

MISSION MILL MUSEUM ASSOCIATION  
PRESENTS

A Symposium:

# WHAT PRICE EDEN?

THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY IN TRANSITION,  
1812-1855

*"In less than four decades an entire population and lifeway disappeared  
to be replaced by a vastly different people and culture."*

This information was first released in a symposium held at Mission Mill Museum on April 2, 1988.

Published by  
Mission Mill Museum Association  
1313 Mill Street S.E.  
Salem, OR 97301  
Tel. (503) 585-7012  
in 1995

This project has been made possible in part by a grant from the Oregon Committee for the Humanities, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Mission Mill Museum Association  
Presents  
WHAT PRICE EDEN?

Symposium Schedule

10:00	Welcoming remarks	Franca Dyer, President Mission Mill Museum Association
	Introductions	Margie Schneider, Curator Mission Mill Museum
	Moderator	David Brauner, Chief Scholar for the Project
10:15	Kalapuyan Cultural Anthropolopogy	Henry Zenk
10:50	Kalapuyan Diseases	Robert Boyd
11:30	Impact of the French Canadians	David Brauner

Lunch 12:15 to 1:30

1:30	Impact of the Catholic and Methodist Missions	Wilfred Schoenberg
2:10	Impact of the White Settlement and Reservations	Stephen Dow Beckham
2:45	Kalapuyan Perspective	Merle Holmes
3:10	Panel Discussion	
4:00	Closing Remarks	Bruce Wulf, Executive Director, Mission Mill Museum Association



## **"WHAT PRICE EDEN?"**

A little-known episode in Oregon's history is the subject of a symposium, entitled "What Price Eden? The Willamette Valley in Transition - 1812-1855." The symposium, sponsored by Mission Mill Museum Association, will be held on Saturday, April 2, from 10-4 in the Dye House at Mission Mill Village, 1313 Mill Street S.E., Salem. There will be a lunch break from 12:30 to 1:30. It is free and open to the public.

The program presents recent and largely-unpublished research into the cultural interaction between the Kalapuyan Indians, sole occupants of the Willamette Valley for thousands of years before 1811, and the French Canadians and Americans who traded and settled there. Dr. David Brauner, anthropologist and archaeologist from Oregon State University writes, "In less than four decades and entire population and life way disappeared to be replaced by a vastly different people and culture."

Dr. Brauner, central scholar and planner of this project, will present the "Impact of the French Canadians." Other scholars on the morning program and their topics are: Henry Zenk, independent researcher, Portland, "Kalapuyan Cultural Anthropology," and Robert Boyd, independent researcher, Washington, "Diseases of the Kalapuyan." On the afternoon program will be Wilfred Schoenberg, History Department, Gonzaga University, Spokane, "Catholic and Methodist Missions;" Stephen Dow Beckham, History Department, Lewis & Clark College, Portland, "Impact of the Reservations," and Merle Holmes, Kalapuyan descendant and historian "The Indian Perspective." A discussion period will follow these presentations so the audience may have an opportunity to interact with the scholars and each other.

Funding for the symposium is from a grant awarded through the Oregon Committee for the Humanities, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Mission Mill is proud to make this new research accessible to the public through this forum.

## Symposium Scholars

**Dr. Henry Zenk:** A well-known expert on Kalapuyan languages and dialects and cultural anthropology, Henry Zenk will discuss what is known of the Kalapuyan culture at the time of European contact.

**Dr. Robert Boyd:** One of the only scholars involved in research concerning the diseases of the Kalapuyans and lower Columbia River Indians, Robert Boyd will discuss the tragic epidemics that struck the Willamette Valley bands between 1780 and 1834.

**Dr. David Brauner:** Professor of anthropology and archeology at Oregon State University, David Brauner is serving as Chief Scholar for "What Price Eden?" He has been involved in archeological digs on French Prairie and will discuss current research on the impact of French-Canadian settlers between 1829 and 1843.

**Father Wilfred Schoenberg:** Professor of History at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Father Schoenberg will discuss the impact of the Catholic and Methodist missions on the Kalapuyans in the Willamette Valley.

**Dr. Stephen Dow Beckham:** Dr. Beckham is the author of numerous books on the Indian tribes of Oregon and is professor of History at Lewis and Clark College. Dr. Beckham will highlight the Americanization of the Willamette Valley during the migration of 1843 and after, which overwhelmed both the last of the Kalapuyans and the small French Canadian settlement. He will conclude with the reservation system of 1854-1855.

**Merle Holmes:** The great-grandson of Santiam and Mary's River Kalapuyans, Mr. Holmes has been three times the tribal chairman for the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde during the restoration period. His knowledge of his people's oral history is the focus of his presentation and forms the basis of the "Kalapuyan Perspective."

*Mission Mill Museum is deeply appreciative to the Oregon Committee for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities for partially funding this symposium.*

## Describing a Vanished Culture: The Aboriginal Kalapuyans<sup>1</sup>

Henry Zenk

I have been invited to this symposium to contribute an overview of the lifeways of an entire people, or more precisely, of an entire group of related peoples—the Kalapuyan-speaking peoples who once populated most of the interior Willamette Valley, as well as a part of the Umpqua Valley to the south. Some of you may be surprised to learn that I find the task a daunting one, considering the time allotted. After all, aren't the Kalapuyans a virtually unknown people? My first order of business will be to expose this preconception for what it is—largely a myth. True, our record for the Kalapuyans does not compare with that preserved for some other Native American peoples, such as the Navajos and the Iroquois. On the other hand, it is considerably better than what we have to show for many others.

The best recorded aspect of Kalapuyans culture happens to be language. Regrettably, Kalapuyan languages are no longer spoken. For our rather good record of some of them, we have several Kalapuyan elders and a few linguistically-trained scholars to thank. The most extensive records have been preserved for Tualatin Kalapuyan, Santiam Kalapuyan, and Mary's River Kalapuyan. Tualatin Kalapuyan was originally spoken west and southwest of Portland, in the Tualatin and Chehalem Valleys ("Chehalem," which should be pronounced chēhāl'um, was the name of a Tualatin village). Santiam Kalapuyan was spoken from the Kalapuyan village of Chemeketa (chě'měk'ətə) at Salem, south to the present-day communities of Jefferson and Albany (Chehalem, Chemeketa, and other Kalapuyan-derived local names are discussed further in the appendix). Mary's River Kalapuyan, which was quite similar to Santiam and together with it quite distinct from Tualatin, was spoken in the present-day Corvallis area. Other Kalapuyan dialects represented by less adequate information include Yamhill, whose speakers lived around present-day McMinnville and Dallas; Luckiamute, spoken to the south of Yamhill in the

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<sup>1</sup> This paper presents the text of my talk to the symposium, with one major revision—the list of Tualatin material-culture terms, which is a thoroughly reworked version of the shorter list of English translation equivalents originally given—and several additions, including the synopsis of sources, and the appended list of local geographic names reflecting the Kalapuyan presence.

I am indebted to Howard Berman for guidance in spelling and glossing the Kalapuyan linguistic forms cited.

Luckiamute River Valley; Lower McKenzie, spoken near Eugene; Ahantchuyuk or Pudding River, spoken in French Prairie to the north of Salem; and Yoncalla, spoken in the Elk Creek Valley where the towns of Drain and Yoncalla now stand. Yamhill was related to Tualatin; Luckiamute, Lower McKenzie, and Ahantchuyuk, with several other dialects that have gone entirely unrecorded, were very closely related to Santiam and Mary's River; while Yoncalla, which probably actually consisted of more than one dialect, constituted the third of the three distinct Kalapuyan languages: Northern (or Tualatin-Yamhill) Kalapuyan, Central (including Santiam and Mary's River) Kalapuyan, and Southern (or Yoncalla) Kalapuyan.

Most of the record on these languages was assembled by three scholars. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of American Ethnology worked at Grand Ronde Reservation in 1877, collecting linguistic texts and data especially from Peter Kenoyer and Dave Yatchkawa, two Tualatin-speaking elders whose recollections extended back well before the United States government relocated surviving Kalapuyans to Grand Ronde in 1856. Between 1913 and 1915, Leo J. Frachtenberg of the Smithsonian Institution worked with elders of a later generation—especially, Peter Kenoyer's son Louis Kenoyer, and William Hartless, a Mary's River speaking resident of Grand Ronde. Finally, between 1928 and 1935, Professor Melville Jacobs of the University of Washington worked extensively with Louis Kenoyer, again, as well as with the Santiam-speaking elders John B. Hudson and Eustace Howard. Mr. Hudson was a well-known member of the Grand Ronde Indian community, where he lived a long and active life, enjoying the respect of local Indians and Whites alike. Mr. Howard, a direct descendant of the Santiam treaty chief Joseph Hudson (also called Joe Hutchins), was a cousin of Mr. Hudson, and the husband of another key informant from Grand Ronde, Mrs. Victoria Howard. Through Jacobs's work, again, Mrs. Howard is our principal source on another western Oregon Native people, the Clackamas Chinookans, whose territory included the important Native salmon fishery at Willamette Falls.

I would like to dwell for awhile on the kind of record bequeathed us by these six elders and three scholars. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the study of language to the more general study of culture. Most obviously, perhaps, the lexical portion of a full linguistic record is also a record of an entire cultural universe—of objects, practices, and relationships recognized and named by the language's speakers. A moment's reflection should convince any of us that a simple word-list highlighting the most ordinary artifacts of our daily lives would

reveal a great deal about how we live. As my own response to the oft-repeated myth that "nothing is known" about the Kalapuyans, I have compiled just such a list from the principal Kalapuyan linguistic sources noted above.

For the sake of simplicity and brevity, I have restricted this list in two ways. It deals with only one of the better documented Kalapuyan peoples—the Tualatin Kalapuyans—and it is restricted to what anthropologists call material culture—for the most part, the "ordinary artifacts of daily life" just alluded to. The choice of Tualatin poses some special difficulties regarding the transcription and interpretation of Native terms, since Tualatin is not as reliably recorded or as well studied as Santiam and Mary's River. On the other hand, because Tualatin provides our earliest major collection of Kalapuyan data, Gatschet's from 1877, it also has the most richly preserved record of culturally-relevant terms. We must bear in mind that Kalapuyan traditional life underwent drastic changes on the reservation, and that this was nowhere more obvious than in material culture. For younger Kalapuyans growing up at Grand Ronde Reservation, much of the cultural knowledge encapsulated or implied in the following list was, quite simply, lost.

Unfortunately, Gatschet also worked at a time when the linguistic description of Native American languages was still in its infancy. Consequently, his transcriptions require reinterpretation to bring them more into line with subsequent advances in the field. All of the Tualatin terms given below have been respelled according to the recommendations of Dr. Howard Berman, whose systematic work on Kalapuyan is the most recent to date.<sup>2</sup> Full respellings, that is, respellings showing all of the language's significant phonetic distinctions, may

2. Dr. Berman posits the following phonemes, or symbols representing significant phonetic distinctions, for Tualatin Kalapuyan: p, b, p', t, d, t', c, c', k, g, k', kw, gw, k'w, ʔ, f, s, ʃ, x, h, m, n, w, y, l, a, aa, e, ee, i, ii, o, oo, u, uu, ai, ei, ui, au, eu, iu. Consonant lengthening, symbolized by doubling the affected consonant, is usually but not always predictable; the original spellings, therefore have been preserved. Stress is also phonemic. The orthography used for the Santiam Kalapuyan words cited later in the paper is identical, except that Santiam lacks doubled consonants and the phoneme ei.

The pronunciation of the phonemically transcribed forms may be approximated by referring to the section entitled Nontechnical Equivalents at the front of any volume of the new Handbook of North American Indians, and by keeping in mind the following points: the Kalapuyan s and c sounds vary about a point midway between English s, and sh, ts and ch, respectively; plain stop symbols represent aspirated consonants; voiced stop symbols represent unaspirated to lightly voiced consonants; and glottalized consonants are exceptionally weakly ejected in all Kalapuyan languages.



be ventured only where Jacobs's later work has provided a basis for reconstruction: such terms are underlined below. Non-underlined terms have been respelled directly from Gatschet, and must be considered rough approximations rather than accurate renderings. By the same token, single quotation marks (conventionally used by linguists to gloss terms from one language into those of another) are reserved for fully verified translations; others must be accepted somewhat tentatively, pending a more thorough study of the language.

### Structures

hámmei 'fire', 'house'. acáf hámmei: "plank house of Tual[atin] before coming to Reserve." wadúginfist hámmei: houses joined end-to-end (house row, up to 100 yards long). ákanaikw dúmmai 'the council's house': village council-house, "a big hall."

ap'yuuséeld: multi-family winter house, housing 2-5 nuclear families (from -p'yuus 'winter'). agúucim 'door': about 3' high, 2-3 in one house. atábiuk: wall on long side of house (40'-50'); awálhiyu: wall on short side of house. dilúpgifun, hámmei dilúpg: house roof ('cover', 'house's cover'). mánip: rafter ('pole'). aklámmat: smoke-hole. dimhéi: partition (separating families in house). atútnackaan: sitting planks (placed around the centrally-excavated house-floor in which the fire was located; leg room provided by the sides of the excavation). asúlxəmit: bed (3' high); acác asúlxəmit: bed-guard; atúnl asúlxəmit: planks holding beds ("painted with fancy ornaments"; nets might be stretched inside as mattresses). amhúucim 'ash-bark', amáll(i) 'cedar bark': dried and used to make houses; also to plug chinks in houses.

améekwinfun: temporary summer shelter made of branches (from méekw 'summer'). agúudip: sweat-house.

### Household Articles

háisai: mat used as mattress ('tule, *Scirpus* spp.'). agébba: (1) mat, (2) a kind of burden basket ('cattail, *Typha latifolia*').

-tíksnaaf (v.): to twist strands (of cordage) together. aláal: string. ámč'al: rope ('rawhide'). mánc'up: sinew. at'innana: round-bottomed water or berry basket, made of split cedar root, with step-pattern design. atúffaba: open-

work basket, "carried on shoulder." akállampga: water-jug, sometimes made of hazel (-pga 'water'). afúbcei, amhúllu, aluffáms, at'wált'wi: burden baskets, not described.

at'íwwat: bucket (awádik 'wood' or adúnc'(i) 'bone'). akwád: serving dish or pan (made of 'wood' or 'bone', including whale bone). akwítan: oval bowl. acúnwił: wooden bowl with handles, artistically carved. ac'ílkw: dipper-spoon (made of 'wood' or 'bone'). atúpin: bone soup-spoon sized spoon. aʔúsgan: cup (introduced or Native; probably a Chinook Jargon word).

atkwíkwat: piss-pot. acíkæl ánd 'catch-stone': forked stick for handing hot stones.

dúndek: cradle board. atúllala: head-board (for inducing frontal-occipital flattening). atáad: head-board pad, filled with cattail fluff.

### Tools and Weapons

anáddu: (1) flint, (2) glass, bottle (introduced). afúpi: wood fire-drill. aléedik afúpi: wood plate on which fire was produced (léedik a type of cottonwood or willow). askímmat: antler wedge for splitting wood, removing bark. aná: stone mortar. angúiʔ: stone pestle. axóbáilhid: scraper. k'ésdan: axe (probably, introduced).

agímisda 'knife'; anáddu agímisda 'flint knife' (with wood handle); wadúginfist(i) agímisda: double-ended knife; agúiyuk agímisda: (1) saw-edged flint war-knife, (2) iron war knife, held by hole in middle (iron obtained in early historical period from wrecked ships); awátwilhidi agímisda: long crooked knife. atímkat: big stone butchering knife, with antler handle (possibly identical to awátwilhidi agímisda).

abósk(i) 'bow'. anúug: (1) arrow, (2) bullet. adéʔwus: boys' play arrow. aʔúiyamił: war-axe with stone head. abáxsk: stone war-axe. axiwíxiwi: (1) flint lance-head, (2) a blue stick which, when dreamed of, conferred power. akálktat: full cuirass of elk neck-hide over bound seasoned sticks ("Tualatins made the best").

hámbbu 'canoe'.

## Subsistence Technology

-máýampin (v.): to gather, dig (roots). -húngat (v.), -déheidin (v.): to dig camas. -gáu(yi)n- (v.): to gather (hazelnuts, berries, etc.). -débinfátu (v.): to dislodge wapato tubers (done by women using their toes in shallow water). -máatin (v.): to beat tarweed seeds (from standing burnt plants).

-fúuflaat (v.): to boil (food). -múfmin (v.) to roast (over fire on coals). -yúufnei (v.): to dry (in sun or over fire). -múhid (v.): to dry food on a scaffold over fire. -gwit (v.): to pit-oven (cook in a ground oven). -p'úip'yaat (v.): to mash, grind, pulverize. -k'wíhin (v.): to grind tarweed seeds (in a mortar). -héipin (v.): to parch (e.g., tarweed seeds). -hítwinin (v.): to mix (e.g., ground tarweed seeds with cooked camas). -k'ílmāt (v.): to stir (e.g., mush made of pulverized acorns and deer's blood).

amúhu: scaffold for drying meat over fire. abáiblhíd: roasting-spit. akúd: ground oven. amékwii: camas digging-stick. mantk: cross-handle of camas digging-stick. aféki: wide stick with bent end, used to scoop floating wapato tubers from water. agúu: rawhide bucket into which tarweed seeds were beaten; abúb: paddle for hitting tarweed seeds into bucket; amhéip: ash-board parching tray for tarweed seeds.

-lúuwin (v.): to keep, put away (provisions). ámptank: blue clay in which acorn flesh was buried to preserve it. abúllum: 4'-5' deep storage pits for wapato tubers. amál: scaffold in house or in trees to keep provisions.

agúufilhid: fishing line. adúnc'(i): fish-hook ('bone'). amúknifalhid: bait. acík'wilhid 'spearer': fish-spear. dóobid: light for night fishing (from dóob 'moon?'). awései: stationary brush fish-trap basket. atáflhid: net (any kind). améblhid: dip-net for salmon.

ak'éinuł 'tobacco' (grown by Kalapuyans). adúmp'i ánd: pipe ('stone stem'); acápakas: pipe-stem.

## Clothing

afáwa 'clothes'. abásisgwa: blankets (introduced).

-yutáald (v.): to work a hide in order to soften it and/or remove fur.

-lánk'tifalhídi (v.): to soak a hide in animal-brain slurry (perhaps related to lank'-v. 'wilt'). '-klitin (v.): to twist a soaked hide. -sumpyéeld (v.): to stretch a worked hide in sun. wasúmpyiceí 'tanned, dressed'.

ámč'al 'rawhide' (cf. "rope"). astúlak: (1) hide tanned with hair on, (2) aboriginal blanket. awícei: dressed buckskin.

múyus, amhúyus: hat (any kind; men often wore intact head-hides taken from large animals such as cougar, deer, coyote, or intact skins taken from a variety of smaller mammals; women's headwear undescribed). abúicanab: belt, sash. amháfkicanab: breech-clout. acúilkánab: (1) men's buckskin coat, (2) Hudson Bay Company coat. alúmmalo?un: men's leggings (-ló?un 'leg'; Chinook Jargon mitás). alúmmoof: moccasins (-óof 'foot').

apíhi: woman's dress (half or full-length). así?wan: dress-fringes, fringe dress (of buckskin or inner cedar bark). amhúmmuu: woven mountain-sheep wool (obtained by trade, used for wealthy women's dresses) ('mountain sheep'). atússai: robe of interlaced fur strips (worn by wealthy women).

## Personal Adornment

-tpúłankda: ear perforation (-kda 'ear'). t'wáłt'acai dúntip anóon: perforation in nasal septum (anóon 'nose'). anóol 'comb'. atúkt: topknot worn by warriors.

'-mik: tattoos (designs on body, legs, arms, never face). amhúmmu: face paint. adápti: red face-paint (cosmetic and ceremonial). apálla: white face paint (a kind of clay). acmáx: smoke (?) of dried pitch gum (around eyes as cosmetic). hándip 'charcoal': mixed with grease as face-black (used ceremonially by warriors). mékkwam 'soot': sometimes used in place of charcoal.

## Wealth and Property

agáucan: (1) property, (2) valued durables (dentalium shells, beads, jewelry), (3) round beads; dúmilb agáucan: most highly valued property (dúmilb 'butt, stump'). alúfit: oblong lidded "money box" of shell, antler (lúf- v. 'fill').

áyeem: tattooed mark on man's arm for measuring dentalium-shell strings.  
wamináikwit 'what is left out': the number of strung dentalium shells exceeding the tattooed mark (there were 40 shells per string; the more shells "left out" the longer, hence the more valuable they were). acípin: largest, most valued dentalia (Chinook Jargon háikwa). atxáltxifcan: small dentalia (Chinook Jargon kúpkup). adáktifun: dentalia (another kind?).

ayúkal: beads; wacálikcicei, watúluust, watúntxuun, wapáac ayúkal: truncated, reddish-round, green, long beads (different types of beads). adáyu: small round ("coral") beads. adúnc'(i) 'bone': bone beads. ámpgw(i) 'hazelnuts', amúikwax: yellow round beads.

-yémhid, -yémmin (v.): to bead. -yúupin: necklace. asupsamhú: breast ornament (pendant); dúnc'(i), abíklust watúllu, wapáac watúllu, wapáac watúntkast, atk'inwaimax, axálxal: bone disk ('bone'), round cylinder, long cylinder, long green (bead?), brass button, Chinese coin (parts incorporated in a particular asupsamhú).

agéip'(i) 'beaver', alúucinsan 'land otter', mántip 'sea otter': valued furs.

## Ceremonial Objects and Attire

-duláip: feathers used in ceremonial regalia (also, 'comb' of a bird). mánc'ik 'flicker', ac'innun 'bald eagle', há?luk 'pileated woodpecker' (scalp): feathers used as -duláip. asé(e)yim dúntya 'grizzly's claws': worn by warriors. atákus, amhúskwánk, awékaga, atíffisnank: sea-shells used in ceremonial regalia. agwéi (an iridescent shell; abalone?), amhálla (a yellow reed), difún ámmiṭ (rosettes made of dead person's hair), ámpsui<sup>3</sup> (deer's dew-claws): used in ceremonial regalia.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Dennis Werth of Grand Ronde, Oregon, for helping me to make sense of the rather puzzling manuscript notations accompanying this term. It is uncertain whether the term is more accurately glossed 'deer's dew-claws' or just 'dew-claws'.



aduláip 'feathers': shaman's spirit-dancing belt (worn over one shoulder, decorated with dead person's hair, sea shells, feathers, dew-claws, beads, dentalia, etc.). alúucinsan 'land otter': shaman's otter-skin curing belt (decorated with sea shells, beads, feathers, etc.).

alúsla: feathered head-dress worn during winter spirit dances. acúxcuxa: (1) rattle-drum (dried deer's dew-claws suspended around a dry piece of leather), (2) rattle (tin box with flint pieces inside—introduced?). at'úxdilhid 'knocker': pole suspended horizontally from ceiling and drummed against wall during winter spirit dances.

adúucib: heaped-up dirt at spirit-quest place (thrown up by youths during guardian-spirit vigils).

### Games and Gambling

asgálk'al: (1) shinny ball, (2) men's shinny game. ak'ákalumma: shinny stick. xwímxan: women's shinny.

dúp'i 'stick': counting sticks used to keep score in gambling games. alúu: (1) beaver-tooth gaming pieces, (2) wood gaming pieces marked like beaver alúu, (3) cards (introduced); dibál: unmarked (winning) side of alúu (probably, 'big'). amhálla: (1) the hand game, (2) the bone gaming pieces (two marked, two unmarked; or one marked, one unmarked) guessed at in the hand game. anáaf: a guessing game played with four sticks (two white, two black), and a cover.

### Death and Burial

akwít(?)yu(u): grave. alám: wood palings around grave. ak'únd 'cover': funeral dress of corpse. -kúulhid (v.): to hang containers on sticks about the grave.

The foregoing list of named cultural items, usages, and practices may stand as an overview-in-abstract of Tualatin Kalapuyan material culture. Since it is basically just a list of terms, expanded upon somewhat by my various explanatory notes, it constitutes little more than the bare bones of a description. When we are dealing with a vanished culture, "flesh" means just about anything else we can get our

hands on—retrospective observations by elderly reservation Natives, archeological findings, local Whites' traditions, historical documents, comparative evidence from other groups, and so on. Since a detailed consideration of all available sources would exceed the scope of this presentation, one example may suffice.

Although it is unlikely that the author of the following items saw one himself, the description he gives of a Yamhill Kalapuyan house is basically consistent with, and therefore helps to "flesh out" the rather abstract picture suggested above under the heading Structures. Since the item must have been published years before any of Gatschet's results were, it is certainly independent of the latter. The Yamhills, recall, were the southern neighbors and linguistic as well as cultural relatives of the Tualatins.

The lodge of the Yamstills [sic] or Yamhill Indian was commonly built of cedar bark, taken from the tree in long wide strips. Fir boughs were also used, and sometimes cedar boards riven from the tall, straight-grained cedar logs in the Coast mountains, and in rare instances the skins of animals. The fir boughs were mostly used for a temporary hut or "wick-iup," when on hunting and fishing excursions, and rarely held more than three or four persons.... The more permanent huts were about 15x20 feet, sometimes, as in case of the council houses, much larger. The walls were four or five feet high, with flat gable roof, and low stooping entrance at one end. The dirt floor was depressed in the centre and raised correspondingly around the inside of the hut. The fire was built in the center depression the smoke escaping through an aperture in the roof. On the raised portion of the floor the Indian and his family and friends reclined and slept. The huts were occasionally torn down and camping places changed to get rid of the vermin that infested them (Cooper n.d.).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Jacob Calvin Cooper, a veteran of the Civil War, arrived in Oregon in 1866, long after the complete disruption of aboriginal settlements in the Willamette Valley. The excerpt quoted is from a short piece on Yamhill County history, which appears as an unidentified and undated clipping in Scrapbook number 35, the Library of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland. Further investigation will hopefully reveal the sources of Mr. Cooper's surprisingly accurate information about local Native people.

Obviously, a sketch of the material culture of one Kalapuyan group falls far short of my promised overview of Kalapuyan lifeways. In the space remaining, I will therefore adopt a more strategically focused approach.

I will be considering one aspect of Kalapuyan culture that marked an area of particular concern and interest for the Kalapuyans themselves, with numerous implications for all aspects of Native life—material, economic, social, political, and ideological. I refer to the preoccupation with wealth, or as anthropologists term it, the wealth complex. Please note that I don't mean to say that all Kalapuyans were concerned about wealth all the time. Only that, as a constantly recurring theme in the culture, it provides a thread to lend some semblance of unity to a presentation that attempts, much too boldly I'm afraid, to take on a whole culture at one swipe.

To begin with, we may refer briefly to our list of Tualatin items. Under the heading Wealth and Property (and to some extent, the heading Ceremonial Objects and Attire as well) we find a rather detailed inventory of various forms assumed by durable wealth. Wealth of terminology provides one indication that this was, indeed, an area of special interest to the Kalapuyans themselves. Another indication is provided by the basic organization of Kalapuyan society, which was not so egalitarian as some other Native American societies. Kalapuyans evaluated other Kalapuyans socially according to criteria that, again, are best summed up with reference to the languages in which they were expressed. These criteria define four basic levels of social evaluation.

At the lowest level were the people called in Tualatin awág, in Santiam awá(?)ga?—a term translating 'slave'. I would not attempt to morally rationalize Native American slavery—I think we should judge slavery anywhere, in any form to be morally repugnant, certainly no less so as an historical fact of own cultural heritage. It should be noted at the same time that the living conditions of the Kalapuyan slave were rather different from those we might imagine, based on our own culturally-inherited images of plantation slavery. Slaves lived in their masters' houses, along with the whole family, which might include several generations and several related nuclear families. Slaves were of some economic utility—they performed many less pleasant chores—but most importantly, they were property, a form of wealth. In fact, they were considered the most valuable property of all. I personally don't think that the main value of slaves for Native people in this area had such a great deal to do with their economic utility—though other scholars might take issue with this view. Slaves, I think, were

basically the ultimate Kalapuyan prestige item. That is, they served to enhance the power and prestige of their wealthy owners. Furthermore, they were important items in the regional trading networks that linked groups far and wide, across both local and linguistic boundaries. Probably, only the wealthiest families in any village owned slaves.

Slaves by the way often, though by no means always, originated through capture. A number of groups, notably the mounted Cayuse and Nez Perce of northeastern Oregon and the Klamath of southern Oregon, were noted slave raiders. Some of the Kalapuyan groups of the interior Willamette Valley suffered periodic losses of members in such raids. Men might be killed and the women and children taken, as in the slave-holding era of western classical antiquity. The children of slaves were slaves, although in some groups of the area, which seem to have included all the Kalapuyans, slaves could become free members of the society under some circumstances—for example, through marriage to a free person, with appropriate restitution to the owner. Alternatively, free persons could become slaves under some circumstances. Among Kalapuyans of the central and southern Willamette Valley, debt could motivate a man to sell one of his own dependents—a poor relation or orphaned child perhaps—into slavery to foreign traders.

In between the wealthy people and the slaves were the ordinary Kalapuyans, who fell into two categories. One was designated in Tualatin by a number of terms translating as 'nice, good, well-off'—references, note, both to social respectability and comfortable if not exactly wealthy circumstances. These terms contrast with others that translate as 'wretched, bad, pitiful, poor'—the village's poor people. These, we have some reason to suspect, were a fringe group and a minority. Perhaps, this group was usually made up of people who for one reason or another lacked close connections with the group of paternally-related families who constituted the social nucleus of the village group.

The highest rung in the Kalapuyan social ladder was occupied by the so-called 'chief,' a term which is used somewhat misleadingly to translate the Kalapuyan word given in Tualatin as acámбак and Santiam as ancámbeek. acámбак implies a leader, but it also strongly connotes 'wealth' or 'wealthy.' In fact, the acámбак was just the wealthiest, and therefore most respected, and therefore also, we must be sure to add, in Kalapuyan social expectation the most generous man in his village. This last point is a crucial one. We may ask, why is the wealthiest man in the village almost by definition its chief? The answer to this question, I

think, resides to an important degree in the nature of the Kalapuyan kinship system. The mutual obligations of kinship extended much more widely out from the individual Kalapuyan than they do for us, or most of us, and were very strongly felt. The wealthiest man in your village was more than likely your own relative, and someone you felt you could count on. Since he was wealthy, he was able to help when you most needed help—when you were in trouble and needed someone to bail you out. Naturally, you would feel a sense of obligation to the chief in return for his help, and he would presumably be able to count on you as he laid plans, trading expeditions for example, to net him yet more wealth.

The wealth complex is also in evidence when we come to the most emotionally compelling side of ideational culture—religion. During the early years of Grand Ronde Reservation, when Tualatin young people went up the high hill still called Spirit Mountain, there to fast and wait up all night alone for visitations from the spirit world, they would cry out (in free translation): "I am so poor! Come now the daylight!"

The reference to daylight as part of an earnest entreaty to the spirit-world suggests similar associations between daylight and deity revealed in the vocabularies of various of our Indo-European languages. The plaintiveness of the plea, "I am so poor!" suggests something perhaps more distinctively Kalapuyan, or more accurately, northwestern Native American. Religion for Kalapuyans, as for other Native Americans of the area, was not a matter for abstract contemplation apart from the daily business of life. To the contrary, if anything it was felt to provide the key to success in daily life—the power to act effectively in the world and so secure for oneself the respect of others and the enjoyment of a long and good life. As far as we know, there was very little concern for the afterlife—at least not as something to be particularly looked forward to.

Professor David French of Reed College, in his description of the Wasco and Wishram people of the Columbia River, has aptly encapsulated the local Native American sense of relationship with the spirit realm in the expression, The active supernatural world. The key Kalapuyan term here is ayúłmei in Tualatin, ayúłma in Santiam, variously translated as spirit, guardian spirit, spirit power, or just power. None of these translations really does the job by itself—each however has its measure of truth.

It was ayúłmei that the Kalapuyan youth sought to encounter when he went to a mountain or other known spirit place alone, at night, usually during the full of



the moon, to put himself in a state of keen spiritual preparedness through fasting, swimming, and laboring to build a mound (Tualatin adúucib) or something of the sort. He already had a considerable knowledge of the kinds of beings he expected to encounter, because these very much resembled those portrayed in his people's myths about the dreamlike beginnings of time, when animals were much more like people than they are now. The ayúłmei, like the myth being, was usually known by the name of an animal, although some bore the names of natural phenomena—"east wind," for example—and others were associated with creatures that might impress us as "supernatural"—like the being known as amúulugwa in Santiam, a monstrous whale-like creature inhabiting lakes and rivers. Probably, ayúłmei is best conceptualized, for those of us who haven't had the experience, as a form of the named being that can appear to one as person, usually in dreams, but sometimes in visions as well. The English word spirit, in the sense of an individual spirit, seems an appropriate enough translation for this aspect of ayúłmei.

On the basis of such experiences, which were more thoroughly personally integrated later through danced and chanted songs, performed during group winter spirit dances in the village, a Kalapuyan, male or female, free or slave, was able to form a personal relationship with such a spirit. It is in this sense of the term that the translation guardian spirit is appropriate. Furthermore, and finally, a guardian spirit was not supposed just to provide one with companionship. It helped one to succeed at what one did in life. Many of these spirits were considered especially helpful for certain purposes: for example, a deer yúłmei could help one be a successful deer hunter, an eagle yúłmei suited a chief, a hummingbird yúłmei lent one the quick darting mind necessary in the various guessing games played by Kalapuyan gamblers. Here it is the translation spirit power that comes closest.

Men and women with specialized knowledge of spirit powers occupied a correspondingly special position in Kalapuyan society. These were the so-called "Indian doctors," or shamans—apáalak in Tualatin, ampáalakya in Santiam. A shaman might be acquainted with multiple spirit powers, and was usually acknowledged to be in contact with far stronger powers than the ordinary person. Only the strongest spirit powers, generally speaking, were suited to the shaman's principal occupation—curing people of life-threatening illnesses. In Kalapuyan conception, these were usually symptomatic of some small entity that had become lodged in the afflicted persons' body, either as the result of

accidental circumstances or deliberate sorcery. The shaman used his or her spirit power or powers to find, identify, and exorcise the intruding evil.

The fee expected in return for a successful cure would more than likely be paid, for the village shaman was not a person anyone cared to antagonize. Indeed, not only were shamans called in case of sickness, they were frequently suspected of causing sickness, either intentionally or as the unwitting instruments of powers beyond their personal control. The occupation, while it could be profitable, was therefore also a risky one.

In closing, I have not tried so much to present a conventional ethnographic description of Kalapuyan culture, as to use the perhaps unexpected richness of our sources to suggest, in some small measure, the richness of a way of life that was deeply rooted both in history and nature. As an anthropologist, I would wish neither to idealize nor demean that way of life, but rather to approach it with the greatest respect.

## Sources on the Kalapuyans

Sources providing significant information about the Kalapuyans may be divided into primary sources, secondary sources, and specialized studies.

**Primary sources.** The preceding cultural sketch, together with the brief sketch just published (1990) under my name in volume 7 of the Handbook of North American Indians (an ongoing project of the Smithsonian Institution), were based mostly on materials in the National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) and the Melville Jacobs Collection (University of Washington Archives, Seattle). At the National Anthropological Archives are to be found all of Gatschet's Kalapuyan field data: his Tualatin notebooks and vocabulary, plus short vocabularies representing the Yamhill, Ahantchuyuk, and Luckiamute dialects; and the greater part of Frachtenberg's Kalapuyan field data: his 1915 field notations in Gatschet's Tualatin notebooks, his Mary's River texts, grammatical notes, and ethnological notes (these including some material from an informant who, according to Jacobs's information, spoke Lower McKenzie rather than Mary's River), plus shorter collections from Yamhill and Yoncalla. Frachtenberg also made some wax-cylinder recordings of western Oregon song performances, including a number from Louisa Selkeah, an elderly Yamhill woman; these are available from the Library of Congress Recording Laboratory, Washington (tape 11, LWO 8866). In the Melville Jacobs Collection are Jacobs's own Santiam, Tualatin, and Yoncalla field notes; organized ethnographic notes based on his own work, as well as on that of Gatschet and Frachtenberg; and some materials from other scholars (Frachtenberg; Jaime DeAngulo and Lucy S. Freeland, who produced a short Tualatin grammar with texts), which Jacobs took with him to the field for additional annotation. Most of the linguistic texts collected by Gatschet, Frachtenberg, and Jacobs were published by Jacobs in 1945 (Kalapuya Texts, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 11).

**Secondary sources.** Harold Mackey's The Kalapuyans: a Sourcebook on the Indians of the Willamette Valley (Mission Mill Museum, Salem, 1974) includes a number of documents of historical relevance or interest, plus a smattering of the material here termed "primary." Useful surveys drawing upon a range of archeological, ethnographic, and historical data include Stephen Dow Beckham's The Indians of Western Oregon: This Land Was Theirs (Arago Books, Coos Bay, 1977); and three studies published in the University of Oregon Anthropological Papers series (C. Melvin Aikens, editor): Cultural Resource Overview of the BLM Salem District, Northwestern Oregon: Archeology, Ethnography, History

(by Rick Minor, Stephen Dow Beckham, Phyllis E. Lancefield-Steeves, and Kathryn Anne Toepel; UOAP number 20, 1980); Prehistory and History of BLM Land in West-Central Oregon: A Cultural Resource Overview (by Beckham, Minor, and Toepel; UOAP number 25, 1981); Native American Religious Practices and Uses in Western Oregon (by Beckham, Toepel, and Minor; UOAP number 31, 1984).

Specialized studies. These consist mainly of linguistic studies and archeological investigations. Howard Berman's recent systematic linguistic work on Kalapuyan is represented by An Outline of Kalapuya Historical Phonology, recently published in the International Journal of American Linguistics (volume 56, number 1; 1990). A recent summary of archeological research and findings by Richard M. Pettigrew, entitled Prehistory of the Lower Columbia and Willamette Valley, is in Volume 7 of the Handbook of North American Indians (cited above).

## Appendix:

### The Kalapuyan Presence in Oregon's Geographic Names<sup>5</sup>

Kalapooia River; Calapooya Mountains. Pronounced k'alapúya by Kalapuyans, this was the name used by neighboring Chinookans to refer to all Kalapuyan speakers. It has also been used, more specifically, to refer to all Central Kalapuyans, or to one or another Central Kalapuyan group: in the Dayton Treaty of 1855, for example, it designates the Ahantchuyuk tribe.<sup>6</sup>

Champoeg. According to some historical sources, this was originally a Kalapuyan village name.<sup>7</sup> Gatschet records ca.ámpuik, cámpuik, the informant explaining the name with reference to Tualatin cacímabúicuk, 'place (in front of?) búicuk (yampah, *Perideridea* sp.)'. This suggestion is difficult to interpret as it stands. It may be a Kalapuyan "folk etymology." On the other hand, it is also possible that the historical name "Champoeg" (chămpō'eg, chămpōō'ik) represents a contraction of, or a Whites' misconstrual for, a more complete form. Kalapuyans indeed gathered in the vicinity to harvest yampah, an edible root which grew there in abundance.

Chehalim. cahée?lum, literally, 'place out, outside', was the name of a Tualatin village.

Chehulpum Creek. ca(n)hálbam (ca- yielding the Northern Kalapuyan form, can- the Central) refers to someplace 'upstream' or 'upland'. There was a canhálbam village on the forks of Santiam River, according to Gatschet. a(n)hálbam is the usually-given Kalapuyan name for the Santiam tribe.

Chemawa. caméewi?, literally, 'place of low-lying, frequently overflowed ground', well describes the once marshy locale of the old Chemawa Indian school. méewi?-places frequently had an abundance of camas, the most important Kalapuyan root crop.

<sup>5</sup> English spellings of Geographic names follow Lewis A. McArthur and Lewis L. McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names (4th Edition), Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1974. Kalapuyan spellings follow the guidelines given in footnote 2.

<sup>6</sup> 53rd Congress, 1st Sess. Senate Executive Document No. 25 (Serial No. 3144), 1893; page 58.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion in John A. Hussey's Champoeg: Place of Transition, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1967; pages 17-19.



Chemeketa. camígidi was the name of the Santiam village at Salem.

Chintimini [Marys Peak]. Gatschet records catímanwi as the name of a large mountain west of Corvallis; the corresponding Central Kalapuyan form would have can-. William Hartless, who dictated the Marys River section of Kalapuya Texts, used cancínduu, the Central form of the name for Spirit Mountain (near Grand Ronde), apparently with reference to Marys Peak. Spirit Mountain and ca(n)tímanwi were both places where ayútmei, or spirit power, was sought.

Long Tom River. "Long Tom" makes English linguistic "sense" out of a bewildering welter of historical variant spellings. The original name was evidently a Kalapuyan tribe name, which entered English variously as Lamitambuff, Longtabuff, Lumtumbuff, Lung-tum-ler, L'ommi tomba, Lum Tumbles, Long-Tongue-buff, Long Tom Bath, and so on. An old man from the southern Willamette Valley known as lámpdumbif, who lived at Grand Ronde for many years, may have borne the name. However, bif is the Kalapuyan word for 'buttocks', and this word could just be a descriptive nickname (Jacobs translates: 'spank-his-ass'!). The Long Tom River area was also called calámalii, its people being the alámalii.

Luckiamute River. aláak'mayut (Northern), aláak'mayuk (Central) was the name of a Kalapuyan "tribe"—that is, of a cluster of related but autonomous villages.

Santiam. This name, sandyám in Jacobs, appears as an alternate name of the Santiam tribe. The form is irregularly stressed, however, suggesting that it may not be indigenous. The usual Kalapuyan name of the Santiams was a(n)hálbam (see Chehupum, above).

Takenah [Albany]. This early name of Albany may be identical to the Central name cantíkini, given by Jacobs as a place (not further identified) somewhere south of Salem. The name of the Central Kalapuyan village at Albany was cancémank'lákwa, 'place (in front of?) arrowwood, *Holodiscus discolor*'.

Tapalamaho [Mount Angel]. This old spelling, purporting to give the Indian name of Mount Angel, evidently identifies Gatschet's catábal améffu, given as the name of a mountain (Northern Kalapuyan méf(f)u 'mountain') near Pudding River. Kalapuyan f was bilabial (produced with friction between the two lips), rendering the indicated equation with English "h" quite plausible.

Tualatin. Another Kalapuyan tribe name, appearing as Northern atfálat'i, Central antwálat'i.

Wapato Lake. "Wapato," the English common name of *Sagittaria latifolia* (the starchy tubers of which were an important Kalapuyan staple, sometimes called "Indian potato"), corresponds to Chinook Jargon wáp(ə)tu, which means both 'S. latifolia' and 'potato'. The word may ultimately be a Chinookan term based on a Kalapuyan stem: wa- is an Upper Chinook nominal prefix denoting the feminine singular, *S. latifolia* is -pdu in Northern Kalapuyan, -pdu? in Southern.<sup>8</sup> Wapato Lake, now drained for agriculture (it was located at Gaston, Washington County), was an important site for the entire Tualatin tribe, which gathered there every fall for the annual wapato harvest. A harvest camp on the north end of the lake, cacíif ('crawfish place'), also appears as a Tualatin name of Wapato Lake.

Yamhill. A tribe name: Northern ayámil, Central ayámhala.

Yoncalla. Another tribe name: Southern Kalapuyan yángalat, Central yánkalat, Northern ayankéeld. A local Whites' tradition has it that the name means "home of the Eagles." Unlike most Whites' traditions about Indian names, this one may have something to it: in Kalapuyan, yank is 'high up', -la (Central/Southern) and -eeld (Northern) 'house'.

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<sup>8</sup> This etymology was suggested by Professor David French of Reed College, Portland.

# Kalapuya Disease and Depopulation

Robert Boyd

## Introduction

Twenty-two years ago anthropologist Henry Dobyns opened up a new field of research when he suggested that the Indian population of the Americas declined by 95 percent between 1492 and its low point in the early decades of this century (1966:414). Though this figure is very controversial and, as an average, does not fit the population histories of most American Indian groups, it fits the Kalapuyans of the Willamette Valley closely. The earliest population estimates for the Kalapuyans that we have date from 1805-06 and the late 1820s and suggest an aggregate between 8,000 and 9,000 people. This total, which represents the situation after a quarter century of indirect contact with whites and two probable smallpox epidemics, is certainly considerably less than the aboriginal figure. From 8,000-9,000 in the early 1800s Kalapuyan numbers declined to around 560 (Spalding 1851a) in the early 1850s.

Dobyns' hypothesis of population decline was based upon a theory of disease introduction. Most of the high mortality infectious epidemic disease people of Eurasian and African backgrounds are familiar with were not native to the Americas. A partial list of these "new diseases" includes smallpox, malaria, yellow fever, measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, scarlet fever, diphtheria, plague, typhoid fever, polio, and cholera (Newman 1976:669). Tuberculosis and certain venereal diseases, probably native to the Americas, also spread with white contact. As we will see, the Kalapuyans of the Willamette Valley experienced, in the first 75 years of contact, outbreaks of smallpox, malaria, measles, dysentery, influenza, and whooping cough, as well as population decline attributable to chronic diseases such as tuberculosis.

It has been said that post-Columbia disease introduction resulted in the "greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world" (Denevan 1976:7). The most important of the early epidemics, according to Dobyns, was a smallpox epidemic which started in Cuba in 1519 (Crosby 1972: chapter two), and from there throughout the Americas, a true "pandemic," with high mortalities (Dobyns 1983:11-16). More recent research, however, suggests that this epidemic and most of these that followed it were more limited in extent, and that large sections of the Americas remained isolated from significant disease penetration until later years (Snow and Lanphear 1988:17). On present evidence, this seems to have been the case for the Pacific Northwest. There is, to date, no solid evidence for introduction of new diseases preceding the arrival of Spanish vessels in the mid-1770s. (cf. Campbell 1990)

The disease and depopulation histories of the various Indian groups of the Pacific Northwest vary greatly--some, such as the Salishan peoples of western Washington and southwest British Columbia, were relatively lucky; others, including the Haida of the Queen Charlottes and the Chinookans and

Kalapuyans of the lower Columbia drainage, experienced a phenomenal decline (Boyd 1985, 1990).

Direct evidence on Kalapuyan disease history is not nearly as good as it is for their neighbors, the Chinookans of the lower Columbia, for whom it is excellent. What evidence we do have, however, suggests that most of the disease outbreaks which effected the Chinookans effected the Kalapuyans too.

### Smallpox<sup>1</sup>

This is the case for the earliest smallpox epidemics. Smallpox was introduced at least twice to the Pacific Northwest between 1775 and 1805. No Euroamericans are known to have observed either epidemic, but some chroniclers did note the presence of pock-marked individuals, while others collected traditions of the epidemics' spread from the natives themselves. These various citations, when mapped, give an idea of the epidemics' extent.

Map 1 shows known citations, by ethnolinguistic unit, for the initial outbreak. The distribution suggests that the disease spread throughout the southern part of the coast. It is documented for the Chinookans and Tillamook, and is very likely for the Kalapuyans as well. Exactly how and when the epidemic arrived in the Northwest is unclear. The 15 independent accounts I have suggest dates ranging from 1769 to 1782, with a mean of 1775. This date, it might be noted, is the year of the second Spanish expedition to the Northwest Coast. The coastal citations do, in fact, tend to be earlier than those from the Columbia Plateau. Most researchers have assumed that this first outbreak was related to the well-documented Plains epidemic of 1780-81. Lewis and Clark are the source for smallpox on the lower Columbia. Their account dates from April 3, 1806, near the mouth of the Sandy River.

An old man who appeared of Some not[e] among them...brought forward a woman who was badly marked with the smallpox and made Signs that they all died with the disorder which marked her face, and which She was verry near dieing with when a Girl. From the age of this woman this Distructive disorder I judge must have been about 28 or 30 years past (1776-1778), and about this time the Clatsops inform us that this disorder raged in their towns and destroyed their nation (Clark in Moulton 1991-65)

Smallpox reappeared on the south coast in 1801. Map 2 shows its distribution. Again, there is not direct documentary evidence of Kalapuya inclusion, but epidemiologically it is likely. On February 7, 1806, at Clatsop, Meriwether Lewis said:

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<sup>1</sup> Based on Boyd 1985: Chapter Two; 1994b

The smallpox has destroyed a great number of the natives in this quarter. It prevailed about 4 years since (1802) among the Clatsops and destroyed several hundred of them, four of their chiefs fell victims to its ravages. Those Clatsops are deposited in their canoes on the bay a few miles below us. I think the latter ravages of the small pox may well account for the number of remains of villages which we find deserted on the river and Sea coast in this quarter (Lewis in Moulton 1990:285).

It is very difficult to make any definitive statements about mortalities from these two epidemics. Smallpox strains vary in the number of deaths they cause, and there are no before- and after-population numbers of either of these outbreaks. The cumulative evidence, however, points to heavy mortality in the first outbreak, and much less in the second. Nez Perce missionary Asa Smith, in 1840, stated:

...It appears from the accounts of the people that epidemics have formerly prevailed among them, carrying off many people in a short time. No epidemic has however prevailed among them recently. Twice during the remembrance of the most aged among this people has the small pox been among them. The first time it visited them must have been 60 or perhaps 70 years ago [1770-80]. Some very old people, I should think 70 or 80 years old, related that when they were children...it swept through the whole country, very few surviving the attack of the disease. Some fled & thus avoided the contagion. The small pox again visited this country soon after Lewis and Clarke were here, perhaps two years after [this should read before]; but it was a milder form, perhaps the varioloid & and did not prove so fatal. Many however died. The marks of this disease are now to be seen on the faces of many of the old people (Drury 1958:136-137).

To give an idea of variation in smallpox epidemic mortalities the much better documented North Coast epidemics of 1836-38 and 1862-63 claimed, respectively, 34 and 62 percent of the affected populations (Boyd 1985:259-262; 1990:141, 144).

### Population

At this point I should say something more about my Kalapuyan population figures. For over 50 years now, the number always given for the Kalapuyan population in pre-contact times is a mere 3,000 people. This number was derived by anthropologist James Mooney from an estimate made by Lewis and Clark, of 2,000 "Callahpoewahs," raised by 1,000 to compensate for smallpox mortality (Mooney 1928:18). But as Henry Zenk and I have noted, it is certainly a misreading, for Lewis and Clark list an additional 7,000 Indians resident on what they call the "Multnomah" (Willamette) River (Zenk 1976:9; Boyd 1986:69). Adding these to the 2,000 "Callahpoewahs" gives 9,000. And there are other figures which support this number. Missionary Samuel Parker,



in 1838, published an estimate of 8,780 Kalapuyans, based on figures which he obtained at Fort Vancouver from Hudson's Bay officials (Parker 1938:258). In the mid-1830s there definitely were not 8,780 Kalapuyans, as we will see. The numbers apparently date to some time in the 1820s, when the Hudson's Bay people canvassed the valley. Detailed native censuses were taken by Hudson's Bay officials at most Northwest posts, and many have survived, the Kalapuyan original has not. With a population of around 8,000-9,000 in the early nineteenth century, my guess is that, allowing for earlier smallpox mortality, pre-contact Kalapuyan population was somewhere in the middle of the 10,000-20,000 range.

But between 1831 and 1840, Kalapuyan population dropped dramatically from circa 8,780 to a mere 600. Virtually all of this difference may be assigned to mortality from another new disease, called "fever and ague" or "intermittent fever" by the whites.

### Fever and Ague<sup>2</sup>

There had been considerable controversy over the identity of "fever and ague." Influenza, typhus, cholera, measles, and scarlatina have all been suggested. The disease that best fits the epidemiological patterns of "fever and ague," however, is malaria. In 1975, I published an article which re-examined the evidence of the disease, and this is what I found. First, I collected all the accounts I could find of the disease between 1830 and 1840. This amounts to almost 200 references. The best source was the records of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver and particularly the correspondence of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin. The references clustered in a distinctive temporal pattern, with new cases arising in mid-summer, peaking in fall, and disappearing by onset of winter. This happened year after year, consistently. Most cases came from the area around Vancouver, the Willamette Valley, and from other "interior valleys" to the north and south such as the Cowlitz and Umpqua. The disease didn't spread to the coast or interior. Stray cases mentioned in the journals of Fort Nisqually and Walla Walla were always stated to have originated at Fort Vancouver. The geographical patterning fits nicely with the distribution of the local mosquito vector of malaria, and the temporal patterning corresponds to the time of the year in the Northwest when mosquitoes are breeding and active. The temporal patterning is the same as that of malaria in other temperate climates around the world. Map 3 shows the focal area of "fever and ague." Besides these epidemiological patterns, other facts support the malaria hypothesis. First, although malaria no longer exists in Oregon, it was present as late as the 1930s, and historical records show a continuity of malaria cases back to the 1850s, when the term first came into general use. Before then there are only "fever and ague" cases, starting abruptly in 1830. Second, in the 1830s and 1840s whites used treatments, quinine sulphate, derived from cinchona bark, and the less effective

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<sup>2</sup> Based on Boyd 1975, 1985: Chapter Two.

substitute *Cornus* (dogwood) bark, which were used to treat the class of fevers which included malaria in other parts of the world. And finally, though it is most variable, there was the symptomatology of the disease. Malaria has been called the great mimicker, and isolated cases, even today, cannot be verified unless a blood test is taken. But in the 1830s accounts there is a common denominator of the basic symptoms suggested by the name: "fever and ague"—hot sweaty fever, alternating with shivering cold spells—which usually characterize malaria. And there are a few very good symptomatological descriptions. The following, from the French Canadian priest Honoré Bolduc, is the best of the lot:

...it was during the few weeks passed at Wallamette that I caught the ague (trembling fever). This illness, unknown in Canada, starts with a violent headache accompanied by pains in the limbs and a high fever. After a few days one begins to shiver. This is a chill that comes suddenly and no heat relieves it. If one were to put himself in a hot oven it would not do any good. Then one trembles from head to toe and to try resisting is futile. One feels just as hot now as one felt cold before and it lasts much longer than the chills. This sad illness sometimes lasts two months if one is not careful to stop it in the beginning. It is epidemic and remains in the blood. A person once visited by this illness is sure to experience it again in the ensuing years at the same period of time. Usually it is during the months of September and October. White people do not die from it, but it almost always effects their health. The Indians die very frequently because they cannot resist the temptation of drinking cold water, and when the fever overcomes them they at once run and dive into the river which caused instant death (Bolduc 1979:118).

The last sentence points out the most vexing characteristic of "fever and ague," sudden death associated with a cold water plunge. Several independent ethnohistorical accounts mention this phenomenon, and there seems to be no doubt that it, more than any other factor, explains the differential mortality between whites and Indians. But after inquiries directed to several physical anthropologists and epidemiologists, a physiologist, and a cardiologist, I still do not have a completely satisfactory explanation of the process. Most likely, it involves, with the sweating and cold water plunge, a rapid switch between vasodilation and vasoconstriction of blood vessels, which would cause a "sudden flow of blood to the left ventricle," producing cardiac arrhythmia and death from heart failure or shock (Boyd 1979:22).

J.R. Dunn, summarizing the notes of Fort Vancouver physicians William Tolmie and Forbes Barclay, stated that

...ague broke out with great violence, carrying off the Natives by hundreds—it also proved very severe among the whites, but was attended with few deaths. This fatality among the Indians may be accounted for by their irresistible desire to plunge into the river during the hot stage of the disease, which generally proved fatal. As soon

however as they could be prevailed upon to forego the cold bath, and submit to more rational treatment, the disease became less destructive (Dunn 1846).

The cold plunge was not the only factor underlying the phenomenal Indian mortality. Indians not only did not know how to care for this new disease—they also did not have access to proper medicines. There may well have been secondary ailments which exacerbated mortality—some symptoms resulting in death recall pneumonia. There may have been an influenza epidemic concurrent with the first (1830) outbreak of the disease. And the Kalapuyan mortality, it should be noted, extended over a ten-year period, 1831-1840.

In the first "fever and ague" year, Indian mortality was restricted to the "vicinity" of Fort Vancouver (Barker 1948:139), and was especially heavy among the Chinookan Indians of Sauvie Island. In early September 1831, Dr. McLoughlin stated that "the mortality among the indians of the Wallahamette has been very great" (Barker 1948:213). A year later he stated "the fever...has made dreadful ravages among the Natives...in the Willamette" (McLoughlin 10/3/32). One of the few whites at French Prairie at the time, Joseph Gervais, told a later settler that he had "known three thousand to die in two years on the Sacramento [sic—probably the Santiam] and Maries River" (Williams 1921:65). By early 1837, William Slacum reported that "5,000 to 6,000" had died on the Willamette (Slacum 1972:16). Dr. William Bailey, a Willamette settler of 1835, stated in 1841 that "at least one fourth died off yearly" (Wilkes 1926:57). All these mortality figures, it might be noted, make sense in terms of an 1830 population of around 8,780 and an 1841 survivorship of 600.

#### Later Diseases

Methodist missionaries arrived into this dismal scene in 1834, expecting to find a robust Indian population among whom they would establish a mission. But they were sorely disappointed. Kalapuyan population by this time probably numbered little more than 2,500, was scattered, and (to use the missionary word) "demoralized." Cyrus Shepard began a Mission School in 1835 which included several Kalapuyan orphans. The Record Book of the Methodist Mission School (Carey 1922) provides more information on disease in the valley in the late 1830s. Illness was a continual problem, and caused a steady drain on the student body, which fluctuated around 30-40 students. Most of the Indian children, like the whites of the mission, harbored endemic cases of malaria and were thus weakened and susceptible when other illnesses arrived. In November 1835 three died of an outbreak of meningitis; in February 1837 an influenza epidemic which spread through much of the Northwest claimed another three. Several, over the years, expired from "scrofula" (tuberculosis of the lymph glands). In 1842 the school moved into a new building and, according to the Reverend Gustavus Hines:

for a few months it seemed to be flourishing; but a strange fatality finally fell upon it. A fatal disease carried away many of the children,

others ran away, and some were stolen by their parents, until but few were left, and these withering under the fatal scrofula (Hines 1868:160).

The "strange fatality" was probably whooping cough, which had claimed several Indian children at Wascopam mission (The Dalles) in January 1844 (Boyd 1995:143-44). The Willamette Mission School was closed forever in June 1844. One of the more cynical mission members, in 1843, foresaw this conclusion when he stated there were "more Indian children in the mission grave-yard...than there were...alive in the manual labor school" (Frost in Lee and Frost 1844:311).

1843 was, of course, the first year of the great overland migrations on the Oregon Trail, and the whooping cough was only the first of a list of new diseases that the migrants brought with them. One Hudson's Bay observer at Cowlitz stated:

Every fall the Indians were excited as to what new ill was to come...Every year [the immigrants] brought something new...Whooping cough, measles, typhoid fever etc.... the country was free from all these malidies till then--when first introduced they seemed much more violent than now...All these things we think so lightly of now scourged the poor Indians dreadfully (Roberts 1878:16,48).

Most of these new diseases penetrated the Willamette Valley. A minor epidemic of dysentery (called the "bloody flux" by the settlers) came with the 1844 migrants; 400 natives were reported to have died around Vancouver, 30 at Cowlitz and "numbers" at The Cascades. Dysentery was also recorded in the Willamette Valley, among the Mary's River Kalapuya, where "a great many" died (Boyd 1985:174, 1990:141).

The measles epidemic of 1847-48 (Boyd 1994a) is well known to most students of Oregon history. Contrary to popular belief, however, it did not arrive with overland immigrants, but came to the Northwest with a band of Cayuse and Walla Walla who picked it up in the Sacramento Valley (Helzet 1942:4). From its first appearance at Fort Walla Walla in late July 1847 it spread both up and down the Columbia and into the Willamette Valley. Mortality is not known, although one settler stated that half of a camp of 3 to 400 Indians near Salem died (Brown 1878:22). These were more likely Klickitats than Kalapuyans, however. Map 4 shows the distribution of dysentery and measles. Here is a native account of the measles epidemic from the Clackamas River:

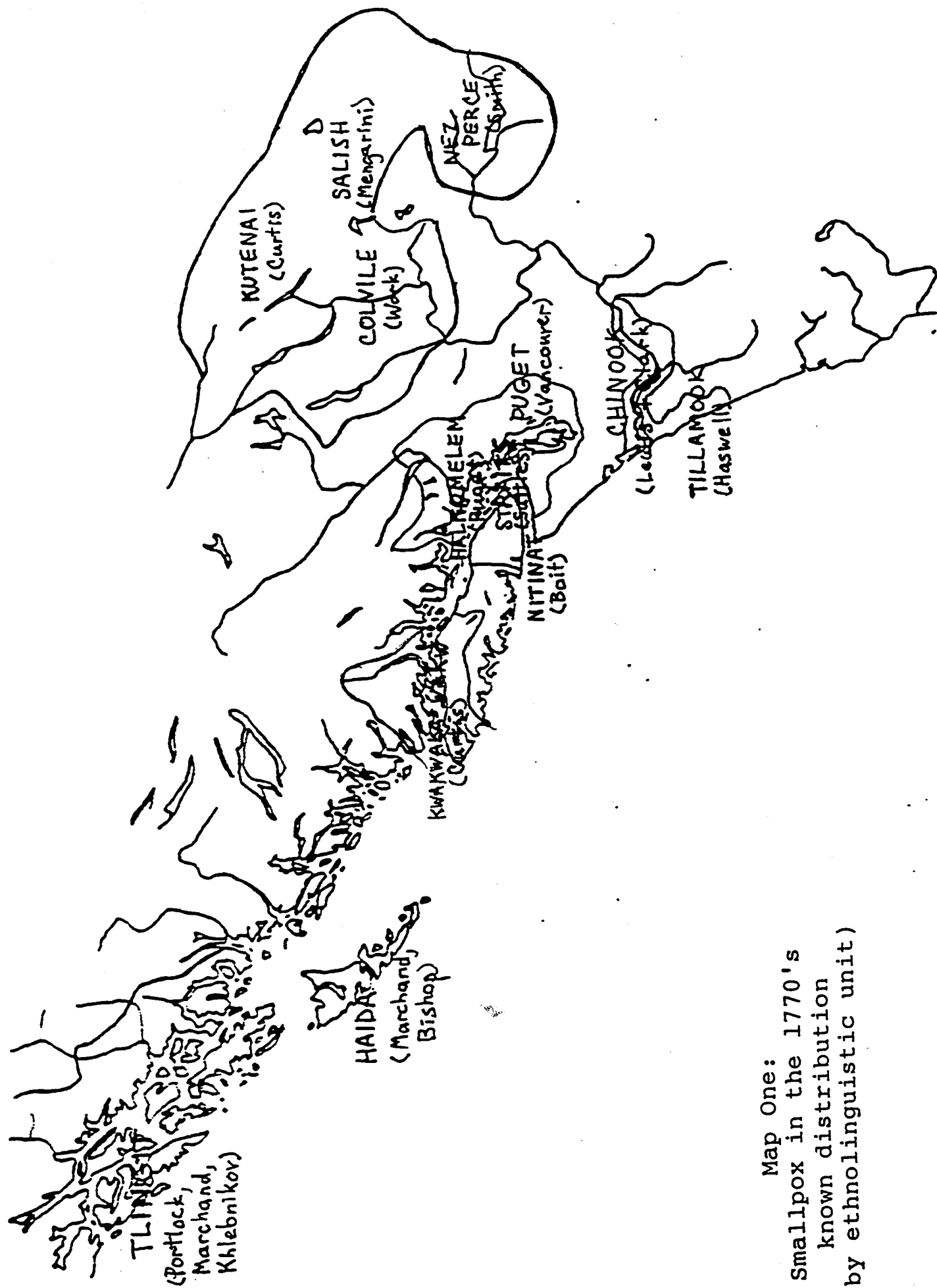
It (the rash) would come out on a child, he would get cold, it (the disease) would (because he had not been kept sufficiently warm) go in (into his heart or stomach) and presently he would die. Some of them went to sweat (in their sweathouse). It would come out all over on them, the measles would come out on their eyes. Some of them would come out (from the sweathouse), they would die soon after than. Some came out, they lay down, they put covers over them, they would

recover. After a long time then, they did not die much more from that (Jacobs 1958-59:548).

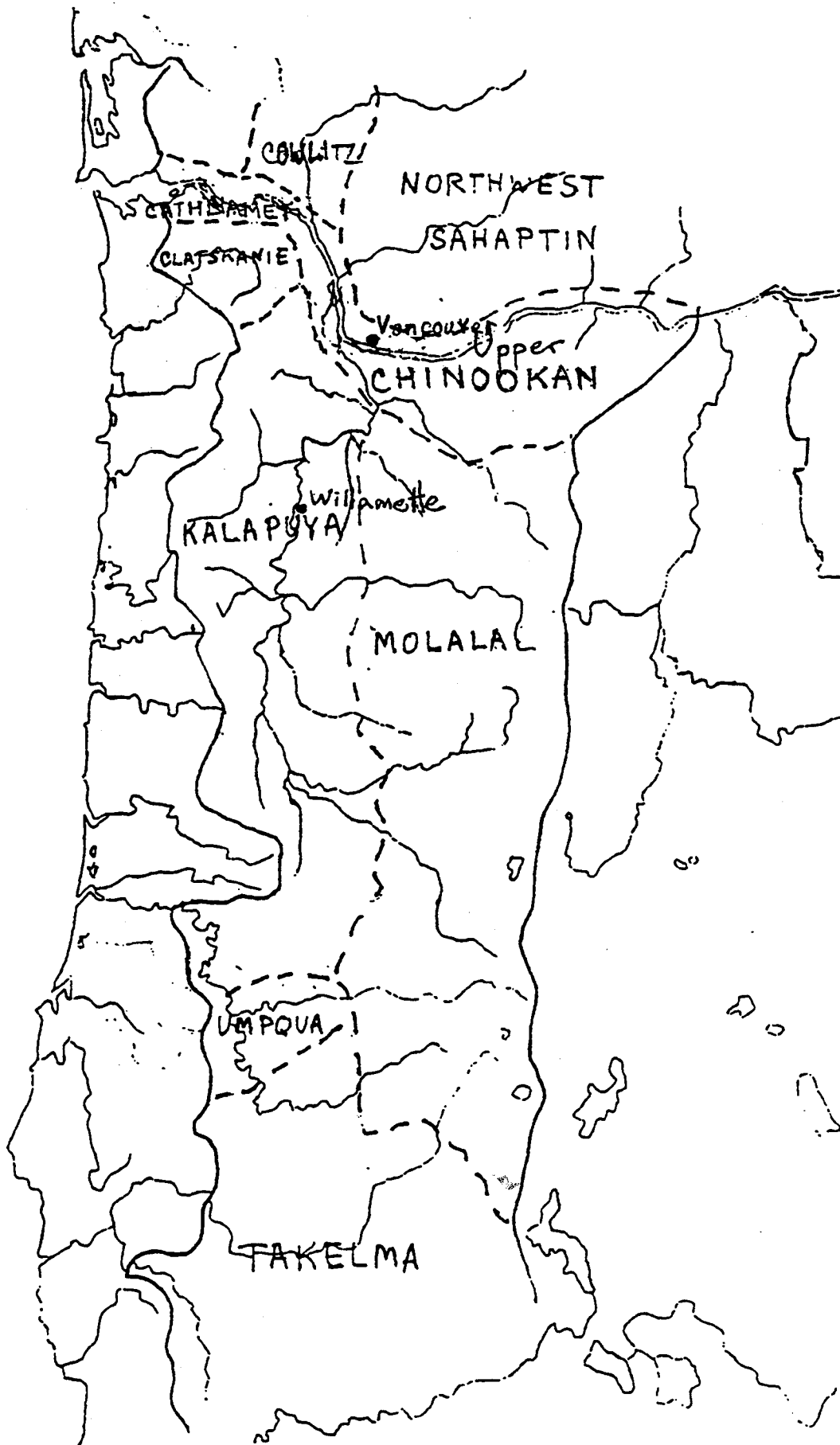
This takes us up to mid-century. To recap, in the span of 75 years, smallpox, malaria, influenza, whooping cough, dysentery, measles, tuberculosis and several minor diseases were introduced among the Kalapuyans. Total populations declined from a pre-contact total somewhere between 10,000 to 20,000 to 8,000 to 9,000 by 1830 and less than 600 a decade later. Population loss therefore exceeded, in less than 75 years, the 95% average that Henry Dobyns claimed for all American Indians in 400 years. Truly a phenomenal drop.

#### Demographic Patterns, 1831-1855

The last thing I'd like to discuss is a set of population figures, taken in 1851 as part of an early treaty-making effort by local agent Josiah Spalding. This census includes only a portion of the total Kalapuya population at the time, and because the sample size is small, is subject to uncontrollable error. But it does show a few interesting broad patterns. The eight bands censused averaged 53 persons each, scattered over the length and breadth of the Valley. There are some peculiarities in the sex ratio of the children. But most remarkable is the small percentage of children in the total population—a mere 21 percent, or one child per every two women. Hudson's Bay censuses of other Northwest Indian populations in the early 1800s average well into the 30 percent range. The only other censused populations that rate this low come from Chinookan groups on the lower Columbia at the same time (Boyd 1985:481-494). While granting that these figures may be interpreted in many ways, the most likely explanation is that they represent populations which have been devastated by disease. Endemic malaria causes anemia and is associated with still births and high infant mortalities (Bayliss-Smith 1975:437). And the late measles epidemic certainly depressed the percentage of children even further. Populations with such low percentages of children are, to use the demographers' phrase, not replacing themselves. Any population suffering from continual depressed fertility due to endemic malaria, punctuated at regular intervals by mortality from outbreaks of other infectious diseases, would be in regular decline. Such had certainly been the case of the Willamette Valley Kalapuyans since 1831, and remained so at least until 1855 when, with the start of the reservation period, a new demographic and disease situation took over. But that is out of the bounds of this talk. Stephen Beckham's article discusses the situation in the reservation years and later.

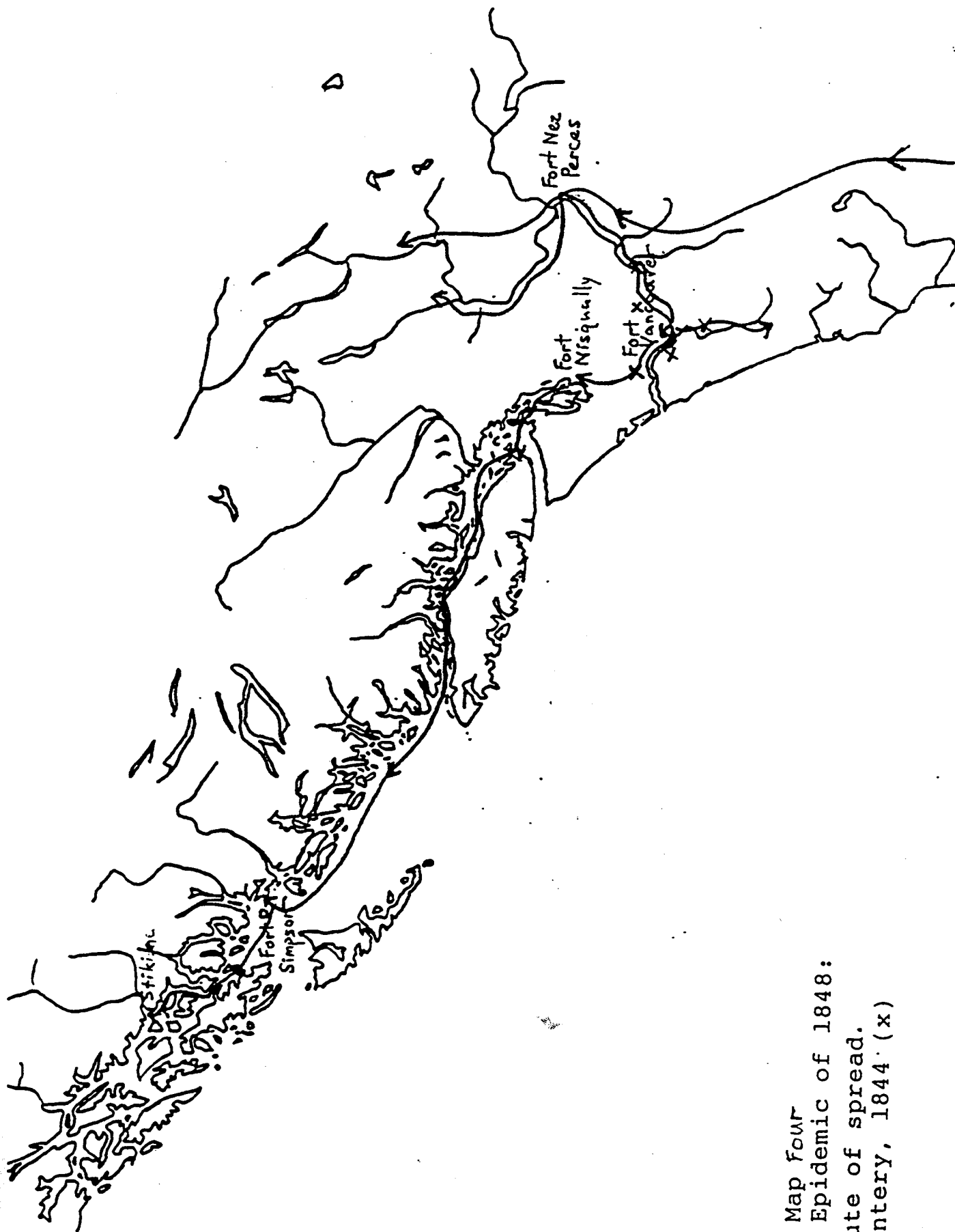






Map Three  
"Fever and Ague" Focal Area





Map Four  
Measles Epidemic of 1848:  
route of spread.  
dysentery, 1844 (x)

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# The Impact of Missionaries on the Kalapuya Indians

Wilfred P. Schoenberg

For reasons that will appear, I would like to present this subject in a similar but different form: "The Impact of the Kalapuya Indians on the Missionaries." I realize that this is taking certain liberties with my assignment, but frankly, in my opinion, the missionaries had very little influence on the original inhabitants of the Willamette Valley, at least compared to what the people of the valley had on them.

My shift of emphasis obviously places the focus of attention on the missionaries. Since one ought to be honest in describing their activities and reactions, as well as the activities and reactions of the Indians, I would like to introduce this prickly subject with a caution.

In our day we often refer to the ecumenical spirit among Christians, at least among some of them, especially those we call the "mainliners." The spirit among the more educated Christians, and others, is much more tolerant than it was in the mid-nineteenth century. Two weeks ago, for example, I spoke at a Presbyterian church in Portland. After my presentation, one enthusiastic but elderly lady said, "Oh! I'd love to be a Catholic priest. I think it would be very exciting." On reflection, I thought to myself, "Great: For my efforts here I have caught one vocation to the priesthood. But she is too old. She is a Presbyterian. And for the time being at least, she is the wrong sex!"

The incident, however, illustrates current attitudes on the subject of religious differences. This could never have taken place in 1840. At this time, the "Religious Wars" of Europe, begun in the sixteenth century, were in full swing in the nineteenth in Canada and in the eastern United States. The prejudices, antagonisms, and often gross ignorance were brought to the Pacific Northwest in the heads and hearts of the people who came, especially the missionaries. The confusion they brought rendered their alleged converts almost totally indifferent. The confusion of the newcomers became a mish-mash of clerical politics for the natives and in this there was little hope for real conversion.

## The Missionaries

Among the missionaries there were three major groups: (1) Methodists; (2) Mission Board composed of several churches, here we are concerned with Presbyterians; and, (3) Catholics, or as Protestant Americans said in those days, "Romanists." Although Catholic missionaries of Spanish origin arrived first

they did not remain for political reasons.<sup>1</sup> Thus the first missionaries to arrive and remain in Old Oregon were the Methodists.

The Methodists were a so-called reform or conservative faction of the Episcopal church. They called themselves Methodist-Episcopal until their formal separation from the Church of England in 1891. If I may be allowed to generalize, today we would call them Evangelicals. Somewhat reactionary to the rationalism and deism of their times, they placed great stress on emotion in worship, "Universal redemption." They were "faith justified," or as we would say "Born again Christians." One must understand this to understand not only people like the Lees, Waller and other Methodists, but also like the Blanchets, who stood in the middle ground between the rationalists and the "faith justified."

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of the Mission Board were perhaps ironically, on the more middle ground like the Catholics. They opposed Catholics, however, because of their rigid structure. They favored a form of democracy not only in structure but in the determination of dogma. They clashed with the Catholics in what is now eastern Oregon and Washington, which they had selected as their "Lord's vineyard." Since the clergy of the Episcopal church worked closely with the Hudson's Bay Company north of the Columbia River, they played no part in the struggle for the souls of the Kalapuyans. That left the Protestant field to the Methodists, who lacked neither heart nor muscle for the fray.

### Jason Lee

Jason Lee was the first Methodist preacher on the scene. He arrived in Oregon in 1834, "to save the Indians," in response to an appeal of Nez Perce and Flathead Indians for missionaries.<sup>2</sup> He had come overland, passing through the plateau.

"Lee," wrote Thomas Yarnes in his History of Oregon Methodism, "was prayerfully seeking for the right location for his mission station."<sup>3</sup> Should it be

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<sup>1</sup> Spain's withdrawal to the 42nd parallel in 1818.

<sup>2</sup> This is the highly controversial "Macedonian Cry" of 1831. Until recently Protestants historians, almost without exception, held the theory that these Indians were all Nez Perce and had traveled to St. Louis seeking the "White Man's book of Heaven." The Catholic and Episcopal position, that the Indians were Flatheads and Nez Perce, seeking Blackrobes [priests], is being adopted generally as the more probable account.

<sup>3</sup> Yarnes, Thomas D., A History of Oregon Methodism, edited by Harvie E. Tobie, Portland, Oregon, Methodist Conference Historical Society, n.d.

somewhere in the lower Columbia valley, or in the Willamette Valley or possibly "a thousand miles inland," where he had observed the better dispositions of the natives. Having sought the advice of Dr. John McLoughlin, who was something less than objective in his judgement of the matter, he chose to settle among the French Canadians, recently discharged employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>4</sup> This was really the beginning of the end for Lee, since the French Canadians were Catholic, at least in name. They had already appealed to Canada for priests, who regarded them, even from afar, as their special flock not to be led by "false shepherds" or "wolves."

French Prairie seemed to be the ideal location to Lee, so "he traveled a little beyond [the French Canadians], located a seemingly favorable spot and built a log cabin sufficient for immediate needs. In the meantime, he preached in the homes of the French Canadians...." This, according to some Catholics, was going too far, while others accepted Lee and allowed him to regularize their so-called fur trade marriages.

"Here was a white settlement," Yarnes continued. "But [Lee] had come to establish an Indian mission! However, he had perceived that the Indians were divided into small tribes and split up into so many small groups, were so isolated from each other, and so often times moving from place to place that it would be difficult to reach many of them at a time."<sup>5</sup>

Lee, apparently, did not recognize at this time the formidable nature of another obstacle to his mission to the Indians. An epidemic had been raging for several years prior to his arrival. "Captain [John] Dominis was blamed by the Indians for the epidemic which during the winter of his stay [1829], seized the natives and exterminated whole villages. It has been estimated that 30,000 deaths were caused by the disease, which became worse instead of abating in 1831 and 1832."<sup>6</sup>

Yarnes also noted that "sickness did not come to the Indians alone. They were afflicted more than the white people, for the natives were not prepared to withstand diseases against which the colonists has built up some resistance." Even Lee was afflicted by the epidemic. He recovered but the demands and physical labors of frontier survival continued over the years to weaken his health. He and his companions had come to preach and to teach the Indians,

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<sup>4</sup> McLoughlin at this time supported company policy to keep settlers south of the Columbia River. In 1838, Blanchet counted 26 Canadian families in the French prairie region.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Carey, Charles H., General History of Oregon Through Early Statehood, Binford & Mort, Publishers for the Peter Binford Foundation, Portland, Oregon, 1971, p. 363. I have used this and other later editions of standard texts for the obvious advantage of their availability.



"Instead they had to spend most of their time at such hard labor as building shelters for themselves and fireplaces in which to cook their food. They had to grow their own food and grind it Indian fashion."<sup>7</sup>

Whatever their handicaps, the godly Methodists turned their attention to the task for which they had traveled thousands of miles. Cyrus Shepherd, one of Lee's first companions, described their progress:

Our attention was now turned toward the Calapooyas, and efforts were made to give them instruction by holding meetings among them, and visiting them at their lodges; and for their special benefit a missionary society was formed, and a very liberal sum was devoted to that object, about four hundred dollars. The object of the society was to induce them to locate a piece of ground, and till the soil, and to assist them in the building of comfortable houses. A man was hired to help them, and some efforts were made in order to induce them to work and help themselves. There was, however, so much apathy among them, that, after having used various means for a years quite in vain, they abandoned the attempt. Yet meetings have been held among them from time to time since, and at periods when their location admitted it, meetings have been regularly holden; and a house has been built near the mission mill which affords them a shelter, in worship, during the rains.<sup>8</sup>

So much for the adults. Perhaps things would fare better with the children on whom the future rest.

No sooner had Jason Lee and his helpers gotten roofs over their heads in 1834 than they gathered the Indian children together--as well as a few adults--and began the work of teaching, not only the Bible, but reading, writing, and some manual accomplishments. And the Indians seemed willing to receive instruction. Soon the missionaries had all the pupils they could accommodate with their limited facilities. By March, 1835, Cyrus Shepard took charge of instruction. He had, in the meantime, been teaching at Fort Vancouver.

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<sup>7</sup> In missionary annals of Catholics as well as Methodists, there are many references to the diseases current in Oregon. Confer, for example, Father John Baptist Zacharie Bolduc's description in Mission of the Columbia, edited and translated by Edward J. Kowrach, Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, WA, 1979, p. 118-119.

<sup>8</sup> Lee, D[avid] and J.H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon Late of the Oregon Mission of the Methodist Church, New York: Published for the Authors, 200 Mulberry Street, J. Collard--Printer, 1844, p. 151.

All went well until some of the children became sick, and several of them died. The Indians came to suspect that the white men were poisoning, or casting an evil spell upon their children; and they began to plan vengeance. An Indian youth came to the mission with the avowed intent of killing Cyrus Shepard and Daniel Lee, but was dissuaded by another Indian boy. An Indian chief who had taken three of his sons to the mission school to have them educated lost two of them by death. He came to take his one remaining son home, but the boy died on the way. The report of these things soon spread far and wide among the Indians. The Indians began to ask, "Why should the neighborhood of the Mission be so fatal? Why should the Indian people die out in the vicinity of the missionaries? Did the missionaries bring 'bad medicine'?" Their ideas of good and evil were couched in terms of "good medicine" and "bad medicine."

During the summer of 1837, the enrollment in the school totalled forty. Being taught were Indians, half-breeds, orphans, even adults. Those who received daily instruction were trained to aid the missionaries in teaching their own people. Unfortunately, by the end of the second year only two of the original wards were left. The rest either died or fled for fear of dying. The mission was in peril of failure almost before it had a good start.<sup>9</sup>

No special talent was required to see where this was leading. Lee, however, was not disposed to give up. He returned to the United States, as they said then, in 1838, to persuade "the Managers of the Missionary Society of the M.E." Church to provide more financial support and reinforcements "for civilizing and Christianizing the aborigines of that land."<sup>10</sup>

Alas! by this time, 1839, the number of candidates for conversion was rapidly diminishing and worse, far worse, rival missionaries had arrived from Canada in the form of two determined Catholic priests.

### The First Priests

Contrary to what some may think, the first priests, Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, were not Jesuits. William Gray, once an associate of the Reverend Henry Spalding at the Presbyterians' Lapwai Mission, sometimes referred to Blanchet as "His Jesuitical Reverence," insulting him on the one

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<sup>9</sup> Yarnes, A History, p. 25-26.

<sup>10</sup> Lee and Frost, Ten Years, p. 217.

hand and the Jesuits on the other, slandering both with the pejorative word "Jesuitical." The fact is neither priest was a Jesuit. Both were members of good standing of the Diocese of Montreal. Both had volunteered for the mission and both persevered in living very edifying lives in the Pacific Northwest.

They arrived at Fort Vancouver in November 1838 via the Hudson's Bay Company brigade. This patronage of the Company extended to the Catholics was a kind of bone which stuck ever after in the throats of Protestants. Their arrival was conditional: they could not, said the all powerful Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, establish a mission south of the Columbia River.<sup>11</sup> Their bishop had agreed and until the Company relented in the following year, they avoided anything like a permanent residence in what is now the State of Oregon.

Blanchet's influence and fulminations, however, were not bound by rivers. Early in 1839, he temporarily occupied the bed-end, an austere cell added to the church, which the French Canadians had built in anticipation of his arrival. "His Jesuitical Reverence" was really a kind man, but at this time he came across to others, especially to the Protestants, as the incarnation of evil. Even the half-breed Kalapuya children hid in the barn when he came, and he had to coax them out with more than cookies.

Handsome in a Frenchy sort of way, he looked dyspeptic. Stern. Very Pious. He was typical of many French Canadian clergymen of this time, Jansenistic, righteous and grumpy. After he was appointed bishop in 1843, he had trouble with his own priests, but he lived to a ripe old age when he was mellow and greatly praised.

Demers, his companion, was less formidable, but he was also intransigent in appearance, a nineteenth century missionary personality who sometimes underestimated his own importance and sometimes exceeded the restraints of prudence by going too far. He enjoyed only a minor role in the Catholic quarrel with the Methodists. Blanchet, the appointed superior, sent him off to the fur post at the mouth of the Columbia, then to New Caledonia [British Columbia] and other wild places. By the time he returned to live in the Willamette Valley, after Blanchet went away, to seek a bishop to consecrate him, the excitement was mostly over.

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<sup>11</sup> Protestant hostility to the Hudson's Bay Company was not, I think, totally unreasonable. Because the priests had been transported via brigade to the Columbia without cost, Protestants generally assumed that the company and Catholics were united against them.

An account of the priests' voyage, as well as the documentation of their relationship to the Company has been published in various forms, principally Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet's *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, edited by Edward J. Kowrach, Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, WA, 1983.

What the Reverend Alfred Waller, an arrival with the Methodist Great Reinforcement of 1840, had to say to his wife about Blanchet bears repeating here. It was a shrewd observation, though "Brother Waller," as he was usually called by his co-religionists, was not regarded as a very bright fellow.

I don't know, he said, but since Blanchet had no wife he could not let off steam by discussing his problems with one. Instead he corresponded with church officials in Quebec, where much of what he related was printed for the use of Catholics. This hardly was fair.

There was, unfortunately for Brother Waller, some truth in his complaint. Catholic missionaries did "blow off steam" in their reports to the homebodies and one should allow for it when reading these mission reports.

### Brother Alvin Waller

Waller benefited from the advantage of having a wife, but he, too, let off steam in his writings and conversations with others. Since he was soon locked in battle with Blanchet over the Kalapuya villages in the general area of Oregon Falls, he had much to wail about. Like most of us he had his good and bad qualities. His appearance, unlike Blanchet's, helped to weaken his cause, and his disposition did little to improve its chances. Like William Gray, he was generally regarded as a trouble maker by his own confreres, "difficult man to work with," especially under pressure. A contemporary drawing presents him with a dark gloomy look. His full head of hair, thin face and deep eyes with bags under them, suggest the likeness of an unhappy zealot. Blanchet treated him rudely, like an intruder without rights for being on the scene, much less for preaching.

### Methodists Versus Catholics

As the battle joined for the coveted souls of the Indians, including the Indian wives and children of the French Canadians, no one seemed to be concerned about the more fundamental rights of the Indians, for example their collective right to their lands. Protestants with families to support were more aggressive in fencing off claims, but even the Catholic missionaries ignored Indian rights to land where the French Canadians settled. Everyone seemed to take it for granted that land was there for simply grabbing it, and when observers from elsewhere arrived, they praised "the colonists for the perfection of their farms." One French Canadian it was noted, with a touch of admiration by some, had been very successful, and his success, they said, was due to the fact that "he

had a wife in practically every tribe."<sup>12</sup> Having several Indian wives and sometimes abandoning them when they returned to the east or found more attractive white women, was another common form of injustice that the missionaries often overlooked. They were busy, trying to bring in the sheaves, while social injustices flourished like weeds under their noses.

Blanchet, whose formal title was Vicar General, was greatly concerned about canonical formalities, like the absence of the proper form when Catholics were married before the Methodist preachers. The dangers to the faith of the Canadian Catholics, he wrote, were very great.

On the one hand it was impossible for them to go to the priest...on the other, nothing was neglected to give them a taste of the errors of Protestantism, whose ministers had just introduced themselves among them. At least it is certain that in Oregon several Protestant ministers, either themselves or through their people, were spreading into the very homes of the Canadians to make proselytes. A certain number of those Canadians had consented to having their [Indian] wives and children baptized by the ministers and to be married by them.<sup>13</sup>

What Blanchet wrote in this official report to Rome was common doctrine, so to speak, for the Catholic missionaries in the lower Columbia. They deplored the kind of theology allegedly preached in Protestant missions. In a letter to the editor in Quebec, Blanchet wrote:

Protestant ministers are laboring on their side to attract proselytes. The deplorable doctrine which they spread can, in the century in which we are living, only find an excuse in the weakness of the human mind. They teach the natives that "children are kings in heaven," even when they died without being baptized. Thus in rejecting the necessity of baptism these ministers of error close the doors of heaven to unfortunates that place their trust in them, and which their utter ignorance renders incapable of any examination of that essential matter. That damnable doctrine is taught publicly; and they dare add to it that it is "impossible to observe God's commandments." These

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<sup>12</sup> This was Michael LaFramboise. Yarnes, A History, discusses him and other trappers, p. 23-24.

<sup>13</sup> Stated by Blanchet in his famous Memorials or Memorandum Presented To The S. Congregation of the Propaganda Concerning the Territory of Oregon. Landerholm, Carl [translator] Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest, Oregon Historical Society, [Portland, Oregon], 1956. The quotation will be found on p. 226-227 of this work.

principles of error and corruption are preached by the ministers, and in their absence, by the first comer: magistrate, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, sailor, and others. All arrogate to themselves the mission of teaching error in the name of God, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; among the Canadians as well as among the natives. These improvised preachers are found at every gathering, in every assembly, at weddings, at funerals; everywhere the faith of the Canadians is assailed, their pastors belied, their worship exposed to the coarsest jests.<sup>14</sup>

The Protestants were outraged by these attacks and they retaliated by circulating the currently popular scurrilous book, The Revelations of Maria Monk.<sup>15</sup> This, too, became an occasion for bitter animosities. "An unbelievable thing," the Vicar General lamented, "the obscene book of Maria Monk had been scattered among the ignorant population, and had inspired in it a mistrust of the missionaries which would have become disastrous if God had not breathed upon the pestilential cloud. The reputation of that shameless female slanderer was known and the tracts tumbled back upon those who had cast them."<sup>16</sup>

#### "At The Establishment of the Walamette"

Blanchet paid a hurried visit to the Indians at Oregon Falls sometime in early 1839. He wrote about them months later when he was in a cranky and critical mood. His evaluation of them is not flattering but one should remember that what he wrote could be applied to more than half of the human race, especially if one included children. Referring to himself in the third person, he reported as follows:

Mr. Blanchet, who has already spent a month among the Canadians of that establishment, has hardly any praise to give of the natives he has seen. These natives, called *Kalapoaya* [Calapooia], were very numerous some years ago; but the fevers, which have been so fatal to the Chinooks, not having spared them, they now find themselves reduced to a very small population threatening to decline more and more. They are poor,

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<sup>14</sup> This appears in Notice No. 3 of January 1841, Notices and Voyages, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> Monk, Maria, Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal, New York, N. Monk, 1836. There were many editions of this book, 20 of them listed in the National Union Catalog, in addition to 11 other titles containing substantially the same material. For a detailed account cf. Ray Allen Billington, Maria Monk and Her Influence, Vol. 22, (1927), p. 183-196.

<sup>16</sup> This was also in Notice No. 3 in Notices and Voyages, p. 54.

lazy, and have the reputation of being inclined to thievery. As much as the Indians of Cowlitz love to communicate with the missionaries, so much the Kalapoayas like to avoid them. Mr. Blanchet has seen but few of them come to take part in the lessons which he gave in the chapel of the place. But it seems that the different tribes of this nation settled on the upper river Walamette would receive the missionaries more willingly, and would consent to receive their instructions. Almost all the Kalapoayas speak the *jargon*.<sup>17</sup>

One of Blanchet's acquaintances at the falls, an early prospect for conversion, was Chief Pophoh, a minor official in a very minor league. Pophoh was the head of one of the several villages on the Willamette. Blanchet had entrusted him with The Flag and directed him to fly it on a post whenever the priest was in the village. It was a red flag with a cross on it, not unlike the banner carried by the Voyageurs. Pophoh was very pleased with the flag and bore it off to his lodge to await the first priest.

Later Blanchet paid a visit to the falls, going first to the village of Chief Weramus. He learned soon that Waller had been there before him.

It was with cross in hand and prayer in my heart that I approached Satan's empire. Above and below the falls are seen the sites of large villages which the fevers of 1830 entirely depopulated. Having arrived at the village of the falls, which consists of four or five lodges, I made known the object of my visit and desired to see Chief Weramus; but he caused me to be answered that I could go visit some other place; that as for him and his, their mind was made up and that they could do without me. I learned shortly that, hurt because I had visited the village of Tlakemas before his, this chief had become Methodist. Which had won for him trousers, cloak, shirts from Minister Waller.<sup>18</sup>

So it was Minister Waller who was the villain! Blanchet's mortified conclusions were confirmed by the sudden appearance of Pophoh, who arrived with some of his people. Pophoh "recounted that they had raised the flag on Sundays, until Mr. Waller had caused it to be taken down, in a holy outburst, saying that he did not wish to have it any longer sight."

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<sup>17</sup> Notice No. 2, January 1840, in Notices and Voyages, p. 20

<sup>18</sup> Notice No. 5, January 1843, in Notices and Voyages, p. 81. In this same Notice, Blanchet observed that "the false apostles themselves call the evangelical spirit," that is their doctrinal position.

Brother Waller, henceforth, would be the Vicar General's principal foe. Let Waller beware.

### More About Blanchet and Waller

Displaying dubious example Christian charity, the two protagonists fought tooth and claw, whenever they met, which was not seldom. According to Blanchet he always came off the victor, Waller having been forced each time to slink away. "Like another David," Blanchet boasted, "I had not recoiled before the new Goliath."

After one of this more sensational victories, Blanchet described it to edify his patrons in Canada. He liked to refer to the locus of the battle as "Satan's empire."

On my arrival in that other part of Satan's empire, I expected indeed that he would bring into play, all the energies of his infernal malice to hurt me as at the falls. I had more to gain and also more to combat. Minister Waller saw me enter into his sheepfold; I had the right to do it, as he is not a true shepherd....

After the mass and instruction, while I was surrounded by many natives, I saw the minister Waller enter, followed by his farmer. He gave evidence of his displeasure that I came, as an intruder, he said, to preach to the natives of his jurisdiction, whom he was accustomed to teach every Sunday. My answer was that my mission on the Columbia did not except any part of the country; that, not considering him as a true messenger my duty was to disabuse the natives of the false doctrines that he was teaching them. He went from one point to another; I answered him patiently; but I noticed that he was serious and hurt. The natives stood around us and listened with interest, being very happy, they said, to know once and for all which was the best way. Chief Katamus goes to get the *evangelical* ladder of his minister and spreads it out beside mine.<sup>19</sup> The natives see with their eyes

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<sup>19</sup> The "evangelical ladder" is the historical and doctrinal chart devised by Blanchet, a visual aid for teaching Catechism. Often called "The Catholic Ladder," it was so successful the Protestants designed a "Protestant Ladder" which, as Blanchet pointed out here, failed to impress the Indians. Catholic Ladders were printed in Canada or Belgium, mounted on cloth and rolled up, to be let out and hung on a tree when in use. Ladders were left in the villages with a trusted neophyte. The neophyte then announced to any priest who arrived at the village, "I have the ladder," meaning "I am the local catechist and will show you around." The Indians accepted literally whatever they saw on the ladder, either Catholic or Protestant, but since the former displayed a longer history it was favored by most.



that the religion of this poor Mr. Waller does not begin with J[esus] C[hrist]. They reproach him for continually threatening them with fever, sickness, death, etc. Not being willing to admit that he had made those threats, everybody contradicted him. The keeping his temper no longer, he takes his hat and leaves abruptly, leaving the natives greatly scandalized by his outburst and the feebleness of his arguments. Many abandoned him from that moment and sent word to him to come and look for his ladder. I rendered to God many acts of thanks for the outcome of that conference.<sup>20</sup>

Blanchet's smug conclusion did little to defuse the explosive situation. Both sides were confirmed in their stubbornness. But the outcome of the battle determined by other factors than debates of the clergy, was already recognized by some of the Protestants.

### Methodist Failures

Almost from the beginning, Jason Lee realized that there was little hope for a conversion of the Indians without "a complete revolution." Lee soon discovered, as Yarnes reported, "that he would have to build a whole new economy, and a whole new society from the ground up." Others, like Cyrus Shephard, who avoided controversy and conducted himself with diligence and kindness, conceded failure. "It is acknowledged on all hands," he wrote in his diary, "that the present prospects in respect to civilizing and Christianizing these natives are exceedingly gloomy." A brief time later, on February 2, 1842, he wrote again about his disillusionment. "I am quite confident, from all of the observations which I have been enabled to make relative to their moral and physical condition, that there never will be anything like a permanent Christian church raised up from among them [the Indians]."<sup>21</sup>

George Hines, who had arrived with the Great Reinforcement of 1840, confirmed the inevitable in his report to the Board.

P.S. As I am in charge of the Willamette station it may be my duty to report the numbers in society, they are as follows, viz

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<sup>20</sup> Notice No. 5 in Notices and Voyages, p. 84-85.

<sup>21</sup> Lee and Frost, Ten Years, p. 313.

Whites who are members of the mission	15
Do. [ditto] who are not members of Do.	11
Hawaiians in full connexion	1
Do. on trial	3
Missions Indian Children in full connexion	1
Do. Do. on trial	<u>18</u>
Total	49

The above does not include the members at the falls.  
G. Hines.<sup>22</sup>

While these statistics represent only one mission station of several, they reveal the paltry returns which the Methodists were receiving from a very substantial investment.

By contrast, Blanchet's figures for Catholic baptisms, doubtlessly accurate but reached by an alternate calculation, reveal excellent returns on a relatively trifling investment. "The number of baptisms in the entire Columbia (Cowlitz excepted) in this year [1843] [is] 562, of marriages twenty-four."<sup>23</sup>

In some respect this comparison between Methodist and Catholic "conversions" is misleading. Catholic theology allows baptisms for infants and adults in danger of death, and there on the frontier were many, without a previous period of probation. Methodists, on the other hand, required a period of trial and approval, as indicated by Hines' report, for "Connexion," or full incorporation in the church.

By this time, with Yankee candor, the Methodists began to study earnestly the reasons for their failures. They liked to think that the principal cause was the disease and depravity of the Indians, not their own short comings. They did not overlook the advantages which the Catholic missionaries had enjoyed. "At

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<sup>22</sup> This appears in "Robert Moulton Gatke, A Document of Mission History, 1833-43" in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 36 (1935), p. 181. Gatke's lengthy article is well documented and covers the period for the Methodists in a sympathetic but objective manner. Hines' report here is similar to that of Waller's.

No. in Society in this mission [July 1844]:

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Local Preachers</u>
Willamette Settlement	14	8	3
Willamette Falls	16	-	-
[The] Dalls [sic]	3	I am not certain but there may be some Indian members here.	

Cf: Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24 (1923), p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> Notice No. 6, July 1845, Notices and Voyages, p. 173.

present," one of them reported, "one Roman Catholic Priest [Blanchet] is doing more than all our missionaries. This is owing to the ready success he has to the native women, many of whom have married Canadians. The Indians, too, more readily gain knowledge of the French than the English language."<sup>24</sup>

In October 1844, Hines wrote: "I think disagreement and discussion have for a long time been felt in this mission and I am at an entire loss what to do to promote the spiritual interests of this people."<sup>25</sup>

### Catholic Success

The Catholics had less to crow about than they realized. Blanchet, however in a high state of euphoria, announced victory to his followers:

In spite of so much effort and agitation, the arrival of the Catholic missionaries was like a stroke of lightening for [the Protestants]; they never recovered from it. Not only did the number of their proselytes not increase any longer after that event, but they saw themselves progressively abandoned by the greater part of their flock. Deprived finally of the hope of better success later on, they even resigned themselves to dissolving their society. This happened in 1844 when there arrived from the United States an inquirer sent regarding the tales of the discredit into which the Methodists had been falling in Oregon for several years. The inquirer, having recognized exactly the truth of those reports, saw nothing better to do than to dissolve the society. Thus was that great and powerful mission, which possessed school, mills, farms, houses, abolished in an instant; all the properties were sold and the ministers disbanded for good.<sup>26</sup>

Blanchet's celebration was premature. He had to admit by 1843 that the Kalapuyas were not responding to his attentions.

I commence my report, he says, with the natives called the Calapooias," They are not numerous, and live as wanderers and vagabonds. Each year, at the beginning of winter, they draw near the

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<sup>24</sup> Gatke, "A Document of Mission History," p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> This is from the George Gary Diary published in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24 (1923), p. 177. Gary was dispatched by the Methodist Mission Board to Oregon to close the mission.

<sup>26</sup> A part of the Memoriale, in Notice No. 7, July 1847, Notices and Voyages, p. 227-228.

whites. Disease and want decimate them again and again. They do not believe in the existence of God. They withdraw as well from us as from the ministers. Their indifferences and unfriendliness are always the same. Their language differs from that of the natives of the Columbia. This language is spoken as far as the fort built at the source of the river Umpqua, to the south, where the natives are more numerous, better disposed, and where we will certainly establish a mission."<sup>27</sup>

A time would come when the Kalapuyas would receive better grades for their Christian fidelity. Considering the impact of white culture, especially the disease, greed and squabbling of the missionaries, they had not reacted differently than many other native tribes.

In frustration, the Methodists turned to the whites, who had really attracted them from the beginning. As settlers poured in from the east, coming enmasse after the great emigration of 1843, they could see golden opportunities all around them. They recognized the value of their lands and the need for legal protection of their claims. Their struggle with Catholics and Catholic converts like Dr. John McLoughlin, continued on into the next century. The greatest tragedy of their failure is, I think, that it turned the battleground of religion into a political one, a long time struggle for supremacy at the polls.

There were compensating benefits, however, and it is quite possible that the Methodists' failure with the Kalapuyas was better in the long run. It had forced them into more structured forms of education. In 1844, they established the Oregon Institute, which was the first organized school for white children in the Pacific Northwest. Nine years later the Institute was chartered by the Territorial Legislature as Willamette University, which eventually became one of America's great centers of learning.

It could be justly said, at this point, so I think, that Blanchet and his Catholics had won the battle, but lost the war.

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<sup>27</sup> Notice No. 6, July 1845, Notices and Voyages, p. 166.

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## The Myth of the Vanishing Kalapuyans

Stephen Dow Beckham

The Kalapuyans, the native inhabitants of the Willamette Valley, have experienced a unique but identifiable image problem. In the minds and writings of several generations of historians, teachers, and readers, the Kalapuyans ceased to exist. They vanished, albeit through the ravages of a disastrous fever or widespread epidemic which decimated their population and reduced entire villages to but a single survivor. The calamity of illness and death in the 1830s has operated like a dark cloud over the Kalapuyans and has contributed singularly to what can be termed "the myth of the vanishing Kalapuyans."

This paper seeks to identify that the concept of the "vanishing Kalapuyans" is a myth and that in spite of numerous writings attesting to the departure of these Indians, hundreds of their numbers survived to the middle of the nineteenth century and that hundreds if not a few thousand persons alive today carry the genetic heritage and, in a number of instances, the affiliation of membership in federally-recognized Indian tribes because of their Kalapuyan ancestry. The documentation for such a contention is abundant and persuasive and, though the quantifiable data for refuting this myth has existed for decades, no one has effectively tapped or employed it for a revision of a long persistent misunderstanding about what became of the first inhabitants of the Willamette Valley.

### Eliminating the Kalapuyans

Several writers contributed to the literature attesting to the demise of the Kalapuyans. A number based their accounts on the contemporary observations or subsequent comments on the events of 1829-32. The writings of Samuel Parker, P.J. DeSmet, Paul Kane, Ross Cox, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, Jesse Quinn Thornton, and John McLoughlin provided ample evidence and frequently quotable descriptions of the impacts of the epidemics which best the Indians of the Willamette Valley and Columbia estuary in the third decade of the nineteenth century (Bancroft 1884[2]:503-504).

Frances Fuller Victor, writing several of the volumes in the series of Bancroft's Works in the 1880s, drew upon these accounts and noted that the ailments struck both Euro-americans as well as Indians. "The former," she wrote, "could in some degree ward off its dangers while the latter fell by thousands before its silent and mysterious shafts. The poor natives, to whom the disease was

new, no wiser in this respect that the white men, were wholly at a loss to account for its origin" (Bancroft 1884[2]:503).

Charles Henry Carey's History of Oregon (1922), a volume which has remained in print for the past 66 years, referred to the situation on the Grand Ronde Reservation in 1857. Carey wrote:

The confederated bands of Umpquas and Calapooyas on this reservation now numbered 272, and the Willamette Valley indians, including a few scattered bands of Calopooyas, 660, constituting the pathetic remnant of the numerous people among whom Jason Lee and his missionary associates had set out to labor some twenty years before (Carey 1922[1]:609-610).

Carey's account spoke to the survival of more than 800 Kalapuyans in 1857 as a "pathetic remnant." Although reduced in numbers by the impacts of illness, Euro-american settlement, dislocation, and ultimately removal to the reservation, the Kalapuyans clearly had not disappeared.

Robert Carlton Clark, Robert Horace Down, and George Verne Blue, authors of the long-used text, A History of Oregon (1926), fixed in the minds of several generations of Oregon teachers and students the story of the Indians of the Willamette Valley. They described Lewis and Clark's report of 40 villages above the falls at Oregon City and Samuel Parker's 1841 assessment of a population of 880. At the time of removal to Grand Ronde, however, the Kalapuyans, they noted, numbered 666. These authors continued:

By the year 1880 the Calapooias at the Siletz and Grande Ronde reservations numbered only three hundred fifty-one persons; then years later those had dwindled to one hundred sixty-four. In 1905 only one hundred thirty remained. In 1909 only five Santiams were alive...

On this down note, the authors of the text followed with the subheading: "Disapperance of the other tribes" (Clark, Down and Blue 1926:22).

The following year Professor Clark brought out his History of the Willamette Valley (1927). Clark noted that it was "fortunate, however, for the future white settlers that disease depopulated the Willamette Valley before they attempted to colonize it." This author pointed to an early smallpox epidemic, venereal disease, and other factors reducing the population:

Lax moral standards and filthy personal habits contributed greatly to the acceleration of degeneracy. Bodies of diseased slaves were left unburied, filth and refuse accumulated, and undrained swamps contributed to the spread of other diseases of

civilization. With their constitutions undermined by hereditary taint and weakened by famine and exposure, all that was necessary to complete their destruction was an epidemic and a dangerous custom.

Clark did not explain the nature of "hereditary taint," how these people had survived for centuries in an area of "undrained swamps," or what was the nature of the alleged "famine" which helped complete their destruction. He did stress, however, that the use of the traditional sweat lodge at the time of the epidemics of the 1830s was the final factor. "The severity of the treatment was disastrous," he wrote, "and the Indians, overwhelmed by the calamity, gave up and died" (Clark 1927[1]:63).

In a review of Indian population figures for the Willamette Valley and the lower Columbia, Clark noted the inexorable decrease in numbers and then wrote: "The Morning Oregonian for August 21, 1922, announced the death of Aunt Eliza, the last of the Calapooias." He explained that the Molalas "are now said to have disappeared entirely" and concluded: "Thus the Indians of the Willamette Valley, with the exception of a few Chinookans of probable mixed blood, have entirely disappeared" (Clark 1927[1]:68-69).

Oregon newspapers helped perpetuate the myth of the extinction of the Kalapuyans. The Cottage Grove Sentinel on September 5, 1919, carried the story "Last of the Callapooyas, Sam Fern, is Dead: Red Man seems unable to perpetuate the race in close contact with civilization" (Anonymous 1919). On July 2, 1955, the Salem Capital Journal reported that the Linn County Pioneer Memorial Association had belatedly erected a tombstone on the grave of Eliza, the aged Indian woman who died at Brownsville in 1921. The article quoted the memoirs of Judge D.B. McKnight who wrote: "It can truly be said that the Santiam Calapooyas withered quickly from the land with the coming of the white man." These articles left the impression that the deaths of Fern in 1919 and Eliza in 1921 terminated the Kalapuyans (Anonymous 1955).

While not mentioning the Kalapuyans by name, Lancaster Pollard in Oregon and the Pacific Northwest (1946), perpetuated the image of Indian demise. Pollard claimed the Indian population of Oregon was reduced to 7,000 in 1850.

This great drop in Indian population was due to several factors, but the major cause was the diseases introduced among the natives by the white men. The Indians had no immunity so such diseases as small-pox and measles were usually fatal to them. It is estimated that the epidemics between 1829 and 1832 took the lives of 30,000 Indians, some tribes dying out completely (Pollard 1946:60).



Harold Mackey, compiler of The Kalapuyans: A Sourcebook on the Indians of the Willamette Valley (1974), was aware of the literature on the demise of these people. The fifth section of his volume he entitled "The Last of the Kalapuyans." Without reference to the dozens of Kalapuyan descendants in the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Mackey singled out Sam Fern, Indian Eliza, and John Hudson, the linguistic informant for Melville Jacobs in 1936, and suggested that each was a candidate for the distinction of being the "last" of the tribe. "Thus," wrote Mackey, "like the Unknown Soldier, the name of the last Kalapuyan is 'Known Only to God'" (Mackey 1974:147-151).

The historical literature and press treatment of the Kalapuyans has thus generated a perception that the Kalapuyans, ravaged by diseases from early contact to the 1830s, began a precipitous population decline that, by the early twentieth century, left but a handful of survivors. Ultimately but three were left and their deaths between 1919 and 1940 ended the story. The writers concerned with the Kalapuyans consistently ignored the population of the Grand Ronde Reservation and, focusing on a few off-reservation Indians, suggested that these full bloods were the last of their race. Their deaths, suitably noted and memorialized in the press, signaled the extinction of a people and confirmed that the Kalapuyans had vanished.

### The Demographic Record

A variety of sources unequivocally refutes the myth of the vanishing Kalapuyans. None has received adequate exploration by ethnohistorians or anthropologists and yet each possesses firm, demographic information which confirms that the Kalapuyans have not vanished nor that the last of the full-blood Indians of the Willamette Valley died in off-reservation settings as the sole remnants of a doomed people.

What are these records? They include the Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, the annual compilations prepared by the Siletz and Grand Ronde agencies pursuant to the act of July 4, 1884 (23 Stat. 98). These records contain the English and sometimes the Indian name of each person, roll number, age or approximate date of birth, gender, and relationship to the head of the household wherein they resided. After 1930 these schedules included blood quantum, marital status, ward status, and tribal or band affiliation. The Grand Ronde schedules are extant for the years 1885-92, 1894-1914, and 1918-1940. These compilations are part of 692 rolls in Microform Publication M-595 from the National Archives (1984).

Of perhaps even more importance are the 1900 and 1910 federal population schedules for the twelfth and thirteenth census of the United States. The Bureau of the Census prepared special Indian Schedules in those compilations. The Indian records collected 38 categories of information, including the tribe of

each person enumerated, the tribal affiliation of each person's father and mother, and the blood quantum. These materials are in Record Group 29, the records of the Bureau of the Census, and both are part of Microform Publications T-623 and T-624 by the National Archives (1978, 1982).

A third record set was generated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in its administration of the Grand Ronde Reservation between 1856 and 1956. These materials, stored in Washington, D.C., and at the branch archives in Seattle, Washington, include more than 100 linear feet of materials. In records of allotment, heirships, probate, treaty annuity payments, school enrollments, and other dealings, the Bureau employees identified the tribal affiliations of Indians at Grand Ronde (Hill 1981:161).

The fourth documentary record, totally overlooked by those who have written about the Kalapuyans in the nineteenth century, are the meticulously entered parish registers of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel. In 1859 Adrian Joseph Croquet a Belgian priest and missionary, arrived in Oregon to commence 39 years of work among the region's Indians. Croquet founded the Catholic mission at Grand Ronde in 1860 and worked among the Indians of that reservation, at Siletz, and, on occasions along the coast of Oregon until his retirement in 1898 (Munnick and Beckham 1987:xiii, xix-xxii).

What do these four different sets of records reveal? They show that the historical assessment of the demise of the Kalapuyans is erroneous and misleading. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example, began its enumerations of these people in the 1850s. In 1851 Superintendent Anson Dart reported that the "several bands of Molallas and Calapooyas" occupied 60 to 80 miles of the Willamette Valley. "Their territory comprises the largest and most densely settled portion of the Willamette valley," he wrote, "and is nearly all in open prairie country." Dart identified 123 Molalla and 560 "Callapooyas" (Dart 1852:476-477).

On November 25, 1856, John Miller assumed responsibilities at the Grand Ronde Reservation. As his first task, Miller compiled census, identifying the various bands by name and chief and the numbers of the men, women, boys, and girls in each. He enumerated 11 bands of Kalapuyans: Tualatin, Marysville Muddy, Long Tom, Yamhill, Luckiamute, Calapooia, Mohawk, Winefella, Santiam, and the Calapooia Band of Calapooia River. He found 344 Indians from the valley floor bands. He also enumerated 338 others of the Oregon City, Clackamas, and Molalla bands, and 294 from the Umpqua Valley, including 30 Calapooia (presumably Yoncalla). Thus in terms of Kalapuyans linguistic stock, Miller found 344 persons. Probably the 144 "Oregon City" Indians in the bands of Thomas, William, and John were also Kalapuyans. Thus, even though removal was incomplete, nearly 500 Kalapuyans had settled at Grand Ronde by the fall of 1856 (Miller 1856). In spite of several deaths,

Miller had 345 Kalapuyans in 1857 in his charge and 137 from the Oregon City area. The total that year thus stood at 4482 (Miller 1857a).

Conditions on the Grand Ronde Reservation in the 1850s were deplorable. At the commencement of B.I.A. operations 1,895 Indians were confined along the South Fork of the Yamhill River, an area of not more than a mile wide and three or four long. During the first winter the only substantial shelters were the log cabins of pioneer settlers, forced to move from the area when the government selected the site for a reservation. The Bureau secured 190 "temporary" houses for the Indians and, subsequently, moved 999 refugees from the Rogue River Valley to the Siletz Reservation (Miller 1857b:649).

Joseph Jeffers, who preceded Miller as a temporary employee, anguished about conditions early in 1856 and referred specifically to the refugee Umpqua and Calapooia (Yoncalla) recently removed from their homeland along the Coast Fork of the Willamette and the drainage of Elk Creek on the Umpqua.

I write to you in reference to the umpqua Indians who are suffering with the flux to an extent that it makes humanity shudder and having no medical help or medicine my hands are tide so that I cant render them assistance and those that are sick suffer with the cold at night... I have bin among them twist a day since Mr. Metcalf left for Portland rendering sutch assistance as I cud by making teas for the sick and if you can not get a Doctor that you think will fell the pleas at present. If you think proper and will send me two bottells of Castor oil and a vile of Laudnom and some Dover powder I will administer to them. please say be Jack what you wish me to do and if I shall give the sick ones blankets the suffering of this peple Haunts one day and night. In hais I rite please ecous the manner and matter my simpaethis for the suffering of this peopple are the only appoligy (Jeffers 1856).

James Nesmith, superintendent of Indian Affairs, acknowledged in 1857 the sorry conditions at Siletz and Grand Ronde. "But little will be realized this year form the crops put in upon the reservations," he noted, "as the ground is new, and the season, owing to the drought, remarkably unfavorable" (Nesmith 1858:607). Agent Miller confirmed the same problems in his annual report. "The whole of the surrounding country," he wrote, being fenced up, pasturage could be obtained for them only by paying enormous rates, and even that was very poor, so much so that we lost several of our animals during the winter, and the Indians also lost a large number of their horses. The last year's crop was almost, if not entirely, used up by my predecessor." Miller estimated that the 1857 harvest would likely measure but a "half a crop" (Miller 1858:654-656).

In spite of the continuing ravages of disease, exposure, and malnutrition, James B. Condon enumerated 1,174 Indians on the Grand Ronde Reservation in December, 1862. These included 686 people under the ratified treaty of January 22, 1855, with the Willamette Valley bands. Additionally Condon counted 199 Umpqua and Calapooia from the Umpqua Valley. In that enumeration were perhaps an additional 40 Kalapuyan-speakers, bringing the total population of that group to over 700 (Condon 1862).

Agent Amos Harvey enumerated 348 Kalapuyans in 1865 but noted that between 200 and 300 more were absent from the reservation working in the valley (Harvey 1865:469-470). In 1878 Agent T.B. Sinnott wrote:

The Indians of this agency are remnants of several different tribes, composed of Moleles, numbering about 25 males and 30 females; Clackamas, number 27 males and 32 females; Oregon City, 19 males and 24 females; Wappato Lakes, males, females; Yamhills, males 18, females, 20; Luckiamutes, 14 males and 12 females; Mary Rivers, 15 males and 17 females; Santiams, 37 males and females 39; Calapooias, 15 males and 16 females...

Sinnott enumerated 807 Indians on the reservation of whom probably 60 percent were Kalapuyans (Sinnott 1878:112).

By 1880 Agent Sinnott reported confidently that the Indians of the Grand Ronde reservation had, after 25 years of confinement and imposed programs of agriculture, achieved a level of self-sufficiency. "The great majority of the Indians of this agency are not earning their own support by farming and stock raising," he wrote, "the department furnishing, in some instances, seed and agricultural implements, and keeping their farming tools in repair, and manufacturing such of them as can be made in the agency workshops and by the regular Indian mechanics" (Sinnott 1880:137).

Throughout these years Father Croquet labored patiently among the Indians. His first baptism was on September 30, 1860, the blessing of Charles Nepussing, the 10-day-old son of Louis Nepussing, treaty chief of the Umpqua. Over the next 38 years Croquet penned nearly 3,000 entries in his registers to record baptisms (and births), marriages, and burials. As was the custom among the Catholic missionaries of the Pacific Northwest, he dutifully noted tribal affiliations, often recording for an infant that of both the mother and father. During August, 1863, Croquet made the following entries:

On the last day of August 1863 died and was buried Joseph 2 years and 5 months old, born of Francis and Nancy, of Tkolatay's nation, of this mission.

On the 5th day of August 1863 we the undersigned priest have baptized (without solemnity) Lewis being sick, 3 years old, born of Thomes of Kalapouias nation, of this mission.

On the 13th day of August 1863 we the undersigned priest have baptized without solemnity Francis Samuel 2 months old, born of Bill and Jane of Kalapouias nation (Brownsville), of this mission (Munnick and Beckham 1987:27-29).

Croquet's records testify to the ravages of illness and the consequences of confinement on the Grand Ronde Reservation. They also document the persistence of Kalapuyans in western Oregon. In many instances Croquet entered specific band and geographical origins of the Indians among whom he worked. Genealogical reconstruction of family lines thus is readily possible and refutes the long-established view that the Kalapuyans are extinct.

One further evidence of the persistence of the Kalapuyans is the record in the special Indian Schedules of the Twelfth Decennial Census of 1900. In three townships in Yamhill County which embraced parts of the Grand Ronde Reservation, Isaac Daugherty, the enumerator, identified 72 individuals who gave their primary tribal affiliation as one of the Kalapuyan bands. These included Marysville, Buena Vista, Wapato, Santiam, Yamhill, and Calapooie. Many other Indians on the reservation told Daugherty that their mothers were of similar ancestry. The census taker, however, assigned tribal affiliation only through the male line (Bureau of the Census 1900).

### Conclusion

The Kalapuyans, while decimated by epidemics between the 1790s and 1840 and further reduced in numbers during the difficult years of removal and confinement on the Grand Ronde Reservation, did not vanish. The historical record and popular perception of their extinction is based on incorrect conclusions derived from primary accounts of the 1830s and newspaper notices of the deaths of aged Indians early in the twentieth century. While the demography of the Kalapuyans spiralled downward at an alarming rate, the documentary records of the Catholic Church, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bureau of the Census confirm the survival of these people.

The documents exist to trace the survival of descendants of specific bands from throughout the Willamette and Umpqua valleys. The popular phrase "gone but not forgotten" inscribed on many tombstones across American needs revision in light of the situation of the Kalapuyans. They are, in many respects "forgotten," but not entirely "gone." The present generations of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and members of several other tribes in this region, carry the legacy of descent from those who first occupied this land.

Undoubtedly for them, this verdant valley was Eden. They paid a terrible price as its tenure passed from their hands to others. The costs were multiple: loss of land, lifeway, language, and--to a very real degree--identity. Beneath the cloak of the term "Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde," however, lies another story, the Indians of today who are Kalapuyans.

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