Portland Basin Chinookan Villages in the early 1800s

By Robert Boyd and Henry Zenk

During the early nineteenth century, upwards of thirty Native American villages were documented in the Portland Basin (present-day Multnomah, Clark, Clackamas, and east Columbia Counties). Most of the villages were sited on riverbanks and in wetlands along the Columbia and Willamette Rivers and were occupied by people who spoke dialects of a Chinookan language or languages. In their journals, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark classified the villages under three headings: “Wappato Indians” for those villagers around Sauvie Island and on the Columbia River between present-day Kalama and Vancouver; “Sha-ha-la” (for šáx̱l̓a ‘upstream’) from Vancouver to the Cascades Rapids; and the peoples of the lower Willamette River, including the Clackamas River and Willamette Falls. Non-Chinookan villages, mostly upstream on tributaries to the Columbia, were home to Sahaptin-speaking Upper Cowlitz and Klikatat [var: Klickitat] in present-day Clark County, Clatskanie in present-day Columbia County, and Molala in present-day Clackamas County.

Lewis and Clark’s “Estimate of the Western Indians,” the most complete listing of Portland Basin villages, appears in two versions in their journals, with different population estimates for many Chinookan villages. They estimated the population of the Portland Basin peoples at 4,840 (Estimate 1) and 10,940 (Estimate 2). The most likely explanation for the variable numbers is that they represent seasonal populations that the explorers observed during their two transits of the Wappato Valley. At first transit, from late October to early November 1805, most local people had retired to their winter villages; at the second transit, from late March to early April 1806, the population was augmented by visitors who had arrived to take advantage of the seasonal Columbia River fisheries (sequentially, eulachon, sturgeon, chinook, and coho salmon).

Lewis and Clark’s estimates date to a generation after a major smallpox epidemic that had significantly diminished the Native population. The Portland Basin villages continued as functioning entities until the early 1830s, when annual summer epidemics of “fever and ague” took most of the people to their graves. After 1835, most riverbank villages were abandoned, and non-Chinookan interior peoples moved closer to the rivers. Villages of Chinookan survivors, often mixed with newcomers, continued at Wakanasisse below present-day Vancouver, West Linn, Gladstone (Clackamas), and the Upper Cascades. A Cascades seasonal village was located on the south bank of the Columbia River opposite present-day Vancouver. All villages were vacated in the mid-1850s, when most surviving Native people in the Portland Basin were removed to the Grand Ronde and Yakama Reservations.

Archaeologically, the record on the early 1800s Portland Basin villages is mixed. Most of the villages were destroyed soon after they were abandoned, and only a few survived to be excavated by professional archaeologists. Multnomah village, for instance, was burned by the Hudson’s Bay Company after the epidemics, and the site itself has mostly washed away. Most exposed sites were destroyed by looters after 1830, and some were excavated by the Oregon Archaeological Society in the mid-1900s (particularly along Lake River). Only a few survived to be examined by professional archaeologists after 1980, including Cathlapotle, Meier near Scappoose, Clahclellar at the Middle Cascades, the Portland St. Johns sites, and the “Sunken Village” at the Sauvie Island bridge. Several seasonal and nonsettlement sites—for example, resource areas and cemeteries—suffered similar fates.

Table of Portland Basin Chinookan Villages in the 1800s Wapato Valley to The Cascades: according to Lewis and Clark’s *Estimate* “Wappato Indians”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Phonetic Spelling</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Callamaks

\( \text{gākála} \)ama ‘those of the rock’

Kalama R mouth

200

Cathlahaw’s

Kalama R/Deer Island

Quathlapohle

\( \text{gāapux} \) ‘those of nāpux (Lewis R)’

300/900

Clannarminnamun, Cathlaminimin

lower Multnomah Channel

280

Cathlahcumup

\( \text{gāaqmap} \) ‘those of the mound’

Multnomah Channel

150/450

Claninnata

Multnomah Channel

100/200

Clackstar Nation

\( \text{éaqax} \)

Scappoose Plains

350/1200

Cathlahnahquiah

\( \text{gāanaqáix, naqáix} \)

Fort William

150/170

Cathlahcommahtup

Sauvie Isl bridge

70/170

Nemalquinner

\( \text{nimaaxinix} \)
lower Willamette R
100/200
Clannahqueh

Sauvie Isl Columbia R bank
130
Multnomah
mánumax ‘those towards the water’
Sauvie Isl Columbia R bank
200/800
Shoto

Lake River
160/460
Nechacolee, Nechacokee
nīq li ‘stand of pines’ (?)
Blue Lake
100
Total population:

4840/10940

(Clackamas River and Willamette Falls)
Clarkamus Nation
giáqimaš, giáqimaš ‘those of niqimaš (Clackamas R)’
Clackamas R
800/1800
Cushhooks
kášxkš
Abernethy Cr
250/650
Charcowah
aká-wa (Molala name)
above Willamette Falls
200

“Shahala Nation” (šáx(a) ‘upriver, above’; total population: 1300/2800)
Neerchokioo

w of Portland Airport
Wahclelah, Clahclellars
waalla ‘small lake’; aala, gaaala ‘those of waala’
n side of Lower, Middle, and Upper Cascades (multiple locations)
Yehuh
wáyaxix ‘his face place’
s side of Upper Cascades

Noted in later sources. **Historical spelling/Source**

**Phonemic Spelling**

**Location**

Naialgugui (Gibbs, 1853)

nálaguiguix
St. Helens

Scappoose (Gibbs, 1853)

sqpus
Milton Cr (?)

Namouite (Ross, 1821)

namútk
Sauvie Isl, Columbia River bank
Gahláwaksín (Curtis, 1911)

gáwakšin ‘those of the dam (wákšin)’
St. Johns, Portland

Wakanasisse (Gibbs, 1853)

wákánasisi ‘diver ducks’
below Vancouver

Clowewalla (Henry, 1814)

áwiwala, gáwálamt (‘those of wálamt’)

Willamette Falls
Wasuscally (Ross, 1821)

gáwašúxal ‘those of wašúxal’

Washougal, WA

Skamányk (Curtis, 1911)

skmániak ‘obstructed’
between Middle & Upper Cascades

Wat lala (Hale, 1841)
Wauna Lake

Sources


The Oregon Encyclopedia

https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/wappato_valley_villages/