American coot (*Fulica Americana*), and common snipe (*Gallinago gallinago*). There are several ducks, such as the wood duck (*Aix sponsa*), northern pintail (*Anas acuta*), American wigeon (*Anas americana*), northern shoveler (*Anas clypeata*), Eurasian teal (*Anas crecca*), cinnamon teal (*Anas cyanoptera*), blue-winged teal (*Anas discors*), mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), gadwall (*Anas strepera*), lesser scaup (*Aythya affinis*), redhead (*Aythya americana*), ring-necked duck (*Aythya collaris*), canvasback (*Aythya valisineria*), bufflehead (*Bucephala albeola*), common goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*), common merganser (*Mergus merganser*), and ruddy duck (*Oxyura jamaicensis*). Owls include the short-eared owl (*Asio flammeus*), long-eared owl (*Asio otus*), great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*), flammulated owl (*Otus flammeolus*), western screech-owl (*Otus kennicottii*), barred owl (*Strix varia*), and barn owl (*Tyto alba*). Woodpeckers include the Lewis' woodpecker (*Melanerpes lewis*), downy woodpecker (*Picoides pubescens*), and hairy woodpecker (*Picoides villosus*). Hawks include Cooper's hawk (*Accipiter cooperii*), sharp-chinned hawk (*Accipiter striatus*), red-tailed hawk (*Buteo jamaicensis*), and rough-legged hawk (*Buteo lagopus*). Blackbirds include the red-winged blackbird (*Agelaius phoeniceus*), tricolored blackbird (*Agelaius tricolor*), Brewer's blackbird (*Euphagus cyanocephalus*), and yellow-headed blackbird (*Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus*). The American avocet (*Recurvirostra americana*) and blue grouse (*Dendragapus*) are currently on the list of Species in Review.

⁸ Several families of caterpillars are present in John Day: brush-footed butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Nymphalidae*), gossamer-winged butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Lycaenidae*), metalmark butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Riodinidae*), pierid butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Pieridae*), skipper butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Hesperiidae*), and swallowtail butterflies (*Lepidoptera/Papilionidae*).

⁹ John Day has spring chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), westslope cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*), bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*), summer steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), redband steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss gairdnerii*), bridgelip sucker (*Catostomus columbianus*), largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*), and mountain sucker (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*), western brook lamprey (*Lampetra richardsoni*), Pacific lamprey (*Lampetra tridentata*), and northern pikeminnow (*Ptychocheilus oregonensis*). Coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) is on the list of species currently in review.

¹⁰ Within John Day Fossil Beds are present: spring chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), westslope cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*), bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*), summer steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), redband steelhead (*Oncorhynchus mykiss gairdnerii*), western brook lamprey (*Lampetra richardsoni*), Pacific lamprey (*Lampetra tridentata*), bridgelip sucker (*Catostomus columbianus*), largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*), mountain sucker (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*), Chiselmouth chub (*Acrocheilus alutaceus*), Mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*). Coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) is on the list of species currently in review.

¹¹ Several plants used by the Wasco and Wishram can be found within John Day Fossil Beds. These include: bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), Greenband mariposa lily (*Calochortus macrocarpus*), yellow bells (*Fritillaria pudica*), coyote tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), Tolmie onion (*Allium tolmiei*) and manyflower onion (*Allium pleianthum*). There are several types of sunflowers- common woolly sunflower (*Eriophyllum lanatum*), common sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*), Nuttall's sunflower (*Helianthus nuttallii*), and Cusick's sunflower (*Helianthus cusickii*). Spearmint (*Mentha spicata*) is present in the park, though it is listed a non-native species. Wild carrot (*Daucus carota*) can be found in the park, though it is categorized as non-native and is on the list of species currently in review. Berries include chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), golden currant (*Ribes aureum*), wax currant (*Ribes cereum*), Umatilla gooseberry (*Ribes cognatum*). Desert gooseberry (*Ribes velutinum*) is on the list of species in review. Though the specific type of tule used by the Wishram is not specified in the text, a few types of rushes are found in John Day including great bulrush (*Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani*), Baltic rush (*Juncus balticus*), toad rush, (*Juncus bufonius*), and common spikerush (*Eleocharis palustris*). Jointed rush (*Juncus artiuclatus*), torrey rush (*Juncus torreyi*), long-style rush (*Juncus longistylis*), swordleaf rush (*Juncus ensifolius*), and *Juncus balticus* var. *balticus* are currently on the list of species in review.

¹² Of the species utilized by the Wasco and Wishram, the following are present in John Day Fossil Beds: Rocky Mountain Elk (*Cervus elaphus*), mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), bighorn Sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), American beaver (*Castor canadensis*), red fox (*Vulpes fulva*) and black fox (*Vulpes Vulpes*), cougar (*Puma concolor*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), common raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), California quail (*Callipepla californica*) and mountain quail (*Oreortyx pictus*).

Squirrels include Belding's ground squirrel (*Citellus beldingi*; *Spermophilus beldingi*), golden-mantled ground squirrel (*Spermophilus lateralis*), and Douglas's squirrel (*Tamiasciurus douglasii*).

Ducks in John Day are the wood duck (*Aix sponsa*), northern pintail (*Anas acuta*), American wigeon (*Anas americana*), northern shoveler (*Anas clypeata*), Eurasian teal (*Anas crecca*), cinnamon teal (*Anas cyanoptera*), blue-winged teal (*Anas discors*), mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), gadwall (*Anas strepera*), lesser scaup (*Aythya affinis*), redhead (*Aythya americana*), ring-necked duck (*Aythya collaris*), canvasback (*Aythya valisineria*), bufflehead (*Bucephala albeola*), common goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*), common merganser (*Mergus merganser*), and ruddy duck (*Oxyura jamaicensis*).

Blue grouse (*Dendragapus*) is currently on the list of species currently in review.

¹³ “New Map of the Mining Regions of Oregon and Washington Territory,” by Alonzo Leland, 1863.

¹⁴ The term “Snake” was sometimes used in early ethnographic accounts to generally refer to Northern Paiute, Bannock, and Shoshones. The term was particularly used for tribes living along the Snake River, but was later applied more widely to include many tribal communities living well outside of the Snake River Basin.

¹⁵ The federal government and Confederated Tribes also entered into the Huntington Treaty of 1865. The treaty attempted to limit the Confederated Tribes off-reservation fishing rights (Beckham 2007; Tonsfeldt et al. 2014). The Confederated Tribes “[a]lmost immediately... denounced the ratified agreement as fraudulent and continued to exercise their reserved, off-reservation fishing rights” (Beckham 2007:216). The United States v. Oregon, 302 F. Supp. 899 (D. Or. 1969) federal decision would later uphold the Warm Springs right to off-reservation fishing on public lands (Beckham 2007; McConnell 2006; Tonsfeldt et al. 2014).

¹⁶ The Yahooskins originally occupied a roughly 5,000 square mile area surrounding the Abert, Silver, and Summer lakes in Oregon. Under the October 14, 1864 treaty, Yahooskins agreed to cede their land in exchange for living on the Klamath Reservation alongside the more populous Klamath and Modoc tribes. The Klamath Tribes faced a series of challenges to the boundary of their reservation including erroneous surveying and land sales by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that were not authorized by the tribes (Deur 2007; Ruby et al. 2010). However, the biggest threat to their reservation (once totaling 2.5 million acres, down to just 861,125 acres in the 1950s) and political cohesion of the tribes was the Termination Act of 1954 (Ruby et al. 2010). The tribes have since rebounded in their efforts to restore cultural practices and reestablish ties to the land (Deur 2007). As of 2006, the reservation totaled 206 acres. However, the Klamath Tribes continue to look for ways to expand their reservation (Ruby et al. 2010).

¹⁷ Apparently, the date on Milroy’s letter should be 1884 instead of 1889, because correspondence in the Warm Springs files indicates that Oitz and his band arrived at this reservation in August of 1884 (Correspondence, Warm Springs Agency 1885).