



CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT



Willamette Falls

LEGACY PROJECT



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PREPARED BY

Laurie Matthews, Edward SanFilippo, Robert Z. Melnick, Mathangi Murthy, Madeline Carroll and Rachel Edmonds at MIG, Inc. with research assistance from Kirk Ranzetta, Patience Stuart, Shoshana Jones and Leesa Gratreak, AECOM.

WILLAMETTE FALLS LEGACY PROJECT

The Willamette Falls Legacy Project is guided by four public agencies: The City of Oregon City, Clackamas County, Metro and the State of Oregon, namely Oregon State Parks and the State Historic Preservation Office in concert with the Governor's Regional Solutions Team. The Blue Heron Paper Co. closed its doors in 2011. With that, a new era opened for the site, providing the opportunity to reconnect people to a magnificent natural wonder, generate economic development for Oregon City and the region, restore healthy habitats, and catalyze historic and cultural interpretation. Four core values underpin the entire Willamette Falls Legacy Project: historic and cultural interpretation, public access, healthy habitat and economic redevelopment.

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FOR MORE INFORMATION

Willamette Falls Legacy Project | www.rediscoverthefalls.com

City of Oregon City | 625 Center Street, Oregon City, Oregon 97045 | www.orcity.org | 503.657.0891

MIG Inc. | 815 SW 2nd, Suite 200, Portland, Oregon 97204 | www.migcom.com | 503-297-1005

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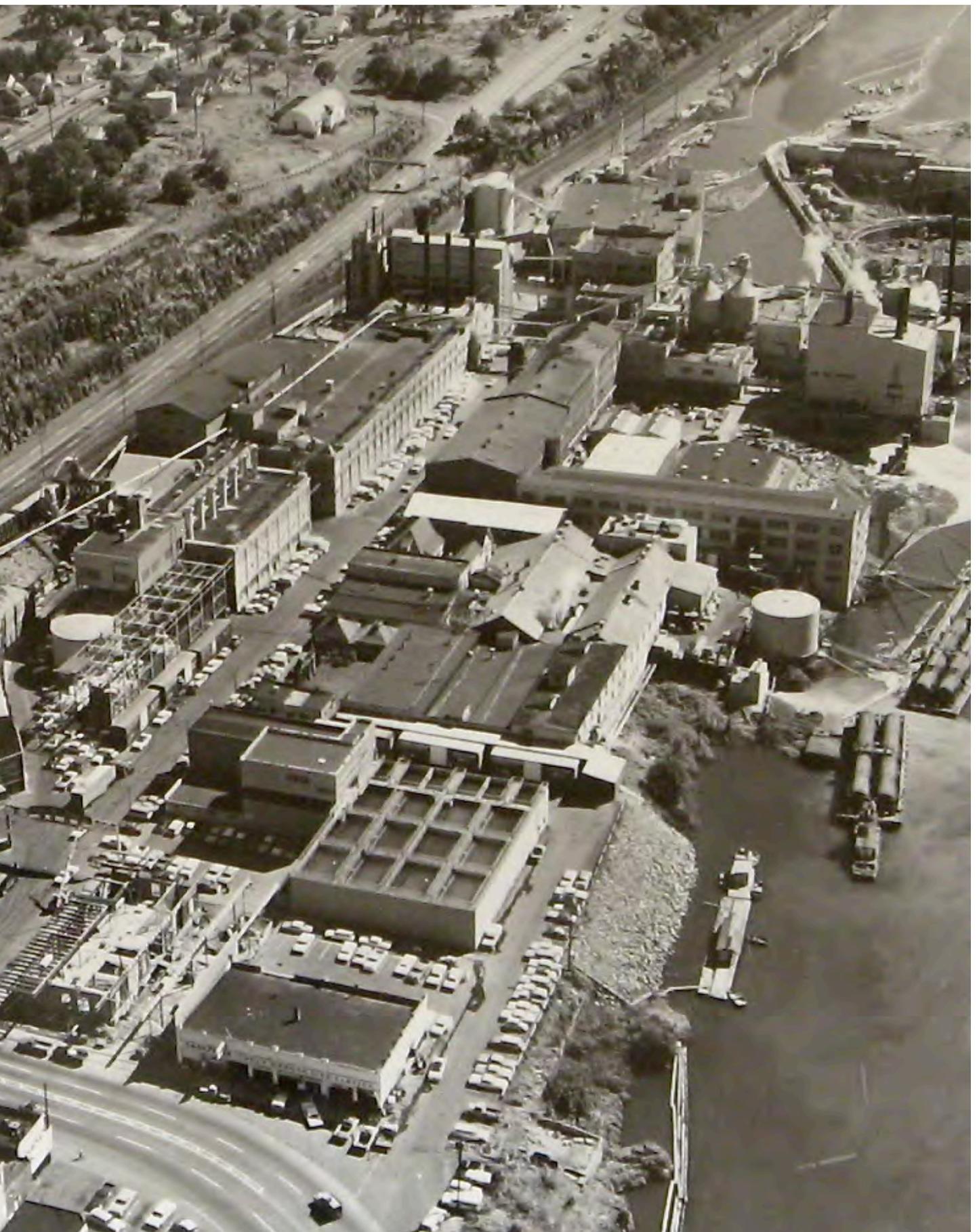
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Introduction

If Oregon has a spirit of place, it would be embodied at Willamette Falls. This landscape's spirit is impossible to ignore since it emanates an almost palpable energy attracting people generation after generation. Recognizing, understanding and respecting a place's spirit is critical for future planning so that it can re-emerge if it's been obscured or can come through in new ways with respect to its past.

Project Background

*This site—consisting of multiple layers of history for our region and our state—is about many things. It's about **our people and stories:** the American Indians, the early settlers and industrialists, our workers and their families. It's about **our natural history and resources:** the Columbia Basalt Flows that poured from eastern Washington over Oregon on their way to the Pacific Ocean, the Missoula Flood that followed an ice dam breach giving us our rivers, valleys and these Willamette Falls. It's about **sustenance:** fishing for salmon, harvesting lamprey, providing hydropower and electricity, having jobs with sustaining wages. It's about **gathering:** American Indians meeting to trade and celebrate, as a community, as a place for visitors to understand the Oregon legacy and what has drawn people here, to this specific place, for centuries.*

Understanding multiple and complex historic layers and how they can be incorporated into the site's future rests on a rigorous collection of knowledge in the public record about Willamette Falls physical historic development and the effective communication of it through the development of a Cultural Landscape Report that will help inform the Willamette Falls Legacy Project now and into the future. A Cultural Landscape Report is a place-based research and planning document that ties information from documents, photographs, illustrations, and oral histories to a particular place and from those sources focuses on how a place has developed and changed over time. It helps us understand the people and forces that have shaped a place and provides glimpses into the character of a place at different moments in time, which is a combination of the natural environment, built environment, and people that manage and live in that environment.

We are and always have been innovators in the state of Oregon. The fact that we are committing to the challenging task of revealing and honoring our complex story attests not only to the compelling landscape of the Falls, but also to our character.

The process of developing a Cultural Landscape Report respects and supports that task and will allow this place's spirit to strengthen its light and burn bright again.

Opposite page: Industrial development frequently defined the area around the falls. Blue.

Project Approach
A Cultural Landscape Report is a recognized methodology and document that reveals the history and evolution of a significant place. While it delves into aspects of social history it is primarily focused on revealing the development and transformation of the physical elements that make up a place so that a greater understanding of what exists today can be rooted in what came before. This CLR was developed based on guidelines established by the National Park Service, the leading agency for cultural resource planning and management.

Research for the Willamette Falls Cultural Landscape Report was gathered through a process that reviewed primary and secondary resources, collaborated with people who have knowledge about the site and its history, and identified key questions that provided focus for the investigative phase and work products. The fruits of the research developed a solid and commonly understood contextual base of understanding about the historic development of the Willamette Falls site, formerly the Blue Heron mill property between the Willamette River and railroad tracks and between the hydroelectric dam and 5th Street in Oregon City, that will serve as a primary source of information for those interested in

its future and telling its story. How Lamprey Lost His Bones

The Pacific lamprey maintains a place of cultural significance in the Columbia and Snake River Basins. Tribal peoples of the interior Columbia Plateau have harvested these fish for subsistence, ceremonial, medicinal, and trade purposes for many generations. Lamprey, as part of the Columbia River tribal culture, is important in ceremonies and celebrations similar to many other traditional 'First Foods'. It is said that long ago, before the people, the animals were preparing themselves for the coming of the Indian people. The animals could speak to each other during this time, which is also known as the myth-time. There are many legends associated with the lamprey, such as the following myth-time story, *"How Lamprey lost his Bones": "When the world was created, they said, I will give my body for the people that are going to be placed here after us. They gave themselves up so that we could live on this world. Spiritually, he's one of us."~ Cáyaw Elmer Crow Jr., "The Lost Fish"*

This CLR includes a narrative summary of the site's history that is supported by hundreds of historic photographs and illustrations, a set of historic era plans that provide a snapshot of the site at different moments in time depicting its transformation, and an annotated

chronology that catalogs raw details about the site's metamorphosis which was used to develop the narrative history. This will be available separately from the main report as a searchable document.

Traditionally part of a CLR, the analysis, evaluation and treatment of the site are being addressed through ongoing complementary processes which is a natural approach for such a complex site that includes both public and private development. For example, the Willamette Falls Legacy Project Framework Plan (2014), including conditions of its approval, is being supplemented by this CLR, the Interpretive Framework Plan, and complementary efforts such as the refinement and construction of the Riverwalk.

Historic content is organized in the CLR through an illustrated linear narrative and by themes that highlight the cyclical nature of this place's story and connections, focusing on historic moments we should celebrate and those we need to continue to learn from. It is these stories that should be included in the present vision for Willamette Falls so that the circle of time and understanding of this place continues. Though tangible elements of some of the site's history may be gone, our understanding doesn't have to be absent as well.

Time and time again the site's history returns to the landscape of Willamette Falls and how its very essence and character has been and will continue to be a nexus of our region. The CLR contains information both complex and simple, inspiring and tragic, nuanced and straightforward, but all of it able to be applied to our current understanding of Willamette Falls.

Methodology & Scope of Work

The project began with the development of a research plan that identified dozens of repositories (both physical and online) that contain information related to Willamette Falls. A set of priorities were attached to the list of repositories identifying those that were most likely to yield the most information for the resources needed to access the information.

The primary and secondary repositories were assigned to different researchers on the team and information gleaned from those investigations was compiled into a sortable chronology that tracked the information and source. Images were copied or scanned and a common naming system was developed to identify the date, content and source of each graphic source.

Over 400 resources were reviewed and each was added to a sortable spreadsheet tracking bibliographic information along with any notes about the source's content. A thorough level of research, as defined by the National Park Service, was completed. Note: a list of the repositories and sources will be added in the future.

The development of the narrative was based on the information contained in the chronology and by reviewing the graphic materials that were uncovered. With projects of this nature that are investigating multiple layers of time from multiple sources and viewpoints, it is inevitable that sources contradict each other or that information is missing. Whenever possible that type of information was cross-checked or further targeted research was completed to try to confirm something that was missing or contradictory. When clarity was not possible, all the information is presented in the narrative for the reader to develop their own understanding of the information. Historic images are used to illustrate and add understanding to the report. They often tell a story that narrative sources do not.

Historic Era Plans

Historic era plans depict our best understanding of the site at moments in time and were developed to depict the transformation of this site over time. They are focused on circa dates which are typically a five to ten-year period surrounding the date established on the plan. The target date is chosen based on a few factors including major developments or changes that have occurred on the site and whether a proliferation of detailed graphic materials from a verified source are available. Ideally this includes plans and maps that are supplemented by dated photographs from various angles and perspectives, and narrative sources that point to geographic locations.

Due to the ebbs and flows of change and cyclical nature of history on this site, threads began to emerge that could not be portrayed in a linear fashion. Those subjects are addressed at various moments in the report to highlight connections through time of events and activities that have shaped this site.



CHAPTER 1

15,000 BCE - Late 18th C.

ORIGIN TO PRE-CONTACT

American Indian Origins of Willamette Falls

Geologic Origins

Early American Indian Settlements





1

Origin to Pre-contact

Long before white explorers arrived in the Pacific Northwest, the area around Willamette Falls was popular amongst a large population of American Indians spanning multiple tribes. Villages around the Falls are described by many of the early explorers. In addition to those who resided nearby, Willamette Falls was a major center of regional intertribal contact and commerce prior to the malaria depopulations of 1830-1834.¹

American Indian Origins of Willamette Falls

Some sources identify the Falls as a prominent feature in the oral traditions of local tribes and the second most important trading center in the Pacific Northwest,² with tribes as distant as Idaho coming to the Falls to fish and trade.³

The primary tribes settled around the Falls prior to white settlement were the Clackamas and Kalapuya, antecedent tribes of the Confederated Tribes of the Grande Ronde. Each group spoke a different language and attributed the formation of the waterfall to slightly different origins. Common elements included Coyote, Salmon, fire and making decisions between multiple potential sites for a waterfall. According to one source, "Legends of Willamette Falls contain a variety of culturally bound concepts of identity and place [...]."⁴

The following five origin stories are presented in no particular order. They are not intended as the definitive versions; others may exist in other tribes, in other sources or in entirely oral traditions, but they provide a sense of the American Indians' relationship with Willamette Falls.

One origin story is not attributed to any particular tribe, but incorporates aspects attributed to both the Clackamas and Kalapuya. This is the most distinct version and the only one to include Meadowlark⁵:

"Let us make a waterfall across the river," Meadowlark said to Coyote. So they made a rope by twisting young hazel shoots. Holding one end of the rope, Meadowlark went on one side of the Willamette River; holding the other end, Coyote went on the other side; and carrying the rope between them, they went down river until they came to a place near where Salem is now. There they stopped. "Let us make the waterfall here," Meadowlark

called across to Coyote. But she spoke in Clackamas, and Coyote knew only the Kalapuya language. He misunderstood. Instead of making a waterfall, he turned some animals into rocks. They could be seen along the riverbank near Salem until not long ago. Meadowlark and Coyote walked on down the river until they came to where Oregon City is now. "Let us make a waterfall here," Meadowlark said. This time she used the sign language too. Coyote understood. So they stretched the rope tight. Coyote pulled hard. Meadowlark pulled with all her strength and pressed her feet hard against the rock she was standing on. Then Coyote called on his powers and turned the rope into a rock. The river poured over the rock....

Opposite page: The western meadowlark is a year-round resident of Oregon that appears in at least one Willamette Falls origin story. greglasley.com.

Meadowlark pressed her feet on the rock so hard that she made footprints. Her footprints stayed there for hundreds and hundreds of years. They could be seen until the locks flooded the flat rock where she stood.⁶

A fairly different version comes from the Clackamas:

Mr. Coyote kept going along and when night came he noticed that he was near a small cascade in the river. That was before there were any Clackamas Indians here. Mr. Coyote thought, "it would be good if perhaps the cascades were bigger and then he made the Falls in the Willamette River right at the place they are today. He knew the Clackamas people would soon be there. Mr. Coyote

thought some more, he wondered, "what might I do to fix it so they can get their food right here?" He put Salmon, trout, eels and other fish in the water. He put the elk, deer, bear, rabbit and rats on the land. He made the trees to grow so there would be wood to burn to heat the cooking fire and to smoke-dry their fish and meat to preserve it for those times when they couldn't hunt in the rain. Mr. Coyote thought some more and made the strawberry, blackberry and huckleberry plants, he made the wild cherry, plum and crab-apple trees and the hazelnut bushes. He made the camas root swamps, the wild onion, lily, carrot and other root plants. He thought, "when the Clackamas Indian people get here I will show them how to pick the

berries and dig the roots." Mr. Coyote thought some more and decided that he was hungry and needed some food. He walked to the Clackamas River rapids and picked up Salmon which he roasted there on the river bank. He ate Salmon. He said "That is how the Clackamas people will catch and roast and eat their fish. They will have plenty to eat here and they will not work too hard." Mr. Coyote thought he had done everything necessary to prepare the country for the people that were coming. He had finished this phase of his work. It was all done. It was good. He went along up river. He would have some new experience.⁷



Above: Coyote is a prominent figure in American Indian stories and cosmology.

Right: The Clackamas believe that black bears and rainbow trout are among the animals distributed around the Falls by Mr. Coyote.





Mr. Coyote also provided other animals and fruits used by the Clackamas for food, trade and daily life. Clockwise from upper left: Brush rabbits, deer, elk, strawberries, huckleberries and blackberries all helped American Indians in the area meet their needs.



Plants provided the Clackamas with food and medicine. Clockwise from upper left: Camas, wild onions, lilies, wild apples and crabapples were among the plants provided by Mr. Coyote.

A version that mirrors the previous narrative from the Clackamas comes from the Kalapuya:

[...] long ago a hero named Tallapus (Coyote) came to the Willamette Valley from somewhere far over the Rocky Mountains. At this time, gigantic skookums (ogres) terrified the people of the Valley. Worse still, the Kalapuyas (people of the Pudding River) had no place to catch the delicious Salmon that teemed up the Willamette River every season. Tallapus decided to provide fish for the people before he freed them from the worst of the skookums. First, Tallapus tried to make a fishing place at the mouth of the Pudding River. This proved unsuitable so Tallapus moved on, leaving behind a small riffle at the place where the Pudding River meets the Willamette. Next--at Rock Island in the middle of the Willamette River--Tallapus created an even grander design. But this also was not quite right, and Tallapus moved on, leaving behind a strong rapid in the River. Finally, from bank to bank Tallapus constructed Willamette Falls. There he placed a wondrous machine to catch Salmon for the people. Tallapus instructed the fish-trap to shout out "Noseepsk, Noseepsk" whenever it became full of fish. But so great were the numbers of Salmon (at one time said to be so many that a man could cross the river upon their backs)

that the amazing machine called out "Noseepsk, Noseepsk" almost without ceasing. Annoyed by the trap's constant summons, Tallapus told the machine, "Wait until I build a fire, and do not keep calling me forever." The wondrous fish-trap was so offended by Tallapus's anger that it instantly ceased to work for all time. Now the people must labor for Salmon but Willamette Falls remains a scene of great beauty and the perfect place to catch fish.⁸

Another origin story, attributed to the Klamath, generally incorporates elements from the previous three versions:

Tallapus came from the coast to the Willamette valley. Tallapus had been teaching the coast Indians. He found the Willamette very poor and cold. Now the Willamette was full of Salmon, but the tribes were very stupid and feeble. They could not catch Salmon. So Tallapus made a tum-tum ('Tum' means 'heart' - falls were named 'tum-tums' because the sound of falling waters resembled, to the Indians, the beating of the heart). There the fish would come to the surface. Tallapus also made a trap. Tallapus began to make a tum-tum at Hanteuc (known today as Pudding River). He did not like the place and left it. The gravel bar shows where he began to work. Then Tallapus went to

Rock Island to make a tum-tum. Again he did not like the place and left it. The rapids show where he began to work. Then Tallapus began to make still another tum-tum. Here he liked the place and finished his work. White men call it the Falls of the Willamette. Here Salmon comes to the surface in trying to leap over the falls. Then the stupid tribes could spear Salmon. At this tum-tum, Tallapus began to make a trap. Tallapus made one that would say 'Noseepsk' when it was full. So Tallapus set the trap by the falls and began to make a fire. He began to rub the fire-sticks together. Then Trap called, 'Noseepsk.' It was full of fine fish. Tallapus emptied it. He set the trap again by the falls and began to make a fire. He began again to rub the fire sticks together. Then again Trap called, 'Noseepsk! Noseepsk.' Tallapus emptied it. Then he set the trap again by the falls and began to make a fire. Before he could rub the fire sticks together, Trap Called, 'Noseepsk! Noseepsk!' Then Tallapus was angry. He was very hungry and Trap would not let him make a fire. Tallapus said Trap should not call so soon. Tallapus said, 'Can you not wait catching fish until I build my fire?' Then Trap was angry. Trap would not catch fish anymore. Then the people had to spear the fish.⁹

It is no coincidence that Coyote and Salmon feature prominently throughout the origin stories. Coyote, sometimes referenced as a trickster, appears frequently in American Indian oral traditions, especially throughout the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰ In the mythology of the Upper Chinook, for example, one cycle of myths represents Coyote as the culture-hero or transformer of monsters who instructs people in the various arts of life.¹¹ In this role he is the benefactor of mankind. In other traditions, he is more of a troublemaker who finds himself involved in social and sexual escapades.¹²



While Coyote is prominent in many American Indian traditions, Salmon was especially heroic in the northwest and provided a source of food, of trade and as a measure of wealth.

For example, Tallapus figures prominently in another story rooted at the Falls.

“After Tallapus fashioned a wondrous device to harvest Salmon at the Willamette Falls, he made a foolish mistake and the fish-trap refused to work all the time. Only by their own labor could the Indians become very prosperous and a large village was built on the west side of the [Willamette River]. But while they were thus prospering, a gigantic Skookum that lived upon the Tualatin River began to commit fearful depredations. His abode was on a little flat about two miles from the Indian village but, so long was his tongue, that he was in the habit of reaching it forth and catching people as he chose. By this, of course, the village was almost depopulated and when, after a time, Tallapus returned, he was very angry to see that the benefits of his fishery had gone, not to the people, but to the wicked Skookum. Tallapus therefore went forth to the monster and cried out to it, ‘O, wicked Skookum, long enough have you been eating these people.’ And with one blow of his tomahawk cut off the offending tongue and buried it under the rocks upon the west side of the Falls; after which the people flourished. When a long time later,

a canal was dug to go around the Falls and connect the Tualatin River to Waluga (Lake Oswego), ‘this was nothing more than laying bare the channel made for the tongue of the Skookum.’¹³

How Lamprey Lost His Bones

The Pacific lamprey maintains a place of cultural significance in the Columbia and Snake River Basins.¹⁴ Tribal peoples of the interior Columbia Plateau have harvested these fish for subsistence, ceremonial, medicinal, and trade purposes for many generations. Lamprey, as part of the Columbia River tribal culture, is important in ceremonies and celebrations similar to many other traditional ‘First Foods’. It is said that long ago, before the people, the animals were preparing themselves for the coming of the Indian people. The animals could speak to each other during this time, which is also known as the myth-time. There are many legends associated with the lamprey, such as the following myth-time story, “How Lamprey lost his Bones”:

“When the world was created, they said, I will give my body for the people that are going to be placed here after us. They gave themselves up so that we could live on this world. Spiritually, he’s one of us.”~ Cáyaw Elmer Crow Jr., “The Lost Fish”¹⁵

The story of how Lamprey, also known as Eel, got his name is a creation story. Eel was a gambler and Coyote was the creator. One day, Coyote was going about his business along the river. And Eel was down by the river as well and Coyote sees that he is talking to Beaver and to Muskrat. Coyote sees this and asks, "What's going on? He is told, "Eel's down there, he's playing stick game, bone game, and he's beating everybody." So Coyote walks down to the banks and asks Eel, "What's going on, can I play? Let me play you Eel."

Eel says, "All right." So Coyote beats him in the first round. Coyote starts taking his winnings from Eel. Coyote plays Eel again and he beats him again. So now, Eel is sitting there and he has no more possessions. He has nothing more to gamble with. He says,

"Well, one more game Coyote, one more!" So Coyote asks him, "What are you going to bet with?" And Eel says, "Well, I'm going to bet you my arm that I'm going to finally beat you!" Coyote plays him again and beats him. "So this time," he says, "I'm going to beat you this time, Coyote. I'm going



to gamble you my leg." Coyote beats him again. Now Eel's sitting there with no arms and no legs. So Coyote looks at him and says, "You have nothing to gamble with anymore." And he kicked him into the river. "And because your mouth got you into trouble, that's what you're going to suck on the rocks with." And this is how Eel was created and why he's in the river and sucks on the rocks.¹⁶

SALMON

Salmon was also highly esteemed, though in a different way. On a tangible level, salmon as a resource once provided many tribes in the Pacific Northwest with a measure of their wealth.¹⁷ At a more esoteric level, salmon had a cultural and spiritual relevance for many tribes. For example, one source describes salmon as the local hero of the Chinook tribes, while the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation identified salmon as "our little relatives."¹⁸ The Clackamas also held the salmon in high esteem as a race of supernatural beings living in a great house under the sea.¹⁹ In this tradition, the beings assumed the form of fish each year in order to sacrifice themselves for benefit of the people. Once dead, either from exhaustion or from being caught, their spirits would return to the house under the sea and resume their human-like spirit forms without discomfort, allowing them to repeat the "run" the following year after months of feasting and dancing.



Above right: The muskrat is a semi-aquatic mammal that travels through the Willamette Basin. Above: The lamprey remains significant in American Indian culture and is still harvested at the Falls today.

The first salmon caught each year was the subject of a special ceremony where it was addressed as a special dignitary and honored with various ceremonies, before finally being cooked and eaten by all the tribal members. This narrative mirrors the natural life cycle of salmon and steelhead who are born in the rivers of the Pacific Northwest before heading to the ocean for a few years before returning to the same river to spawn. After they spawn they die and their bodies become a food source for young salmon and other wildlife along the rivers return to the house under the sea and resume their human-like spirit forms without discomfort, allowing them to repeat the "run" the following year after months of feasting and dancing. The first salmon caught each year was the subject of a special ceremony where it was addressed as a special dignitary and honored with various ceremonies, before finally being cooked, shared, and eaten by all the tribal members. This narrative mirrors the natural life cycle of salmon and steelhead who are born in the rivers of the Pacific Northwest before heading to the ocean for a few years before returning to the same river to spawn. After they spawn they die and their bodies become a food source for young salmon and other wildlife along the rivers.

PLACE NAMES AND LANGUAGE

Two aspects of the origin stories warrant further discussion. In the fourth version, *tum* is identified as the word for heart; waterfalls are said to be called *tum-tums* because their sound resembles a beating heart. Similarly, the third version established the name of the site of the falls prior to their formation as Tumwata, though this raises an interesting distinction because it means the name did not originally designate the waterfall itself. The second, related aspect is that in the fourth version, white men are credited as the source of the name 'Falls of the Willamette.' These points are significant due to our limited understanding of historic American Indian languages and oral traditions. Furthermore, our modern challenges are often intensified by cultural, language and documentation barriers experienced by others – decades and centuries before us. Finally, despite some regional similarities, it is understood that even neighboring tribes in the Pacific Northwest did not speak precisely the same languages.²⁰

In the case of the Falls, a number of names were passed down for the waterfall itself, its surrounding region and the American Indians who were settled there when the first white explorers arrived. Although some of these were written down in the early nineteenth century, others were shared through stories over the centuries. Whether through

written or oral sources, the spellings, pronunciations and perhaps meanings changed over time, likely due in part to differences in pronunciation and transliteration. The varied record of these terms offers overlapping and sometimes contradictory details. The information presented here attempts to balance thorough documentation of available sources with an emphasis on those that are either native in origin or based on rigorous research of American Indian languages.

As a starting point, it is important to note the range of tribes, and therefore languages spoken, in the region. One source identified the following names for the Falls, with associated literal meanings where available:²¹

- **Upper Chinook name:** *ikisack (falls)*
- **Chinook Wawa name:** *temwata / demwada / Tum-water*
- **Clawewalla (t)tawiwala name:** *Kwgchyawhesuschk*
- **Northern Kalapuya Name:** *cadu-lik (falls-place)*
- **Molalla Name:** *caka-wa*

The Chinook Wawa name incorporates *tum* as noted in several origin stories. In 1806, the waterfall was designated by some tribes as 'Hyas Tyee Tumwater,' or Great Chief Waterfall.²² Another source similarly described the area around the falls as 'Hyas Tyee Tumchuck,' likely Chinookan.²³

A challenge associated with the Chinook Wawa name is that it is a hybrid medium of different languages that may have originated as a consequence of intertribal contact, and is thought to have developed after the arrival of the earliest white traders.²⁴ According to one source, Tumwater is a Chinook Wawa compound joining the Chinook Wawa onomatopoeic particle *tum* or *təm* – thump – with the English noun ‘water.’ As a name for the Falls, therefore, it only dates to the early nineteenth century. An alternate form of the word that takes both of its elements from Chinook Wawa is *támtsəqw* or *támchəqw*, with the Chinook Wawa noun stem *tsəqw* or *chəqw* meaning water. The earliest usage of the Chinook Wawa term is unknown. According to the same source, in documentation of the Chinook Wawa dialect spoken along lower Willamette River, the Chinook Wawa *kíshachk*, or ‘falls,’ appears in legends or myths about Willamette Falls, while the Chinook Wawa *dámwáda* appears in stories about historical events.

The attribution of the name Willamette Falls to white explorers and settlers may be true in a technical sense, in that it was not the name used by the American Indians. However, sources generally agree that ‘Willamette’ in its current iteration was likely based on both a mispronunciation and evolved spelling of an American Indian word by white people. In particular, one

source suggests that secondary reinterpretation by French speakers is the likeliest explanation for the pronunciation heard today. According to some sources, *walámt* was Chinook Wawa for the entire Willamette River. By 1811, the entire river was referred to by a name variously spelled Wallamat, Wolamat and Wolamut. A number of the earliest citations, including some explicitly attributed to American Indians, seem to reference the mouth of the river specifically.

An even earlier-recorded name from the Chinook in the vicinity of what is now West Linn was *ṭawiwála* or *ṭawiwála*. Other sources describe a Chinook village on the west bank of the river at the Falls – essentially present day West Linn – called *wálamt*, or, alternately, *gaṭawálamt* (‘the people of *wálamt*’). Both incorporate a variation of *wálamt*; however, there is no record indicating what these names meant. Another source claims the name is derived from a local Clackamas village called *Walamt*, or a Yakama word meaning ‘blue water.’²⁵ While the Yakama, based in present day Washington State, did not have seasonal or permanent settlements near Willamette Falls, they did travel to this location to harvest food and trade with other tribes.

These competing meanings and origins create a certain level of confusion or lack of clarity. First, none of the early known names for the Falls incorporates a variation of *Walamt*, calling into question the definition that suggests a waterfall (i.e. spill water). Second, attributing a Yakama name to a specific Clackamas village is potentially problematic; it is not clear whether this was a common practice during the time. Third, the designation of a ‘Chinook’ village on the west bank of the river might confuse the Chinook tribe with Chinook languages and dialects. The Clackamas spoke a variety of Upper Chinook called Clackamas and the Kalapuya spoke a series of three languages known collectively as Kalapuyan.²⁶ Despite some overlaps in language, the Kalapuya were a distinct tribe from the Chinook. This is likely a reference, therefore, to either the Clackamas or Clowewalla tribes rather than the Chinook who were primarily based along the Columbia River.

Fourth, the Kalapuya village and the Clackamas village in the different sources cannot be referring to the same village unless one is mistaken in labeling the tribe residing there. Multiple sources note that the Kalapuya lived above the river on the west side of the Falls, while the Clackamas lived in villages along the east side of the river near present-day Oregon City.²⁷



Between 15,000 and 18,000 years ago, flooding of Glacial Lake Missoula changed the topography of the Pacific Northwest. Willamette Falls was one of the features created by the tremendous flooding and associated erosion. Washington Division of Geology and Earth Resources, 2004..

Alternatively, other sources noted the names of the ‘four nations’ residing on the river: “[...] the 2nd is the Cush-hooks who reside on the N.E. side below the falls, the 3rd is the Char-cowah who reside above the Falls on the S.W. side neither of those two are numerous [sic].”²⁸

Another source notes that Clowewalla and Clackamas villages along the river included Charcowah, Clowewalla, Walamt and Qauwuhaipa.²⁹ The point is not to prove which tribe was home to the Walamt village, but that the questions exist and caution in attribution and translation is warranted.

Early American Indian Settlers

Almost all evidence of the physical landscape of the Falls and the region comes from European and American explorers who were in the area in the early nineteenth century. Knowledge of the populations in the region for this era is slightly more robust. Around 3,000 years ago, the first American Indians settled at the Falls.³⁰ Some historians estimate that approximately 5,000 Clackamas lived at the Falls by the beginning of the eighteenth century.³¹

Prior to the arrival of European and American settlers, the Clackamas lived primarily in the vicinity of the

Falls. They altered and moved their dwellings seasonally; each spring they took down winter dwellings and preserved split cedar planks, corner supporting posts and ridge poles, plus any cedar bark floor mats, animal skins and rawhide thongs for use the next winter. Their houses were about 12 to 15 feet wide and 30 to 40 feet long with no windows or chimney, but contained a hole in the roof for smoke to escape. Some sources identify the Clackamas as the guardians of the Falls, exacting tribute for permission to pass through or fish at the site; however, other sources identify the Clowewalla in this role.³²

Geologic Origins

Scientific inquiries provide a different narrative of the origin of Willamette Falls, in that between 15,000 and 18,000 years ago a massive lake called Glacial Lake Missoula, which contained 600 cubic miles of water and covered a portion of western Montana, flooded the Pacific Northwest. This occurred when an ice dam associated with the Cordilleran Ice Sheet that covered most of Canada and which had been holding the water back began melting at the end of the last ice age.³⁷ The Missoula Floods, as they are known, describe a series of more than 100 flooding events that spanned 3,000 years with forty of those events reaching Portland, further carving out the Willamette River and creating Willamette Falls. The first and largest flood drained water

out of the lake during a two to three-day period with water flowing up to 60 miles an hour.³⁸ As Dr. Scott Burns, Professor of Geology at Portland State University describes, "the Missoula Floods were the result of periodic, sudden breaks of the ice dam on the Clark Fork River that created Glacial Lake Missoula in Montana. After each ice dam broke, thousands of square miles of water would rush down the Clark Fork and the Columbia River, flooding much of eastern Washington and the Willamette Valley. After the rupture, the ice would reform, creating the dam again until the pressure mounted and it broke the next time.

We're not sure where on the river the Willamette Falls were originally, but we know the Missoula Floods

brought the falls back to where they are now by eroding the basalt each time they came through."³⁹ The water from these floods flowed west and south through the area forming what is now known as the Columbia River watershed. The water cut away at the underlying basalt, known as the Columbia River Basalt, which had built up over a two-million-year period during which more than 350 lava flows that stemmed from eruptions originating from a series of volcanoes consisting of incredibly long fissures (up to hundreds of kilometers) located along the present-day intersection of Oregon, Washington and Idaho.⁴⁰ Most of this volcanic activity occurred around 16 million years ago.⁴¹

The Clowewalla erected cedar planks that were supported by poles dug into the river bed which cantilevered over the water at the Falls. These platforms provided space for dozens of fishermen to harvest migrating salmon with dipnets and spears. The fish were then given to Indian women who would dry the fish over fires or on racks. They would either store the dried fish in baskets or mix it with nuts and berries into cakes, both of which would preserve the fish for eating during the winter months. Salmon harvests were plentiful enough to provide food and a source of barter for trading with other tribes that would gather at the Falls.³³

In either case, the Falls served as a gathering place for tribes from a widespread area of the Pacific Northwest during the fishing season for sustenance, trade and social purposes. Petroglyphs and pictographs were used to record life and events,³⁴ some of which are still visible around the Falls today. Social interactions called 'Fun Dances' were used as a way to display hospitality and wealth to visitors to the Falls, while a variety of ceremonial practices were observed.³⁵

As one source described:

*Around Willamette Falls they fished, and fought, and traded and spread out their salmon on low scaffolds to dry [...]. Almost fabulous tales are told of the quantities of salmon in the river here, until the water was red with their quivering fins, and Indians took out fish as we now scoop up smelt at the Sandy (River). On account of this abundance of fish other tribes came here to trade with blankets woven from the hair of little wooly dogs, obsidian knives and arrow-points from eastern Oregon; and captive Indian children from the Rogue River and Shastaland.*³⁶

The reference to captive children is likely an allusion to a form of slavery practiced by some tribes in the Pacific Northwest where members of other tribes were held captive. Slaves were not seen as racially inferior, but were typically held by a tribe different than their tribe of origin to broker peace agreements or in exchange for tribal members lost in battle.

Though little information about this is available, references to slavery are noted in an attack at the Falls in 1814 that was documented as killing many Indians, taking many slaves and causing general panic.⁴²

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CHAPTER 2

Late 18th C.- Early 19th C.

EARLY CONTACT & EXPLORATION

Captain William Clark Hears of the Falls

White Traders Reach the Pacific Northwest

The Onset of Treaties, Disease and Plans to Develop the Falls



Sir Alexander Mackenzie's journey across North America inspired the Lewis and Clark expedition a decade later. National Gallery of Canada, c. 1800.

2

Early Contact & Exploration

In 1792, Captain Robert Gray of the United States became the first white man to navigate and map the lower Columbia River, though he traveled fewer than 20 miles upstream.¹ After he publicized his findings, the maritime fur trade began to flourish along the northern coast of the Pacific Ocean. American traders were particularly successful during the early period of trade as the British, French and Spanish were distracted by domestic affairs.

William Clark Hears of the Falls

In 1793, Alexander MacKenzie of Scotland completed the first overland crossing of North America through what is now Canada. His journey inspired greater exploration of the Pacific Northwest and initiated a greater emphasis on the land-based fur trade. During the same year, French Canadians started arriving in the region as laborers, voyagers, interpreters, artisans and trappers.² The subsequent establishment of trading posts and the success of the regional trading companies relied heavily on the French Canadians' contributions to the fur economy.

In the years that followed, trade continued as a primarily coastal venture and the inland areas south of the Columbia River remained primarily unexplored.

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson requested approval and funding for an expedition to explore the Western part of the continent.³ Meriwether Lewis and William Clark started

their journey across the country that summer and reached the Columbia River on October 16, 1805. Their expedition reached the Pacific Ocean the following month and constructed winter quarters at a site that came to be called Fort Clatsop, near present-day Astoria, Oregon, where they remained for nearly four months.

It was during their return trip on the Columbia that they first learned about Willamette Falls.⁴ The expedition was camped within a few miles of the mouth of the Willamette River when they were approached by members of "Cush-hooks Nation," as Clark wrote in his journal, "who reside at the falls of this river [the Willamette]"



Captain Robert Gray's navigation of the Columbia River helped expand the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon Historical Society.

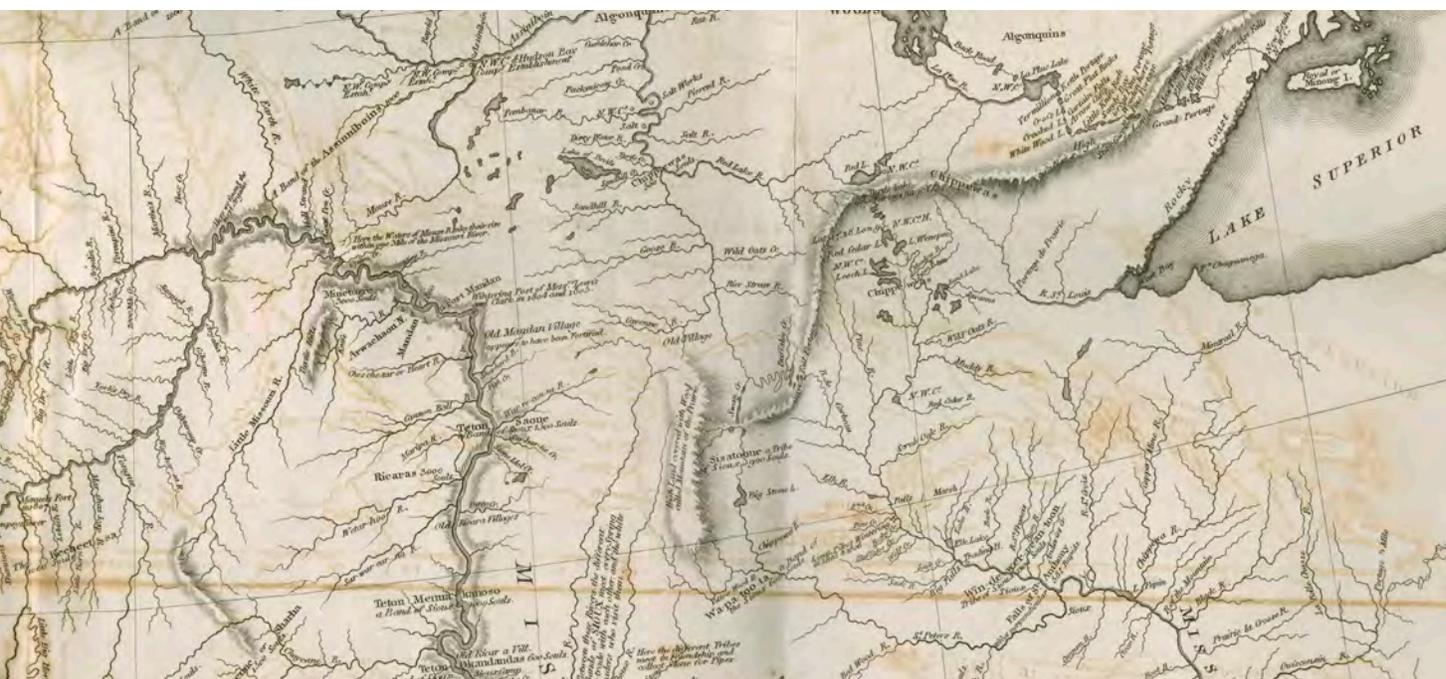
White Traders Reach the Pacific NW

In the first years after Lewis and Clark returned east in 1806, a steady stream of white traders and explorers entered the region by land, over the Columbia River and from the Pacific Ocean. By early 1811, John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company (PFC) was established at Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River.¹⁰ PFC consisted of white officers who recruited and oversaw a multiethnic labor class comprised of French Canadians, Hawaiians and Americans.¹¹ On one journey up the Columbia, PFC traders passed the entrance to the Willamette River. Their guide, Clatsop chief Coalpo, informed them that a

considerable waterfall was located about a day's journey up the river.¹² Soon after, the PFC traders ventured into the Willamette Valley, the first non-American Indian group to do so. During the same year, PFC clerks William Henry and Alfred Seton reached the Falls, likely the first white men to do so.¹³ They established a trading post southwest of the Falls near what would become known as Champoeg, spurring the broader settlement of retired traders on the Willamette River and into the Willamette Valley. Early explorers and then later immigrants often employed Indians to help with transportation along the river in cedar canoes that were roughly 25-30 feet long.



Upper right: John Jacob Astor employed the traders who became the first white men to visit the Falls. Lower right: The crest of the Northwest Company (NWC), which competed in the fur trade with Astor's Pacific Fur Company.



Across both pages: The full map of Lewis and Clark's expedition, copied here from Clark's original, did not include the Falls. Newberry Library Digital Collections for the Classroom, 1814.

The Indians would use fire to start the hollowing out process and then continue carving with stone tools. American Indians would use them to haul people, up to a dozen per canoe, and produce when moving between seasonal camps. Early immigrants to Oregon City remarked that dozens of canoes were positioned along a half-mile portion of the Willamette River bank up river from the Falls.¹⁴ Traders from the British-controlled North West Company (NWC), PFC's competition, also arrived in the Oregon Country during 1811.¹⁵ As political and economic opportunities shifted throughout the entire continent, early traders sometimes shifted between NWC and PFC. For example, when NWC arrived in the region, their former employee Donald McKenzie was already at the fort after being made a partner in PFC during the previous year. His head start on his former employer proved to be advantageous; in March 1812, McKenzie led the first expedition into the Willamette Valley above Willamette Falls.¹⁶ The party left on the last day of the month and returned in mid-May of the same year. According to Seton, "McKenzie was the first person of our party [PFC] who explored & penetrated about 500 miles up [the Willamette River]."¹⁷

Although McKenzie did not record a first-hand account of the expedition, his party was identified as the first to make direct contact with members of a Kalapuyan tribe. Despite the earlier presence and success of PFC, their position was significantly weakened by a variety of socio-political factors, allowing NWC to rapidly dominate trade in the region. PFC and its

trading posts were absorbed by NWC between 1812 and 1814. NWC continued to expand around the Willamette River by maintaining former PFC employees in their former roles. Some, like McKenzie, merely returned to their original employers. When Alexander Henry the Younger stayed at the Falls during a journey to NWC's Willamette trading post in

Alexander the Younger

Alexander the Younger kept a prolific journal during his time in the northwest. Excerpts of his entries from January 22 and 23, 1814, provide the first written account of Willamette Falls:

Saturday, January 22: *It was dark before we saw the village, on the S., near a small but rapid river on our left, called the Clukemus [Clackamas], from a numerous tribe who dwell up it. [...] Shortly after passing this river we came abreast of this village, in hearing of the falls, and saw six lights, which we supposed issued from the same number of doors, the houses apparently running parallel with the river. These Indians, called Clowewallas, are numerous, and tolerably well disposed toward the whites; their chief is a good old man, much respected by his people. [...] We put ashore on a steep, slippery bank of grass, where we could find no wood fit to make a fire, all of it being wet and green.*

Mr. Mathews crossed over with four men to purchase dogs and wood, while we groped in vain for something dry to light a fire. We were in utter darkness, drenched, and hungry, until he brought us some dry fuel, five dogs, a little dried salmon, a parcel of smelts, and a few hazelnuts.¹⁹

Sunday, January 23: *At dawn we were ready to start, but a thick mist from the falls prevented our embarking before seven. I roasted some of the small fish on a stick, and I found them excellent, especially those that had roes; but they were all fat and good, and could be eaten whole, the bones were so very slender. We then went up to the falls, which have a wild, romantic appearance; the water rushes over a perpendicular rock in two channels, divided by a narrow rocky island, which at high water must be covered, and the whole fall be united in one channel. I do not believe the descent exceeds 25 or 30 feet.*

January 1814, he was on his way to the site developed near Champoeg by his cousin William and colleague Alfred Seton in 1811.¹⁸

After portaging the Falls as described in the inset box below, Alexander the Younger's party had the first recorded encounter with a group of Yamhill Kalapuyans between the Falls and

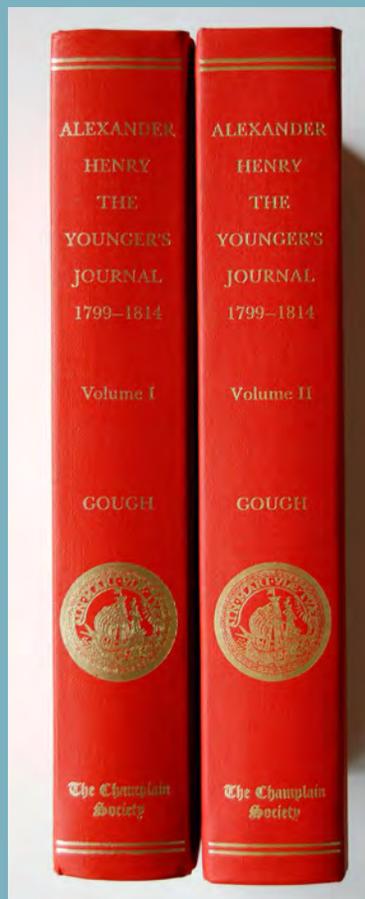
cousin William's nearby trading post on the south shore of the Willamette River.²¹ The group of Kalapuyans was on its way to trade camas, a perennial plant whose root is edible when roasted, with the Clowewalla located at Willamette Falls referenced in the January 22 entry.

Alexander the Younger's views on this group of American Indians were not as complimentary as his views about the Clowewallas. He denigrated the Kalapuyans at the same time he described their practices, as in the following excerpt from January 24.

*"Some of the wretched natives were here to sell commass [camas]; they are not allowed to enter our dwellings, and as no trading house is built here, they are dealt with out of doors. They generally go in small parties of two or three families, and frequently during the rainy season make huts covered with pine branches. Their principal food is roots, although they prefer deer flesh to any good we have. Their method of hunting deer is to wear a deer's head with horns complete, which they occasionally rub with a stick they carry. In imitation of the animal's motions, while they keep their bodies concealed, and thus decoy the game [...]. Some natives came in with commass, for which they demanded beads. They have no idea the value of goods, and seem to care only for the blue beads. They cannot be persuaded of the benefit they would reap for working beaver, which are numerous in this quarter, not only along the river but in all the small lakes and ponds."*²²

*The salmon do not ascend these falls, the rocks being too high and the drop too steep. We unloaded on the right-hand side, and carried 600 paces over a rugged portage, hemmed in by a range of steep rocks, so close to the river as in some places scarcely to leave a passage, especially near the upper end where the men found it difficult to get the canoe through. [...] A little above the portage, on the spot where formerly a village stood, remains of the dead are still seen; this place is bounded by a high range of perpendicular rocks, over which now rushes a considerable fall of water after the late heavy rains.*²⁰

The journals kept by Alexander Henry the Younger provide some of the earliest accounts of the Willamette Valley after the arrival of white traders.



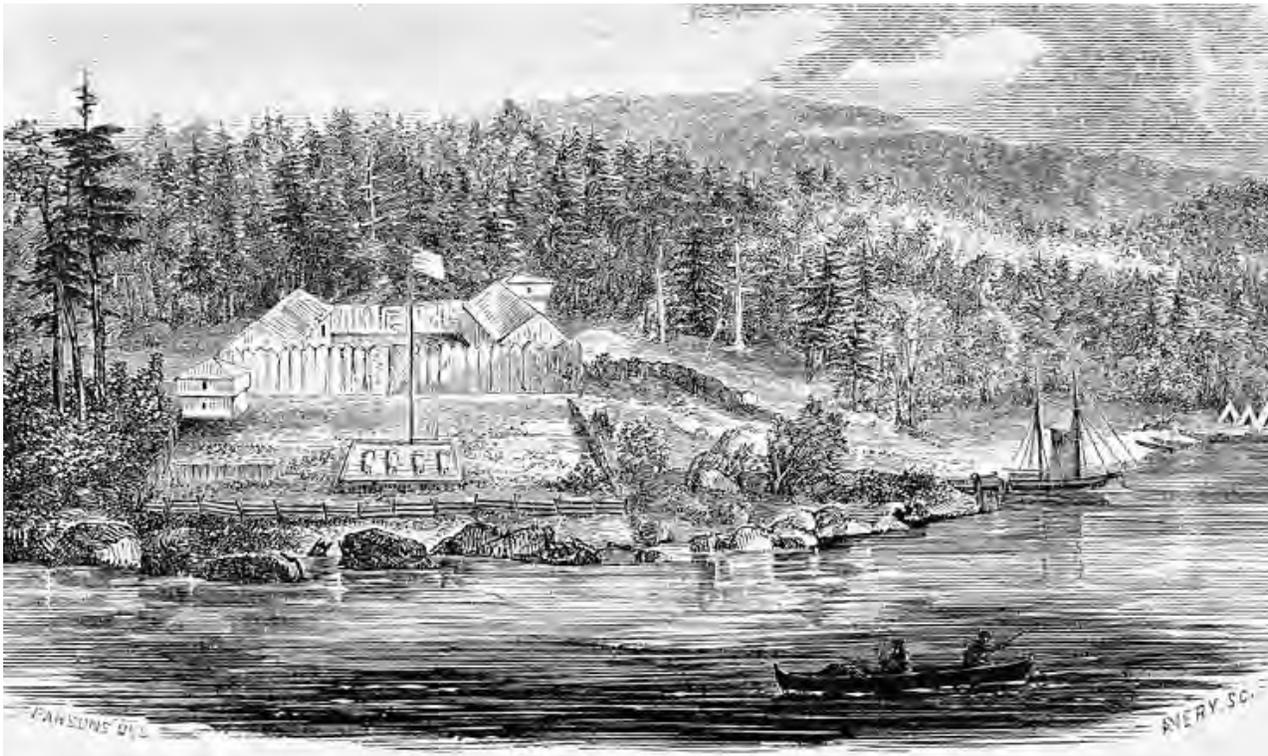
On the return trip to Fort Astoria in late January, the party stopped again at Willamette Falls.²³ While there, they learned the Clowewalla chief had died in their absence. Alexander the Younger took some time to explore the village, which he estimated at 300 feet in length. Inside the houses, he observed a trough containing urine and reported its customary use for urinating during the night and bathing in the morning. During the brief stop, the Clowewalla also informed the group that the Yamhill intended to push the settlers from the Willamette Valley and asked whether they intended to leave. Alexander the Younger told them they would not leave in the face of this threat. Although there is no evidence of

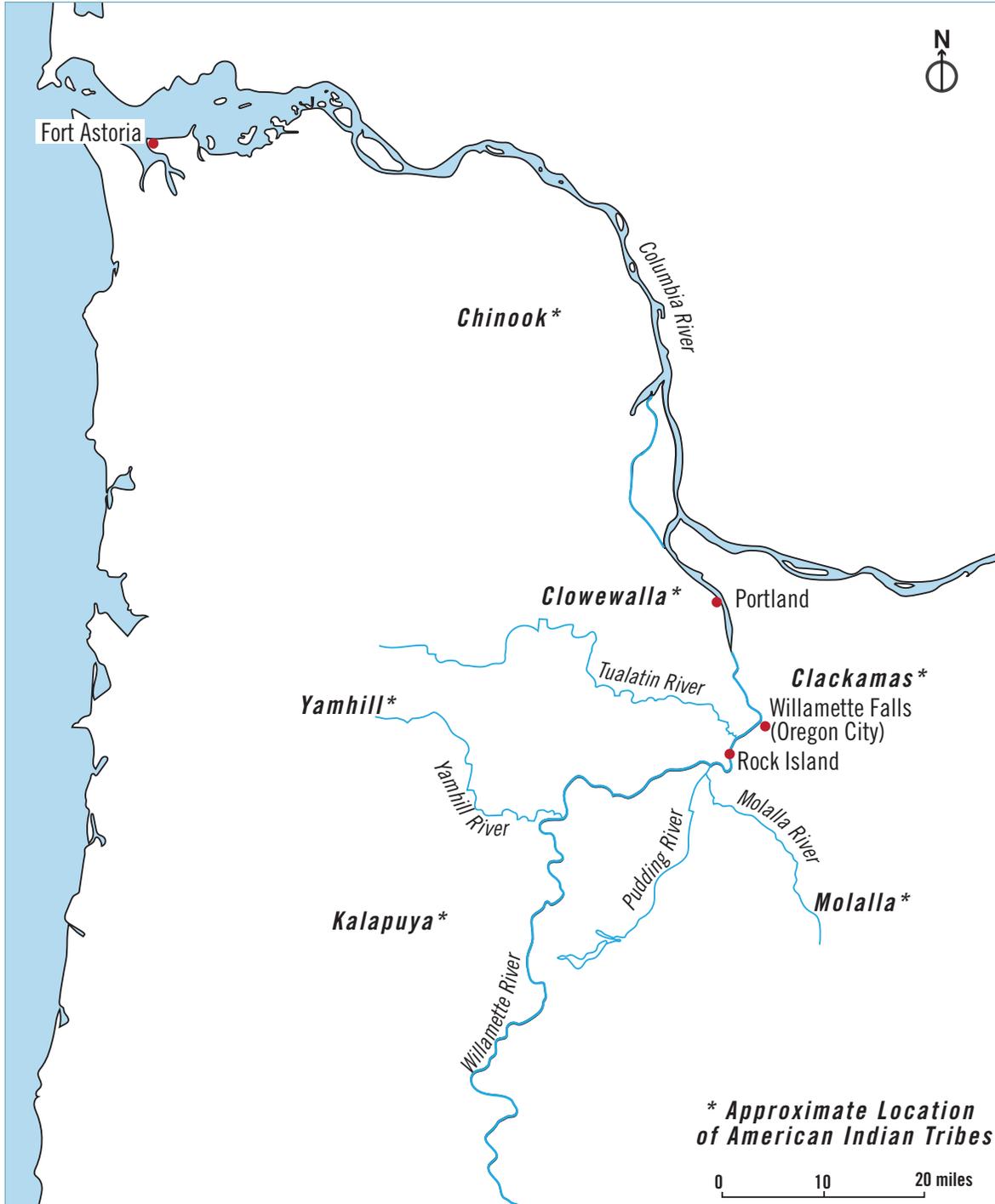
hostilities during this encounter, the conversation illustrated the growing tensions between American Indians, traders and explorers.

Conflict between tribes was also a factor that enhanced overall tensions in the region. During the spring of 1814, a Cayuse-Nez Perce war party raided the Falls.²⁴ A different source describes an attack on the Clowewallas [Clough-we-Wallas] by Molallas or a tribe of traveling Snake or Cayuses.²⁵ Until this point, the Clowewalla were a powerful tribe of several thousand members who lived near the Falls in fishing huts at a site they called the Canoe Place. This was likely where they met Alexander the Younger during the previous year.

According to one source, the attack was conducted while the Clowewalla slept and reportedly resulted in the death of the entire tribe. Because the Clowewalla peoples spanned a wide geographic region that included the entire length of the Willamette River between the Falls and the Columbia River, it is more likely that the village located near the Falls at the confluence of the Willamette and Clackamas rivers was raided rather than the entire tribe. Whereas American Indians from elsewhere in the Northwest previously paid tribute to the tribe for fishing at the Falls, tribute was now unnecessary.

Fort Astoria changed hands several times, but it provided an early hub for trade where the Columbia met the Pacific. Oregon Historical Society, 1813.





When white traders arrived in the early nineteenth century, most regional tribes lived near a major river. Based on a map by Bill Nelson, "Lower Willamette Valley and the Fur Trade, 1812-1820s," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

Onset of Treaties, Disease & Plans to Develop the Falls

After the devastation of the Clowewalla village, changes were initiated with the trappers and traders. Starting around 1815, members of the Clowewalla tribe attempted to block access to the Willamette Valley via the Falls.²⁶ According to NWC clerk Alexander Ross, the Clowewalla aligned with an upriver Kalapuyan village to enforce the blockade.

One modern source indicates that the Clowewalla tribe would have likely

needed the support of Kalapuyan groups above the Falls as well as the Clackamas Chinookans located downriver to enforce this. NWC records indicate a drop in trapping in the Willamette Valley during the period, suggesting the blockade was a success to some extent.

Ross, who previously visited the Falls as a member of Alexander the Younger's party and traveled extensively with McKenzie, was involved with negotiating a treaty of safe passage around the Falls for NWC.

During 1816-1817, a confrontation took place at the Falls between an unnamed tribe and representatives of NWC, resulting in the shooting death of a chief.²⁷ Ross may have been involved in negotiating more than one treaty during this period, but he and his colleague James Keith were primarily responsible for negotiating with the Clowewalla to maintain access to the valley while smoothing relations with the tribes. According to Ross, after a long negotiation "a treaty was made, the dead man was paid for, the peace-pipe was smoked and gifts

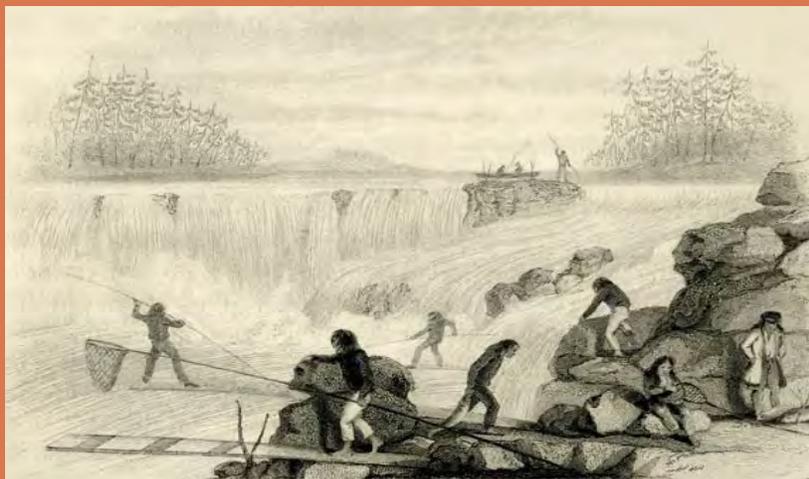
Approach to the Falls

Years later, Alexander Ross recalled the approach to the Falls: *Here the navigation is interrupted by a ledge of rocks running across the river from side to side, in the form of an irregular horse-shoe, over which the whole body of water falls at one leap down a precipice of about forty feet, called the Falls. To this place, and no farther, the salmon ascend, and during the summer months they are caught in great quantities. At this place, therefore, all the Indians throughout the surrounding country assemble, gamble, and gormandize [eat] for months together. From the mouth of the Wallamitte [Willamette] up to the falls it is navigable for boats only, and from the falls to its source for canoes [...].²⁸*

He also identified the local population that lived above the Falls and up the Willamette River: *Taking them in succession as we ascend, may be ranged in the following order: Wa-come-app, Naw-moo-it, Chilly-Chandize, Shook-any, Coupé, She-hees, Long-tongue-buff, La-malle, and Pee-you tribes; but as a great nation*

they are known under the general name of Col-lap-poh-yea-ass [Kalapuya], and are governed by four principal chiefs. The most eminent and powerful goes by the name of Key-ass-no.²⁹

American Indians at the Falls fished using platforms that allowed them to balance over the water, scooping the salmon as they tried to pass. oldoregonphotos.com, c. 1842.



were exchanged granting permission for future journeys unmolested."³⁰ Their oral treaty established that the "Willamette Valley would remain open and that the Euro-Americans would be allowed to move freely to and from Willamette Valley."³¹ Conflicts were to be addressed through NWC partners or appropriate village leaders. In one sense, the tribe held the upper hand due to their superior numbers and geographic position, but as the years progressed these advantages decreased. During the following decade, disease and plague started to decimate the population.³² According to Ross, however, the Clowewalla were vigilant in observing the terms of the agreement in the interim period.

In 1821, NWC was absorbed by its rival, the Hudson's Bay Company

Right: The coat of arms for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), which established Fort Vancouver (below) and quickly dominated local trade. HBC would play a key role in development at the Falls.

(HBC).³³ At the time of the merger, HBC had 76 trading posts and NWC had 97, collectively employing nearly 2,000 people. HBC's land holdings already covered most of what would later become Canada, but the newly organized company now spanned the continent by adding modern-day Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska, the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. On March 19th, 1825, the company's governor Sir George Simpson dedicated

HBC's newest post - Fort Vancouver - on the north bank of the Columbia River just east of the mouth of the Willamette River. The fort subsequently served as the headquarters of a 700,000-square-mile territory spanning from "Russian Alaska to Mexican California and from the Rockies to the Pacific."³⁴ It served as the base for nearly all trappers, explorers and traders who were exploring the Willamette Valley prior to the establishment of a settlement at Oregon City.



HUDSON'S BAY

INCORPORATED 2 MAY 1670



Dr. John McLoughlin served as the fort's first manager and chief factor.³⁵ McLoughlin was born in 1784 near Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec.³⁶ At age 14 he started a medical apprenticeship and by 19 was granted a license to practice medicine. During the same year as his licensure, he signed an agreement with NWC to serve as a physician and apprentice clerk for five years. In the 15-20 years that followed, McLoughlin was stationed primarily in posts along the modern border between Ontario, Canada and Minnesota, US. After the merger between NWC and HBC, McLoughlin's eastward trajectory continued when he was assigned to Fort Astoria, a post he held from 1824-25. After his promotion to chief factor at Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin directed the operations of the entire territory. During the early years under his leadership, HBC expeditions increased and "included both mounted and canoe parties that traveled from Fort Vancouver to Willamette Falls and Champogeg."³⁷

McLoughlin welcomed a wide range of visitors, explorers and settlers to Fort Vancouver during his tenure as chief factor. For example, renowned Scottish botanist David Douglas arrived in the Pacific Northwest during April 1825 and spent several years exploring the region, overwintering at the fort.³⁸



John McLoughlin, considered by some to be the father of Oregon. During his time as chief factor at Fort Vancouver, he directed the trade operations of the entire territory.

David Douglas

Douglas would have mingled with the multi-ethnic population at the fort, comprised of Hawaiians, English, Scots, Irish, French-Canadians, Iroquois, Métis and over 30 different local American Indian tribes.³⁹

During his short time in the region, Douglas traveled extensively and documented more than 200 plants, mosses and seaweeds.⁴⁰ The region's most iconic tree - the Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) was named after him.

When Douglas explored the River Multnomah [Willamette River], as he sometimes called it, he passed Willamette Falls on multiple occasions. As his interest was primarily in plants, he typically referenced the Falls in his journal as more of a geographical marker rather than a site to behold on its own. He noted that:

*The river is large, nearly as large as the Thames; thirty-six miles from the Columbia are very fine falls, about 43 feet high, across the whole river, in an oblique direction; when the river is low they are divided into three principal channels, all of which have a perpendicular pier; when the water is high it rushes over in an unbroken sheet. This season, in July, which is the time it is at its greatest height, it rose 47 feet. From the Columbia to the Falls there is but little or no current; gorged back by the waters of that river. The banks are covered with *Pinus taxifolia* [now known as*

Pseudotsuga menziesii], *P. balsamea* [also known as *Abies balsamea*, Douglas likely observed a different species since *Abies balsamea* is native to eastern North America], *Quercus*, and *Populus*. The soil is by far the richest I have seen.⁴¹

Douglas did acknowledge that the portage over the Willamette Falls was no small undertaking and commented on the fauna in the region:

Above the Falls, as far as I went, at many places the current is rapid. I had considerable difficulty in making the portages at the Falls, having to haul the canoe up with ropes; this laborious undertaking occupied three hours, and one hour on my return. This at one time was looked on as the finest

*place for hunting west of the Rocky Mountains. I killed several of *Cervus leucurus*, or Long White-tailed Deer, as well as some of the Black-tailed Deer. The beaver is now scarce; none alive came under my notice.⁴²*

Plants that Douglas collected on this journey along the Willamette River near the Falls included *Nicotiana pulverulenta* (likely *Primula pulverulenta*), *Oxalis* sp., *Papaveraceae*, *Triglochin maritimum*, *Eryngium* sp., *Lycopus* sp., *Euonymus* sp., *Phlox sabinii* (which he named in honor of Joseph Sabine of the Horticultural Society of London), *Eriogonum* sp., *Malva* sp., *Prunus* sp., *Viburnum* sp., *Alnus* sp., *Didynamia*, *Hypericum*, *S. Alnus* sp. and *Mentha* sp.⁴³



Scottish botanist David Douglas visited the Pacific Northwest during his second North American expedition. During his efforts for the Royal Horticultural Society of London, he documented hundreds of plants, mosses and seaweeds. 1834.

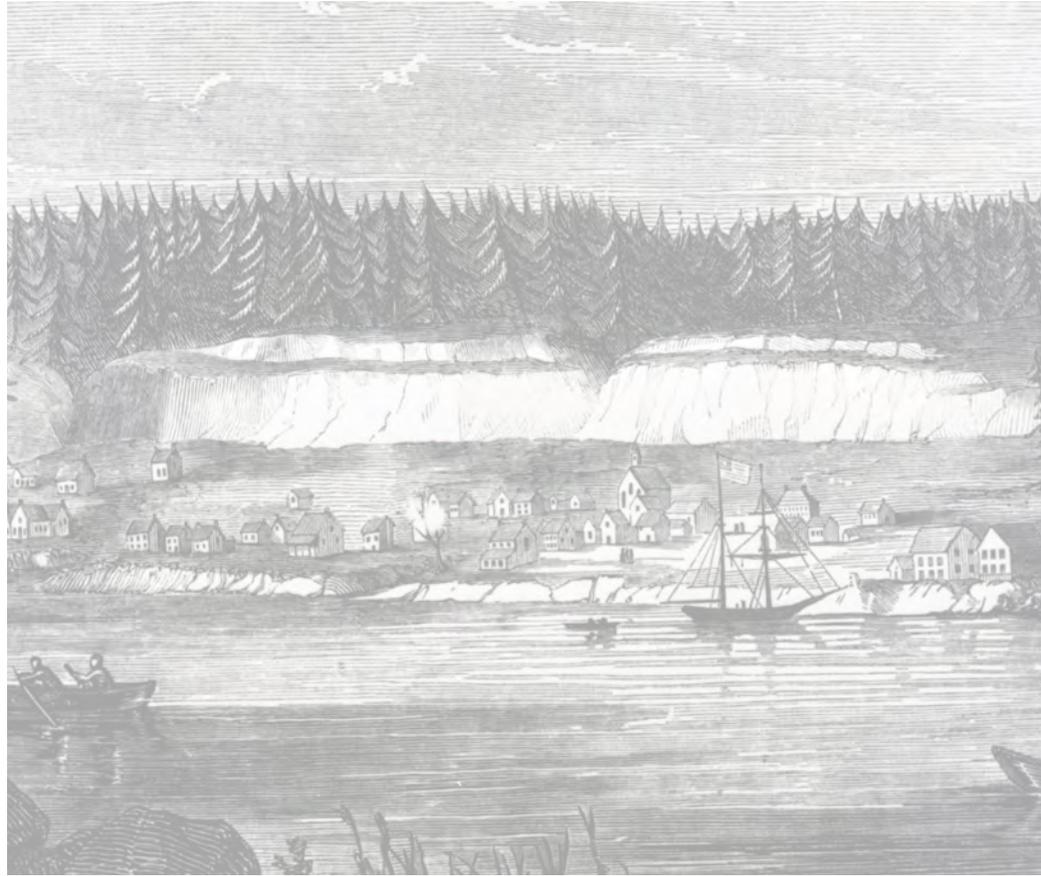
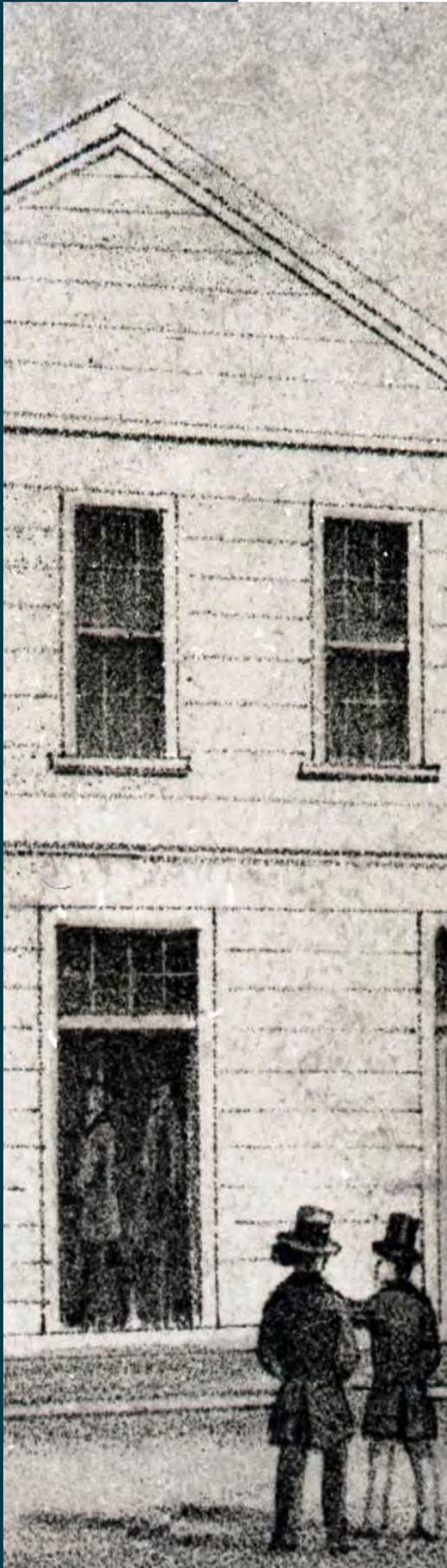
Back at the fort, relations between McLoughlin and American Indians varied during these early years of the former's presence in the Pacific Northwest. Although he ordered punitive actions against various tribes, there are no recorded conflicts between the Kalapuya and HBC personnel, free trappers or trapping parties, through 1833.⁴⁴

One interpretation is that the oral treaty negotiated by Ross and Keith during 1817 was still regulating relations between the groups which promoted peaceful relations. That changed when McLoughlin started developing a permanent settlement near Willamette Falls in 1829. At the same time, plague and epidemic were rampant in the tribes in the region, likely limiting their ability to adequately enforce the treaty and fight what it considered encroachment upon the land. The Clackamas, for example, had an unusually severe mortality rate.⁴⁵ One source indicates that the northern and central Kalapuyan populations were the first to suffer from malaria in the late summer of 1831.⁴⁶ The lack of conflict with the Kalapuya, therefore, may have been due in part to illness and their rapidly declining population. Regardless, the establishment by McLoughlin of a settlement near Willamette Falls would lead to a fast and dramatic transformation of the area.

NOTES

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- 2 Jean Barman, *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.
- 3 National Geographic, "Lewis and Clark Expedition Timeline," <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/lewisandclark/index.html>.
- 4 Charles Carey, *General History of Oregon*, Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort Publishers, 1971.
- 5 Yvonne Hajda, "Social and Political Organization," in Boyd, Ames and Johnson, *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*.
- 6 Fred S. Perrine, "Early Days on the Willamette," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1924): 295-312.
- 7 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 8 Perrine, "Early Days on the Willamette."
- 9 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 10 Perrine, "Early Days on the Willamette; Melinda Marie Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859*, Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2015. During the brief periods of British control, the base was also called Fort George.
- 11 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 12 Chief Coalpo was also recorded as Calloph, Colpo, Calpo, Calpot and Calpok in the journals of traders.
- 13 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History," <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/or/county/clackamas/index.html>.
- 14 Patricia Kohnen, "The Story of the Skookum's Tongue: A Willamette Valley Legend," from the "Reminiscences of Louis Labonte," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 1, 1901.
- 15 Jim Tompkins, *Oregon City*, Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006. Northwest Company was founded in 1775 as a loose partnership of Scottish, French-Canadian and American men. By 1804 it was a well-organized business that offered strong competition to the Hudson's Bay Company. Though based in Montreal, it had a strong presence in the Northwest.
- 16 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*. Sources attributing the first expedition to Robert Stuart in 1811 are incorrect. Stuart led a party across eastern Oregon in 1812.
- 17 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*, 222.
- 18 Perrine, "Early Days on the Willamette." A brief note on the Henry family is warranted. Alexander Henry the Elder had multiple children, including sons named Alexander, John, Robert and William (noted earlier for his exploration with Seton). Alexander the Elder's two brothers, John and Robert, also had multiple children, including boys named Alexander, Robert and Robert. In addition to the overlap in names, at least six of these men were involved in the fur trade. Alexander Henry the Elder was the uncle rather than father of Alexander Henry the Younger.
- 19 Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the Same Company, 1799-1814, Exploration and Adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri and Columbia Rivers*, New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897, 810-811.

- 20 Coues, *New Light on the Early History*, 811-812.
- 21 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*; Coues, *New Light on the Early History*.
- 22 Coues, *New Light on the Early History*.
- 23 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*; Coues, *New Light on the Early History*.
- 24 Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.
- 25 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*, n.d., Copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory.
- 26 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*; Tompkins, *Oregon City*. This reinforces the notion that members of the Clowewella survived the previous year's raid.
- 27 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*; Dye, "WPA Indians."
- 28 Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River: Being A Narrative of the Expedition Fitted Out by John Jacob Astor, to Establish the "Pacific Fur Company." With an Account of Some Indian Tribes on the Coast of the Pacific*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849.
- 29 Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*. In Alexander the Younger's account, the same chief is known as Casino and seven other versions of the name. Other variations identified by Coues (1897) include Cassino, Casino, Kiasno, Keyassno and Kyeassino.
- 30 Dye, "WPA Indians."
- 31 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 32 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 33 "HBC Heritage," retrieved from <http://hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/home>; Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 34 "HBC Heritage."
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- 36 W. Kaye Lamb, "McLoughlin, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, retrieved from http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcloughlin_john_8E.html.
- 37 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 38 "Finding David Douglas." Retrieved from <http://findingdaviddouglas.org/timeline.php>.
- 39 "HBC Heritage."
- 40 David Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America, 1823-1827, Together with a Particular Description of Thirty-Three Species of American Oaks and Eighteen Species of Pinus*, edited by W. Wilks, London: William Wesley & Son for the Royal Horticultural Society, 1914.
- 41 Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas*, 140.
- 42 Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas*, 140-141.
- 43 Douglas, *Journal Kept by David Douglas*, 141-142.
- 44 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 45 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 46 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.



CHAPTER 3

1828 - 1858

IMMIGRATION & INDUSTRY

John McLoughlin Settles at Willamette Falls

Missionaries Lead the Migration for God and Economic Opportunity

At the End of the Oregon Trail: Early Days of a Growing Settlement

From Early Settlement to Capital City

Early Life in Post-capital Oregon City

American Indian-Immigrant Conflict and the Cayuse Trial

The Tribal Perspective: From the Whitman Incident to the Hanging of the Cayuse Five

A Complex and Contradictory Melting Pot



*perhaps near (Columbia River) ...
 Clave 1800 - the ...
 in the Great Smoky ...*

MAP
 of the
UNITED STATES
TERRITORY OF OREGON

West of the Rocky Mountains,
 Exhibiting the various Trading Depots or Forts
 occupied by the British Hudson Bay Company, con-
 nected with the Western and northwestern Fur Trade.

Computed in the Bureau of Topographical
 Engineers from the latest authorities, under
 the direction of Col. J.J. Abert, by
 Wash: Hood,
 1838.

M.H. Stansbury del.

PACIFIC OCEAN

The prolongation of the 49th parallel of latitude from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific has been assumed as the Northern Boundary of the U.S. States possessions on the NW coast, in consequence of the following extract from the Hon. R. Clay's letter to Mr. Gallatin dated June 29th 1826: see Doc 139 20th Cong. 1 285. Ho. of R. You are "then authorized to propose the amendment of the third article of the Convention of 1818, and the extension of the line on the parallel of 49th from the eastern side of the Stony Mountains, where it now terminates to the Pacific Ocean as the permanent boundary between the territories of the two powers in that quarter. This is our ultimatum, and so you may announce it."

The Posts of the British Hudson Bay Company are marked thus: □

*Wash: Hood
 Capt. of Eng. 23
 1838*

By the 1830s, the Falls were notable enough that they were recorded on maps of the Oregon Territory. Library of Congress, 1838.



3

Immigration & Industry

In 1828 or 1829, John McLoughlin claimed a dense forest of fir and underbrush at the Willamette Falls for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) that was previously tribal lands.¹ Starting at the Falls, the section of land extended two miles up the Willamette River, extended a mile east from the riverbank and also included a heavily timbered island at the head of the Falls, known today as Abernethy Island.²

John McLoughlin Settles at Willamette Falls

The company's governor Sir George Simpson originally took possession of Willamette Falls for a colony of the company's retired servants in 1828.³ The stated purpose of McLoughlin's claim, on the other hand, was to establish a trading post at the Falls.⁴ This was coordinated with Simpson, as demonstrated by the content of their correspondence through 1831. Although McLoughlin's early efforts were undertaken with HBC business in mind, his subsequent activities reflected a broader vision for the opportunities presented by potential settlement in the region.

During McLoughlin's first year at the Falls, he hired French-Canadian Etienne Lucier for a variety of building projects.⁵ Lucier and his team built three log houses on the heavily timbered island, the first

construction by immigrants at the site.⁶ They also built a storehouse for the HBC and blasted a millrace for a sawmill. McLoughlin also had a road cut, almost certainly the first iteration of Main Street, from the Falls to Green Point.⁷ Lucier's role in this particular effort is not known. The local American Indian population rejected these infringements on their land and burned down the log houses and storehouse during the same year, leading HBC officials to discourage McLoughlin's plans for further development.⁸ He wrote to Simpson in March of 1830, however, to reaffirm his intention to build a sawmill at the site they selected.⁹

McLoughlin also rebuilt the storehouse at the end of the primary road.¹⁰ There is evidence that the officers of the company were displeased with his continued activities in connection with the land claim.¹¹ However, the combined result of these tensions and sociopolitical

changes was the almost complete irrelevance of the HBC at the Falls within about 15 years.

Although construction of the millrace was probably started in 1829, the sawmill and the flour (grist) mill were completed in or around 1832.¹² These were constructed on the island, then called Mill Island, which at the time was still heavily timbered with cottonwoods and firs.¹³ Though McLoughlin's mills represented the first attempt to harness water power for industrial purposes in Oregon, his primary residence remained at Fort Vancouver. During the earliest years of milling, he visited only periodically and left operation of the sawmill to Kanakas (people from the Kingdom of Hawaii).¹⁴ At some point in the early 1830s he planted potatoes on the east bank of Mill Island, so that by 1834 it was reported by an observer that "nothing existed" at the Falls except a mill, a warehouse and a potato field.¹⁵

Missionaries Lead Migration for God & Economic Opportunity

Even from Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin facilitated the expansion of settlements in the Willamette Valley. During 1838, he built a small block house as temporary shelter for travelers portaging around the Falls.¹⁶ He also actively encouraged settlement. When the Methodist-Episcopal Church sent missionary Jason Lee from New York to Oregon in 1834, he encountered McLoughlin at the Fort and was convinced to go to the Willamette Valley.¹⁷ Lee's travelling party reached the area around the Falls and found piles of human bones in vacant dwellings, indicating the hundreds of American Indians who died from disease during the previous decade.¹⁸

In addition to sensing an opportunity to spread the word of God, Lee recognized the geographic benefits of the Falls; however, he struggled to establish a mission.¹⁹ He called for reinforcements and the Lausanne brought more than 50 missionaries to Fort Vancouver in 1840, including Methodist missionary Alvin Waller and lay steward George Abernethy.²⁰ "Fur trade laborers and American Indians conveyed [the missionaries] in six canoes from Fort Vancouver, across the Columbia River, and up the Willamette River to Willamette Falls.

After portaging the falls and camping one night en route, the missionaries continued on by canoe to Champog..."²¹

Rev. Waller, his wife and two children were appointed to the Falls, where they arrived in the late summer of 1840 and built a home from square timbers supplied by McLoughlin.²² Waller built the house a few rods, roughly equal to 50 feet, from the brink of the Falls, purported to be the first dwelling for a Euroamerican at the site.²³ McLoughlin later described it as "a building divided into two apartments, one end for a dwelling house and the other for a store."²⁴ Over the coming years, Waller and Abernethy were responsible for establishing the Methodist Mission at Willamette Falls.²⁵ Waller in particular visited with the surviving American Indians living on the banks of the Clackamas and Willamette Rivers, trying to gain their confidence and teach them about Christianity while at the same time discouraging traditional customs and rites.²⁶

Other missionaries who arrived in the region included Marcus Whitman and Samuel Parker in 1835.²⁷ Parker visited the Falls in November of that year, where he met Chief Wanaxka at the village on the west side of the river:

"I went with him to his dwelling . . . Besides the family of the chief, there were two other families in the same building, in sections about twenty feet apart, separated from each other by mats hung up for partitions . . . Their dormitories are on the sides of the apartment, raised four feet above the floor, with moveable ladders for ascent . . . They filled my teakettle, after which I spread out my stores so bountifully provided by Doct. McLaughlin [sic], and performed my own cooking."²⁸

Although Parker did not stay in the region for more than a year or two, he left with a favorable impression of the Falls, stating in 1835, "There cannot be a better situation for a factory village than on the east side of the river, a dry, wide-spread level extends some distance, and the shores form natural wharves for shipping."²⁹ His vision foreshadowed the dramatic changes to come in the following decades.



Both the main map and inset map drawn by Charles Wilkes show the location of the Falls. Note that the image above, from the inset map, is oriented with the east to the top. The Falls appear to the right of the river junction. See also the main map on page 41. Washington Secretary of State, 1841.

Other men seeking opportunity and adventure guided or travelled with the men of God; few stayed in the Oregon Territory but many recorded their experiences. In May of 1833, an explorer named McDonald reported to Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, an HBC employee, that his exploration of the 'Willamit River' uncovered a fertile country with extensive plains, abounding in excellent oak, with traces of coal.³⁰ In roughly the same region just south of the Falls, more than 100 French-Canadian trappers retired from trapping and settled into a life of farming.³¹ Many had Iroquois or Métis wives. By the end of the decade, these French-Indian families were farming an average of 42 acres with an average annual wheat production of 551 bushels per family.³²

During the same period, eyewitnesses reported the productivity of the salmon fisheries at the Falls, *“where fishers took advantage of the natural geological constrictions that slowed and directed fish movement and built elaborate wooden platforms and stone channels that increased access to migrating fish.”*³³

Interactions with American Indian Populations

In addition to the natural bounty, visitors reported their interactions with American Indian populations. John Ball visited the Falls in September 1833 and encountered Clowewalla Chinookans who were being impacted by an intermittent fever.³⁶ At the Falls he reported that “an Indian boy of 18 assisted us in carrying our boat. On inquiring of him how his people were, he said they were sick and dying, and when we came back, as he expected we would, he should be dead. Asking the chief of the band below the falls for two men to row us to the fort (Vancouver), for I was feeble

and had with me only my friend Sinclair, he answered that the men were all sick or dead, so he could not supply us. We had to wearily paddle our own canoe.”³⁷ William Slocum visited the Falls in 1837 while in the Oregon Territory on a special assignment to learn about the missions in the Pacific Northwest from President Andrew Jackson.³⁸ He noted that the local American Indians were the ‘Keowewallahs, alias Tummewatas or Willahmetts.’ These and other narratives about the Willamette Falls and Valley eventually reached mainstream populations in the eastern states.

American Indians, who were incredibly skilled at harvesting salmon from the Willamette River near the Falls, a process that required a great deal of labor and expertise, continued to provide fish for their own people and would sell fish to the immigrants as well. That practice continued until 1856 when General Palmer exiled the remaining Indians from Oregon City. At that time the *Oregon Argus* reported, *“since the Indians have been removed, not a salmon is to be had, though our river is literally swarming with them.”*³⁴

In April of 1834, Dr. John Townsend observed large numbers of lamprey in a American Indian lodge near the confluence of the Willamette and Clackamas Rivers, downstream from Willamette Falls.³⁵

The men who stayed and settled at the Falls with Waller and Abernethy, however, helped lay the framework for the rapid development that would soon follow. Dr. Tolmie, noted earlier, travelled down from Fort Vancouver in 1840 to cut a cart road around the Falls on the east bank of the river with a crew of Klikitats and Iroquois.³⁹ Given Tolmie's employment with the HBC, it is likely he undertook this project on the company's behalf.

Additionally, the Klikitats and Iroquois were native to Washington and eastern Canada, respectively, increasing the likelihood that they arrived at the Falls with Tolmie

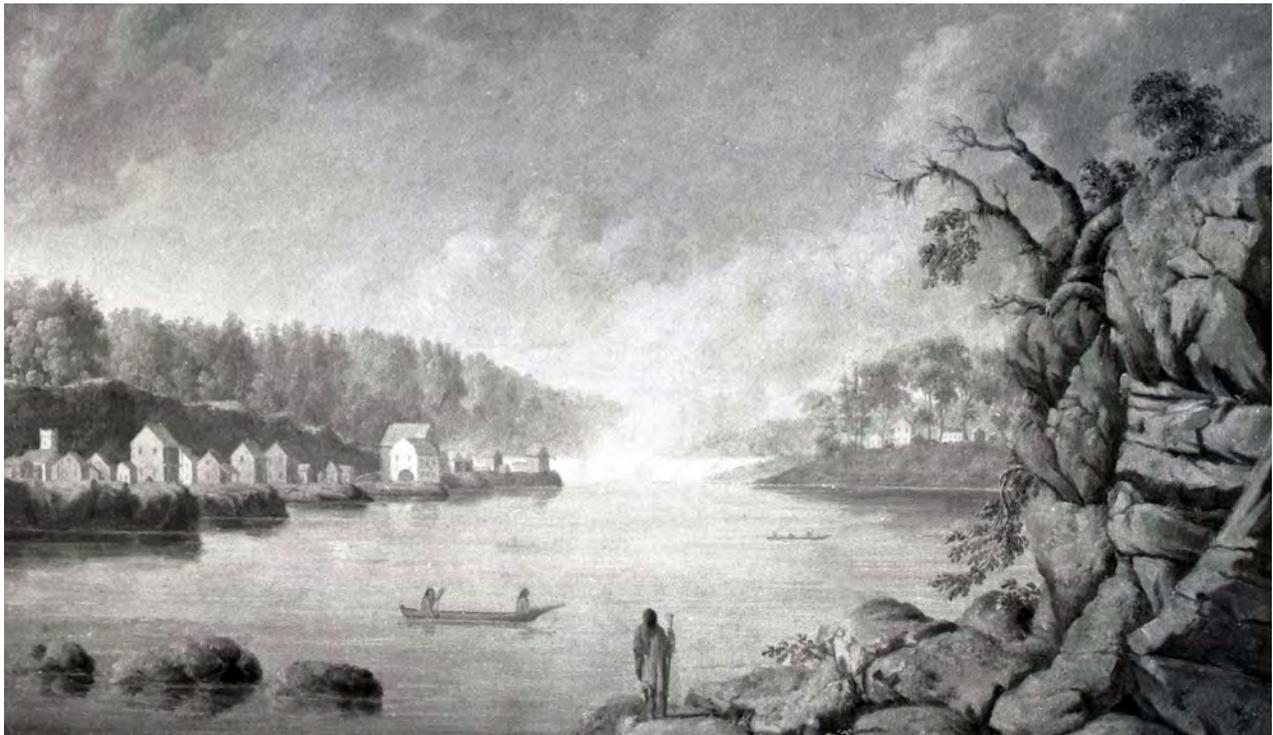
for the project. John H. Couch also arrived in 1840 when he captained the *Maryland* down the Willamette River with a supply of merchandise.⁴⁰ He opened the American Store, the first company established at Willamette Falls.⁴¹

By 1841, fewer than two dozen Euroamericans lived at the Falls.⁴² When Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the US Navy arrived with his famed expedition during the summer, his observations were less focused on these few settlers.⁴³ Instead, he noted that salmon fishing was at its height and he had never seen so many collected at once.⁴⁴

American Indians present at the Falls during fishing season numbered about 70, "*including all ages and sexes; there are others who visit the falls in canoes for fish, which at times will raise the number to not far from one hundred.*"⁴⁵

Members of his expedition also observed the largescale sucker (*Catostomus macrocheilus*).⁴⁶ This was one of few mentions of these fish in nineteenth century accounts, though their remains are abundant at archaeological sites.

American Indians and settlers co-existed peacefully for a time at the Falls. This painting shows a view of the Falls from near the mouth of the Clackamas River. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1847.



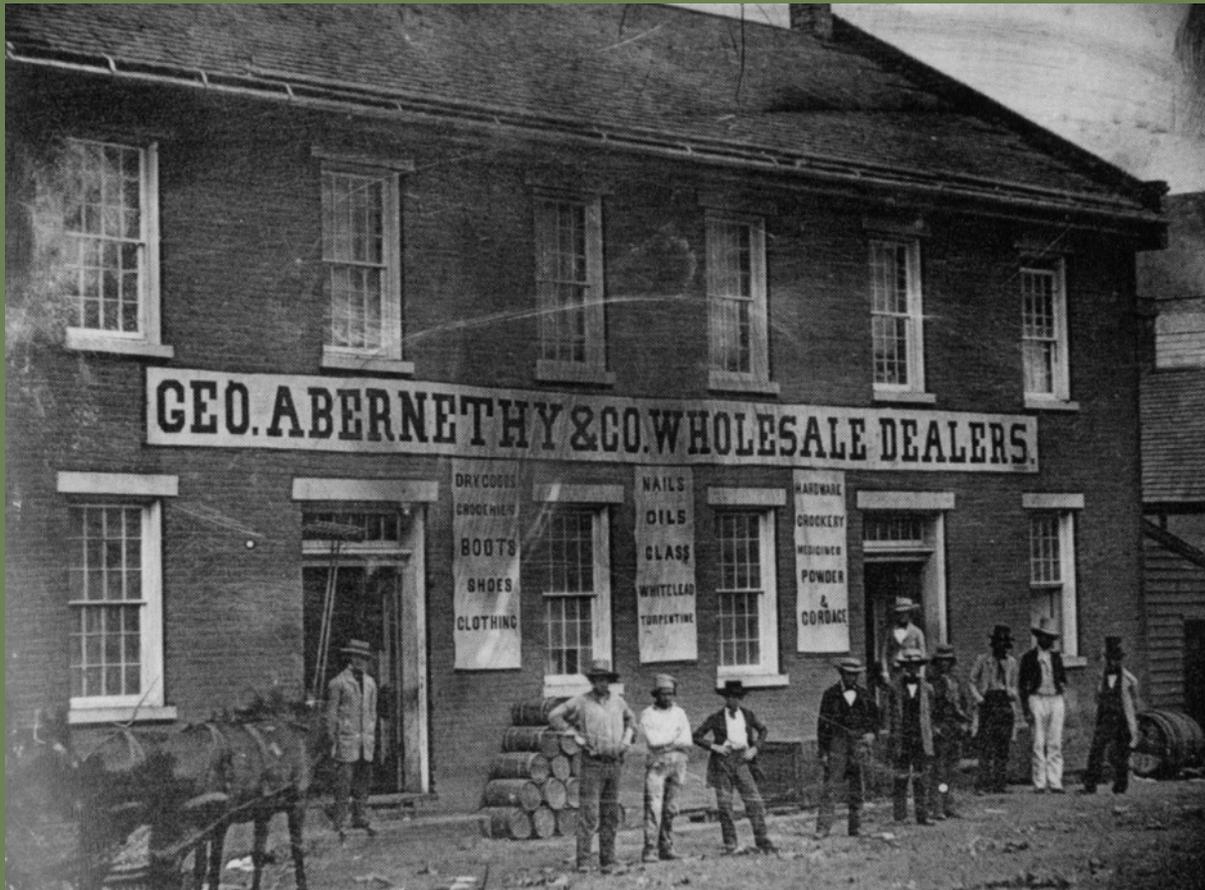
Steady Development at the Falls

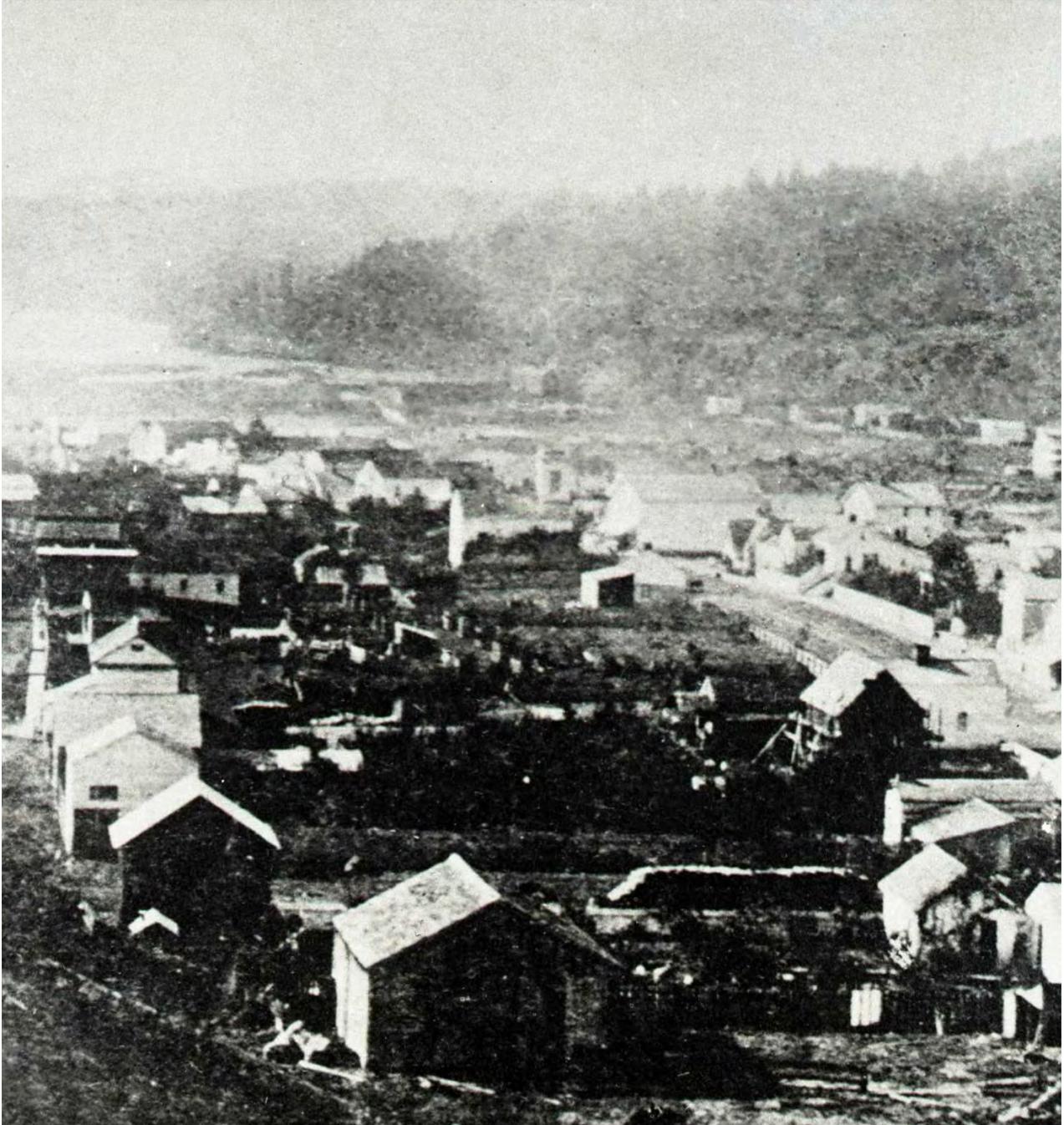
The winter of 1841 was particularly difficult as the river froze over, but the steady development at the Falls continued.⁴⁷ Depending on the source, the Methodist missionaries established either the Oregon Milling Company or the Island Milling Society under the direction of George Abernethy.⁴⁸ A sawmill was constructed by Felix Hathaway on Mill Island using McLoughlin's millrace.⁴⁹

Although construction likely started in 1841, the mill began operations in October of the following year.⁵⁰ Abernethy also took over management of the mission's store.⁵¹ It was supposedly "[...] the first American mercantile store in Oregon, providing supplies, credit and employment to the settlers. He later became an independent merchant building his own store in Oregon City, the town's first brick

structure," which was located on Main Street near the corner of Second Street.⁵² As the settlement grew, word of the opportunities in the Oregon Country spread east and the trickle of immigrants was about to become a flood.

George Abernethy helped the settlement develop spiritually, economically and politically. Prior to the 1861 flood, he provided a variety of goods and services at his store. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1850.





Many of the earliest photos of Oregon City incorporated views of the Falls. Main Street is also visible to the right. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1857.

At the End of the Oregon Trail: Early Days of a Growing Settlement

Marcus Whitman made his second trip a year after his first to the Oregon Country in 1836.⁵³ He and his new wife Narcissa founded a mission among the Cayuse in the Walla Walla Valley, about 200 miles east of Fort Vancouver. Although they did not reach the Willamette Valley, they showed the trip was possible by wheeled travel.⁵⁴ Small groups of immigrants quickly took to the 2,000-mile trek between Missouri and Oregon, with McLoughlin's settlement at the end of the trail as the destination point. "When the first Oregon Trail emigrants [arrived at the Falls] in 1841, they found a British sawmill and flour mill already in operation - each nearing a decade of age."⁵⁵ These were complemented by the mill established by the Methodists.

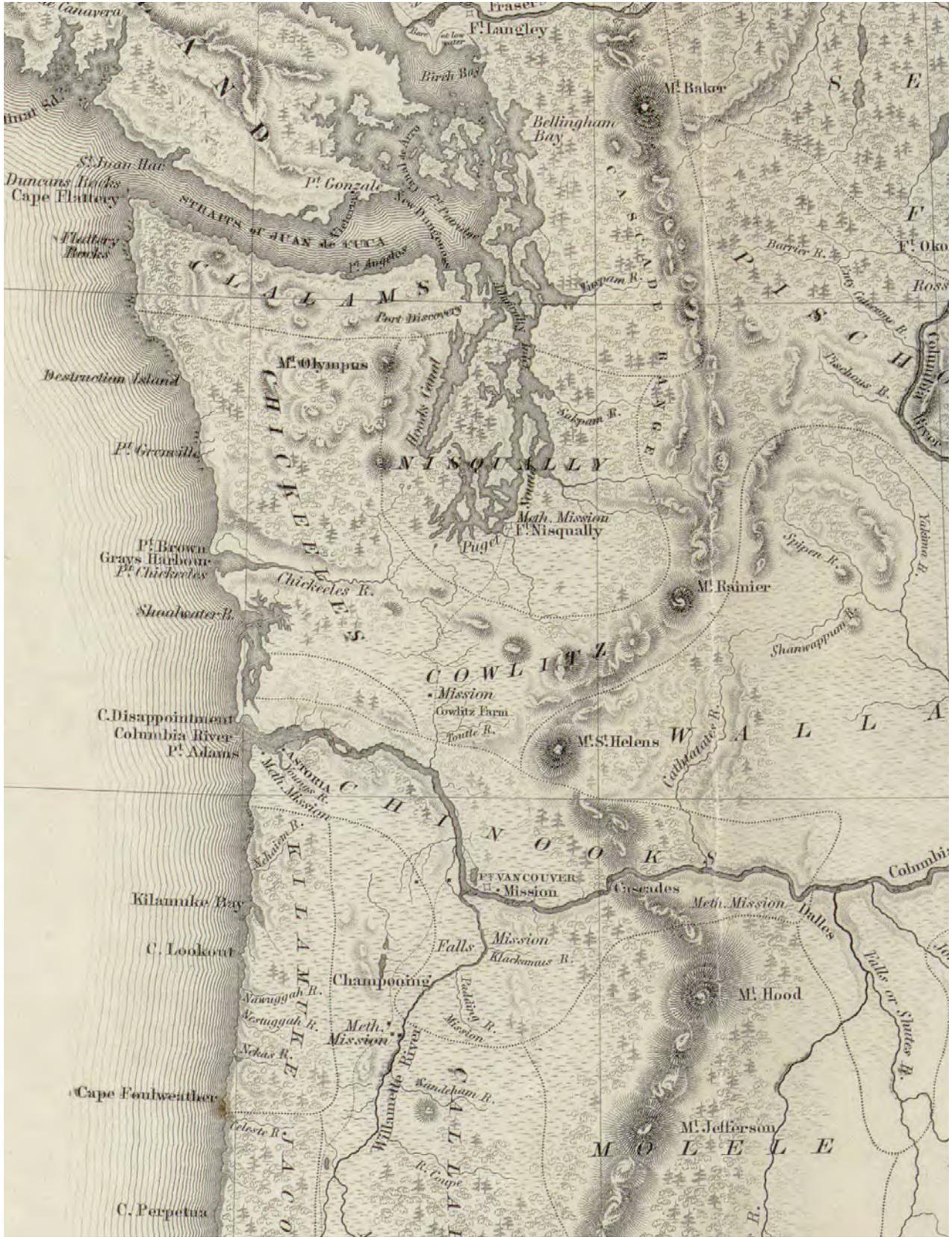
With these new additions, the community grew rapidly. In 1842, McLoughlin built a cabin at the Falls and started to establish permanent residency at the site, which he renamed Oregon City.⁵⁶ The same year, a man named Sidney Walter Moss arrived and opened the Main Street House, the first hotel in the Pacific Northwest.⁵⁷ Moss hosted the earliest meetings of the Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society, also established that year, at his hotel. Visitors recounted that "it was his custom to stride up and down the street ringing a cowbell to call his

customers to dinner."⁵⁸ McLoughlin hired Moss to survey and plat the settlement, which had 14 buildings by the spring and 26 buildings by August 1842.⁵⁹ On the river level, First Street and Second Street were unplatted and designated as an industrial area called the Mill Reserve. During the fall, 137 people arrived as part of an overland emigration.⁶⁰ According to Medorem Crawford, one of the immigrants, the settlers physically reached the Falls in clusters. He noted in his journal, "A few of us accompanied those who were here before us to the Falls of Willamut where we found many people & considerable of business. Saw Dr. White & others who arrived before us, we were handsomely recd and kindly treated."⁶¹ The first public library, called the Multnomah Circulating Library, was also established in 1842.⁶² Its first librarian was William H. Gray and books were likely kept at the City Hotel.

During the winter, the Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club was formed and met regularly in Oregon City.⁶³ A common topic was the governance of the evolving territory. McLoughlin's attorney, Lansford W. Hastings, introduced a resolution "for the settlers on this coast to establish an independent government."⁶⁴ Abernethy countered that it would not be expedient to form an independent government if the United States government was likely to extend its jurisdiction over Oregon in the coming years.⁶⁵

Overall, these debates were generally dominated by the Methodists and would continue into the following year.⁶⁶ These tensions were amplified by Waller's attempt to overtake McLoughlin's land claim late in the year.⁶⁷ Medorem Crawford, a future leader in Oregon's Provisional Government who eventually bought two lots from McLoughlin, arrived in October and observed that the Methodists' sawmill on the island was nearing completion.⁶⁸ McLoughlin's control over the settlement was starting to slip.

Some arrivals during these early years used Oregon City as a launching point for further journeys including many who left for California, where some went on to achieve prominence or found cities. Ironically, McLoughlin's attorney Hastings was part of the migration to California and actively encouraged settlement there instead.⁶⁹ Over the next several years, immigrants continued to reach Oregon City and helped fight the sense of loneliness and isolation felt by residents.⁷⁰ What the residents likely did not know was that a wagon train of nearly 1,000 people was preparing for departure in Independence, Missouri in May of 1843, though they would not reach Oregon City until that fall.⁷¹ The Great Migration was beginning.



The maps drawn by Wilkes also incorporated the locations of American Indian tribes throughout the region. Washington Secretary of State, 1841.

The year 1843 brought significant changes to Oregon City. The year started with a tragedy when in March, a canoe accident at the Falls took the lives of six people.⁷² A gentleman named Mr. Athey arrived and helped construct the Methodists' flour mill on 'the Island.'⁷³ He later recounted, "I am a cabinet maker by trade and tried to make a living at my business. That was the first cabinet shop in the state of Oregon, or in the territory in the Pacific Coast. At the first start I made breakfast tables, bed steads with (illegible) turned posts, and all articles of common furniture. I had a turning lathe. What was probably the first turning lathe on the coast. I made it myself too."⁷⁴ When carpentry was no longer financially viable, Athey turned to steamboat building. The Foster and Pettygrove families arrived in April of the same year and purchased a lot from McLoughlin.⁷⁵ They constructed a store at the foot of Third Street at what was then Water Street, opposite the ferry. The families lived upstairs. It is possible that each family owned their own store or that their joint venture eventually split into two. Records indicate that Francis Pettygrove opened a store called the Red Store, while Phillip Foster opened the Foster General Store.⁷⁶

Education

With the population growing, providing education became a priority. Two blocks from Pettygrove and Foster, on Water Street between Fourth and Fifth Street, Peter Hatch established a school in his home exclusively for Hawaiians.⁷⁷ He was previously a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands and sought to serve the relatively large population who lived in and around Oregon City while working on river boats.⁷⁸

Sidney Moss also furnished a private room in his hotel (Main Street House) for educational purposes, though not for Hawaiians.

He provided a free education for the children of the widowed Mrs. Richardson, while providing her with employment in his hotel. The two would eventually marry.⁷⁹

The political debates started the previous year at the Main Street House eventually found their way to the meetinghouse of the Methodist Church. The discussions were inspired in part by Ewing Young, the most prosperous American settler in Oregon who died in 1841 without a will or any heirs.⁸⁰ Settlers were faced with the necessity of disposing of his valuable livestock. George Abernethy remained a prominent voice during these discussions. In May of 1843, a committee of 12 met at the granary to discuss a plan of civil government.⁸¹

Despite Abernethy's previous views against it, an independent government was formed and Oregon City was established as the new capital, a position it held until 1852.⁸² The church hosted meetings of the early provisional legislature and Abernethy was later elected as the first governor.⁸³ After the provisional government was established, Mill Island "was renamed Governor's Island, then subsequently Abernethy Island."⁸⁴

Religious Origin

Oregon City's religious base matured as well. Reverend Modeste Demers conducted the first Roman Catholic services in a house owned by a gentleman named Mr. Pomeroy.⁸⁵ This site was used for conducting mass for the following year. At the end of the year, Pope Gregory erected Oregon into an apostolic vicariate, then divided it into an ecclesiastical province with three sees, with one at Oregon City.⁸⁶ Monsignor Blanchet was named the Vicar-General of Oregon and its first archbishop.⁸⁷ The Methodists were also busy. During the spring, Waller constructed their first church at the corner of Third Street and Main Street.⁸⁸

The building included a granary, a school and a meetinghouse. It was a roughly constructed, unpainted, 16' x 30' two-story structure with storage and sleeping quarters on the upper floor.⁸⁹ It was a "box house" construction with its boards upright, a style commonly used by later pioneers. The lower story was split between the granary and the space used for school, meeting and church.

The Methodists' first church at the Falls, built during 1832, served spiritual, social and political functions. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1842.



Beginning on October 11, another wave of immigrants entered Oregon City.⁹⁰ On October 27, James Nesmith arrived and noted the Falls in his diary.⁹¹ He went on to serve as a lawyer, judge, state legislator and senator. Another recent immigrant recorded that he "Came from the Cascades to (illegible, but likely Oregon) City in boat sent and promised by Dr. Mc Laughlin. Lived on the island the first (illegible) and worked on the Mission Mill..."⁹² On November 13, the first major migration from the Oregon Trail entered Oregon City, with some taking skiffs from Fort Vancouver.⁹³ The immigrants found a village of about 100 residents with lots laid out by Dr. McLoughlin. One migrant recalled the relief he felt upon re-entering 'civilization' after nearly six months in the wilderness: *"to see houses, farms, mills, storehouses, shops; to hear the busy hum of industry; the noise of the workman's hammer, the sound of the woodman's axe; the crush of the falling pines; and to enjoy the warm welcome of countrymen and friends [...] We had been here but a short time, before the last of the emigrants arrived. [...] Those who intended to cultivate the soil, laid claims, built cabins, and prepared for the coming of the winter. Mechanics found employment at the Falls..."*⁹⁴

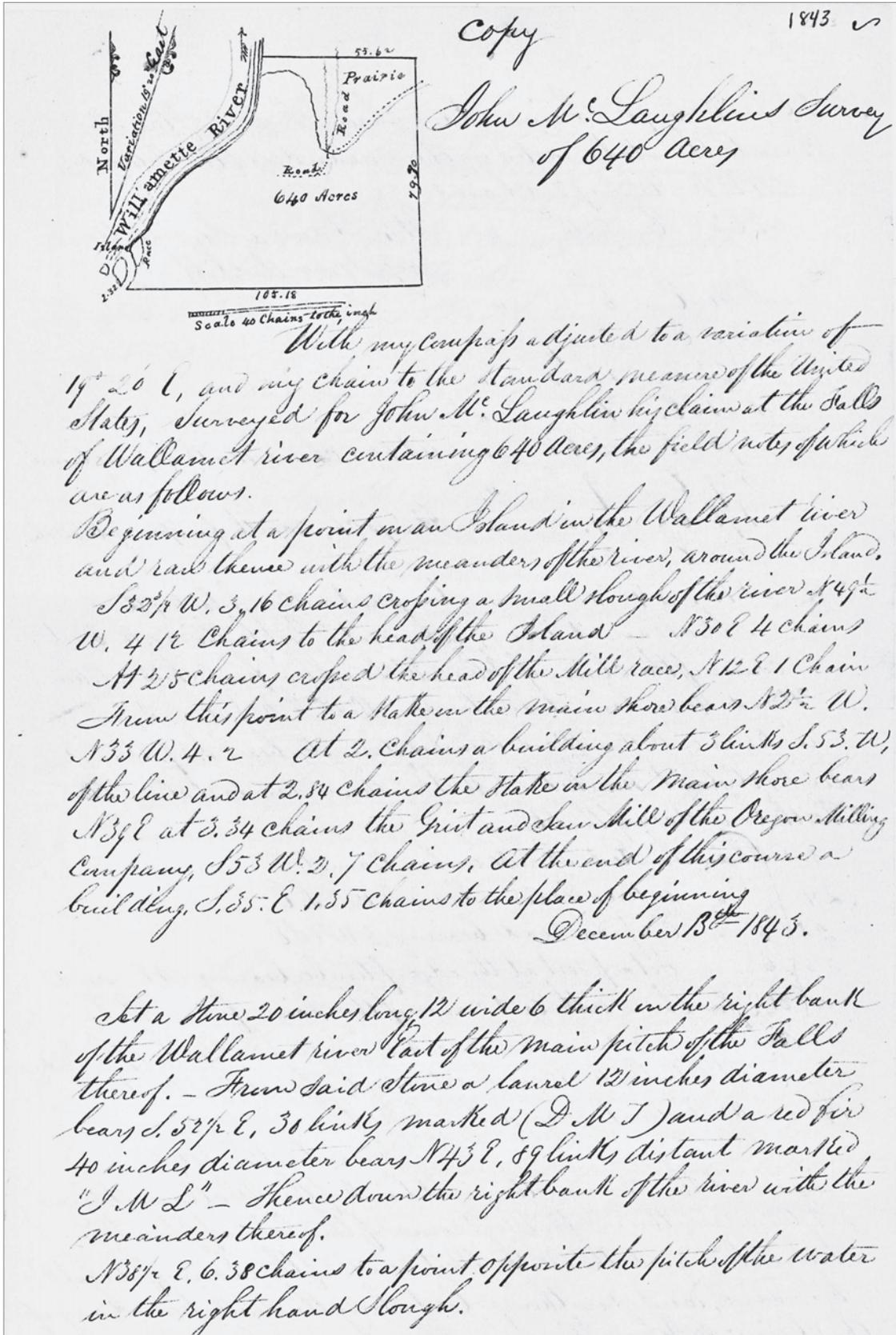
Likely due to the combination of the ongoing land dispute with Waller and the growing population, McLoughlin hired J.M. Hudspeth to survey a total of 640 acres in mid-December 1843.⁹⁵ The survey explicitly noted the presence of the island, several buildings, the millrace, a sawmill and the two mills of the Oregon Milling Company. The town was re-platted, likely the following year, but with a compass and rope instead of a compass and chain.⁹⁶ As a result of the rope changing in length based on moisture conditions, the town was platted with irregular lots. McLoughlin laid out a townsite of one square mile and 'sold' the 66' x 100' lots for \$100.00 each, but as of April 1844 had not been paid for any of them.⁹⁷ Repayment on this investment had the potential to be very lucrative. Francis Ermatinger, married to McLoughlin's granddaughter, wrote to a friend on April 4, 1844 that Willamette Town, as some still called it, had "upwards of 60 houses, there are five stores and very soon there will be three saw, and two grist mills under way."⁹⁸ Still lacking, in his mind, was a market for the lumber and farm produce.

Ermatinger also noted the frequency of claim-jumping in the settlement and subsequent related altercations. Reverend George Gary, who arrived in June 1844 to take over leadership of the Methodist mission, claimed that it was the mission's claims being jumped.⁹⁹ He attributed this to 'a controversy' with McLoughlin

in which the community took sides between the man and the Methodists. In Gary's opinion, the immigrants of 1843 arrived in Oregon City with "a strong prejudice against the Mission as a powerful monopoly, especially in view of the number and location of sections of land to which it had already laid claim."¹⁰⁰ The immigrants, he opined, sought out Oregon City to explicitly break down the mission and were somehow facilitated in this effort by the cordiality of the HBC's prominent members. It is worth noting that he expressed these opinions prior to setting foot in Oregon City and that his own missionaries expressed serious fears that their efforts in the region were "more secular than it ought to be to benefit essentially the benighted and destitute of these ends of the earth."¹⁰¹

Gary took these concerns to heart, at least in part due to the growing cost and associated debt involved in maintaining the mission and its ventures in the Willamette Valley. Over the course of the summer of 1844, he sold most of the mission's economic interests and many missionaries left the region. On June 27, a Mr. Force bought the mills and immediately sold them to L.H. Judson and William H. Willson. The latter were lay members of the mission.

On July 31, Gary sold all the remaining merchandise and goods at the Falls to Abernethy at a greatly discounted rate. Abernethy would use these goods to start his private business venture. To pay off the debts to the HBC and quell the controversy with McLoughlin, Gary sold him 12 improved house lots for \$6,000, with part of the mission's remaining debt payable in wheat.



McLoughlin had the area around the Falls surveyed, but claim jumping was still common during the early settlement period. 1843.

In 1844, Sidney Moss may have built a livery stable adjoining his hotel, and played a role in building the jail between Water Street and the river and between Fourth and Fifth Street, which was the first public building in Oregon.¹⁰² Documentation also notes that a jail was built in 1845 using funds from the Ewing Young Estate, but against the petition and protest of 38 citizens who objected to this use of the money.¹⁰³ It is unclear if this is the same jail that Sidney Moss may have had a hand in creating. On August 18, 1846, an arsonist burned it to the ground.

Despite the end of the Methodists' economic activity in the name of ministry, their religious presence remained strong. The basic box house constructed the previous year was updated and completed by subscription in 1844.¹¹⁰ It was the first Protestant church dedicated west of the Rocky Mountains. Waller, unfortunately, was forced by Gary to leave before its completion due to the controversy with McLoughlin. Upon leaving, Waller wrote, "It is 4 years this month since I first went to these Falls to prepare a residence for my family. Have had many trials and blessings during my residence at this place. All this was wild. But now quite a village stands on that wild spot.

Cooke's livery stable, shown here in the 1850s, might have been affiliated with the hotel owned by Sidney Moss.

Oregon City's Early Development

It is worth noting that McLoughlin's original flour mill, constructed around 1832 and referenced in multiple sources, was no longer mentioned at this point. There is no record of its demolition so its fate is unknown. However, in June of 1844, Peter Hatch wrote that he "blasted for Dr. McLoughlin a place to put a flour mill for \$180, also a canal for his sawmill for \$320, and [he ran] about \$150 worth of blacksmith work."¹⁰⁴ The flour mill began operating the same year under the name Oregon City Mills.¹⁰⁵ Writing in 1845, though, Lansford Hastings claimed that two flouring mills were present by 1843.¹⁰⁶ Whatever year McLoughlin's mills were actually constructed, four

total mills were operational by 1845. McLoughlin's second storehouse, rebuilt in the 1830s after its destruction by American Indians, was reconfigured and opened as an HBC store in 1844.¹⁰⁷

Other developments during 1844 helped to shape the town, the most important being that the settlement was officially incorporated as Oregon City, being the first incorporated city west of the Rocky Mountains.¹⁰⁸ It "was platted, had streets, two churches, the Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club, mills, a ferry, and the beginnings of a fine apple orchard in the yard of the Methodist parsonage."¹⁰⁹



A Chapel is now going up for worship of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But now I must bid adieu... It is a grief above all to part with the poor natives to whom I have tried to preach Christ, to leave them destitute. If anyone to instruct them in the way to life. I had hoped to remain long with them and would now cheerfully do so.... May converts be constantly multiplied in thine infant church in Oregon."¹¹¹ Waller and his family left Oregon City for the Hawaiian Island on July 25, 1844, but they only made it to the American Indian village of Clatsop.¹¹² John Couch's brig, the *Chenamus*, left them behind after heavy winds and rough seas kept them from getting to the vessel. They ultimately settled in Salem, where Waller helped establish Willamette University.

While the Methodists contemplated their future, the Roman Catholics expanded their presence. Gary noted in his journal during August 1844 that five priests, multiple nurses and several laymen were reportedly moving into the region. Reverend Demers was transferred to Oregon City full time during this period due to the settlement's growing importance.¹¹³ The Catholic nuns of Notre Dame de Namur established "female academies in St. Paul and later in the burgeoning town of Oregon City" during the same year.¹¹⁴

The sisters "shared an apostolic faith focused on religious education and social welfare, and like [the archbishop] Monsignor Blanchet they were committed to a Eurocentric civilizing mission in Oregon."¹¹⁵ In 1845, the first Catholic cathedral in the Pacific Northwest was erected on the opposite edge of town from the Falls.¹¹⁶

Politically, the fledgling legislature also remained active. In June 1844, it met at the house of Felix Hathaway.¹¹⁷ Two laws were passed; the first was "to prohibit negroes forever from settling in Oregon," while the second was "a prohibitory liquor law, forbidding the introduction, sale or distillation of ardent spirits in Oregon."¹¹⁸ In December, the legislature met at the house of Dr. John E. Long and discussed a variety of issues. Robert Moore and Hugh Burns were granted rights to keep ferries on the Willamette River, including a crossing just below the Falls. McLoughlin was permitted to construct a canal around the Falls, which eventually was modified into a basin. His oldest son Joseph was among the residents who signed a petition to request a levy of \$10 from each citizen to construct the canal.¹¹⁹ The structure of the government was also amended in December 1844.¹²⁰

The previous plan was considered defective, so the legislative committee passed several amendments that switched the structure from an executive committee of three to one governor, and from a legislative committee elected by people en masse to a legislature representing legislative districts. These amendments went into effect on June 3, 1845. A circuit court was created with probate and criminal powers on June 27, 1844 with Dr. Ira L. Babcock appointed Supreme Judge.¹²¹

First major floods

The end of 1844 also brought the first major floods which affected the new settlers. On November 23, Gary wrote in his diary that the sun was absent for a week and that the rains did not abate for more than 48 hours over the course of five weeks.¹²² He went on, "Am satisfied that the winter will not pass as pleasantly as it would provided I could exercise more, especially on horseback. Without it rains day and night and

hence I spend in my chamber day after day, night after night; plenty of good books & c. Yet I hope this retirement will be of some use. But after all the mind somehow is prone to be like the weather, dark and gloomy."¹²³ By November 28, the Willamette River rose 35 feet and washed away a house, a store and sixty barrels of salmon, in addition wreaking other considerable damage. For Gary, it reduced his high esteem of the country but

increased his satisfaction for the land transaction with McLoughlin. The rains continued, along with an intermittenly rising river, until January 28, 1845, when the "sun shone nearly all day, the fairest day [...] for more than three months."¹²⁴ This was followed by his coldest day in Oregon and the return of the rain.

Though mitigated by floods, development was rapid at the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1870s.



In 1845, McLoughlin retired from the HBC and formally moved to Oregon City with his wife.¹²⁵ His relationship with Governor Simpson had deteriorated, especially after his private land claim at the Falls was used as evidence to make a case that he violated his duty and obligation to HBC.¹²⁶ McLoughlin offered to turn the property over to HBC in exchange for reimbursement of his expenses, which included surveying, platting, erecting buildings and improvements. The company did not accept. His reception in Oregon City was not always better. One source declared that “those who had lived there first could not forget,

and never did forget, that they had been bona fide settlers several years before his arrival.”¹²⁷

Despite his retirement and uneven treatment, McLoughlin stayed busy. A bridge was built to his island sawmill and construction of the flour mill continued.¹²⁸ As the immigrants poured in and the settlement grew, his vision for the site moved closer to reality.

The improvements and developments in the mid-1840s were rapid and dramatic. By August of 1845, the Methodist church was expanded to 40' x 26' and painted.¹²⁹ Later the same month, the legislature appropriated \$5,000 to incorporate the Multnomah Circulating Library,

the second corporation formed under the provisional government.¹³⁰ It was highly regarded. Peter Hatch, noted previously for his work educating Hawaiians and blasting millraces, organized a Baptist church at his house for the first time in 1845.¹³¹ This was likely late in the year in conjunction with Reverend Hezekiah Johnson's December arrival in Oregon City.¹³² The broader impact of all these changes was not lost on Lieutenant Wilkes. He returned after a four-year absence to find that large numbers of lamprey were ascending the Falls, but unlike his previous visit, no American Indians were fishing for them.¹³³

Churches and commercial buildings were prominent structures in early Oregon City. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1845.



Evolution of the Provisional Government

One of the biggest changes was the evolution of the provisional government. As the capital, Oregon City was the center of the action. George W. LeBreton was the first secretary of Oregon's provisional government, but he served only a short time after he was killed by American Indians in a dispute in Oregon City in March 1844.¹³⁴ The first speaker of the legislature, in office by April of 1845, was Morton Mathew McCarver.¹³⁵

W. G. T' Vault was appointed Postmaster-General.¹³⁶ The first elections were held on June 3, 1845. The candidates for governor were Abernethy, Asa Lovejoy, Osborne Russell and Dr. William Bailey, with Abernethy carrying the day. Jesse Applegate, who arrived in 1843, was selected as the leader of the newly elected Legislative Committee, which met for the first time on June 24 of that year.¹³⁷ A committee of five was convened

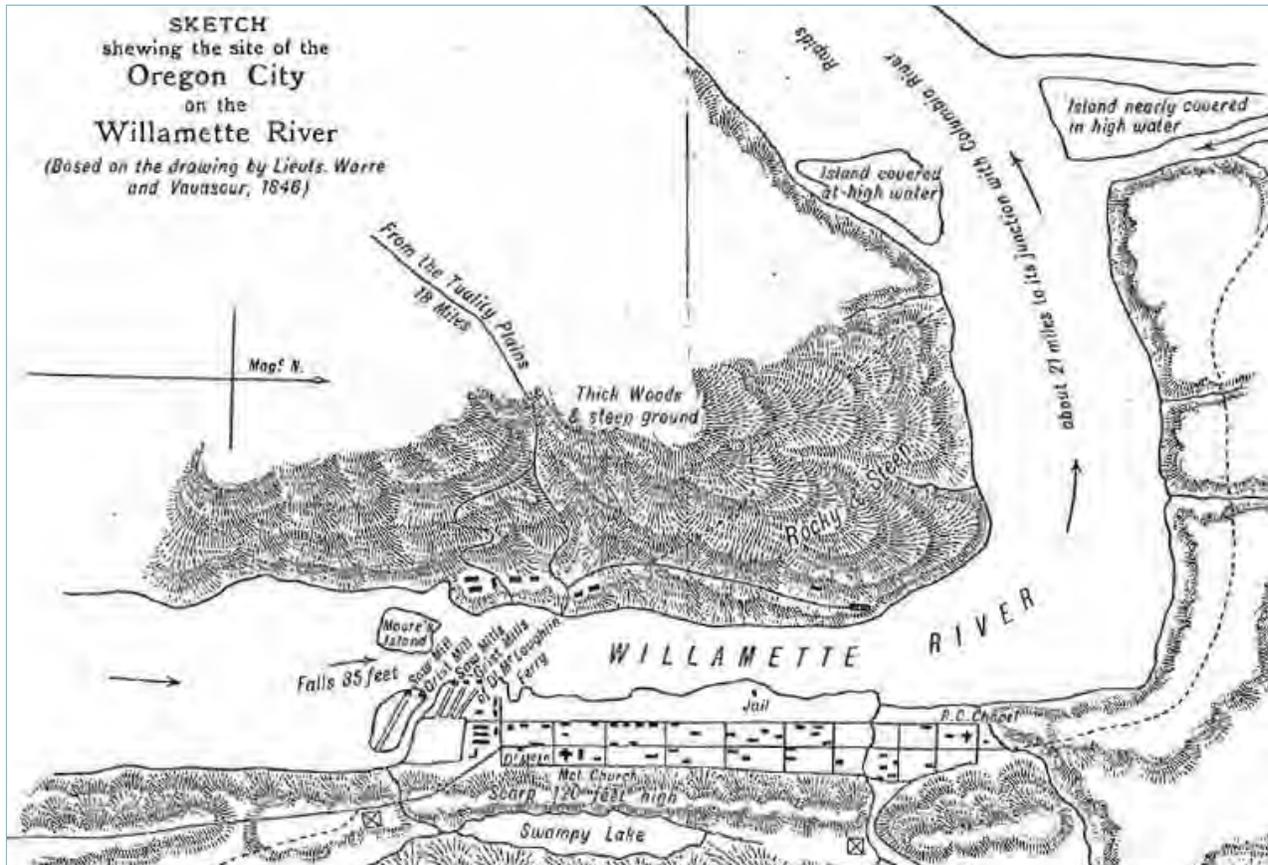
from this group to draft a memorial to the US Congress, requesting a territorial government in Oregon. The full Legislative Committee also drafted the Organic Law of the Provisional Government of Oregon, which was adopted by a vote of the people on July 26, 1845. It served as something of a provisional constitution and supplanted the political power of both the HBC and the Methodists.

The British government, which was heavily invested in the region, was not enthusiastic about these developments. Governor Simpson, who originally took possession of the Falls for HBC, was especially aggrieved with the influx of Americans in the Pacific Northwest, and sent Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour to the Willamette Valley in August of 1845, where they posed as private individuals while spying and documenting their time in reports and sketches.¹³⁸ They submitted their first report on October 26, 1845, with a section devoted to Oregon City.

Although the accuracy of their historical narrative of the settlement is questionable, they provided a snapshot of the city as it existed while they were there: *there are about 300 inhabitants at the village on the Falls. One Roman Catholic and one Methodist chapel, about 100 dwelling houses, stores, etc. An excellent grist mills (the whole of the machinery, etc., having been exported from England by Dr. McLoughlin) and several sawmills. The buildings are of wood and the town is situated on a ledge of rocks about 30 ft. above the average level of the river. Behind the town a perpendicular scarp rises for about 40 ft., sloping gradually away to the rear. This is one of the most important points in the settlement, commanding the navigation of the river, and offering every advantage, as regards position for defense [...]*¹³⁹

The comment about defense was a reference to their belief that conflict was imminent. Their mission was one of broad reconnaissance in this respect.

While the British were busy with their reports, word reached Oregon City on October 8 that immigrants were approaching from the Oregon Trail.¹⁴⁰ On October 10, a group arrived in high spirits with over 100 cattle. They had left Independence, Missouri on May 2, "coming into Oregon as a land of promise."¹⁴¹ The next day, more immigrants arrived in small companies and claimed that their total numbers would reach around 2,000 people on 500 wagons.



The sketch by Vavasour and Warre was part of their ongoing espionage in the growing settlement, but like their reports, now provides a glimpse of region's development. 1846.

One of these immigrants observed that "the navigation of the Willamette will be found good for steam boat of common size with some slight obstructions around the great falls at Oregon City [...]."¹⁴² On October 14, the first immigrants come over Mt. Hood.

Until this point, groups took their wagons on boats from The Dalles, west down the Columbia River and south up the Willamette River. A small company of men rode out to meet the first overland group with 1,200 pounds of flour.

Residents of Oregon City frequently sent out relief parties and supplies to assist companies of travelers attempting to reach the Willamette Valley during this period.¹⁴³

Oregon City in 1845

Samuel Chase, one of the immigrants of 1845, spoke glowingly about his entrance into the city:

This place is Oregon City; has been built up this and last year; the greatest water power in the world; the falls are about twenty-five feet; solid rock across the Willamette river; two saw mills, two flouring mills erected and now in full operation, water power enough to run a thousand mills and factories; five stores, two blacksmith shops, and mechanics of all kinds; all new buildings in this town; plenty of lumber of the finest quality; a number of dwellings erected; clothing and other necessities of life can now be procured [...].¹⁴⁴



Clockwise from top right: Sketches of Highfield's store on Main between Fourth and Fifth (1858), Milwain's store at Fourth and Main (1857) and Gibson's stable at Fourth and Main (1857). The photo at the bottom right is of Caufield's store, likely also in the 1850s. Sketches: Museum of the Oregon Territory; Photo: Jim Tompkins.

Joel Palmer, who arrived in November 1845, was similarly enthusiastic when he first arrived: *we were now at the place destined at no distant period to be an important point in the commercial history of the Union - Oregon City. Passing through the timber that lies to the east of the city, we beheld Oregon and the Falls of the Willamette at the same moment [...] and with admiration at the appearance of the large sheet of water rolling over the Falls, that we stopped, and in this moment of happiness recounted our toils [...].*

The town is located upon the east side of the Willamette river, and at the Falls. [...] Three years ago, this land was covered with a dense forest, which is now cleared off, to make room for the erection of houses to accommodate the inhabitants of the town. [...] Among the public buildings, the most conspicuous were the neat Methodist church, which I located near the upper part of the town, and a splendid Catholic chapel, which stands near the river and the bluff bank at the lower part of the town site.¹⁴⁵

He recorded nearly 100 houses, 600 residents, two churches and two mills, plus American Indians who lived and fished around the Falls.¹⁴⁶

Palmer wrote, "There are four stores, two taverns, one hatter, one tannery, three tailor shops, two cabinetmakers, two silversmiths, one cooper, two blacksmiths, one physician, three lawyers, one printing office [and a brickyard, carpenters and masons] in constant employment, at good wages, in and about this village."¹⁴⁷

Another immigrant, Samuel Barlow, arrived in Oregon City late in the year, exhausted and nearly destitute.¹⁴⁸

Leaving their families on the mountain, he and W.H. Rector had scaled Mt. Hood in snow 10-15 feet deep on snow-shoes [to] reach the Willamette valley, and there procure help to work their way backward with supplies before those left behind had perished from starvation. The distance to Oregon City was not less than seventy-five miles, and fifty of that was untracked mountains [...] Rector was a remarkably strong, compact and sinewy man, Barlow was of slighter and sparer build, and less able to

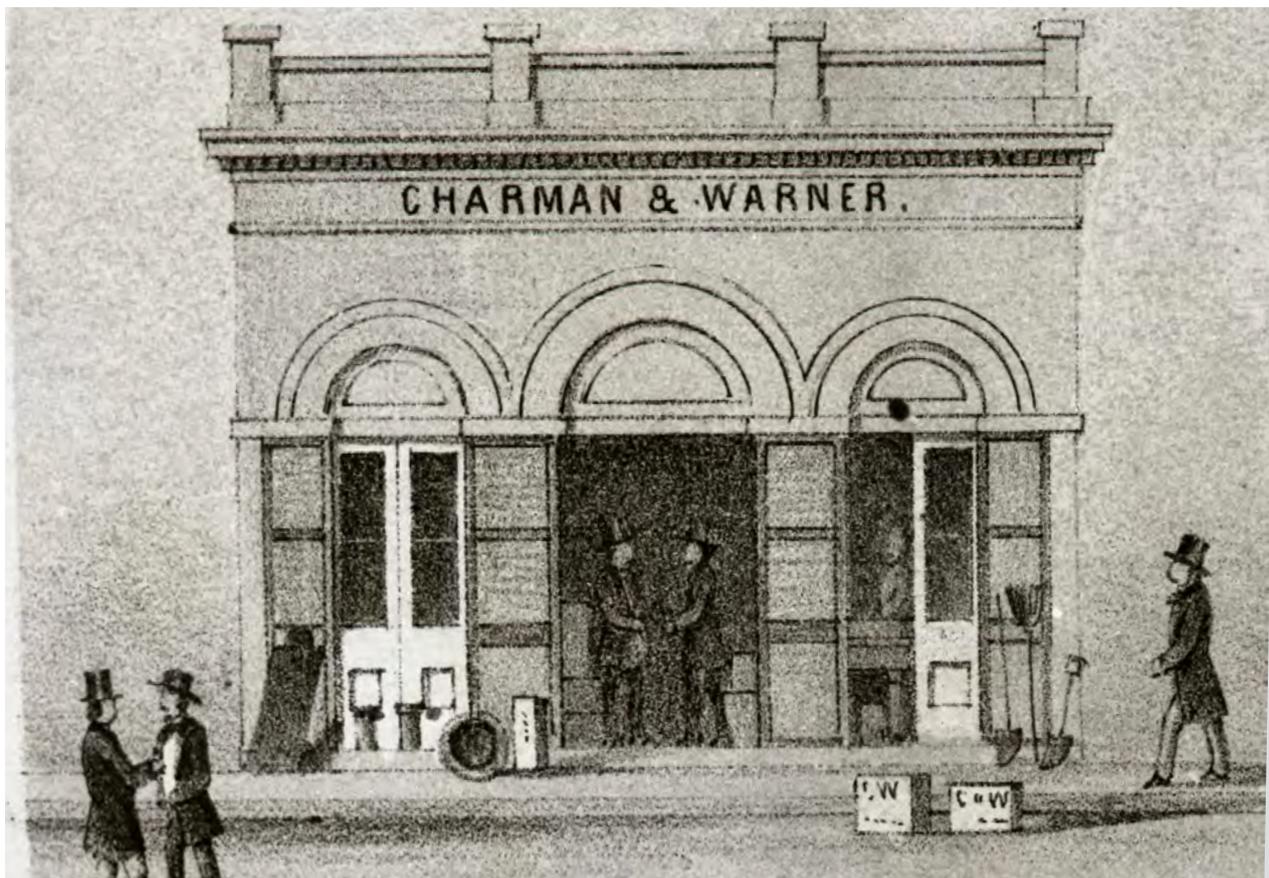
endure fatigue; and the stress of the long journey had already weakened him. He came near fainting, and one day when he felt he must succumb to his struggles and die he said to Rector, "What would you do with me if I should die here?" "Roast and eat you," growled the stronger Rector. Barlow burst into feeble tears. "Come, come, said the really kind-hearted Rector, you are not going to die, rouse up, be a man and come on." [...]

On reaching Oregon City, Rector and Barlow obtained supplies for their families yet imprisoned in the snowy gorge of White river, and returned for their rescue.¹⁴⁹

Before returning to rescue his family, Barlow petitioned the provisional government for a charter to build a toll road on December 9, 1845.¹⁵⁰

On May 23 of the following year, he was contracted to build the road, dubbed the Barlow Road, from Oregon City to the foot of the Cascade Mountains.¹⁵¹ This route would serve overland immigrants in the decades that followed and minimize further experiences like his own.

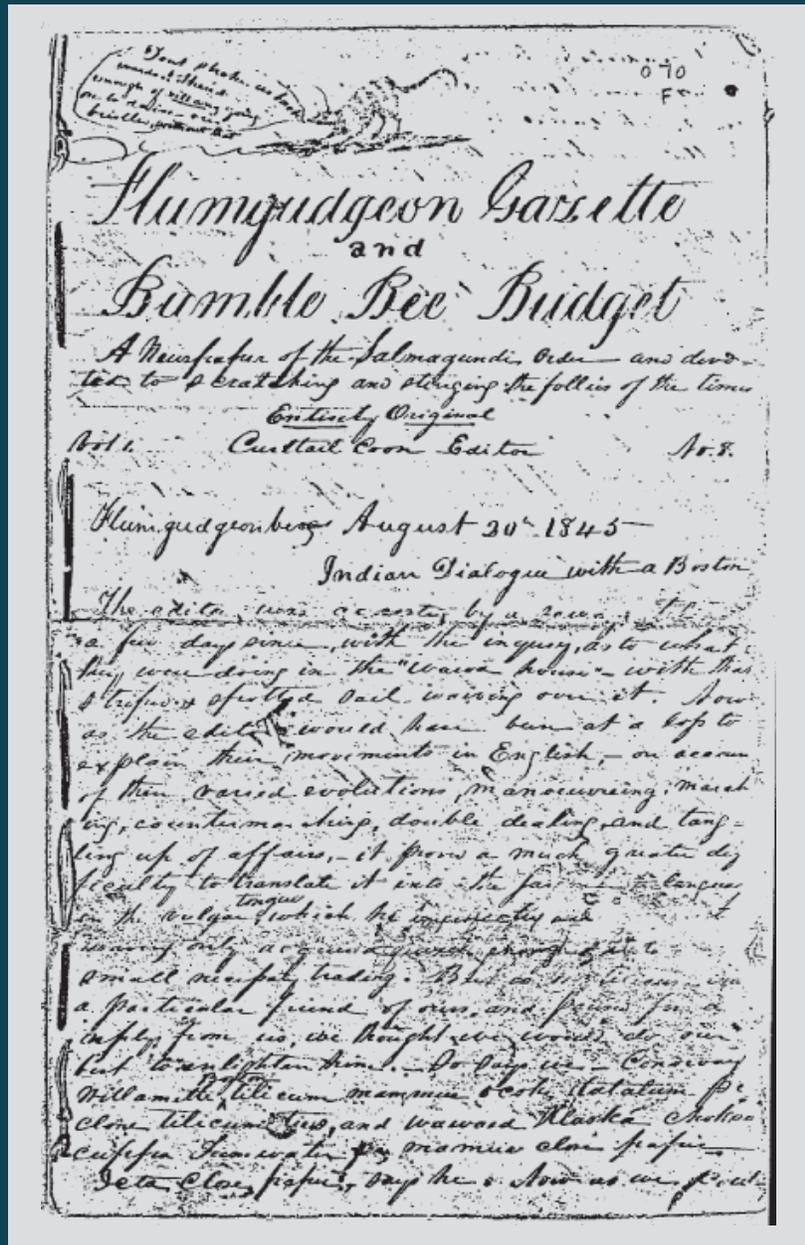
Thomas Charman opened a mercantile business in the former HBC storehouse. Along with his business partner Arthur Warner, he invested in the first paper mill in Oregon City. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1858.



Printing Press and Newspapers

On December 2, 1845, the *Toulon* carried a printing press to Oregon City.¹⁵² However, contrary to popular opinion, Oregon's first newspaper was already in print at this point. The first west coast newspaper was an entirely handwritten 13-page publication called the *Flumgudgeon Gazette and Bumble Bee Budget: A Newspaper of the Salmagundi Order, Devoted to Scratching and Stinging the Follies of the Times*.¹⁵³ It was edited by Oregon City's "Curtail Coon" and its "caustic editorial style spawned a mudslinging brand of journalism known far and wide as the 'Oregon Style.'"¹⁵⁴ When the printing press arrived, however, the *Flumgudgeon Gazette* was abandoned. The first edition of the first traditional newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*, was published on February 5, 1846 by the Oregon Printing Association.¹⁵⁵ From an office on Main Street, it was the first newspaper printed west of the Missouri River. The Willamette Falls Lyceum and Debating Society was likely involved in this venture and W. G. T'Vault, who also served as postmaster, was the first editor. John Travers and William Glaser had the distinction of advertising their hat manufactory in the first issue.¹⁵⁶ Their business involved the exchange of animal skins for hats.

The *Flumgudgeon Gazette* was the west coast's first newspaper. Its anonymous editor claimed the content was entirely original. 1845.



In the meantime, British lieutenants Warre and Vavasour continued their investigations of the region. Vavasour made an engineering report on March 1, 1846 and recommended building three block houses as fortifications for the assumed conflict between British and American interests.¹⁵⁷ On June 16, they reported that the growing town was strategically important for defense purposes because of its steepness and the ability to supply troops while disposing of infringing Americans. They also noted an improved appearance since their last report, with new buildings erected and trees cleared from adjacent heights. Advertisements in the *Oregon Spectator* for that year confirm their observations, noting four each of tailors and general stores; three shoe shops; two each of churches, taverns, blacksmith shops, cooper shops, cabinet shops, silversmiths, flouring mills and saw mills; and one each of a hatter shop, tannery and

a lathe machine.¹⁵⁸ Part of the irony of their effort was that McLoughlin himself never seemed to believe that British control would ultimately prevail over the settlement. Writing in later years, he claimed the HBC, “in 1825, officially informed [him] that, on no event, could the British Government claim extend south of the Columbia [River].”¹⁵⁹

As in the previous year, their ‘spying’ had little to no impact on the development of the settlement. On January 20, Asa Lovejoy, former candidate for governor, publicized his new law office located at the corner of Second Street and Main Street.¹⁶⁰ The printing press used by the *Oregon Spectator* was kept in the back of his office.¹⁶¹ Abernethy and his co-religionist Alanson Beers purchased the stock of the Oregon Milling Company and the Island Mills on January 28, intending to run both mills as a partnership under the name of the Oregon Milling Company.¹⁶²

Abernethy also opened his brick store and a drugstore was opened on Main Street during this period.¹⁶³ On February 21, seven Master Masons met and signed a petition for a charter, which was sent to Missouri for approval.¹⁶⁴ At some point a mayor and city council were elected (or selected) and during the spring they approved a request from Mr. John Force to alter the course of a small creek on Block No. 7, which is located between Eighth and Ninth Streets, for the purpose of propelling small machinery.¹⁶⁵ Although still technically independent from the United States, the community celebrated American Independence Day with a procession from the City Hotel to the Methodist church, then a public dinner back at the hotel.¹⁶⁶



Paul Kane's painting of the Mill Reserve provides one of the few representations of Abernethy Island. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1847.

Joel Palmer, who briefly left Oregon in 1846, received a letter from a Reverend Spalding that described a town with “over five hundred souls, about eighty houses, viz.: two churches, two blacksmith shops, one cooper shop, two cabinet shops, four tailor shops, one hatter’s shop, one tannery, three shoe shops, two silver smiths, four stores, two taverns, two flouring and two saw mills, and a lathe machine.”¹⁶⁷ The letter also documented that John Couch and Francis Pettygrove had a warehouse at the edge of the Falls.¹⁶⁸

John McLoughlin was responsible for several of these businesses and built a new house in 1846, on Main Street between Second and Third, where he could see their activities from across the street.¹⁶⁹ His flour mill, sawmill, granary and foundry building occupied the Mill Reserve. The French Store, likely the store redeveloped from the former HBC storehouse, was also on this site. It was co-owned by McLoughlin and someone named Captain Menes. At some point during the year McLoughlin leased his sawmill to Walter Pomeroy and Absalom Hedges. The view from his house included the entire town below the bluff.

Even with McLoughlin’s residency in town, the controversy over land ownership continued. In October 1846, Lafayette Moreland jumped the island claimed both by McLoughlin and the Methodists.¹⁷⁰

Reverend Gary wrote in his diary on October 20, “It is said Mr. Moreland has jumped the island if he should hold it, it is somewhat doubtful how it will go with Oregon Milling Co.

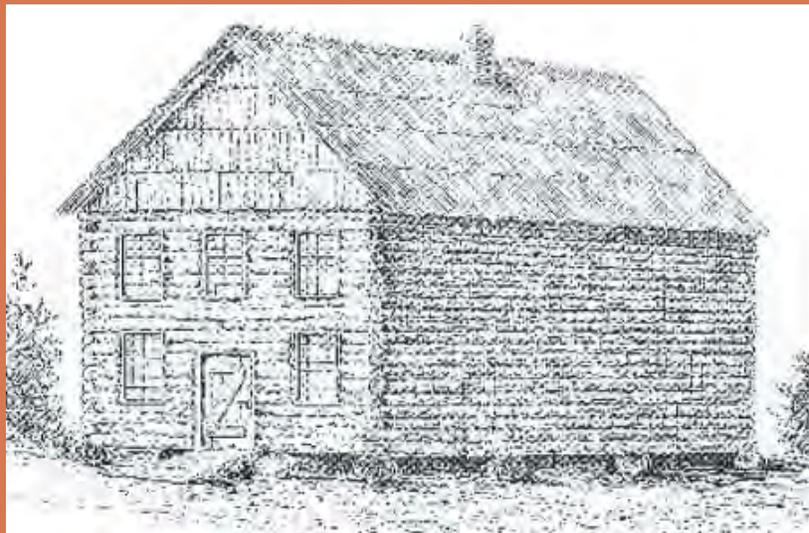
which bought the mission debts, and assumed the mission liabilities.”¹⁷¹

Religious Presence Grows

The challenges over land did not impede the growth of the religious and civic communities. In 1847, only nine years after their first arrival, the Catholic Church increased to a point where Oregon City was constituted as an Episcopal See.¹⁷² Reverend Blanchet presided as its bishop over 26 clergymen and five churches in the Willamette Valley. The Baptists, while still meeting in Hatch’s house in July 1847, had formally organized as the First Baptist Church and retained a small membership.¹⁷³

By October of the same year, Reverend Hezekiah Johnson wrote that McLoughlin donated choice lots for a meeting house and parsonage and that \$350 was subscribed to the building. The Masons also formalized their presence. Their charter returned from Missouri in the care of Joseph Hull on September 11, 1848.¹⁷⁴ The Multnomah Lodge was established at the log store of William Dougherty at Third Street and Main Street, the first Lodge incorporated on the Pacific Coast.

Dougherty’s store on Third and Main also served as the Masonic Lodge. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1848.



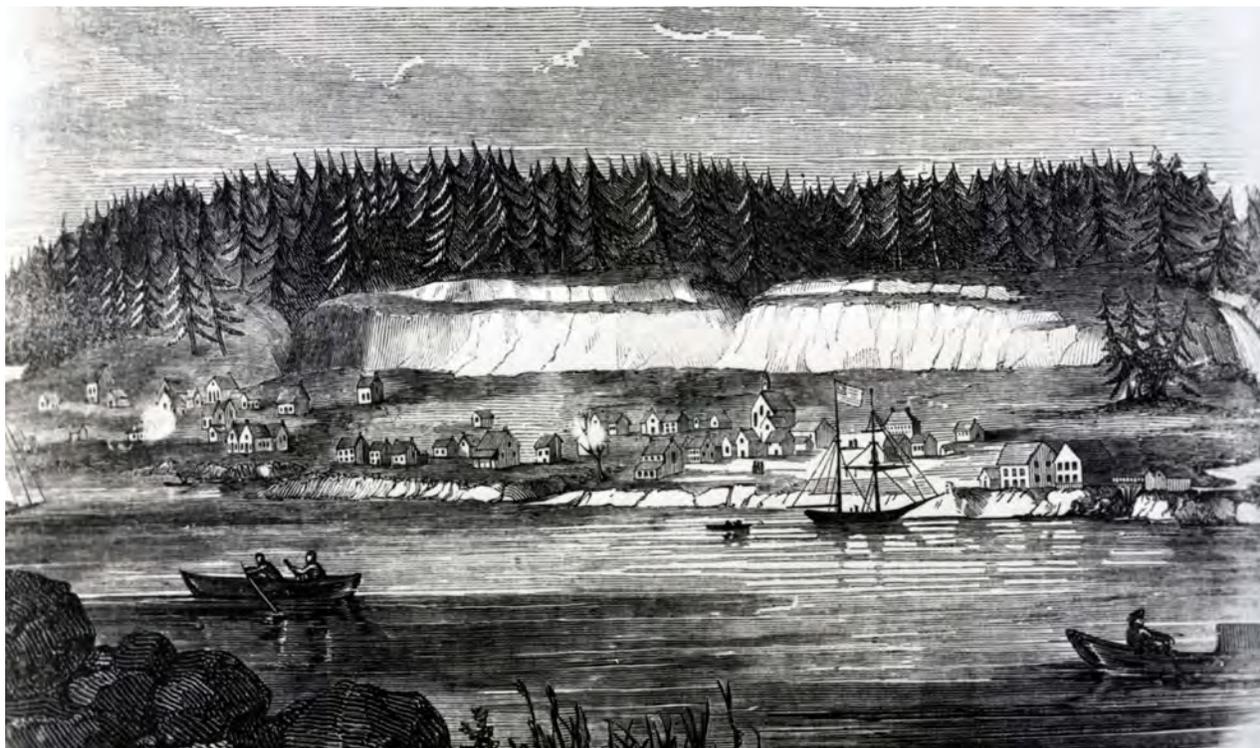
Abernethy gave out rocks for change at his store, making “Abernethy Rocks” an accepted, albeit cumbersome, unit of exchange for a brief period.

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur closed their school due to falling enrollments and the subsequent financial constraints and changes.¹⁸¹ At the same time, the newly settled town of Sacramento, California, with its growing population, needed food and lumber.¹⁸² The latter was supplied by Oregon City’s sawmills, which ran around the clock to meet the demand.

Despite the migration of Oregon City residents to California, immigrants on the Oregon Trail continued to arrive in Oregon City. Compared to the hardships and isolation they endured on the trail, even the limited and somewhat vacated settlement was an answer to their prayers. Overton Johnson, arriving in 1848, wrote “We were happy, after a long and tedious tour, to witness the home of civilization. To see mills, storehouses, shops. To hear the noise of the workman’s hammer; to enjoy the warm welcome of countrymen and friends.”¹⁸³

On March 13, 1848, recent arrival Rachel Fisher Mills wrote in her diary: *Oregon City appears to be quite a flourishing little town there is something of a spirit of reform existing there, there is a temperance meeting a licium two common day schools, & two different religious meeting up there. the situation of the place seems to me to be rougher than any place that I ever seen in Iowa. the bluff coming up to within a stonethrow of the river, leaves a small space for a city, but advantages of mill privileges can not be exceeded in any place the falls of willamet being just at the upper edge of town.*¹⁸⁴

Likely due in part to the difficulty of reaching the upper bluff during the early years, the settlement originally flourished primarily on the lower bluff. Eventually ladders, stairways, roads and an elevator would help provide more efficient access. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1840.



James Miller, who also arrived during this period, wrote: "On our arrival in Oregon City, I found everything quite different from what I expected. There were three small churches, three stores, two blacksmiths shops, two flour mills and one weekly newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*. My father purchased a house and lot and we moved into it soon after we arrived, and commenced the sale of our boots and shoes. For fine boots, we got five dollars a pair."¹⁸⁵ When immigrant Riley Root passed through Oregon City in September 1848, he described it as "containing about 150 buildings, two saw mills, one of which [was] a double mill, and two grist mills."¹⁸⁶ He also noted that local shops offered goods brought in by ships from Boston.

Regionally one of the lasting legacies of the Oregon Trail's termination in Oregon City was the establishment of the area's first nursery. In 1847, two nurserymen, Henderson Luelling and William Meek, "*individually hauled many hundreds of young grafted fruit trees of choice varieties along the Oregon Trail.... The men reconnoitered in Oregon City, where they combined their stock and established the first fruit tree nursery in the present-day Pacific Northwest. The 'Luelling and Meek Nursery,' located just outside the Territory's new capital city, supplied all of the first orchards of Donation Land claimants.... Luelling and Meek were careful to select varieties that would spread the period of fruit harvest from summer through winter.*

*Among the summer apple varieties Luelling hauled to Oregon were Summer Pearmain, Golden Sweet and Red Astrachan. The fall apples included Gravenstein, Westfield-Seek-No-Further and King of Tompkins County. The winter apples had the broadest selection, with the varieties Yellow Belleflower, Baldwin, Lady Apple, Northern Spy, Esopus Spitzenburg, Winesap and Newtown Pippin among the precious cargo. Luelling also selected summer, fall and winter-ripening pears. Bartlett was among the summer pears, and Seckel and Flemish Beauty were for the fall. Winter Nelis, one of Luelling's winter-ripening pear varieties, would become economically important in the northwest in the early 20th century, along with Bartlett."*¹⁸⁷

Number of Immigrants Per Year, 1840-1850¹⁸⁸

Year	Immigrants
1840	13
1841	24
1842	125
1843	875
1844	1,475
1845	2,500
1846	1,200
1847	4,000
1848	1,300
1849	450
1850	6,000

From Settlement to Capital City

In 1849, the exodus to California left only 8,779 people in Oregon.¹⁸⁹ When mining became more difficult, the Oregon residents returned with \$2 million in gold. The influx of precious metal provided an opportunity to transition from Abernethy Rocks to money as currency. The provisional government permitted the minting of Beaver Coins from California gold in \$5 and \$10 denominations.¹⁹⁰ The coins were produced by the Oregon Exchange Company at the Oregon City Mint, which was located at the corner of Fifth Street and Main Street. During the single year, \$58,000 in coins were minted.¹⁹¹ Abernethy and others were responsible for organizing the Oregon Exchange Company.¹⁹²

The use of these coins was relatively short-lived; in August of the previous year, the United States Congress passed the Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon. As a territory of the United States, American currency was soon required. On March 2, 1849, General Joseph Lane of Indiana arrived by canoe in Oregon City, bringing news of Oregon's new territorial status.¹⁹³ This formally marked the end of the provisional government in Oregon, though Oregon City remained the capital for the time. Lane, who spent nearly seven months traveling to Oregon, reached the Falls as the territory's inaugural governor.

Due to local fears of American Indian hostility, he was quickly involved in bringing the American Rifle Regiment to Oregon City to provide military protection.¹⁹⁴

The regiment arrived after marching barefoot from Mexico to Oregon to be quartered during the winter.¹⁹⁵ However, they were a "surly, ragged lot that stumbled into Oregon City, where they learned that no quarters had been provided for them."¹⁹⁶ This came after Lane's undelivered promise to provide them with 15 wagons of supplies in The Dalles.

The regiment instead rented shelter in Oregon City, which "became the base of operations for some of the most notorious drunkenness and debauchery Oregon had ever witnessed."¹⁹⁷ Nearly 120 members eventually deserted for California gold. The residents of Oregon City "celebrated the troops' departure [...] by burning the raucous cavalry's annoying quarters. Now that it was once more safe to walk the town streets, the Indian menace no longer seemed quite so serious."¹⁹⁸

With no provisional government and the presence of a new territorial governor, Abernethy no longer had a political role, but he remained locally relevant. After Lane arrived, Abernethy granted him a warranty deed for the one-acre Governor's Island for consideration of \$30,000 on either April 5 or 25, 1849.¹⁹⁹

Whichever day he actually sold the property, the ownership situation was quickly confused, perhaps intentionally. A month later, Abernethy and his father sold the same island and the sawmill to Oregon's first chief justice, William Bryant. Justice Bryant subsequently sold his interest to the governor and Nat Lane, the governor's son. The title then reverted back to George Abernethy. However, in May 1851, Joseph Lane sold the island property to R.R. Thompson, who sold it to James Guthrie in May 1857.²⁰⁰

During this same period, Sydney Moss's Main Street House changed hands a few times as well. In 1850, a gentleman named Colonel Richmond leased the hotel.²⁰¹ A year later, Theophilus Magruder, a member of the Oregon Exchange Company and previous manager of the City Hotel, leased the Main Street House from Colonel Richmond. By 1852, Moss regained control over the hotel with Mrs. Richardson, whom he may have married by this point.



John B. Preston's plat of Oregon City shows development on both the lower and upper bluff by the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as the location of Abernethy Island. 1851.

As the capital of a new territory, Oregon City continued to grow in population and industry. When William J. Watson arrived on September 13, 1849, he was surprised at the town he found.²⁰² In his journal, he wrote "It is hemmed in by a high and precipitous canyon, no room for the city on the valley. Its population is about fourteen hundred, nine stores, two churches, two saw-mills, two grist-mills, two groceries, and two boarding houses. [...] Here are the greatest mill privileges I ever saw; the whole body of the river pours over the falls at a hundred places."²⁰³

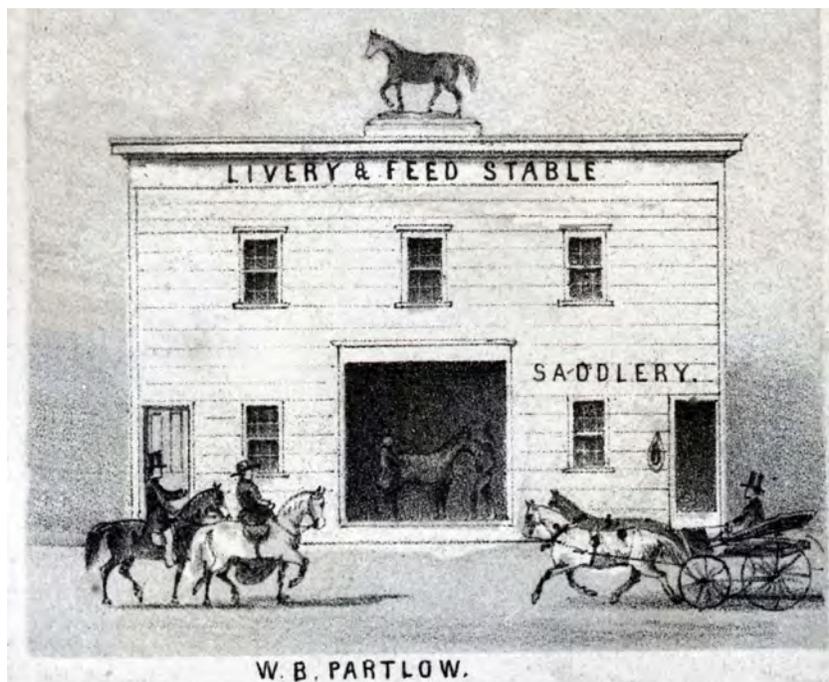
Within a year, "[...] there were two flouring mills and five sawmills; three large hotels, the best being the Main Street House operated by Sidney Moss; three dozen stores, including two jewelry and watch shops; 8 to 10 clothing stores; an apothecary (with a

Right: Partlow's stables were one of several located on Main Street in the 1850s. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1857.

Below: Paul Kane's panoramic sketch of Oregon City distinctly shows the Falls, the early mills and the Methodist Church. Museum of the Oregon Territory. This is an important record of the early development of the area around the Falls, 1846.

*druggist, boots and shoes, confections, hardware, crockery, and liquor); two bakeries; two barbershops; a tailor (who also was a saddler and the most extensive tinware manufacturer in the territory); two cabinet shops; various blacksmiths; a plow manufactory (with a foundry, brick kiln, and oven); a Daguerrean artist; a dentist; six physicians; and a score or more lawyers."*²⁰⁴

The waterfall was noted to be so loud during this period that "the roar sent the folks indoors for conversation."²⁰⁵





This map by Charles Preuss, based on a survey by John Fremont, shows the Oregon Territory encompassing nearly the entire Pacific and Pacific Northwest of the United States. sonsofsouth.net, 1848.

This bustling development was hindered by Oregon City's unfortunate albeit common natural disaster - flooding. In December 1849, mere months after Watson spoke glowingly of the town's opportunities, a combination of heavy snow and torrents of rains raised the Willamette River to levels not seen since Reverend Gary chronicled the floods of 1844.²⁰⁶ A beef market on Water Street was swept away on a Monday morning, followed on Wednesday afternoon by the two buildings holding the Red Store and Couch's business. Damage was also reported to the Oregon City Mills. Water Street and its houses were damaged extensively, with repairs estimated at \$50,000.²⁰⁷ Nearly all the mills in the territory were swept away, except for in Oregon City where they remained standing but seriously damaged.

Transportation in 1850s

In the early 1850s, a number of transportation projects were undertaken in and around Oregon City. At the end of the Mill Reserve, "a dry dock was established, with a dam of crib work and a gate in it, to let boats in and out [...]."²⁰⁸ Steamers were built in Oregon City and also Canemah, a few miles south along the river. On September 25, 1851, the steam propelled *Gray Eagle* began service between Oregon City and Portland, though not from the dry dock.²⁰⁹ It is most likely

that the *Gray Eagle* ran from one of the ferry stops along the shoreline of the Willamette River below the Falls. To connect Oregon City's Main Street to the shipyards and warehouses in Canemah, Peter Hatch raised \$20,000 to build a road along the bluffs.²¹⁰ The project was started in 1850 and probably completed in 1852. The road was a plank sidewalk running parallel to the river and may have also been a portion of the route to Salem.²¹¹

The Lot Whitcomb, here shown docked upriver from the Falls, was one of many steamers bringing people and goods to Oregon City. University of Oregon, May 12, 1851.



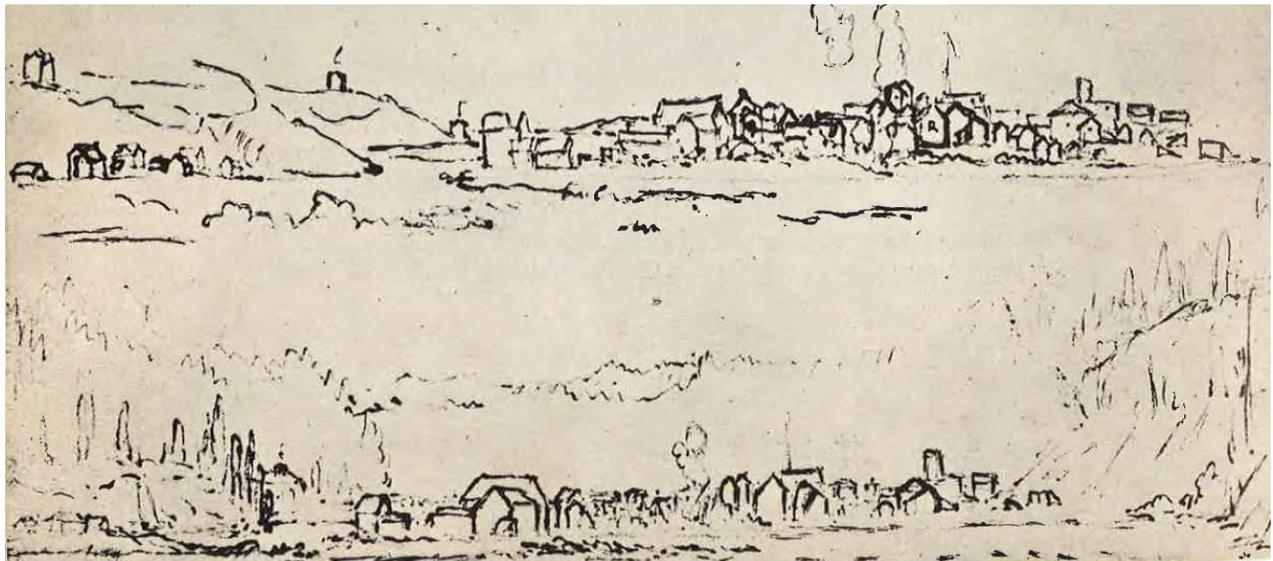
In 1853, travel from the direction of Canemah was further enhanced with the construction of a wooden portage railroad.²¹² "D.P. Thompson, Asa L. Lovejoy and the Dement brothers constructed a horse railway, transferring from boats at Canemah, along Main and Water streets, to a warehouse dock at the base of Eighth Street below [...]."²¹³ Goods were transported on the railway in small open cars, called trams, drawn by mules or horses.²¹⁴ In 1854, "a water basin was blasted out to take the place of the land portage."²¹⁵ The basin was constructed by the People's Transportation Company, which created a breakwater on the east upper bank of the Willamette Falls to form a deep pool for upriver boats to dock in while off-loading.²¹⁶ These projects greatly altered the canal previously constructed by McLoughlin while significantly changing the geography and topography of the Mill Reserve area.

Political Changes

A number of political changes occurred in rapid succession at the beginning of the same decade. During the trial of the Cayuse accused of the Whitman murders, Governor Lane resigned and left for California.²¹⁷ Secretary Kintzing Prichette served as the Acting Governor until a new territorial governor was assigned. President Zachary Taylor initially offered

the position to Abraham Lincoln, who declined.²¹⁸ Taylor's next option, John P. Gaines, did accept the position as Oregon's third territorial governor. He arrived in Oregon City during the late summer or early fall of 1850 to assume his duties. Despite his wish to the contrary, the territorial capital moved from Oregon City to Salem in February 1851.²¹⁹

Paul Kane's in situ sketches provide the basic outlines of a growing city. Landmarks such as the Methodist Church help orient the modern viewer. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1846.



Early Life in Post-capital Oregon City

By the time Oregon City lost its status as capital of the territory, John McLoughlin had spent nearly \$100,000 in the town to build mills, a granary, canals, houses, stores and other structures and improvements.²²⁰ On April 7, 1851 he was elected as mayor.²²¹ However, even with his tremendous investment and his election to office by an overwhelming majority, residents continued to treat him with hostility.²²² He resigned before the end of his term, but did not leave Oregon City. McLoughlin remained active in local affairs, selling lots to Medorem Crawford and John S. Morrison in September 1851 and joining other civic and business leaders to make donations to arriving immigrants in October 1852.²²³ On September 5, 1851 he became an American citizen.²²⁴

McLoughlin continued to sell his lots during this period, but overall his influence waned. Thomas Charman, an Englishman who came across the Oregon Trail from Indiana in 1852, purchased the former HBC store that year and opened it as a mercantile and drugstore.²²⁵ Aside from McLoughlin himself, this store was one of the last visible traces of the HBC in Oregon City. During the early 1850s, McLoughlin turned over management of his mills to his son-in-law Daniel Harvey, an experienced miller he brought from London during the previous decade.²²⁶

In January 1853, heavy snow followed by warm, heavy rains raised the river to a level not previously seen by those at the Falls.²²⁷ McLoughlin's sawmills were carried away completely and the flume of his flouring and lumber mills, along with bridges and houses, were also swept away. The flood and subsequent damage were significant enough to warrant mention in Olympia, Washington's newspaper, the *Columbia*.²²⁸ He was undeterred in his development efforts, constructing two buildings on Main Street near Abernethy's brick store and a foundry and machine shop.²²⁹ The buildings, two of the largest in the town, were occupied by August even though they were not quite completed - one by Messrs. Miles, Cushman & Co. and the other by Messrs. Preston, O'Neil & Co.²³⁰ When McLoughlin died in 1857, he named as heirs his daughter Eloisa McLoughlin Harvey, her husband Daniel Harvey and his son David McLoughlin.²³¹ The Harveys quickly purchased David's interest. Prior to his death, McLoughlin donated all the streets, alleys and squares to the City for the public.²³² The streets were to be kept open forever, though the squares could be enclosed if deemed expedient. Ferry rights were reserved along the entire front of the town.

Aside from McLoughlin's efforts prior to his death, the town continued to grow and evolve. As of February 13, 1851, the population was reported at 702 residents.²³³ For a short time after losing its status as the capital city, it

remained a central hub in the territory relative to other growing towns. For example, on August 16, 1851, the assembly of free and accepted Masons convened in the Masonic Hall at Oregon City to organize a "Worshipful Grand Lodge for the Territory of Oregon."²³⁴ The following month, this lodge was established in town as the "mother" lodge for a handful of already established lodges around the territory, primarily in Portland. It was likely during this period that the Masons built their new lodge further up Main Street. The Methodist church was also moved down Main Street to Seventh Street in 1857 after the property at Third Street became too valuable for the growing town.²³⁵ A hotel called the Oregon House opened in 1857 at the corner of 3rd and Water, just opposite the ferry landing, two blocks from the original site of the Methodist church.²³⁶ Industry also remained an important component of the town. In August 1853, William Singer opened a factory to manufacture furniture.²³⁷ The store was located on the river, at the back of a store owned by someone named Ackerman. McLoughlin's settlement had been primed to continue its evolution without him.

American Indian -White Conflict & the Cayuse Trial

Early interactions between white explorers and American Indians in the Pacific Northwest were characterized by conflicts ranging the spectrum from cultural misunderstandings to violent warfare. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, traders representing Pacific Fur Company, North West Company, Hudson Bay Company and likely others spread throughout the region, with Pacific Fur Company leading the first expedition to the Willamette Falls and the Willamette Valley beyond in 1812.²³⁸ Subsequent conflict between explorers and American Indians at the Falls led to the shooting death of an American Indian chief in 1816.²³⁹ Negotiations between North West Company employees James Keith and Alexander Ross and a group of Upper Chinooks resulted in an oral treaty allowing the traders free movement to and from the Willamette Valley.²⁴⁰ Writing about the experience later, Ross felt compelled to acknowledge “that the Indians faithfully and zealously observed their part of the treaty for many years afterwards.”²⁴¹ The precedent for violent conflict at the Falls, however, was established.

Around the same period, conflict between tribes at the Falls was also ongoing. One source described the Falls as the site of “countless Indian battles unless tribute was paid” to the Clackamas.²⁴² Another source attributes the collection of tribute to the Clowewalla (Clough-we-Walla)

tribe that camped just down river from the Falls.²⁴³ According to this source, the Clowewalla were a powerful tribe of several thousand members that was attacked during the night around 1815 by warlike Molallas or a tribe of traveling Snake or Cayuses from east of the Cascades. All the Clough-we-Walla were killed and afterward anyone could fish at the Falls without paying tribute. A third source describes an event from the spring of 1814, when a Cayuse-Nez Perce war party killed many other American Indians, stole slaves and caused general panic at the Falls.²⁴⁴ It is possible the second and third source are describing the same event. However, there are references to living Clowewallas as late as 1855 so the accuracy of the second account is in question.²⁴⁵

When these types of conflicts were in progress, two interrelated trends were emerging throughout the entire region. On one side, white traders were not just encroaching on land occupied and venerated by American Indian populations for generations and perhaps a millennium; they were claiming it as their own. White settlements disrupted living, travel and sustenance patterns for American Indians. During January of 1814, Alexander Henry the Younger, a partner in the North West Fur Company, stopped with his party at the Falls and was told by the Clowewalla that the Yamhill

John Mix Stanley's painting of Oregon City shows an idyllic scene, but one in which the local American Indians are pushed back from their access to the Falls. 1848.



intended to push the settlers from the Willamette Valley.²⁴⁶ When asked if they would leave, Henry replied they would not do so in the face of such a threat. The conflict persisted when Chief Factor John McLoughlin of the Hudson Bay Company built three log houses at the Falls during the 1820s and the American Indians burned them down in protest in 1829.²⁴⁷

At the same time, disease was starting to leave its mark on the American Indians. It is not clear what exact year the various epidemics began to take their toll in the region. By 1828, however, the Clackamas population was greatly reduced due to an unusually high mortality rate.²⁴⁸ Traditional ceremonies dwindled during the following decade among the Lower Columbia Chinook as disease took the lives of “many specialists and broke apart the critical mass of people needed for group performances.”²⁴⁹ During the summer of 1831, the northern and central Kalapuyan populations contracted malaria, which many American Indians believed came from a passenger on an American ship docked in the area.²⁵⁰ Whatever the source, the disease rapidly decimated the tribe in the years that followed. By 1834, the Wyeth Expedition and Methodist missionaries at the Falls

This drawing shows what would have been one of the last American Indian settlements near the Falls, at Abernethy Creek. Disease and conflict destroyed what had once been a vibrant community of tribes. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1857.

reported finding piles of human bones in vacant dwellings, indicating the vast numbers who already died.²⁵¹ Artist Paul Kane provided a similar account around 1846, describing that the bodies of deceased American Indians could be seen on the river banks, floating in streams and piled in villages.²⁵² Despite a population that once numbered in the thousands, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes reported that only 70 American Indians lived at the Falls in 1841.²⁵³

The two trends intersected irrevocably during the mid-1830s when the first groups of settlers left Missouri in wagons, seeking opportunity at the end of the Oregon Trail.

As one source noted, “the emigrants found their primary destination, Oregon’s Willamette Valley, to be a land providentially depopulated of its Indian population due to disease.”²⁵⁴ Of these migrants, missionaries were among the first to reach the Pacific Northwest, where they discouraged traditional American Indian customs in surviving populations while preaching Christianity.²⁵⁵ At the Falls, Oregon City developed and grew, pushing out the remaining American Indians and taking over traditional fishing grounds and camp sites.²⁵⁶ Elisha Applegate, an early pioneer, observed that the American Indians were moved back from the Willamette River to the first, the second and finally the third bench of Oregon City.²⁵⁷



In March of 1844, George W. LeBreton, first secretary of Oregon's provisional government, was killed by American Indians in Oregon City.²⁵⁸ The details of the incident are disputed, but a member of either the Wasco²⁵⁹ or Mollala²⁶⁰ tribe rode into town with four men of the Mollala tribe.²⁶¹ Sources identify him variously as Klockstock,²⁶² Comstock²⁶³ or usually Cockstock.²⁶⁴ One source characterizes LeBreton's death in somewhat heroic terms, in that he was supposedly defending the entire settlement from a raid.²⁶⁵ A more complete account of the incident indicates that Cockstock was engaged in a private dispute with two black settlers regarding a horse.²⁶⁶

According to this source, a reward for his arrest was offered after he threatened violence. Another source indicates that he rode into town openly after attempting to procure an interpreter across the river.²⁶⁷ In either case, LeBreton and others intervened, resulting in the deaths of Cockstock, LeBreton and a bystander named Rogers.²⁶⁸

Regardless of how the incident itself is characterized, it had two almost immediate impacts. First, the Oregon Rangers, a mounted rifle company and the territory's first organized military force, was established. Second, the black and American Indian conflict fueled racial tensions in Oregon City.

According to one source, the incident heightened "fears about possible racial conspiracy between blacks and Indians against white settlers."²⁶⁹ Only months later, in June of 1844, Oregon's provisional government enacted a statute that outlawed slavery, but required the removal of all black adults within two to three years of their arrival.

Tipping Point

The confluence of these trends reached a tipping point on November 29, 1847 when missionary Marcus Whitman, his wife Narcissa and 12 others were killed by members of the Cayuse tribe in what became known as the Whitman Massacre or Whitman Incident.²⁷⁰ The Whitmans left New York in 1836 among the first wave of settlers, establishing a mission at Waiiletpu (near present-day Walla Walla) and proselytizing to the Cayuse. However, neither Marcus nor Narcissa learned to speak Cayuse and Narcissa in

particular regarded them as heathen savages. In contrast, the Catholic missionaries devoted more time to learning the Cayuse language and customs. The suspicion of the Cayuse only grew when the Whitmans devoted an increasing amount of time to aiding the vast number of settlers passing through the mission.

These settlers not only took more land, but also started a measles epidemic late in 1847 with devastating consequences.²⁷¹ Almost all the white children with measles survived but half of the Cayuse did not.²⁷² Furthermore, nearly *all* the Cayuse children died. The Whitmans administered to both groups, but their failure to cure the Cayuse had cultural implications they did not understand or anticipate. Multiple sources note the Cayuse practice of *tewatat* – the medicine doctor tradition – in which the life of a doctor is taken if he or she fails to cure the sick.²⁷³ Though it is unlikely that Marcus was aware of *tewatat*, it seems the Cayuse attempted to warn him on some level that he was not abiding by what they perceived as their arrangement with him.

Shortly after the outbreak, members of the Cayuse killed the Whitmans and others, burned down the mission buildings and took a number of hostages.²⁷⁴ The news was reported at a meeting of the provisional legislature at the Methodist Church in Oregon City in December of 1847.²⁷⁵ This triggered the Cayuse War of 1848.²⁷⁶

After two years of tension and violence, Oregon Territorial Governor Joseph Lane traveled to The Dalles with a military escort in April of 1850 to arrest Tiloukaikt, Kiamasumpkin, Tomahas, Isaiachalakis and Klokamas.²⁷⁷ Some sources suggest the five men voluntarily surrendered to avoid further harm to members

of the Cayuse tribe.²⁷⁸ At least one source suggests that the men traveled to Oregon City willingly, unaware that they would be arrested when they arrived.²⁷⁹ A modern oral source from the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla reported that 12-13 Cayuse initially surrendered for the Whitman murders.²⁸⁰ Either way, the Cayuse indicated that any others responsible were already dead²⁸¹ and the five were imprisoned on Rock Island (later Abernethy Island), at the foot of Willamette Falls.²⁸² The island was slightly more than an acre in size²⁸³ and connected to the shore by a wooden bridge.²⁸⁴ The jail was a simple, one-room structure²⁸⁵ where all five were held together under constant guard for more than a month.²⁸⁶

The trial for the Whitman Incident started in early May and lasted 15 days.²⁸⁷ Oregon City did not yet have a courthouse, so the trial was held in a hotel saloon where as many as 300 curious onlookers packed in each day.²⁸⁸ On May 24, the jury found all five men guilty of murder²⁸⁹ and all were sentenced to death by hanging.²⁹⁰ Questions about their guilt persisted. An article published shortly after the sentencing claimed that four of the five admitted their involvement in the attacks,²⁹¹ but this was quickly refuted by Corporal Rob Mahon of Company D, one of the guards who was with them around the clock.²⁹² Secretary of the Oregon Territory, Kintzing Pritchette, appointed as lead defense counsel, fought for a pardon

but ultimately failed. Governor Lane signed the death warrant and then resigned his position effective June 18, 1850. Although Secretary Pritchette was named the acting governor, the executions were scheduled for June 3 while Lane was still technically in power and, so Pritchette was unable to reverse the sentence and pardon them.

A scaffold was constructed on the east bank of the Willamette River, just across the bridge from Abernethy Island where the men were imprisoned. The scaffold had six or seven steps leading to the platform.²⁹³ One source describes the location as “the west end of Main Street right there where it makes that turn at what was called the Basin.”²⁹⁴ Several sources note the proximity to the house of John McLoughlin.²⁹⁵ One in particular describes the scaffold as two or three blocks southwest of the house.²⁹⁶ Another source references the “southern part of the site now occupied by the Hawley Pulp & Paper Company on the east side of the road leading from Oregon City to Canemah.”²⁹⁷

At 9 a.m. on June 3, 1850, the five Cayuse were baptized and given the sacrament by Catholic Archbishop F.N. Norbert Blanchet.²⁹⁸ The Archbishop had met with them throughout their incarceration and trial.²⁹⁹

At 2 p.m. a squad of soldiers brought them from the island jail to the scaffold,³⁰⁰ where a large crowd of onlookers gathered to witness the spectacle.³⁰¹ Chief Tiloukaikt reportedly maintained their innocence to the end, declaring, *“did not your missionaries teach us that Christ died to save his people? So we die to save our people.”*³⁰²

Kiamasumpkin allegedly begged to be killed with a knife but was ultimately hung with the rest. Three died instantly and two struggled, but all five were dead within 35 minutes.

Their deaths marked the first recorded exercise of capital punishment in Oregon history.³⁰³ However, it is unclear exactly what statute the five Cayuse were prosecuted under. Oregon was not a state and the tribes did not cede aboriginal title to their lands to the United States in and around the Walla Walla Valley until 1855.³⁰⁴ The only law in the territory at the time regarding the tribes was tribal law; there was no document that bound the tribes to the laws of the territory. As noted in *Juggernaut*, the 1845 Organic Law of Oregon provided: *the utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; ... and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars’ . . . ; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing injustice being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.*³⁰⁵

This was taken more or less verbatim from the Northwest Ordinance, one of the early statutes of the United States in 1789.³⁰⁶ This ordinance was the predecessor to the Indian Commerce Clause in the U.S. Constitution which states: *The Congress shall have the power...; To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;*³⁰⁷

The precise nature of the authority of the territory of Oregon to put the Cayuse five on trial was of less concern than the need for vengeance. *“This murder trial was surely headed toward a disturbance of their liberty, and was surely not apt to preserve peace and friendship with them. As to Indians, the Provisional Government was on loose slope.”*³⁰⁸

The arrests, trial and execution were seen as controversial even at the time and resolution on the question of guilt is unlikely on the basis of the contradictory historical record. However, the impacts of two aspects of the broader incident are still felt.

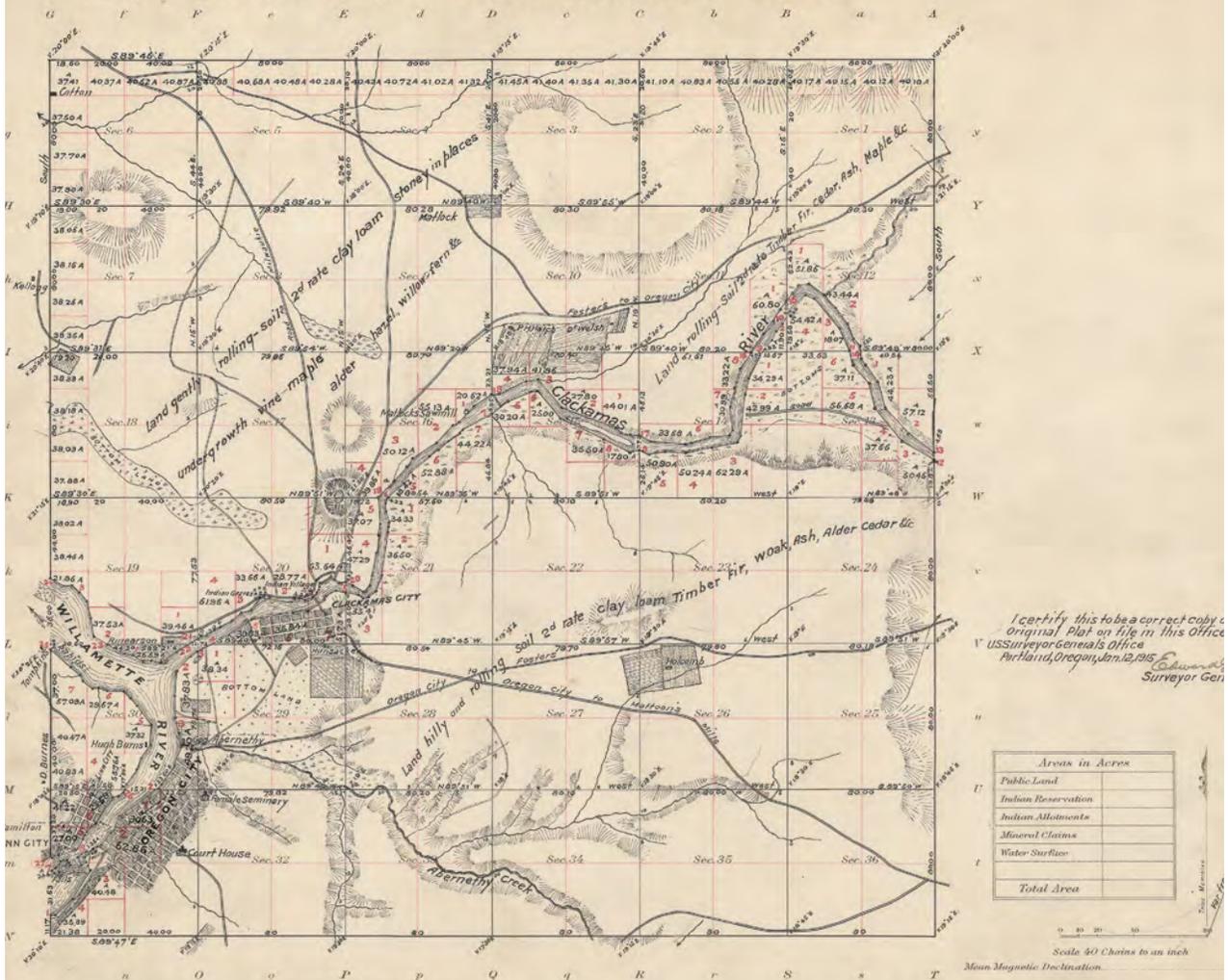
First, the execution marked the functional end of the Cayuse tribe. The few remaining members, decimated by years of disease and war, merged with the Nez-Perce and rapidly lost their unique language and culture.³⁰⁹ More formally, the Cayuse signed a treaty with the United States in 1855 and settled on the Umatilla Reservation with the Umatillas and Walla Wallas.³¹⁰ As of today, there are no speakers of the original Waiilatpuan language.³¹¹

Second, the Cayuse never had the opportunity to complete their traditional burial rites because the bodies were never returned to the tribe. This was the case despite the presence of tribal members at the trial and hangings.³¹² The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation are still attempting to locate the graves.³¹³ The available sources describe the location of the burial in terms that are similar primarily for their vagueness.

According to one, *“the bodies [...] were taken down and carted up Abernethy Road over there across the bridge a half mile or so.”*³¹⁴

Another provides almost an identical description, minus the specific distance from the bridge.³¹⁵ Neither, however, identifies the bridge. A third source refers to only the north edge of Oregon City.³¹⁶ A source from 1880 identifies the burial site as Moss Hill, but no current location in the area seems to match this name.³¹⁷ Given the uncertainty and ambiguity of the descriptions, it is possible the burial sites will never be uncovered.

Township N^o 2 South Range N^o 2 East Willamette Meridian.



I certify this to be a correct copy of Original Plot on file in this Office
 U.S. Surveyor General's Office
 Portland, Oregon, Jan. 12, 1905
Edwards
 Surveyor Gen.

Areas in Acres	
Public Land	
Indian Reservation	
Indian Allotments	
Mineral Claims	
Water Surface	
Total Area	

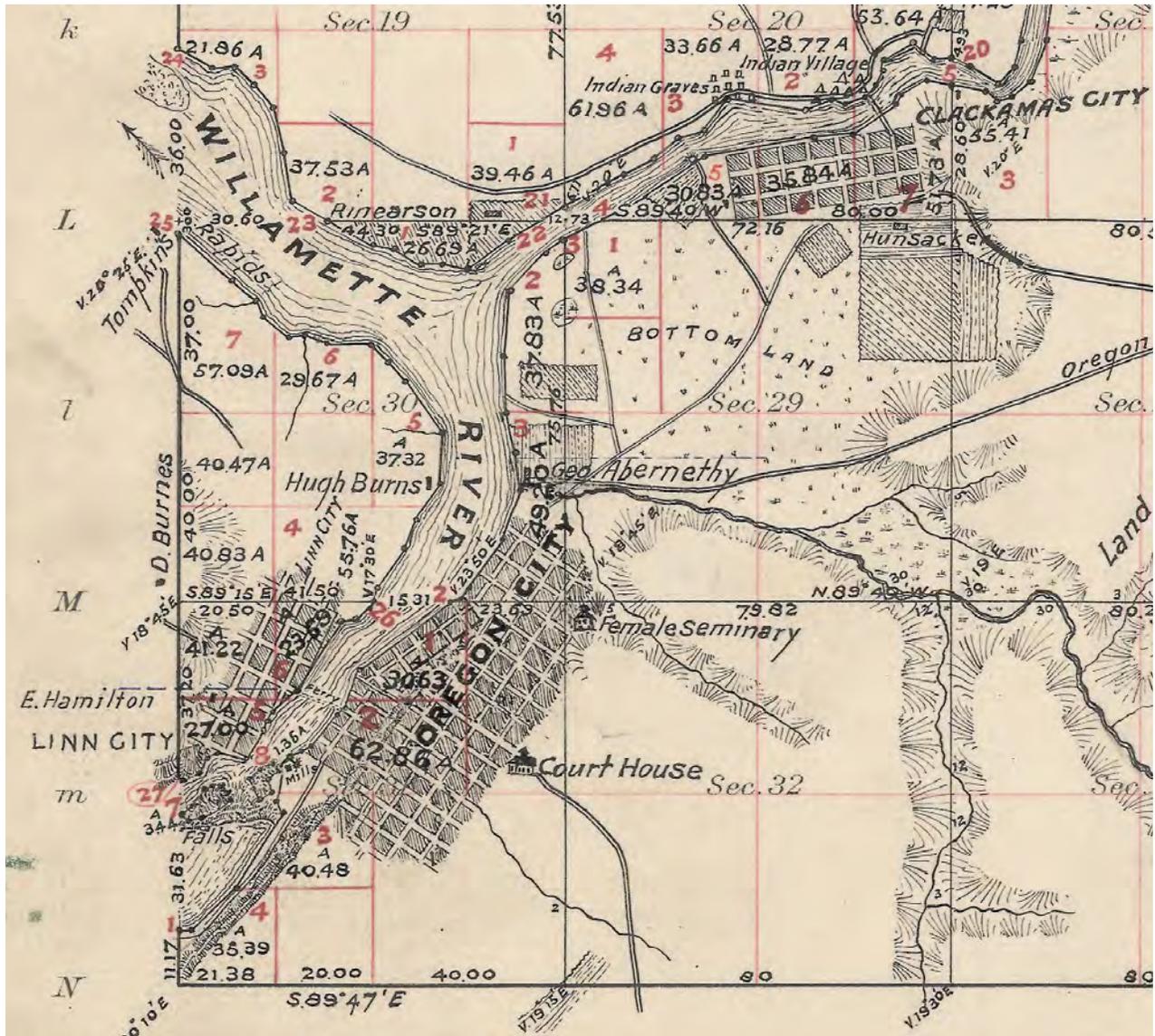
Scale 40 Chains to an inch
 Mean Magnetic Declination

Surveys Designated	By Whom Surveyed	Contract No.	Date	Amount of Surveys Mts. chs. Secs.	When Surveyed	When closed in the Surveys Acc ^t
Township Lines	Joseph Hunt	13	March 25 th 1852	12a 1 36	May 10 th 1852	2 ^d Quarter 1852
Subdivisions	Joseph Hunt	17	May 13 th 1852	80 19 67	June 30 th 1852	2 ^d Quarter 1852
				7 30 92		3^d Quarter 1852

The above map of Township No. 2 South Range No. 2 East of the Willamette Meridian Territory Oregon strictly conformable to the field notes of the survey thereof on file in this office, which have been examined and approved

Surveyor General's Office.
 Oregon City June 30th 1852
 (signed) *M. B. Preston*
 Sur. Gen.

Whereas early regional maps noted the locations of American Indian tribes and traders' forts, by the 1850s the maps conveyed rapid settlement, an expanding transportation network and a geography being reshaped for agriculture. General Land Office, June 30, 1852.



Above: The 'Indian Graves' and 'Indian Village' north of Clackamas City show a culture being swallowed by white settlement. The seminary and court house in Oregon City provide an especially stark contrast to the traditions practiced in the region prior to the arrival of traders in the early nineteenth century. General Land Office, June 30, 1852.

Left: Taken from between Second and Third Street, this is one of the earliest known photos of the Mill Reserve and Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1857.

From the Whitman Incident to the Hanging of the Cayuse Five

Contributed by the Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute's permanent exhibit, *'We Were, We Are, We Will Be.'*³¹⁸ Although sometimes colored by frontier prejudice, encounters between the immigrants and the Cayuse people were mostly friendly and beneficial. The Cayuse, as well as the Walla Walla and Umatilla, engaged the immigrants in trade, providing survival skills, provisions, and acting as guides. However, with respect to the Whitman Mission, developing tensions over land tenure brought the Mission to a close in 1842. In the meantime, settlers continued to crowd 'the trail from the east.' Between 1843 and 1847, the Mission at Weyíletpu was more of an aid station for white immigrant travelers than a savior of Indian souls.

Fights over water and land were less about conflicts of culture and more about control of that land and water. "They had their eyes on our country," as one tribal member states.

While missionaries were trying to assert control over morality and practices such as farming, change was still voluntary. This was a struggle between losing control versus asserting it, which eventually led to death and consequences.

The Tribal Perspective

The reasons for killing the Whitmans have been relayed by many voices and perspectives, yet very few of these retellings reconstruct the context of the history from the tribal point of view.

American expansion immobilized the Natítayt (the People). By the mid-1840's, Indians were living under adverse conditions in their own homelands. In addition, in the fall of 1847, a devastating measles epidemic broke out among the Cayuse as a tide of 4,000 immigrants passed through the homeland.

Death gripped the tribal villages. When the disease did not resolve in a good manner (killing a much greater percentage of tribal members than immigrants), the

Cayuse people enforced their native law as they had warned Whitman they would. As Teweutoyakonemy, the daughter of Tomahas of the Cayuse Five, explained, "...The headmen met in a council and made an agreement that the Doctor should be killed because two hundred of the people had died after taking his medicine."

This traditional council of law was formed and a decision rendered. On November 29, a small band of Cayuse killed the missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman along with 12 others. Open resistance had now begun.

The spilling of blood at Weyíletpu stunned American settlements. A volunteer militia and peace commission was soon organized to capture those involved in the killing. The Cayuse War ensued.

"It was now decided in my mind that Oregon will be occupied by American citizens." - Marcus Whitman, 1843

Over time, the Cayuse resistance began to weaken. The tribes finally held a council and decided that for the sake of the Cayuse people, some would have to surrender. Five headmen, some of who took part in the fighting at the mission, others who were not present at all, were chosen to travel to Oregon City and turn themselves in, with the hopes of ending the Cayuse War in this manner.

A trial ensued. In accordance with the custom of the white man and on the advice of their lawyers, the Cayuse Five pleaded "not guilty." However, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty and the Cayuse Five were sentenced to die. Prior to their hanging, they were asked

why they had surrendered, to which Tiloukaikt answered, "Did not the missionaries teach us that Christ died to save his people? Thus we die, if we must, to save our people." Descendants of the Cayuse Five today, along with the larger tribal community of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, hope for the day when the Cayuse Five can be repatriated to their homeland.

What is lost in the narrative of the Whitman Incident is that the western United States was a battleground of a greater scale. In the 1840s, there were many conflicts going on, including those between countries over dominion over the land, between settlers and

tribes over settlements, between settlers and other settlers over who had superior claims and even between churches competing for followers.

The territorial conflict was not resolved until the signing of the Oregon Treaty in 1846, which settled the question of dominion as between Canada and the United States (and which did not take into account the views of the Tribes). It is against this greater theater of ongoing conflicts that the Whitman Incident is to be judged, not solely on the words of the white settlers seeking to dispossess the Tribes of their lands.



By the middle of the nineteenth century, development reached both sides of the Falls. Gaston, 1858.

c. 1851 PERIOD PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT



LEGACY PROJECT

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR

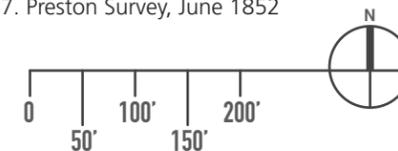


- Industrial
- Housing / Lodging
- Retail / Service
- Institutional / Public Utilities
- Mixed Use (Commercial + Lodging)
- Unknown Use
- Tree canopy
- Agriculture
- Wood surfacing
- Water
- Property boundary (2016)
- Tax lot (current)
- Tax lot (historic)

- ① Approximate location of Smith Foundry
- ② Possible location of Multnomah Lodge
- ③ Possible location of potato field
- ④ Possible location of McLoughlin Jail
- ⑤ Possible location of City Hotel
- ⑥ Possible location of Oregon City Mint
- ⑦ Possible location of Statesman Newspaper
- ⑧ Possible location of Oregon Saloon and Boarding House owned by Jacob Vanderpool
- ⑨ Possible location of Peter Hatch's School for Hawaiians

SOURCES

1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
3. Site Survey, 2015
4. Warre and Vavasour Survey, 1846
5. Historic Images, 1846-1852
6. Preston Survey, November 1851
7. Preston Survey, June 1852



1842-1859 PLAT OWNERSHIP PUBLIC DRAFT



LEGACY PROJECT

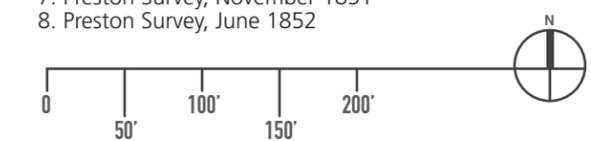
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- John McLoughlin
- S.H.L Meek (Steven), Abernathy George
- S.H.L Meek (Steven), Abernathy George, Forbes Barclay, Nathaniel Lane and wife
- Joseph Lane
- John P. Brooks, Sidney W. Moss and Joseph Lane
- John P. Brooks, A.K. & M.A. Post
- Sidney W. & Dorcas Moss
- A.F. Hedges and Wm Barlow
- Alveon Post, Hanna & Co.
- Walter Pomeroy
- John McLoughlin, Walter Pomeroy
- W.M. Glaser
- Crosby & Smith; Charman, Thomas & Sophia
- Frank T. & Mary E. Barlow
- John & David McLoughlin, Daniel & Eloisa M. Harvey, Joseph & P Lane
- Eliza Milwain
- Property boundary (2016)
- Tax lot (current)
- Tax lot (historic)

SOURCES

1. Plat ownership research by Karise Morey
2. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
3. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
4. Site Survey, 2015
5. Warre and Vavasour Survey, 1846
6. Historic Images, 1846-1852
7. Preston Survey, November 1851
8. Preston Survey, June 1852



A Complex & Contradictory Melting Pot

Immigrants over the

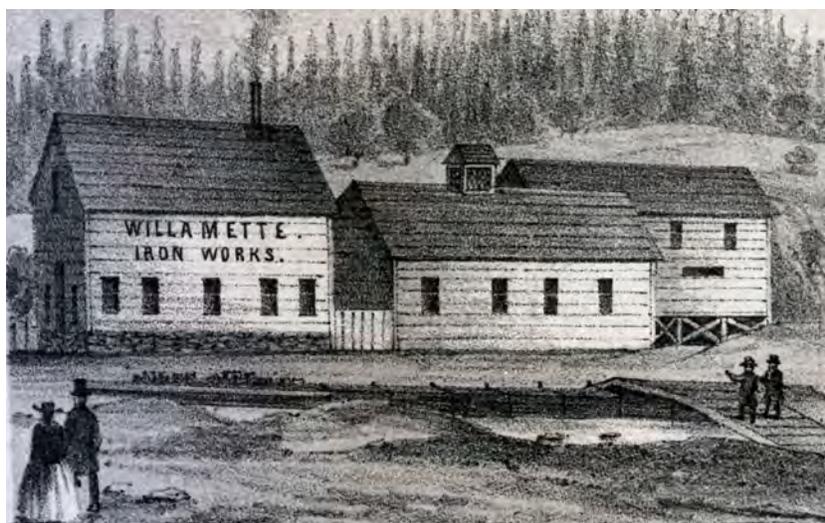
Oregon Trail sought opportunities for a better life, but they also brought their prejudices with them. This created a variety of complications when they arrived to find 'their utopia' populated by a variety of non-Americans - British traders led by McLoughlin, Hawaiians, French Canadians, members of different tribes who spoke different languages and others.

When William Watson arrived in September 1849, he observed that "the population [was] a mixed multitude; Sandwich Islanders [Hawaiians], Indians of several tribes, Mexicans, and Spaniards."³¹⁹ He likely did not see, however, many people of African descent since early settlers, who were opposed to slavery, were also not in favor of living alongside African Americans.³²⁰ Indeed, one of the provisional legislature's early acts on July 5, 1843 prohibited slavery but was then amended on June 26, 1844 to benefit slaveholders by giving them time, up to three years, to remove their slaves from the territory. If they did not the slaves would be freed. Peter Burnett, who later became the first governor of California, supported the law saying *"The object is to keep clear of that most troublesome class of population (blacks). We are in a new world, under the most favorable circumstances and we wish to avoid most of those evils that have so much afflicted the United States and other countries."*³²¹

However, eliminating slavery did not mean that African Americans would be allowed to stay in Oregon since black males were required to leave within two years and black females within three years.³²² The first exclusion law was bolstered on September 21, 1849 when a second law set to exclude African Americans from Oregon was enacted. This law stated that "it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to enter into, or reside" in Oregon. This was in part a response to the Cockstock incident, which heightened "fears about possible racial conspiracy between blacks and Indians against white settlers."³²³ It also originated from the immigrants' experience in their former homes where they felt they couldn't compete with farms and plantations that used slave labor. They saw Oregon as their utopia and they were going to enact laws that enabled them to keep it that way.

The black exclusion laws didn't prevent all African Americans from trying to settle in the Oregon Territory. However, few were allowed to stay long. In 1851, African American Jacob Vanderpool lived and owned a saloon, restaurant and boarding house in Oregon City before being expelled from the territory by Judge Thomas Nelson after his neighbor Theophilus Magruder filed a suit against him based on the second black exclusion law passed in September 1849.³²⁴ Vanderpool's business, the Oregon Saloon and Boarding House, was likely located on the north side of Main Street between Third and Fourth Streets.

The industries that developed near the Falls mirrored the type of industrial expansion prevalent around the country during the mid-century. Rossi's original iron works was located near McLoughlin's mills. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1858.



American Indians at Willamette Falls

The most tragic outcome amongst the diverse populace was experienced by the American Indians. After nearly a decade of losing people to disease, only a small population of Chinookans occupied a village adjacent to the Falls around 1840.³²⁶ It was reported that several hundred Clackamas were living when the Provisional State of Oregon was

being organized.³²⁷ As late as 1848, American Indians traded salmon at the Falls with white settlers in exchange for clothes, cash or liquor. However, in the period leading up to the Whitman incident, tensions between whites and American Indians was already increasing. In September 1847, the *Spectator* reported "We are credibly informed that C.E. Pickett has

received the appointment of Indian Agent for the Oregon Territory! [...] His advice to emigrants to California, recently published in the *Spectator*, is sufficient to tell the man, in which he says, 'Kill all the Indians you may find from Oregon to California.'³²⁸ While attribution of this statement to Pickett might have been based on a rumor, the comment reflects the changing tenor.

This is based on a description that it was located across the street from the *Statesman* newspaper office, which is presumed to have been located north of the Methodist Church on the south side of Main Street.³²⁵ Magruder likely brought his case against Vanderpool due to the competition that Vanderpool's boarding house and saloon made for his own boarding house, the Main Street House Hotel, located at the corner of Main Street and Fourth Street. Magruder maintained that Vanderpool had not been an Oregon resident before September 29, 1849 and so Vanderpool was arrested on August 21, 1851 by U.S. Marshall Joseph L. Meek. Vanderpool's attorney A. Holbrook requested that his client be released for three reasons: that the exclusion law was unconstitutional, that it was not being enforced and that Magruder's affidavit was insufficient. Though many witnesses were called

to testify about when Vanderpool arrived in Oregon, the information varied and on August 26, 1851 Judge Nelson ordered Vanderpool to leave the territory within 30 days. Based

on *Magruder v. Vanderpool*, the black exclusion laws were deemed constitutional on September 2, 1851.

Women's Role

Women also had a complex role in the new settlement. In its earliest days, most of the residents were male, with women arriving in the entourages of their husbands. Due to the small population, women chose and were sometimes compelled to take on more active roles in the community. This includes not only the Catholic nuns who established a school, but also the women who tended to the crops while the men sought gold in California. By 1846, Reverend Gary suggested that the proportion of females in the

community was about one-third.³²⁹ His view of their role, however, perhaps reflected the social mores of his time in terms of both race and gender. He opined, "if there were a larger proportion of females in this population (I mean white females), it would be better for this community. The appearance of the ladies is respectable, and I have no doubt but their respectable appearance has a happy effect, upon the rougher part of this population. Surely it is good that woman has a place in this society."³³⁰



This Kalapuyan Treaty Map shows the locations of various tribes and American Indian names for some geographical features. Center for Columbia River History, 1850.

U.S. Treaty with the Confederated Bands of the Kalapuya

"In January 1855, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer met with Kalapuyans, several bands of the Clackamas Chinook, and northern Molala peoples at Dayton and negotiated another treaty with the Confederated Bands of the Kalapuya, also known as the Bands of Willamette Valley Indians.

The Kalapuyans, who had been decimated by disease and whose population had declined to about 400 people, ceded nearly the entirety of the Willamette Valley to the United States government. In return, they were promised a permanent reservation; annuities; supplies; educational, vocational,

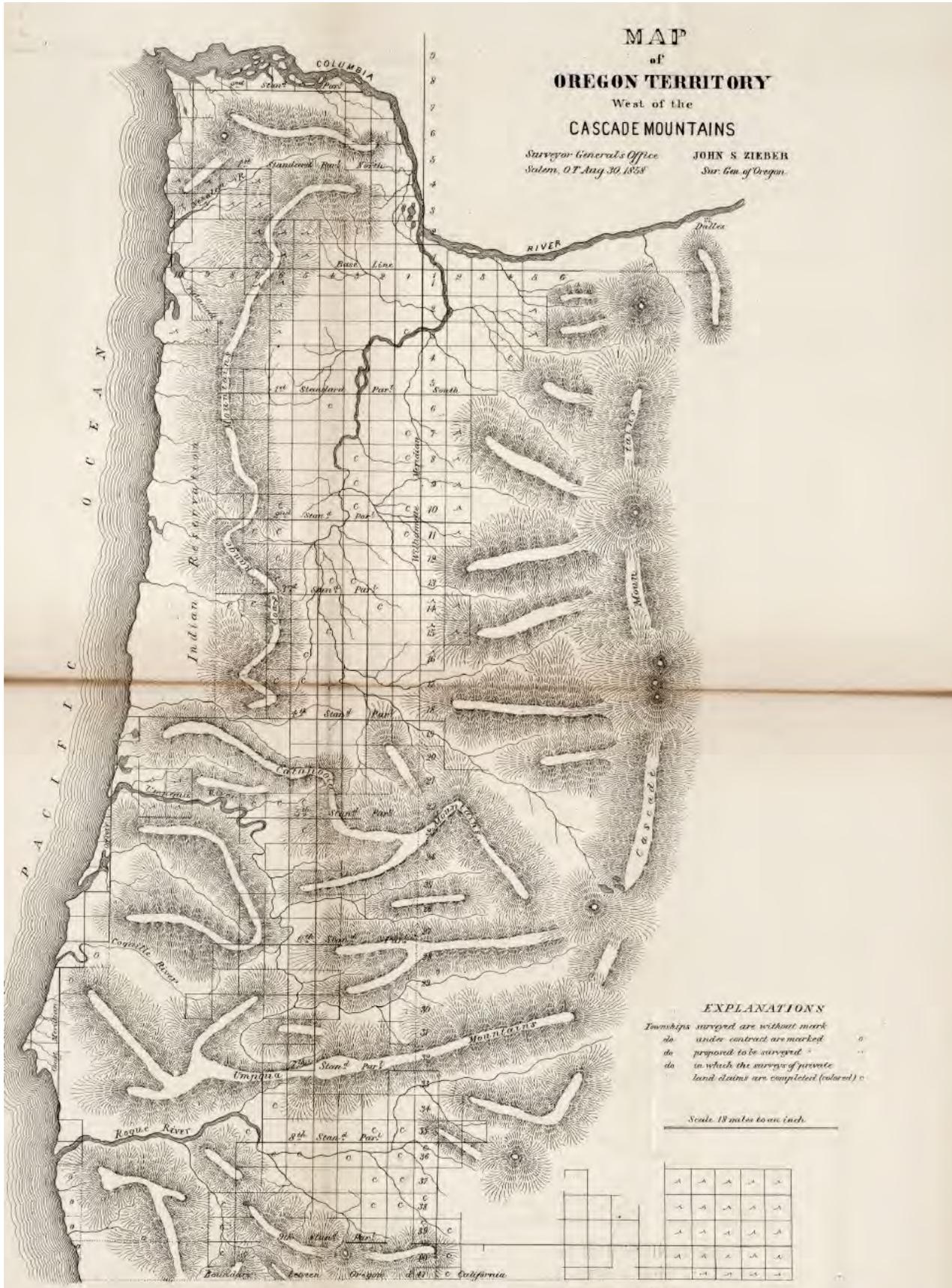
and health services; and protection from violence by American settlers. The U.S. Senate quickly ratified the treaty in March 1855.³³¹ Though a location wasn't initially identified, a reservation on the Oregon coast was later created for the Willamette Valley, Umpqua and Coast tribes.

After the Whitman incident, women in Oregon City were afraid to pass a cave on the face of the high bluff between Fifth and Sixth Streets while the 'able-bodied men' were engaged with the gold rush, but McLoughlin purportedly assured them that he would "take care of those Indians."³³² The combination of disease, the Cayuse War and limited access to traditional salmon resources likely took care of it for him. By 1851, only 13 Clowewallas remained on the west bank of the Falls.³³³ Artist Paul Kane observed in 1853 that *"the Multnomah tribe, opposite Oregon City, at the falls of the Willamette, is almost extinct. One or two families are all that now remain. Slakum, the chief of this tribe, died in 1853."*³³⁴

During the early 1850s, the Willamette Valley Treaty Commission, which had been created by the U.S. Congress, was negotiating treaties with several bands of American Indians in the Willamette Valley, with the express purpose of removing them from the valley to another location. While those agreements cede most land in the Willamette Valley to the immigrants, small

reserves within the Willamette Valley Indians' traditional territories were retained.³³⁵ In 1851, the principal band of the Molalla tribe ceded a tract of land starting from a point a mile from the Falls and occupying a valuable portion of the country.³³⁶ The tribe was moved to a reservation with money, clothing, rifles and horses for the chiefs and a log house for the principal chief Guai-eck-e-te. During December of the same year, the Clackamas signed a treaty that ceded lands including portions of Oregon City, for which they were to receive an annuity of \$25,000 per year for 10 years, to be paid in money, clothing and provisions.³³⁷ A total of \$500 was to be paid in money. According to the terms, "they [made] no reservation of the soil, but [were] allowed the privilege of occupying their present locations during the lives of the signers of the treaty and their grounds and buildings are not to be encroached upon by the whites, or others, except as it may be necessary in the construction of highways or bridges for the public use."³³⁸ In October 1855, the Chinook of the Willamette Falls were brought together on a small reservation near

Gladstone, Oregon after signing a treaty earlier in the year.³³⁹ However, none of these agreements were ratified since the Commission's power was revoked by the U.S. Congress due to the opposition of some of the agreed upon terms by Oregon's territorial delegates.³⁴⁰ East of the Cascades, Governor Stevens and Oregon Territorial Governor Joel Palmer negotiated treaties with several tribal groups.³⁴¹ One such treaty, the Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla was negotiated in Walla Walla in 1855 at a treaty council. This treaty provided: *that the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians, and at all other usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same; the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands in common with citizens, is also secured to them.*³⁴²



In contrast to the image on the previous page, this map shows roughly the same region later in the same decade, but oriented around white settlements. David Rumsey, 1858.

The treaty minutes detail the ongoing importance of hunting, fishing and gathering outside of the reservation boundaries. Governor Stevens made several points to ensure that the Indians understood signing the treaty would not hinder these traditional practices. Access to the tribes' traditional foods, and the right to harvest them, are explicitly protected in the Treaty of 1855 including hunting, fishing, gathering, grazing and all other rights not ceded to the United States in the treaty such as the right to trade. The tribal members who negotiated the Treaty of 1855 with the United States government specifically reserved rights to foods and materials to supply the Weyíiletpu, Imatalamłáma and Walúlapam's resource needs. The treaty was signed by all parties on June 9, 1855 and was ratified by Congress in 1859. The rights reserved therein are the basis of the tribes' economy and the core of their culture and religion.

Despite provisions in the treaty reserving the right to hunt, fish and gather in usual and accustomed places, American Indians were systematically removed, sometimes by military force, to the reservations. Among these were large segments of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation that continued to travel to their usual and accustomed places to hunt, fish, and gather plant foods. People moved seasonally between the Columbia

River to the uplands and back to the reservation. They lived independently and largely rejected the offerings of aid from Indian Agents via annuities from the government. Tribal members also traveled to the lower Columbia, including the Willamette Falls area, following the fish up the Columbia. Some tribal members resisted and actively fought against the attempts of the states to dispossess them of their treaty rights to the lands and rivers, such as Billy Frank, who was arrested and jailed for exercising tribal treaty rights in 1945. State hostility to treaty fishing rights was manifest and the United States took the states of Oregon and Washington to court over those challenges. The lawsuit *U.S. v. Oregon* in the Federal District Court for the District of Oregon is one of those lawsuits, one of the longest running district court case in the United States.³⁴³ The case was filed in 1968 to challenge the state's authority to place restrictions on tribal fishing guaranteed by treaties. In 1969, judge Robert Belloni issued the first of a string of rulings upholding the off-reservation treaty fishing rights of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Yakama Nation, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon and the Nez Perce Tribe of the Indians to fish in their traditional locations. These tribes fish annually at Willamette Falls today.

The court retained jurisdiction to enforce its rulings and the proceeding continues to this day.

During the nineteenth century, however, local justice prevailed. In March 1856, the residents of Oregon City organized themselves as a City-recognized special police force.³⁴⁴ Their purpose was to prohibit all American Indians from traveling within city limits between sundown and sunrise. During the following month, Palmer fully removed any remaining American Indians after a request from city residents.

The *Oregon Argus* reported they were sent *"toward the Reservation in Yamhill. Our streets look quite dull since their departure. [...] In reference to the matter, we think Gen. Palmer has acted judiciously, sensibly and humanely. He has removed the Indians just as soon as the citizens requested him to do so, and when it became necessary for the safety of the Indians themselves."*³⁴⁵

By 1857, the local Clackamas were so reduced in numbers that the entire tribe lived in a single longhouse.³⁴⁶ The same year, new Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart signed a treaty with those Clackamas who were not integrating with settlers or other American Indians in the valley.³⁴⁷ When they were removed, it formally ended millennia of uninterrupted American Indian residency at Willamette Falls.



By the 1850s, Oregon City was a thriving village clustered at the Falls, but expansion was on the horizon. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c. 1857.

Soap, shoes and books: an early immigrant's recollection

"There stood the everready ash hopper, without which no family was equipped for living. They were soon at work leaching the ashes for lye, and the soap kettle was boiling. Each had a bucket of soap, and in the early morning they mounted their horses and holding their bucket of soap in front for them were off for Oregon City to exchange it for at least mother's first Oregon dress."³⁴⁸

"Father came home one evening and told us they had the teacher engaged to begin school, a man by the name of Snyder. "I must go to Oregon City to-morrow," he said, "and get the children some books and leather to make shoes." Each man was his own family shoemaker in those days. Ah! What pleasure at the thought of shoes and books! How anxiously were we looking as the time drew near for his return; but evening came and no father. It grew dark; we waited, we watched, we listened. The weird, lone sound of wolves was all that greeted us.

It must have been 9 o'clock when we heard his welcome voice calling for Horton to come and get the parcels while he went on to put his horse away. After mother had given father his supper she went to work folding, sewing and pasting our books, while father busied himself taking the measure of our feet for shoes. We went to bed leaving them thus employed by the light of the open fire and tallow candles, or perhaps a tin cup or plate with grease in it and a twisted rag-string burning. When I awakened the next morning it seemed to me they had been working all night, for there sat father at work on the shoes, while mother was preparing the breakfast; on the table were our books. Oh! Such lovely books, covered with a piece of one of mother's worn-out calico dresses, her prettiest dress, I thought. No city boy or girl could be more pleased with their nice new books than we were. And the rapture of it! Such cute thumb-papers in

each! What boy or girl nowadays knows what a thumb-paper is? Simple a piece of paper folded in fanciful shape. Happy were those who could boast a pretty colored one that would be too good for every-day use. In holding our books while studying, the paper rested under the thumb and saved wearing the book. Father had only finished one pair of shoes (Horton's); the rest of us were barefooted, and there was a light fall of snow on the ground, but there was no talk of staying at home. Horton went ahead and scraped one foot along, thus clearing the snow from a path for us small girls to walk in. I have often wondered if we cried with our cold feet. ... Any way, before school was out that afternoon father was at the schoolhouse with our shoes slung over his shoulders, and how proudly we put them on in front of the fire, with the other children interested onlookers. Whether we had stockings or not I do not recall."³⁴⁹

NOTES

- 1 Oregon Secretary of State, "Provisional and Territorial Records Guide - Clackamas County History and Records," <http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/pages/records/provisionalguide/ClackamasCounty.html>; W.G. T'Vault, "An Editorial - W.G. T'Vault Ed," *Oregon Spectator*, February 19, 1846.
- 2 Eva Emery Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City," in *Portland, Oregon, Its History and Builders: In Connection with the Antecedent Explorations, Discoveries, and Movements of the Pioneers that Selected the Site for the Great City of the Pacific*, Joseph Gaston, 650-674, Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912; Oregon Secretary of State, "Provisional and Territorial Records Guide - Clackamas County History and Records." The first of these sources indicates the two-mile claim terminated at Abernethy Creek, but the current creek crossing is much closer than two miles from the Falls. It is not clear whether the historical creek forked or followed a different path, a different creek had the same name or if this description is an error.
- 3 Sidona Johnson, *A Short History of Oregon*, Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1904. Though this plan never came to fruition, some former employees did retire to the area around the Falls.
- 4 John McLoughlin, *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin: Written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832*, edited by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort, 1948.
- 5 Karl Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City: The Falls Were First," *Oregonian*, September 14, 1983. That same year, Lucier had the distinction of being the first settler in what would become Portland.
- 6 Jim Tompkins, *Oregon City*, Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006; USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History," <http://www.usgenet.org/usa/or/county/clackamas/index.html>.
- 7 *Oregon Spectator*, "Letter to the Editor," January 6, 1848. Green Point refers to a large plot of land near the current End of the Oregon Trail museum.
- 8 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; D. Paul Muno and Helen E. Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church of Oregon City, Oregon*, Oregon City: Oregon City United Methodist Church, 1977..
- 9 McLoughlin, *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin*; Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 10 The beginning of Main Street, and its first cross-street, was Third Street. Subsequent cross-streets progressed northeast chronologically. For context, had there been a First or Second Street, the HBC storehouse would have been at what approximated the corner of Main and Second Streets.
- 11 Charles Carey, *General History of Oregon*, Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort Publishers, 1971.
- 12 Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City;" Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*; Tompkins, *Oregon City*; George Kramer, *Willamette Falls Industrial Area: Request for Determination of Eligibility*, May 2002.
- 13 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" *Blue Heron Paper Company History*, 2001, copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory; Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City." Mill Island is now known as Abernethy Island.
- 14 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 15 Malcolm Clark, Jr., *Eden Seekers: The Settlement of Oregon, 1818-1862*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981; Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City." The observer apparently missed the Kanakas and the much decimated but very-present American Indians. Due to the uncertainty regarding exact dates for the construction of certain features, the missing second mill in this observation might have been one of the targets of the arson or a victim of flooding.
- 16 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 17 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; Melinda Marie Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859*, Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2015.

- 18 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*, n.d., copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory.
- 19 Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City."
- 20 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson, eds., *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013. Lay stewards are non-ordained persons who are entrusted with leadership responsibilities, both spiritual and operational, at their local church.
- 21 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 22 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*; Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City."
- 23 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" *Morning Enterprise*, "Where Our People Worship," January 12, 1912. A rod is equal to 5.5 yards or 16.5 feet. These sources describe Waller's house as the first built in Oregon City or at the Falls. The settlement was not yet named as such and American Indians lived at the site for centuries. Hawaiian laborers may have also lived at the site.
- 24 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 25 "Letter from Alvin F. Waller," 1840, copy at the University of Oregon Special Collections.
- 26 Boyd et. al., *Chinookan Peoples*; Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 27 This was Whitman's first trip to the Pacific Northwest. The Samuel Parker who arrived in 1835 is distinct from the Samuel Parker who arrived a decade later and served in the territory's legislature.
- 28 Alfred Powers and Mary-Jane Finke, "Survey of First Half-Century of Oregon Hotels," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (1942): 232-281.
- 29 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*; Stephen D. Beckham, *Willamette Falls Legacy Project Historic Context Statement*.
- 30 William Fraser Tolmie, *The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader*, Burnaby, BC: Mitchell Press Limited, 1963.
- 31 Jean Barman, *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014. The former trappers welcomed and assisted the Methodist missionaries, who in return described them as polite, hospitable and half-breeds.
- 32 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 33 Virginia L. Butler and Michael A. Martin, "Aboriginal Fisheries of the Lower Columbia," in Boyd, Ames and Johnson, *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*.
- 34 Patricia Kohnen, "The Story of the Skookum's Tongue: A Willamette Valley Legend," from the "Reminiscences of Louis Labonte," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 1, 1901.
- 35 Butler and Martin, "Aboriginal Fisheries of the Lower Columbia."
- 36 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*. American Indians were susceptible to new diseases carried by Euroamericans, which caused the initial depopulation of many tribes when smallpox broke out in their villages. Other illnesses continued to make American Indians sick and many did not survive these later waves of illness.
- 37 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*; Frank McLynn, *Wagons West: The Epic Story of America's Overland Trails*, New York: Grove Press, 2002, p. 8.
- 38 Stephen D. Beckham, *Willamette Falls National Heritage Area: 1829-1900*, 2015.
- 39 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 40 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 41 *The City on Willamette Falls*, n.d., copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory.

- 42 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 43 Charles Wilkes led a four-year expedition between 1838-1842 where he circled the globe by sea specifically exploring Antarctica, the Pacific Ocean and the West Coast of the United States before returning to New York.
- 44 Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 45 Beckham, *Willamette Falls National Heritage Area: 1829-1900*.
- 46 Butler and Martin, "Aboriginal Fisheries of the Lower Columbia."
- 47 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 48 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History." The former source suggests the Oregon Milling Company was established in 1841 while the latter source suggests the Island Milling Society was established in October 1842. It is possible the first was the sawmill and the second was the grist mill.
- 49 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History;" Work Projects Administration, Survey of State and Local Historical Records: 1939-41, "Re: Early Mills and Manufacturing, April 5, 1849," Records 1, 1850-1853 (vol. 1, p. 162). The Methodists built both a sawmill and grist mill on Mill Island. Despite some confusion in the available sources, the sawmill was built first.
- 50 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History;" Oregon History Interpretive Sign. Construction of the sawmill was still in progress during 1842.
- 51 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 52 Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City." Attribution of the first mercantile store to Abernethy is curious given Couch's efforts the previous year. No explanation for this discrepancy was available in the available sources.
- 53 Laura Berg, *The First Oregonians*, Portland: Oregon Council for the Humanities, 2007.
- 54 National Park Service, "History & Culture," retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/oreg/learn/historyculture/index.htm>.
- 55 Donna McGuire, *Along the Oregon Trail*, Independence, MO: The Examiner, 1988.
- 56 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; Ralph Friedman, *Oregon for the Curious*, Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1993.
- 57 Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 58 Ibid. Sources suggesting the Lyceum meetings started in 1840 are likely mistaken.
- 59 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*; Oregon Secretary of State, "Provisional and Territorial Records Guide - Historical Synopsis," <http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/pages/records/provisionalguide/Synopsis.html>; Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*. Moss may have been assisted by J.M. Hudspeth.
- 60 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" *Morning Enterprise*, "Where Our People Worship." Population counts in Oregon City were complicated through the end of the 1840s by the constant influx of migrants, combined with the steady outflow of individuals and families for mining or other opportunities in California or farming and other settlements in Oregon.
- 61 Medorem Crawford, *Crawford Papers, 1842-1851*, copy at the Oregon Historical Society. Medorem Crawford arrived in Oregon with Dr. Elijah White in 1842 when he was 23. His journal is the only record of that trip which was one of the first groups of people to cross the United States and reach Oregon City. He made a living teaching and hauling goods around the Willamette Valley and was a member of Oregon's Provisional Government between 1847-1849.
- 62 "Carnegie Library History," <http://www.orcity.org/library/carnegie-library-history>.
- 63 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Rev. H.K. Hines, *An Illustrated History of the State of Oregon, Containing a History of Oregon from the Earliest Period of its*

Discovery to the Present Time, Together with Glimpses of its Auspicious Frontier; Illustrations and Full-Page Portraits of Some of its Eminent Men and Biographical Mention of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Citizens of Today, Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1893.

- 66 Carey, *General History of Oregon*; S.A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, Portland, OR: J.K. Gill Company, 1905.
- 67 Clark, *Eden Seekers*. McLoughlin was Roman Catholic, a source of some of these tensions.
- 68 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Oregon State Library, "Oregon City Land Deed, Signed by Dr. John McLaughlin," <http://photos.lib.state.or.us/search.htm>; Crawford, *Crawford Papers*.
- 69 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 70 Overton Johnson and Wm. H. Winter, "Route across the Rocky Mountains with a Description of Oregon and California, Their Geographical [sic] Features, Their Resources, Soil, Climate, Productions, etc., etc.," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1906): 62-104.
- 71 Frederick V. Holman, "A Brief History of the Oregon Provisional Government and What Caused Its Formation," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1912): 89-139.
- 72 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 73 James Athey, *Workshops at Oregon City, James Athey's Narrative, Time and Place, Oregon City, Tuesday, June 18th, 1878, Present: Athey, Bancroft, et al., 1878.*
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 76 *The City on Willamette Falls*; Phillip Foster, *Phillip Foster Papers, 1834-1967*, copy at the Oregon Historical Society. It is not clear what type of business the Red Store conducted. Foster remained in business at the Falls through the end of 1846.
- 77 Erwin F. Lange, "Oregon City Private Schools, 1843-59," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1936): 308-328.
- 78 As noted elsewhere in this chapter, Peter Hatch hosted the first meetings of the First Baptist Church in his home before the first church was built at Thirteenth Street and Main Street in 1848.
- 79 Powers and Finke, "Survey of First Half-Century."
- 80 Holman, "A Brief History;" Leslie M. Scott, "Oregon's Provisional Government, 1843-49," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1929): 207-217.
- 81 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 82 Tompkins, *Oregon City*; Oregon History Interpretive Sign; Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 83 Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*; Oregon History Interpretive Sign; Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area: A National Heritage Area Feasibility Study (3rd Draft)*, August 2013.
- 84 Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*
- 85 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 86 Carey, *General History of Oregon*. In the Catholic Church, an apostolic vicariate is an area under missionary control prior to the establishment of a diocese. An ecclesiastical province is a collection of dioceses or a large jurisdiction. Sees are generally synonymous with dioceses; therefore, they are the area under a bishop's jurisdiction.
- 87 American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Volume 17*, 1906.
- 88 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 89 Carey, *General History of Oregon*; Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*.

- 90, Charles Henry Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - II," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (1923): 153-185.
- 91 Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 92 Athey, *Workshops at Oregon City*.
- 93 Johnson and Winter, "Route across the Rocky Mountains."
- 94 Johnson and Winter, "Route across the Rocky Mountains."
- 95 J.M. Hudspeth, *John McLoughlin Survey of 640 Acres*, December 1843, copy at the Oregon Historical Society.
- 96 Stewart H. Holbrook, *Far Corner: A Personal View of the Pacific Northwest*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952.
- 97 Francis. Ermatinger, *Letters of Francis Ermatinger*, April 4, 1844, copy at the City of Oregon City.
- 98 Ibid. The Ermatinger house was moved twice, but is still the oldest historic structure in Clackamas County and one of the oldest in the entire state. The City of Portland was reportedly named in this house.
- 99 Charles Henry Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1923): 68-105.
- 100 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," 81.
- 101 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," 80.
- 102 Powers and Finke, "Survey of First Half-Century." According to another source, the livery was built in 1847 (USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History").
- 103 Charles Henry Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1923): 269-333. Sources list the jail's year of construction as both 1844 and 1845, while the location is reported as either Third and Water or between Fourth and Fifth and Water. Since it burned down twice before a brick structure was built at an entirely different location, it is possible that both are true.
- 104 Peter Holt Hatch, *Peter Holt Hatch papers (1843-1991): letter dated June 23, 1844*, copy at the Oregon Historical Society.
- 105 James Nicita, "Daniel Harvey - like John McLoughlin - father of OC?" *Portland Tribune, Clackamas Review*, December 18, 2013; Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Oregon History Interpretive Sign.
- 106 Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1994. Hastings may not be a reliable source. His misrepresentations in *The Emigrant's Guide* were a direct contributor to the downfall of the Donner Party in California.
- 107 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Arthur L. Throckmorton, *Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier*, Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1961; *The City on Willamette Falls*.
- 108 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 109 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 110 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Oregon History Interpretive Sign; *Morning Enterprise*, "Where Our People Worship;" Carey, *General History of Oregon*. This means members pledged money specifically for its construction.
- 111 Munro and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 112 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary."
- 113 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 114 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*, 154.
- 115 Ibid., 156.
- 116 Edwin V. O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon*, Portland, OR: Catholic Book Co., 1916.

- 117 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Helen K. Smith, *John McLoughlin and His Family*, Lake Oswego, OR: Smith, Smith and Smith Publishing Co., 1976.
- 120 Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 121 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - II."
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid., 178.
- 124 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III," 270.
- 125 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Friedman, *Oregon for the Curious*; Smith, *John McLoughlin and His Family*.
- 126 Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 127 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 128 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History;" Robert Lewisohn Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*, Lake Oswego, OR: Mossy Brae Press, 2015. The bridge might have actually been built to the Methodist mills, but the grist mill in this case was definitely McLoughlin's.
- 129 Munro and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 130 "Carnegie Library History;" Carey, *General History of Oregon*. None of the businesses were identified as the first incorporated. Couch, Abernethy, Foster and Pettygrove are the likeliest candidates for the honor.
- 131 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City." This source identifies the location of his house as Fourth Street at Water Street, while other sources list Fifth at Water. It is probably more accurately stated that Hatch organized opportunities for Baptist services.
- 132 Rev. C.H. Mattoon, *Baptist Annals of Oregon: Volume I: 1844 to 1900*, McMinnville, OR: Telephone Register Publishing Co., 1905.
- 133 Butler and Martin, "Aboriginal Fisheries of the Lower Columbia." By this point, a small American Indian population was still living opposite the Falls from Oregon City.
- 134 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*, Works Projects Administration, State of Oregon: 1939. This incident will be described in the subsequent section.
- 135 Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*.
- 136 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III."
- 137 Holman, "A Brief History."
- 138 *Enterprise Courier*, "WPA History - Gibbs," November 6, 1929.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III."
- 141 Ibid., 291.
- 142 J.E. Howell, *Oregon Trail Journal of J.E. Howell*, 1845.
- 143 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 144 Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*.
- 145 Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels: On the Oregon Trail in 1845*, Salem: Oregon Trail Coordinating Council, 1992.

- 146 Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Dick, Pintarich, ed., *Great and Minor Moments in Oregon History: An Illustrated Anthology of Illuminating Glimpses into Oregon's Past from Prehistory to the Present*, Portland, OR: New Oregon Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- 149 Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 150 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 151 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 152 Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*.
- 153 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 Frederick Woodward Skiff, *Adventures in Americana, Recollections of Forty Years Collecting Books, Furniture, China, Guns and Glass*, Portland, OR: Metropolitan Press, 1935; Oregon History Interpretive Sign; Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*; Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*; Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*; Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III." The first spelling book published in Oregon was printed in February of the following year (1847), potentially on the same printing press.
- 156 *Oregon Spectator*, "Hat Manufacture," February 5, 1846.
- 157 *Enterprise Courier*, "WPA History - Gibbs." They also noted a new village downriver called 'Portland.'
- 158 Karin Morey, "Business ads in *The Spectator*, 1846."
- 159 Holman, "A Brief History."
- 160 *Unknown*, "A. Lawrence Lovejoy, Attorney and Counsellor at Law and Solicitor in Chancery," January 20, 1846. Considering the printing press in the back of his office, this ad likely appeared in *The Spectator*.
- 161 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 162 *Unknown*, "Notice of Geo. Abernethy and Alanson Beers," January 28, 1846; Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III." This reinforces the idea that the sawmill and grist mill were initially established as separate enterprises.
- 163 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 164 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 165 *Petition to Oregon City Council*, April 28, 1846, copy at the University of Oregon.
- 166 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City." The distance from the City Hotel to the Methodist church was about one block.
- 167 Palmer, *Journal of Travels*.
- 168 Tompkins, *Oregon City*. This source claims it was called the Red Store. Couch and Pettygrove arrived several years apart and went into business separately. It is not clear whether this was a shared space or their businesses actually merged.
- 169 Dorothy Nafus Morrison, *Outpost: John McLoughlin and the Far Northwest*, Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2004; Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 170 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III."
- 171 Ibid., 328.
- 172 Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 173 Mattoon, *Baptist Annals of Oregon*.

- 174 *Snapshot of People and the Masonic Lodge in Oregon*, n.d., copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory; *Morning Enterprise*, "Where Our People Worship;" Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 175 Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary - III," 328.
- 176 W.P. Hudson, *The Oregon Almanac, for the year of our lord and savior Jesus Christ, 1848*, Oregon City, OR: Spectator Office, 1848.
- 177 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Berg, *The First Oregonians*; Jennifer Karson, ed., *Wiyaxayat: As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, and Our People, The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla*, Pendleton, OR: Tamastslikt Cultural Institute, 2006. A more complete account of the incident and its impacts is found in a later section of this narrative.
- 178 Hines, *An Illustrated History*. The Cayuse rationale for seizing the survivors is not provided.
- 179 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 180 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 181 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 182 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 183 America 101, "The Oregon Trail," retrieved from <http://oregontrail101.com>.
- 184 Kenneth L. Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries & Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1849*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995, 105-106. Note that her diary entry is unedited from the original.
- 185 America 101, "The Oregon Trail."
- 186 Michael La Salle, *Emigrants on the Overland Trail: The Wagon Trains of 1848*, Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2011, 402.
- 187 Susan Dolan, *Fruitful Legacy: A Historic Context of Orchards in the United States, with Technical Information for Registering Orchards in the National Register of Historic Places*, National Park Service, 2009.
- 188 La Salle, *Emigrants on the Overland Trail*, xv.
- 189 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 190 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*; Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 191 Pat Erigero, "Historic Oregon City: Main Street Walking Tour," City of Oregon City, 1983.
- 192 Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*.
- 193 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*; Hines, *An Illustrated History*; Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 194 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 195 Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*.
- 196 Pintarich, *Great and Minor Moments*.
- 197 Ibid.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Work Projects Administration, "Re: Early Mills and Manufacturing;" *Lovejoy et al. v. Willamette Falls Elec. Co. et al.*, 31 OR 181 (1897); Clark, *Eden Seekers*. A warranty deed guarantees a clear title to the buyer of real property.
- 200 *Lovejoy et al. v. Willamette Falls Elec. Co. et al.* No rationale was provided for these seemingly contradictory transactions. Furthermore, no explanation was given for the sale of a single mill, rather than both previously-Methodist mills.

- 201 Powers and Finke, "Survey of First Half-Century."
- 202 William J. Watson, *Journal of an Overland Journey to Oregon Made in the Year 1849*, Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1985; David Dary, *The Oregon Trail: An American Saga*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.
- 203 Watson, *Journal of an Overland Journey*.
- 204 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 205 Ronald B. Lansing, *Juggernaut: The Whitman Massacre Trial 1850*, Pasadena, CA: Ninth Judicial Court Historical Society, 1993.
- 206 *Oregon Spectator*, "Great Freshet," December 27, 1849.
- 207 *Oregon Spectator*, "The Late Freshet," January 10, 1850.
- 208 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 209 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 210 Arthur H. Greisser, *History of Portland General Electric Company, 1889-1981*, Portland, OR: Portland General Electric, 1982; Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.
- 211 J.P. Gilbert, Towner Savage and Peter H. Hatch, *Report with accounts for expenses, of survey for a road from Oregon City to Salem, July 15-19, 1851, 1851*; Oregon Commissioners Appointed to Locate a Territorial Road from Oregon City to Salem, *Map and Surveyor's Notes of the Clackamas County Portion of the Road between Oregon City and Salem, the Survey Authorized by the 1850/51 Legislature*, 1851.
- 212 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 213 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 214 Janice Marschner, *Oregon 1859: A Snapshot in Time*, Portland, OR: Timber Press, Inc., 2008.
- 215 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 216 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 217 Lansing, *Juggernaut*.
- 218 Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 219 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 220 Allan P. Millar and Philip Foster, "Cost of Improvements Made by Dr. John McLoughlin at Willamette Falls to Jan. 1, 1851," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1913): 68-70.
- 221 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 222 Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*.
- 223 Oregon State Library, "Oregon City Land Deed;" Crawford, *Crawford Papers; Oregon Statesman*, "Oregon Statesman Article," October 23, 1852.
- 224 *Citizenships - John McLoughlin*, September 5, 1851, copy at the University of Oregon.
- 225 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 226 Nicita, "Daniel Harvey."
- 227 *Oregon Statesman*, "Great Freshet - 1853," January 8, 1853; USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 228 *Columbian*, "Unprecedented High Water - Loss of Property," January 29, 1853.
- 229 Beckham, *Historic Context Statement*.

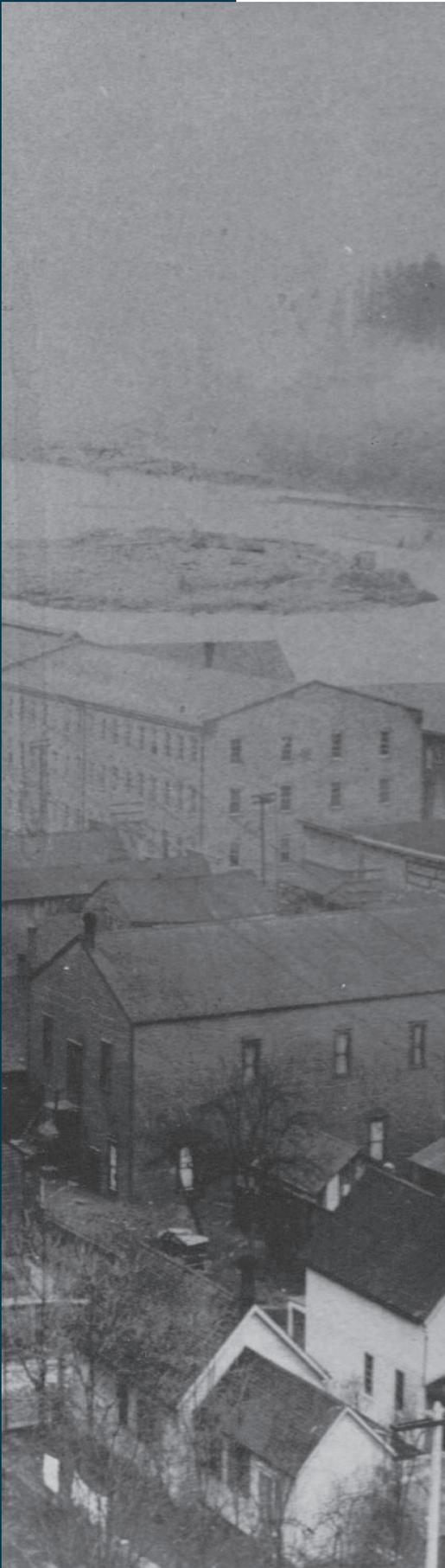
- 230 *Oregon Spectator*, "Oregon City," August 19, 1853.
- 231 *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*, 85 OR 574 (1917); Friedman, *Oregon for the Curious*; Smith, *John McLoughlin and His Family*.
- 232 "Plat of Oregon City," n.d., copy at the University of Oregon. Later information questions the legality of the donation.
- 233 *Census of Oregon City*, February 13, 1851, copy at the University of Oregon.
- 234 T.J. Dryer, *Proceedings of a Convention of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, to Organize a Grand Lodge of the Territory of Oregon, Holden in the Masonic Hall at Oregon City*, Portland: Oregonian Office, 1851.
- 235 Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church; Tompkins, Oregon City*.
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- 237 *Oregon Spectator*, "William Singer Has Established a Factory," August 19, 1853.
- 238 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 239 Eva Emery Dye, "WPA Indians," *Oregon City Enterprise*, n.d.
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- 242 Dye, "WPA Indians."
- 243 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 244 Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.
- 245 Robert H. Ruby, John A. Brown and Cary A. Collins, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.
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- 248 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 249 Robert T. Boyd, "Lower Columbia Chinookan Ceremonialism," in Boyd, Ames and Johnson, *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*.
- 250 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 251 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 252 Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America: from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon Through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859.
- 253 Beckham, *Willamette Falls National Heritage Area: 1829-1900*.
- 254 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 255 Boyd, "Lower Columbia Chinookan Ceremonialism;" Muno and Bennett, *History 1840-1975 First Methodist Church*.
- 256 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 257 Dye, "WPA Indians."
- 258 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*.
- 259 Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*; Carey, *General History of Oregon*; Jette, *At the Hearth*

of the Crossed Races.

- 260 Oregon Writers' Project, *An Oregon Almanac for 1940*; Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 261 Hines, *An Illustrated History*; Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*; Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
- 262 Hines, *An Illustrated History*.
- 263 Jette, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races*.
- 264 Willamette Falls Heritage Area Coalition, *Willamette Falls Heritage Area*; Carey, *General History of Oregon*.
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- 270 Berg, *The First Oregonians*.
- 271 Karson, *Wiyaxayat: As Days Go By*.
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- 275 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
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- 282 Clifford M. Drury, "Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon," Northwest Interpretive Association, 2005, retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/whmi/learn/historyculture/drury-book.htm>.
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- 290 Lansing, *Juggernaut; Oregon Spectator*, "Trial of Cayuse Murderers," May 30, 1850.
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- 304 Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, personal correspondence.
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- 306 Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, personal correspondence.
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- 318 Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute. "We Were, We Are, We Will Be."
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- 320 Greg Nokes, "Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, Oregon Historical Society, 2017.
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- 327 *Clackamas Indians of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 328 *Oregon Spectator*, "WPA Indians," September 2, 1847.
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- 330 Ibid., 326.
- 331 Melinda Jette, "Kalapuya Treaty of 1855," The Oregon Encyclopedia, Oregon Historical Society.
- 332 Dye, "WPA Indians."
- 333 Ruby, et. al., *A Guide to the Indian Tribes*.
- 334 Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist*. The Multnomah and Clowwewallas are almost certainly the same tribe.
- 335 Jette, "Kalapuya Treaty of 1855."
- 336 Hamm, *Becoming Oregon*.
- 337 Dye, "WPA Indians."
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- 341 Stevens, Isaac I. and Joel Palmer, Treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, etc., 1855.
- 342 Ibid.
- 343 Ibid.
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- 345 *Oregon Argus*, "WPA," April 6, 1856. The *Oregon Spectator* changed to the *Oregon Argus* in April 1855.
- 346 Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 347 Ruby, et. al., *A Guide to the Indian Tribes*.
- 348 Marianne Hunsaker D'Arcy, "In the Very Early Days of Oregon," in Douthit, *The Souvenir of Western Women*, 75.
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CHAPTER 4

1859 - 1900

INDUSTRY EXPANSION

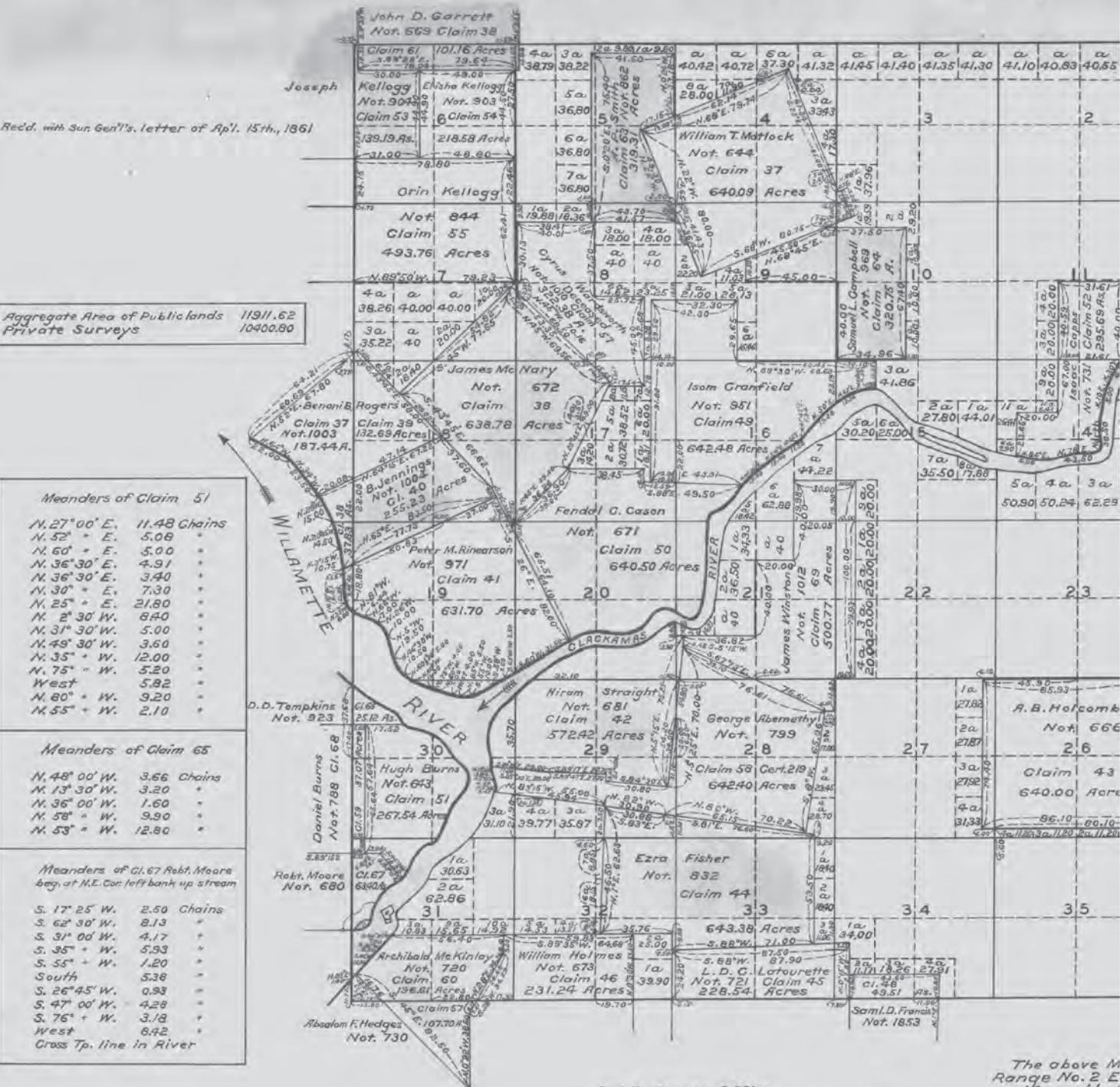
Post-McLoughlin Development and the 1861 Flood

Transportation and Industry Evolves

Industry and Hydroelectric Power at the Falls

Business Rebuild After the 1890 Flood

TOWNSHIP N° 2 SOUTH RANGE N° 2 EAST WILLAMETTE



Aggregate Area of Public Lands 11911.62
Private Surveys 10400.80

Meanders of Claim 51

N. 27° 00' E.	11.48 Chains
N. 52° - E.	5.08 "
N. 60° - E.	5.00 "
N. 36° 30' E.	4.91 "
N. 36° 30' E.	3.40 "
N. 30° - E.	7.30 "
N. 25° - E.	21.80 "
N. 2° 30' W.	8.40 "
N. 31° 30' W.	5.00 "
N. 49° 30' W.	3.60 "
N. 35° - W.	12.00 "
N. 75° - W.	5.20 "
West	5.82 "
N. 80° - W.	9.20 "
N. 55° - W.	2.10 "

Meanders of Claim 65

N. 48° 00' W.	3.66 Chains
N. 13° 30' W.	3.20 "
N. 36° 00' W.	1.60 "
N. 58° - W.	9.90 "
N. 53° - W.	12.80 "

Meanders of Cl. 67 Robt. Moore
beg. at N.E. Cor left bank up stream

S. 17° 25' W.	2.50 Chains
S. 62° 30' W.	8.13 "
S. 31° 00' W.	4.17 "
S. 35° - W.	5.93 "
S. 55° - W.	1.20 "
South	5.38 "
S. 26° 45' W.	0.93 "
S. 47° 00' W.	4.28 "
S. 76° - W.	3.18 "
West	6.42 "
Cross Tp. line in River	

Public Survey Office,
Portland, Oregon, December 1, 1931.
I hereby certify this to be a correct copy of
the original plat on file in this office.

Joseph A. Young
Office Cadastral Engineer.

The above M
Range No. 2 E
con Formable t
Office, which A

Surveyor G
Eugene C

Chapman's survey shows that land ownership around the Falls after McLoughlin's death was limited to a handful of individuals. General Land Office, 1861.



Industry Expansion

In the decade or so that followed John McLoughlin's death in 1857, his personal and professional initiatives continued to directly impact Oregon City's industrial development. Under the direction of his son-in-law Daniel Harvey, McLoughlin's house was sold in 1860.¹ Harvey also sold McLoughlin's original water rights to various commercial interests.²

Post-McLoughlin Development & The 1861 Flood

*One of the biggest impacts to the physical character of Oregon City during this era occurred when a flood struck at the end of 1861. On December 3, the Willamette River flooded, with water initially rising almost a foot an hour.³ It continued to rise until December 7, reaching a point 12 feet higher than the flood of 1853-54, which had been the worst flood previously recorded. Water ran a half-mile down Main Street, reaching depths of four feet, while sweeping away houses.⁴ The water was so high that Captain George W. Taylor and his engineer ran his steamer *St. Claire* safely over the Falls, a feat never before successful and never again duplicated.⁵*

While the town itself sustained plenty of damage, the most substantial destruction was reserved for Abernethy Island and its surrounding environment. George Abernethy's store, mill and house were swept away entirely.⁶ McLoughlin's Oregon City Mills, now run by Harvey, were also carried away with all their contents,

at a loss the *Oregon Argus* estimated at \$50,000.⁷ The Willamette Iron Works building and foundry, owned by a man named Rossi and located either on the island or on the mainland immediately adjacent to it, were destroyed completely.⁸ The roads leading to these structures were also destroyed, along with the wooden bridge to the island. In addition to the industrial devastation, the island itself underwent dramatic changes. The flood carried away all the trees and soil on its surface.¹⁰ This should probably be understood literally, as sources describe the removal of earth "down to the solid rock. [...] and

where a grove of gigantic firs stood on the site of the present basin not a trace remained either of trees or soil in which they grew."¹¹ Closer to the shoreline on the mainland east of the island, the soil was washed away to expose a ledge of rock.¹² The town would rebuild, albeit further back from the Willamette River, but the island would not.¹³ James Guthrie sold the property to Asa Lovejoy on June 9, 1862 and Lovejoy sold it the following February to J.H. Moore.¹⁴ The island's mill potential was mostly done.

Steamers near Oregon City had to navigate the rocky bluff, which was consistently altered by flooding. University of Oregon, c.1859-1866.



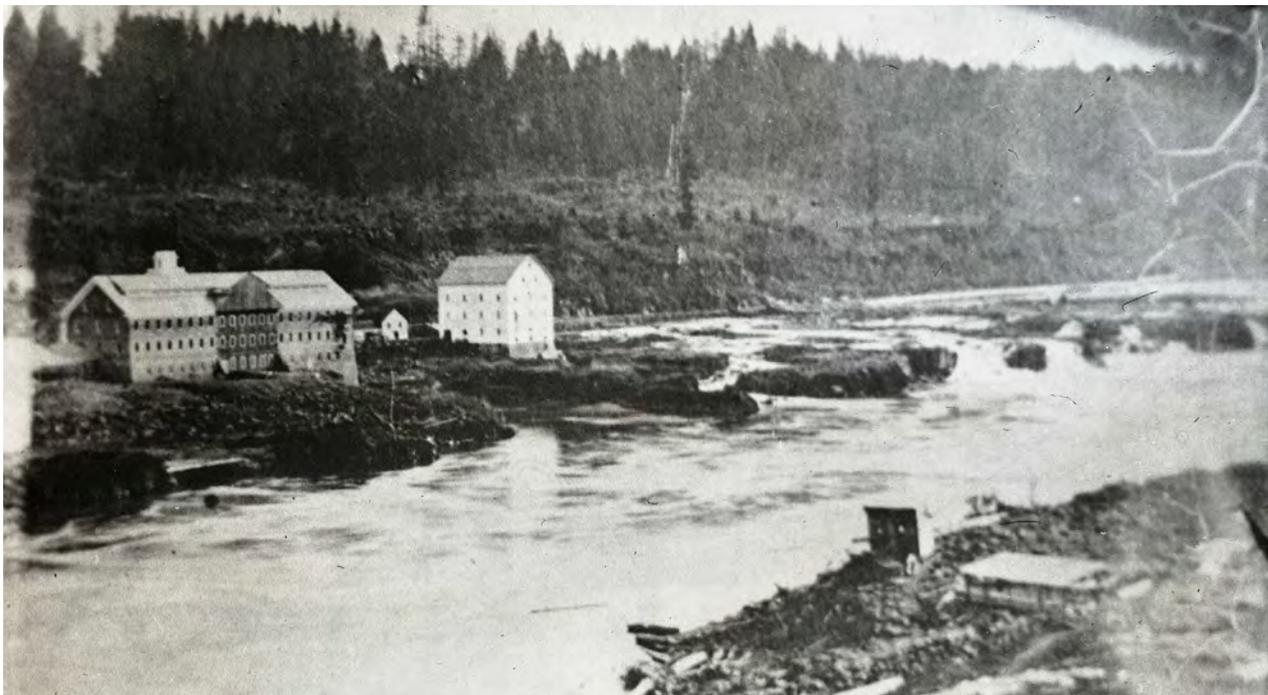
After the flood wiped out all the mills, Harvey almost immediately undertook construction of a new venture, the Imperial Standard Mills.¹⁵ On June 28, 1862, it was reported that the new flour mill would be built near the foundry owned by a man named Smith.¹⁶ Wherever the foundry was located, the mill was constructed at the edge of the basin built by McLoughlin the previous decade. It was likened to an enormous barn; *“with the steep pitch of its roof, it actually reached five stories above its foundation. It housed six mill stones which milled wheat into the fine flour Harvey advertised.”*¹⁷

The mill was built in two levels - produce was received at the higher level and then moved to the lower building for loading on barges

operating on the Willamette river.¹⁸ In 1863, Harvey granted one-third interest of the mill with water rights to former HBC employee George LaRocque, then the remaining two-thirds in 1864.¹⁹ At this point the mill already had an export market

for fine flour that spanned almost the entire Pacific coast. LaRocque subsequently sold half his interest to D.W. Burnside.

The location of the Imperial Mill and the woolen mills took advantage of river access on both sides of the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top: 1867; Bottom: 1864,



Transportation modes

Initially, “farmers brought wheat to the Imperial Mills on horse-drawn wagons down Singer Hill, south on Main Street, and onto the north side of the mill. Horse teams also brought wheat from the steamboat docks and warehouses in Canemah [...].”²⁹ These horse teams from Canemah almost certainly traveled on the portage road constructed in the 1850s. Updates to the portage road started in June 1862; when completed it was considered the first railroad in Oregon.³⁰ Until this point, the open cars or trams were

drawn by mules or horses. After the updates, mechanical railroad engines were used, the first of which was called the *Oregon Pony*.³¹ Although this steam-powered locomotive was tiny by today’s standards, it was still too heavy for the wooden rails, “which had to be strapped with iron belting.”³² The line was eventually extended hundreds of miles by the Oregon and California Railroad Company.

Before railroads were constructed, horse-drawn carriages brought crops to the steamboats near the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1881.



The new ownership changed the name to Imperial Mills and LaRocque took over operations.²⁰ In 1864, LaRocque started selling water rights for various projects, but the flour business remained brisk.²¹

By 1867, Imperial Mills was shipping thousands of barrels of flour to New York City.²²

Adequate rail became more important to Oregon City as new industries developed. In December 1862, a group of the town’s prominent businessmen met to discuss the potential for a constructing a woolen mill.²³

On the last day of the year, the Oregon City Woolen Manufacturing Company was incorporated. Harvey offered five lots for the endeavor, conditioned on the successful sale of stocks, near a disused steamboat landing with 150 feet of frontage on Main Street.

The incorporators believed they had property plus water rights from Abernethy Island through the deal with Harvey.²⁴ However, in November 1863, Harvey denied making the deal and ultimately reneged.²⁵ Eventually a new agreement was made, whereby the Abernethy Island Company paid half the expenses to bring water to Harvey’s land in exchange for equal use of the water power. The new deal, formalized on January 30, 1864, included property and a perpetual right to power the woolen machinery.²⁶ The Harveys were paid \$3,000 for the parcel, which spanned Lot 3, a portion of Lot 4, a portion of Lot 5 and all of Lot 6 of Block 1, with frontage on Main Street.²⁷ The deed was recorded on May 25, 1864.²⁸

Construction of the four-story woolen mill began in 1864.³³ Almost immediately, the corporate structure underwent changes. It was initially incorporated by Mr. L.E. Pratt with \$100,000 from local residents and merchants.³⁴ During February 1864, it reincorporated as the Oregon City Manufacturing Company with \$60,000 in capital.³⁵ Pratt, formerly of the Willamette Woolen Mills in Salem, managed the milling operations.³⁶ He purchased the mill machinery for \$20,000 and paid \$7,000 to have it shipped to Oregon City, plus an additional \$32,000 was allocated for the mill's building and \$10,000 invested in location and water rights. During the spring of 1865, the building was completed.³⁷ A four-story tower on the Main Street side of the building housed a pump, tank and hose system for fire protection.



Construction of the woolen mill was a major contributor to the industrialization of an area that was initially residential and commercial. The building was completed in 1865. Oregon Historical Society, 1867.



As the industrial area spread along the lower bluff, development of the upper bluff accelerated. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1867.

As to the rest of the building: *the superstructure of brick rested on a heavy foundation of hewn stone to insure it against the flood waters of the Willamette. This was 10 feet in thickness tapering to two feet at the first story. The building 190 feet long by 50 feet wide, with a 23-foot basement divided into two stories of 12 feet each. [...] Superimposed over these two floors were two more stories, each 12 feet in height [...]. The second story was conspicuous for the entire absence of supporting columns, and was one of the modern features incorporated into this up-to-date mill. [...] Provisions had also been made for the construction of a west wing almost of the same size as the original factory building.*³⁸

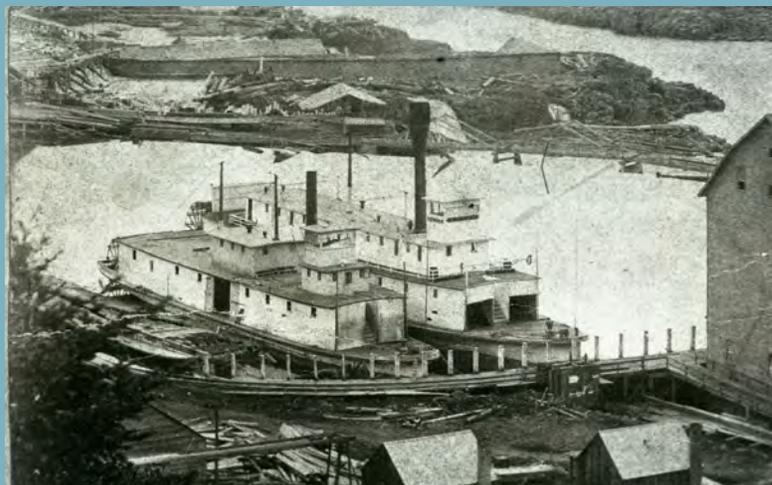
To celebrate its inauguration, a grand ball was held on the last day of May 1865.³⁹ A brass and string band played music into the night and the second story of the main building was used for dancing from 10 p.m. until dawn. When it opened, the woolen mill was the third in Oregon and the largest west of the Mississippi.⁴⁰ By 1866, minority owners Ralph and Isaac Jacobs, merchant brothers who immigrated from Germany, owned the woolen mill outright after quietly buying all the stock. The family would operate the mill for two generations.⁴¹

Basin Expansion

Aside from the woolen mill, the other major undertaking in 1864 was the expansion of the basin. Following the 1861 flood, “bare rock from landing to landing suggested a deeper basin where Dr. McLoughlin had made his pioneer attempt a quarter of a century before.”⁴² A total of 65 stockholders organized the People’s Transportation Company for this effort. During 1865 and 1866, the basin was expanded to accommodate passenger travel by steamboat.⁴³ A basin dam and a wood crib, rock-filled wall were built to create a canal for navigation. The wall extended along the east side of Abernethy Island from the basin wall to the head of the Falls. People’s also built a warehouse next to the Imperial Mills to transfer goods

from the upper river level down to the lower level.⁴⁴ The Harveys sold their interest in the Mill Reserve to the People’s Transportation Company in 1865, with a clause that preserved the public highway and railroad on the premises. In August of the same year, the Willamette Falls Canal Company, which was agitating for rights to build a canal over Willamette Falls, sent legal notice to the People’s Transportation Company, stating their right-of-way for building a canal.⁴⁵ They asked People’s to cease its work since it infringed on their rights and property. This was part of their attempt to break the monopoly of the People’s Transportation Company.

Development of the basin for steamers reconfigured the far end of the Mill Reserve and what remained of Abernethy Island. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1866-1873,



The year 1866 brought even more industrial developments. W.W. Buck incorporated the Oregon City Paper Manufacturing Company, also called the Pioneer Paper Manufacturing Company, in February.⁴⁶ Buck arrived in 1846 from Ohio and initially worked as a mechanic.⁴⁷ His was the first paper mill in Oregon City; it was located at the former site of the McLoughlin jail at Third Street and Water Street.⁴⁸ The company had purchased Lot 5 of Block 2 for \$4,500 in June 1866 - "Construction of a building to house the first paper mill west of the Rockies and north of the San Francisco area was started shortly thereafter with Buck taking full charge. The structure, of thick mortar and stone foundation with brick walls a foot and a half through, was completed in the fall. A cylinder machine, apparently of local manufacture and without the benefit of experienced paper machinery engineering, was installed by the first of the year. Two Leffel turbine water wheels, located in the basement of the building along the north side of Third Street, furnished the power.

The building, located in the southeast corner of the lot, was approximately forty-five feet across the front, facing Third Street and extending north sixty feet. The top two floors of the building were only thirty by sixty feet.⁴⁹ Paper manufacturing was heralded in the *Oregonian* in 1867, "...the facilities for manufacturing are unequalled. The purity of the Willamette for cleansing purposes is already established."⁵⁰ Production started on January 12, 1867.⁵¹ He partnered with Arthur Warner and Thomas Charman and secured \$50,000 from sale of stock.⁵² A.M. Hardin was the architect and millwright. Buck's operations were financed by *The Oregonian* and his output was largely used by that publication.⁵³

However, the business failed after less than a year, thought to be due to faulty machinery and unexperienced labor, and Buck left Oregon City for other ventures.⁵⁴ The paper mill was taken over and converted into a flour mill in 1868 by steamboat captains J.D. Miller and George Marshall with their partner Charles P. Church.⁵³ The business was called the Oregon City Flouring Mills (OCFM), but known locally as the "Brick Mill" because of the building's red brick exterior.



The Brick Mill, a flour mill in the converted paper mill, was constructed on stilts, likely to mitigate the impacts of flooding. Oregon Historical Society, c.1870.



Right: The view from the bluff was a popular vantage point for photographers, as it still is today. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1867.

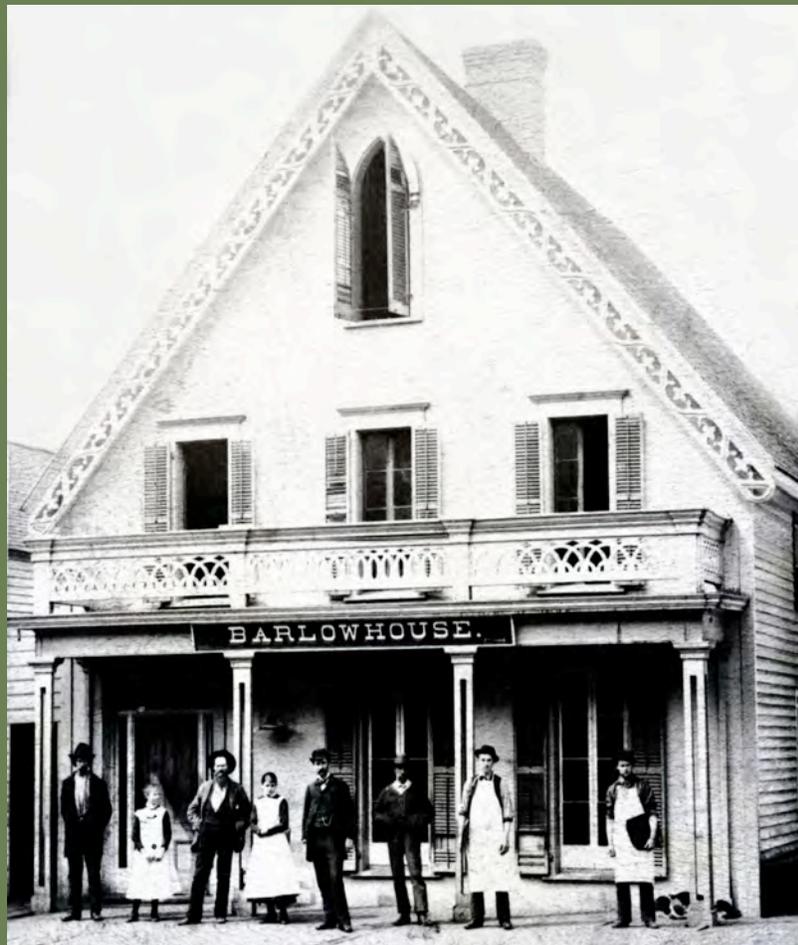


The sawmill at the Falls was located adjacent to facilities for steamers. Both were likely constructed on remaining portions of Abernethy Island. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1866-1867.

Businesses and Ventures of 1860s

During the 1860s, a variety of other businesses and ventures were started, with varying degrees of success. In 1865, John C. Ainsworth, a steamboat captain, opened a mercantile business with his brother-in-law, Captain William Dierdorff, near the intersection of Main Street and Third Street.⁵⁶ Eventually they sold their business to Ralph and Isaac Jacobs. On the same block sat the Fashion Billiard Saloon, which included a dwelling on the back belonging to Daniel Harvey.⁵⁷ Photographs from the era also show Barlow's restaurant next to the woolen mill. A few blocks back at the bluff, a set of wooden stairs was constructed on Third Street by carpenter G.R.H. Miller in 1867.⁵⁸ This connected the residents on the bluff to the employment opportunities below. Steps were eventually built from Fourth and Fifth Streets as well. The stairs on Fifth Street replaced a ladder previously used to climb the 100 feet to the top of the bluff.⁵⁹ By April 1867, Oregon City had a barrel factory, almost certainly operated in conjunction with other industrial initiatives.⁶⁰

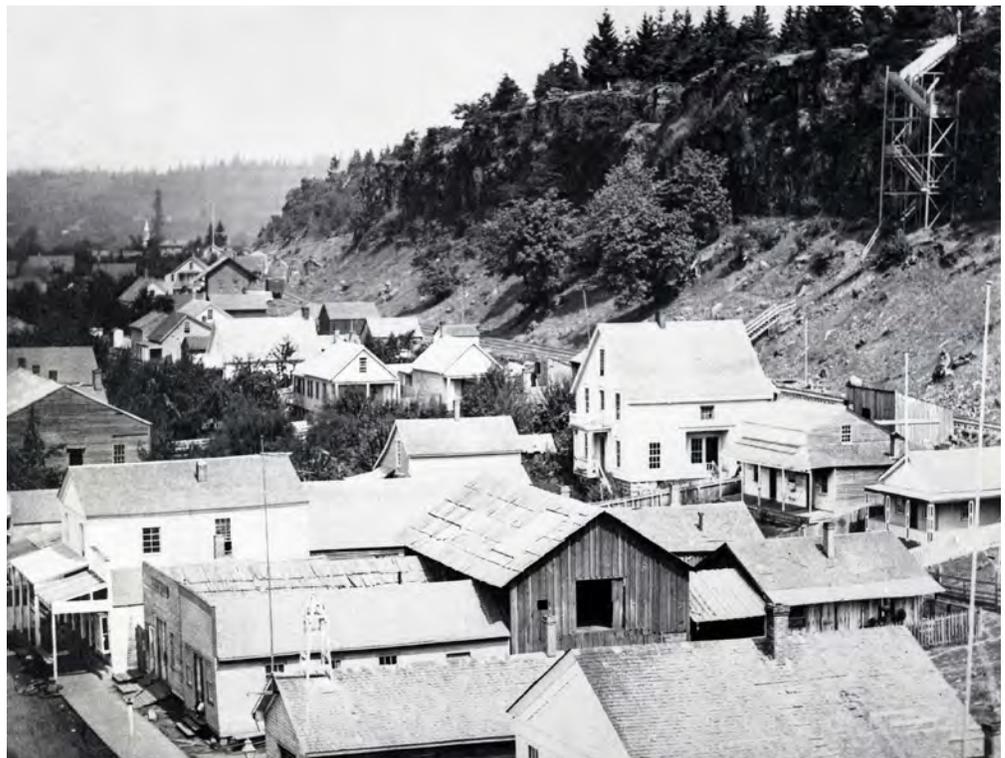
The blocks between Third and Fourth on Main had a more commercial character until late in the nineteenth century, but changes were coming rapidly. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top: 1874; Bottom: 1880.

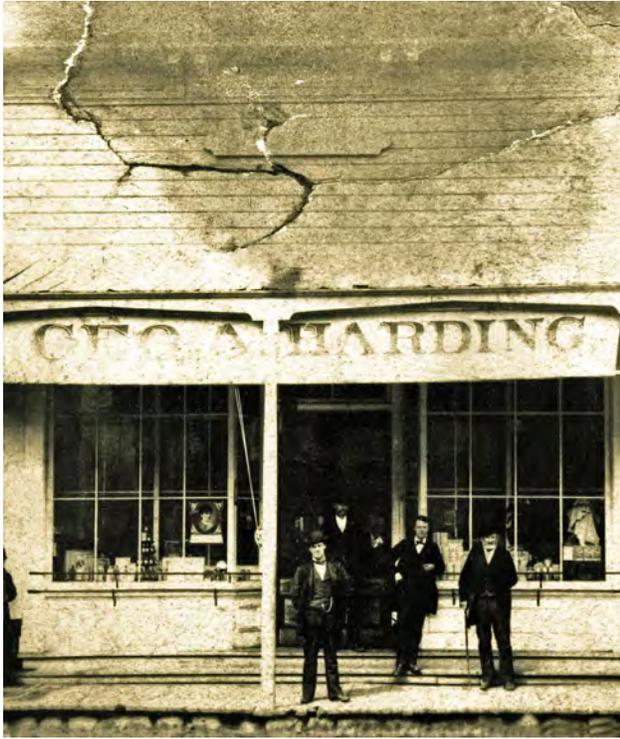




Top: Oregon City remained a popular place to sketch even after it lost its status as capital city. Bancroft, c.1865.

Right: Stairways, like this one at Fourth Street, helped improve access to the upper bluff and diminished the lower bluff's residential uses. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1874.





Top: As the value of the industrial land grew, non-industrial uses were relocated. The new Methodist Church, identical to the original, was built on Seventh and Main. Jim Tompkins, c.1860-1880.

Left: George Harding's drugstore was located on Main Street between Fourth and Fifth. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1880.



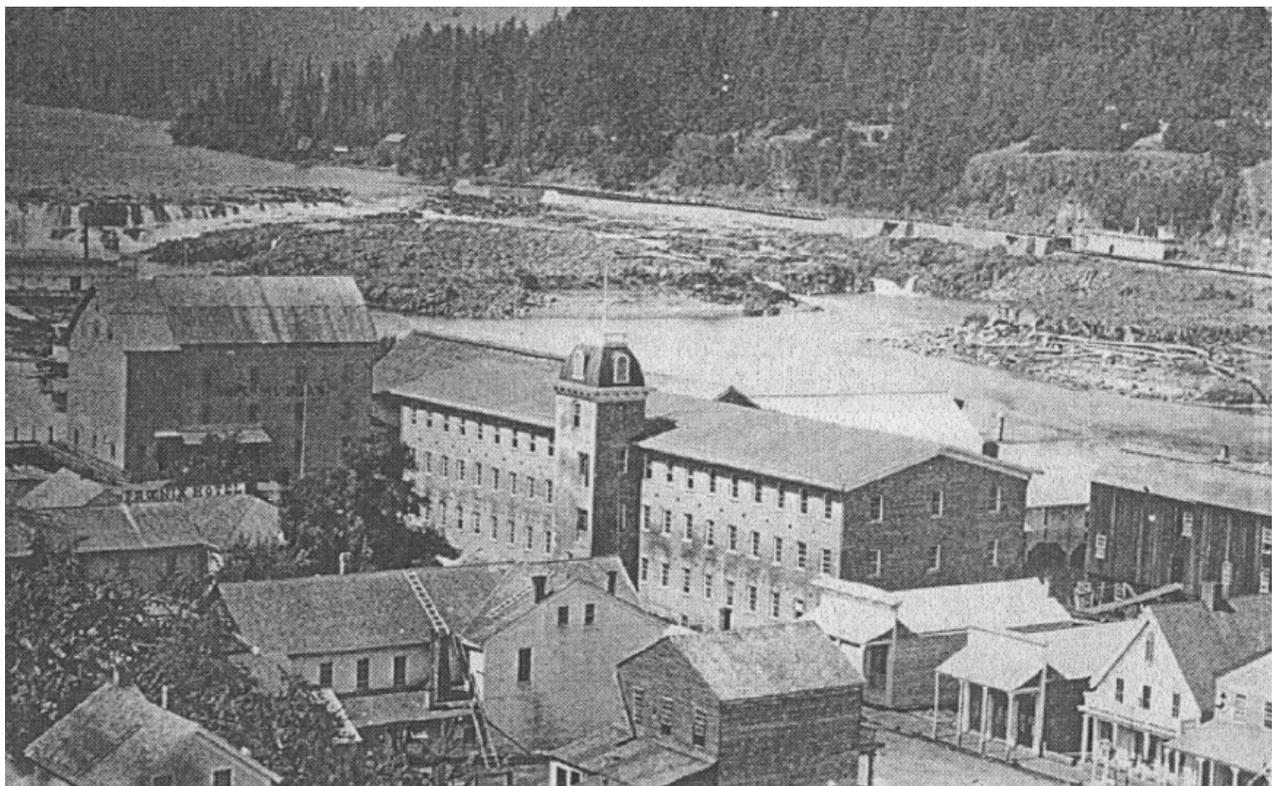
Flooding and a lower shoreline slowed development on the west side of the Willamette River. Oregon Historical Society, 1867.

A Mr. Shattuck constructed an L-shaped addition for the McLoughlin house in 1867 with two dozen rooms.⁶¹ The house was converted into the Phoenix Hotel, primarily a boarding house for workers at the mills. At some point it was also called the Finnegas Hotel. Around 1868, most of the boarders at the hotel were Chinese; half of the workforce at the woolen mill was of this origin.⁶² This hiring practice eventually created tensions in Oregon City, since the Chinese workers were paid lower wages than other laborers.⁶³ White laborers believed they were being unfairly replaced. By the end of the decade, approximately 160 Chinese men were employed at the woolen mill.⁶⁴



Left: The eviction of Chinese workers from Oregon City was a dark stain on the city's development. West Shore Magazine, 1886.

Bottom: Prior to their forced removal, many of the Chinese workers lived in the Phoenix Hotel, converted from John McLoughlin's house. The hotel is visible on the left side of the photo. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1884.



In April 1867, George Belden completed a survey of the Mill Reserve for the People's Transportation Company.⁶⁵ At the time, there was a proposal to extend Main Street to the basin and construct a new forty-foot-wide road from the basin to the top of the bluff. Because the reserve was valuable for manufacturing purposes, the remainder of the area was designated to "be platted into lots, recorded and then offered in the market for sale."⁶⁶ Along with the developments in the reserve, the basin itself housed a sawmill and dry dock for repairing boats on what remained of Abernethy Island.⁶⁷ The dry dock was built into a natural depression in the rock river bed and surrounded with a wooden crib dam, with a gate provided at the entrance.⁶⁸

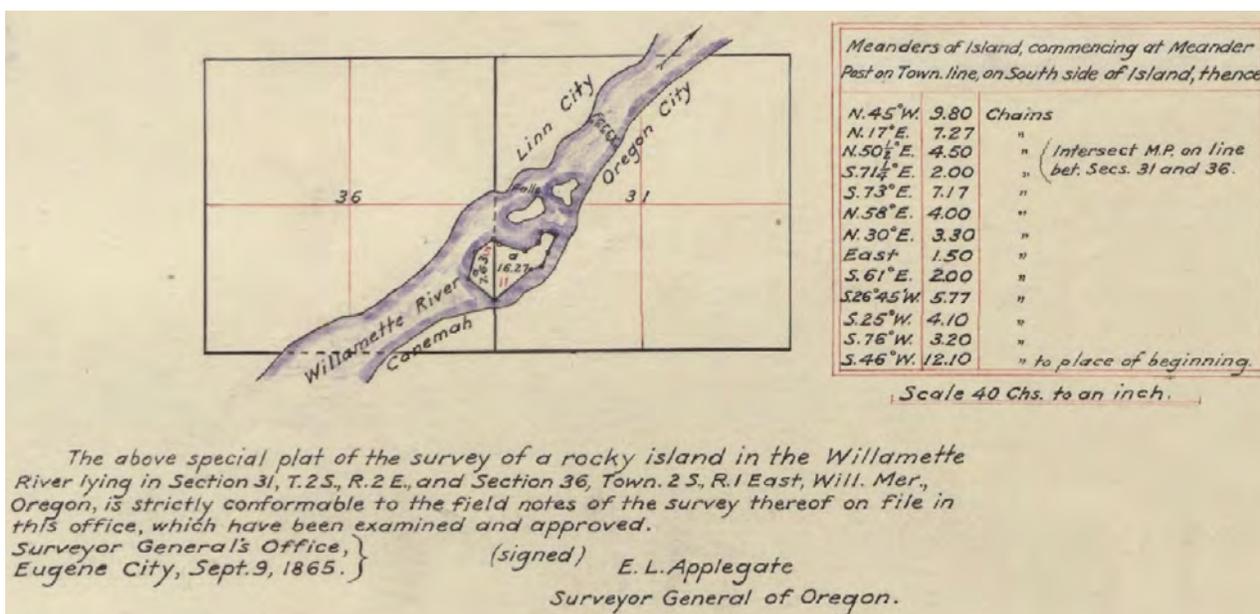
People's retained control over water travel at the top of the Falls, but another attempt to break up their monopoly came in 1868 when the

Willamette Transportation and Locks Company was created.⁶⁹ The new company was set up by the stockholders of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company to build a canal around the Falls that would allow for easier and faster commercial and passenger shipping.⁷⁰

Entrance of a new competitor spawned legislation and legal maneuvering that finally bore fruit in the following decade.

Top: The mills rapidly crowded out the residential uses in the area. Oregon Historical Society, 1872.

Bottom: The Rocky Island surveyed in 1865 was first noted in American Indian origin stories. Today it is not visible. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1865.



T ransportation & Industry Evolves

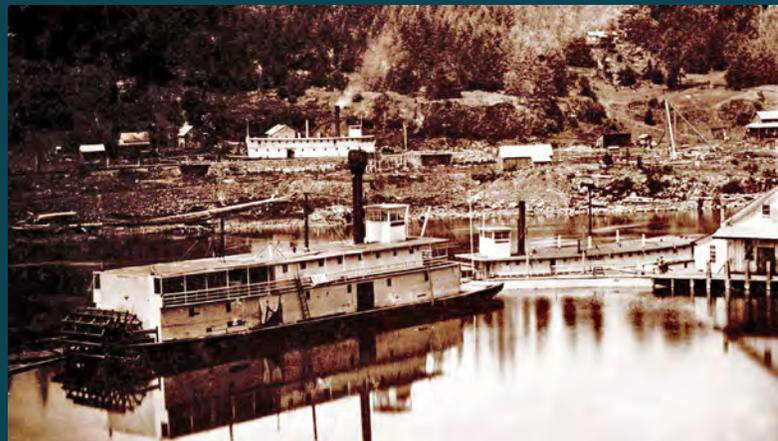
In the late 1860s or early 1870s, the People's Transportation Company lost the legislative battle over funding for the locks. The company "sold its assets, including the Basin, to the Willamette Transportation Company, owned by the railroad monopolist Ben Holladay."⁷¹ Holladay was deeded the water rights for the east side of the Falls in 1871.⁷² When new competition arose in the form of the Oregon Steamship Company, Holladay promptly bought the company, became its president and transferred to it ownership of the basin.⁷³ The canal and locks were completed on the west side of the river in 1873 with state funds, opening up freight navigation through the Willamette Valley.⁷⁴ To maintain their relevance in river travel, Oregon City businesses continued to provide services for steamboats at the dry dock on Abernethy Island.

Top: The sawmill relied on the dry dock for managing logs floated down the river. Old Oregon Photos, c.1870.

Bottom: Despite the presence of logs, steamers were still the primary traffic in the basin. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1870.

Although the canal and locks likely had mixed impacts on the industrial base that relied on the basin, it was quickly viewed as the removal of an obstruction that would lead to greater economic opportunity. An editorial in August 1874 opined [...] the water-power at Oregon City will not be confined to driving three mills and two or three machine shops; the banks of the river on both sides will be lined with mills, factories and workshops, driven by water, equal to a million horsepower. It is satisfactory so far to see the

Imperial and Oregon City flour mills making their best of flour, the Wooden Wear Manufacturing Company supplying the State with excellent tubs, buckets and washboard, the Woolen Manufacturing Company making choice blankets, cassimeres⁷⁵ and other goods in their line, the sawmill and machine shops, doing their part to meet the wants of the people; all this manufacturing is not a tithe of what will one day be put in operation by means of the splendid water-power at these falls.⁷⁶



Labor and Workforce in early Oregon City

When Fort Vancouver's chief factor John McLoughlin initiated developments at the Falls, his early workforce reflected the diversity of the fort and the region. French-Canadian Etienne Lucier constructed mills, a storehouse and a millrace between 1829 and 1832 and then operation of the mills was left to Kanakas (native Hawaiians). In 1840, Dr. William Fraser Tolmie of HBC traveled from Fort Vancouver with a crew of Klickitat and Iroquois to cut a road around the Falls on the east side of the river. As explorers, traders, and immigrants trickled into the region during those early years, American Indians along the Willamette River were informally recruited into the workforce as

guides and to transport people and goods up and down the river. This role diminished as disease overtook their population, and as immigrants pushed them out of the area. The influx of immigrants that entered the region starting in the 1840s brought more laborers for the newly constructed mills and opportunities for entrepreneurs to meet the community's industrial and domestic needs. New businesses opened along Main Street almost as fast as buildings were constructed to house them. By the middle of the 19th century, the town had hotels, clothing stores, jewelry and watch shops, grocery stores, bakeries, barber shops, tailors, blacksmiths, dentists, and drug store just to name a few. Just

south of the Falls, more than 100 French-Canadian trappers who retired to a life of farming helped to feed the growing immigrant population, along with newly established farmers who brought to Oregon new varieties of apples, cherries and other crops. When the California gold rush depleted the region's workforce, women took over the agricultural production for a brief time. Even when the men returned from California, opportunities in Oregon City were typically plentiful for immigrants who wished to work. This was due in part to the rotating nature of the population, with the area around the Falls serving as a layover rather than a final destination for many immigrants.



*Left: Installation of a bank vault was one sign of rapid development for a city that used rocks for currency only 40 years prior. Jim Tompkins, c.1885.
Right: The boardwalk at the end of the Mill Reserve provided a place for leisure and viewing the Falls while also providing a connection to Canemah. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1890.*

The power generated by the Falls helped spur a wide range of developments. Expansion of existing mills and development of new industries such as the woolen mill greatly increased the employment capacity of Oregon City. The woolen mill in particular changed the character of the local workforce by employing Chinese men as laborers starting during the 1850s. By the end of the 1860s, more than 150 were employed at the mill. Many lived in boarding houses along Main Street such as the Phoenix Hotel, McLoughlin's former residence. The presence of Chinese workers created tensions locally because they were paid less than their white counterparts, generating complaints of unfair competition. In early 1886, a group of white men gathered at the Phoenix Hotel to discuss their options. Walking to a nearby boarding house at nightfall, they forced 30 Chinese men from their beds and onto a steamship headed for Portland. In the years that followed, the workforce grew progressively whiter.

When paper production started at the beginning of the twentieth century, Main Street's commercial activities shifted north of Fifth Street. This changed the orientation of the workforce south of Fifth Street so that by the end of the first quarter of the century, industrial labor dominated the area closest to the Falls. In 1912, the paper mills employed over 200 men and the surrounding factories had an annual payroll of nearly one million dollars. The local *Morning Enterprise* questioned "whether there is a town of similar size in the country that has as large a proportion of steady wage earners as Oregon City."

The onset of World War I provided an opportunity for many American industries to reclaim the domestic market, so that by 1917 paper production in Oregon City employed more than 600 workers. In addition, expansion of the woolen mill was expected to generate an additional 150 jobs. During this period women were also more integrated into the mills' workforce in various capacities.

By mid-century, however, the woolen mill was in decline, closing for a time during the Great Depression and then formally ceasing manufacturing operations in Oregon City in 1955. The paper mill, on the other hand, continued to expand its footprint. It is likely the mill's labor force was in decline despite the expansion due to technological changes, but the constant construction and modification of mill structures would have generated a secondary labor pool on the site. The paper mill was sold multiple times in the subsequent decades and in the year 2000 it was finally sold to its own employees, who formed the Blue Heron Paper Company (BHPC). Due to the changing economy and foreign competition, BHPC filed for bankruptcy in 2009 and officially ceased operations in 2011. Nearly 200 people had been at BHPC at the end, some of them working at the paper mill for decades. Today, most of the mill structures remain standing but empty, relics of an industrial age at the foot of the Falls that made them possible.



Left: McLoughlin's house served as a boarding house and eventually a Chinese laundry. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1890.

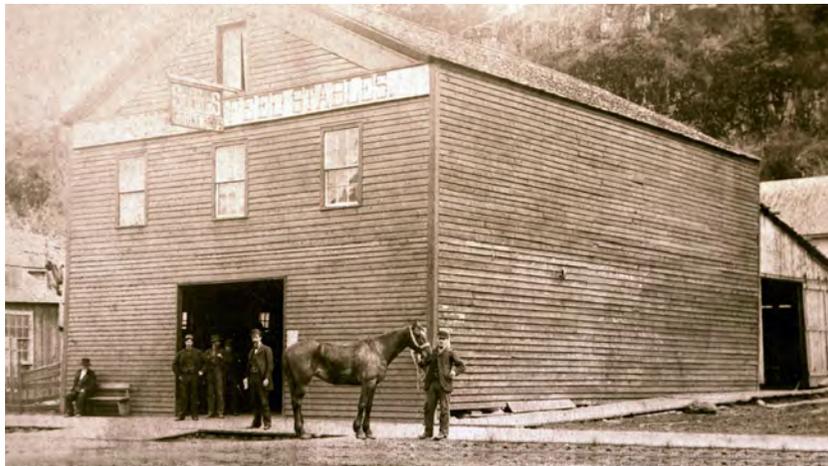


Right: Although the exploits of men and industry dominate the history of the Falls, women played a crucial role in the development of Oregon City. These businesses are located on Main Street between Third and Fourth. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1887.

Despite the optimism, traffic in the basin reduced. After the Panic of 1873, Holladay sold the Oregon Steamship Company to the Willamette Transportation and Locks Company, owned by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company as previously noted.⁷⁷ In addition to ownership of the basin, this provided the Oregon Steam Navigation Company with a monopoly of steamships on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers.

Along with the development of new river transit options, transportation projects continued on land as well. In August 1872, a survey was completed for the proposed alteration of the county road passing through Oregon City.⁷⁸ The relevant portion of this road would have been the boardwalk between Oregon City and Canemah, the first road dedicated with the county designation.⁷⁹ Frequently used by pedestrians, this road ran through a paper plant and down to Main Street. Starting in 1872, a trolley line was constructed that provided transportation down Main Street, a system that remained in place for approximately 30 years before they were reconstructed at the turn of the twentieth century.⁸⁰ The tracks ran down the center of Main Street. By 1879, serious discussions were underway for a railroad from Oregon City to Silvertown.⁸¹

The intersection of Fourth and Main was alive with business and activity in the late eighteenth century. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top to bottom: 1885, 1888, 1874.





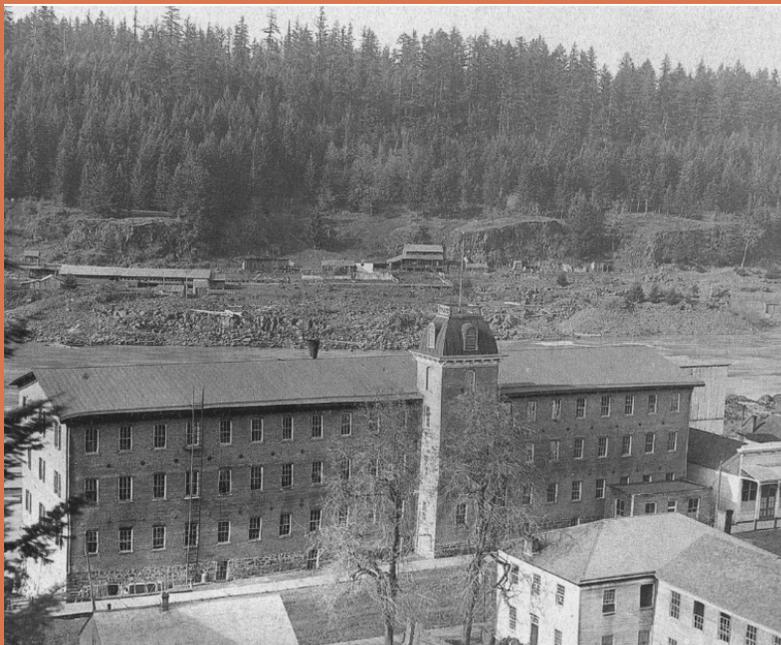
Top: The woolen mill was an iconic feature that changed the geographic and visual landscape of the Mill Reserve area. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1872-1873. Bottom: The Woolen Mill's tower provided a clear view of the south end of Main Street prior to it being paved or the streetcar line being installed. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1874.



Fire of 1872

One of the most impactful events of the decade was a fire on November 23, 1872 that destroyed the Oregon City Woolen Mill building with the exception of the masonry walls.⁸² Boarders at the Cliff House next door saved the house and its furniture from destruction in the fire.⁸³ Other nearby companies fortunate to avoid the woolen mill's fate included the Imperial Flouring Mills, the OCFM, a lumber mill owned by William Broughton and Elliot, a woodenware shop owned

by David Smith, an engine-building shop owned by a man named Moore, a sack-making enterprise owned by O.M. Kester, William Singer's shop for making sashes, blinds and doors and various others.⁸⁴ The importance of the woolen mill to the local economy was critical, however, so rebuilding started the same year. A new mill was finished and production of flannels, blankets, tweeds and yarns was restarted by the following year.

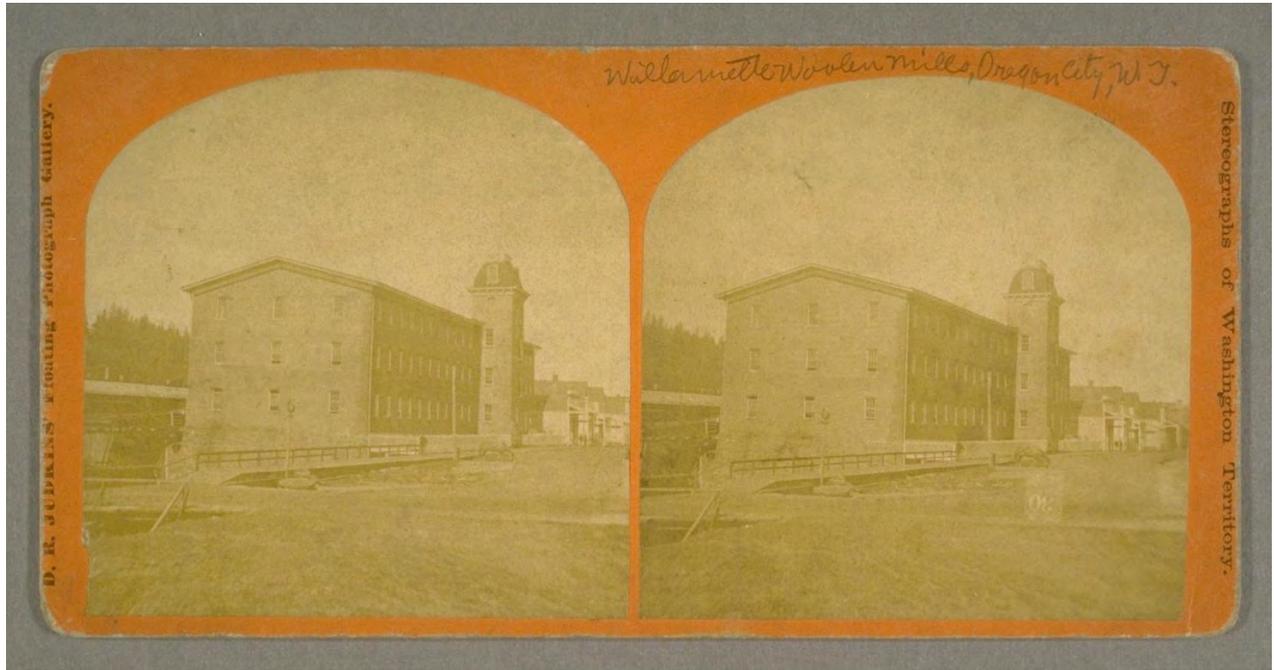


The woolen mill was a frequent topic in *The Oregonian* during this period. On June 17, 1876, an article described the patriotic Centennial Blanket Flag woven for the Centennial Exposition.⁸⁵

*"The blanket has been so skillfully woven as to represent [illegible] our national colors – red white and blue. The work has been performed so well [illegible] several yards away it would "pass muster" as a regular flag made of bunting."*⁸⁶

The flag was not completed in time for the Exposition. On October 11 of the same year, another article identified Oregon manufacturing as superior and "one of the most notable is the magnificent and complete exhibit of the Oregon City Woolen Manufacturing Co."⁸⁷ The company was credited with inaugurating a new branch of industry - manufacturing of clothes for men and youths. This was believed to "be of great benefit to the State at large, and their superiority over Eastern make will be certain to create an immense trade and furnish employment to many."⁸⁸

After the fire in 1872, the Woolen Mill was rebuilt immediately. The new one is distinguished in photos by a different style of roof, a different tower shape and three rows of windows rather than two. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1872.



Top: A stereograph depicts how the new mill was built on the stone foundation of the previous structure. Bancroft, c.1873-1889.
Bottom: Initially, the new mill did not fundamentally alter Main Street, but more changes were imminent. Oregon Historical Society, c.1873.



The companies spared in the fire, as well as new ones established on Main Street, flourished through the 1870s. Both flouring mills, for example, opened granaries for storage. Imperial Mills added an east wing with a barn-like roof in 1870.⁸⁹ By 1874, the company was exporting flour to as far as England and opened a new warehouse along the railroad tracks.⁹⁰ The OCFM opened a two-story granary on Fourth Street in February 1877.⁹¹ This expansion was likely related to their thriving export business to England. During the previous year, the company shipped 22,000 barrels of flour to Liverpool.⁹²

Instead of expansion, other companies were successful through relocation. In 1870, Thomas Charman opened a merchandise business next to Ainsworth and Dierdorff's mercantile business.⁹³ Charles Pope and his sons, who built a hardware store sometime during the 1850s, relocated in 1873 to Block 3, Lot 4 on Fourth Street at Main Street, the edge of the town's business district.⁹⁴ The new structure included storage in the basement and an opera house on the second story. The second story also hosted speeches related to an upcoming presidential election, likely the 1880 election of James A. Garfield.⁹⁵

Top: The Locks, in the background, represent the expanding transportation options at the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1874.

Bottom: Only four years after the above photo was taken, a variety of new structures filled the open lots near the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1878.



Industry & Hydroelectric Power at the Falls

The 1880s was a decade where some major industries evolved and others began to develop in Oregon City. One of the foremost trends was the evolution of the various mills. The Oregon City Woolen Mill, for example, continued to be both a physical and manufacturing landmark. An article in September of 1881 described the three-story building as follows: *The most prominent structure that greets the eye of a traveler on the Willamette river at Oregon City is a massive brick building, which from the activity that is apparent both within and without, stamps it as a manufactory of some kind. On close inspection it turns out to be the mill of the Oregon City Manufacturing Company [...]. It has frontage on the Main Street of over*

*200 feet and is said to be 60 feet in width [...]. Back of this are several large wooden buildings which are used in dyeing, sorting and storing the wool.*⁹⁶

At the same time the manufacturing continued, the workforce changed dramatically. At the beginning of the decade, more than 200 Chinese men reportedly worked in the woolen mill and lived in boarding houses nearby.⁹⁷ The number reduced dramatically in the coming years, likely due at least in part to racist sentiments, as white workers throughout the Pacific Northwest believed they were losing their jobs to Chinese laborers.⁹⁸ In February 1886, a group of white men gathered at the Phoenix Hotel to discuss their options. At nightfall they walked to a nearby boarding house where the mill workers slept and dragged approximately 30 Chinese

workers from their beds, forcing them onto a steamship headed for Portland.

Changes at other mills were fueled by business rather than race. The Imperial Mills built a second warehouse and a grain elevator in 1882-83, adjacent to the one built during the previous decade.⁹⁹ By 1886, two additional stories were added on the main building and the barn-like roof was replaced with shallow-pitched roof. Eventually a grain flume connected the grain elevator to the main mill building. After LaRocque's death in 1877, Burnside was the sole proprietor of the mill until October 1883, when he sold the enterprise to the OCFM for \$85,000.¹⁰⁰

The basin was an intersection of multiple modes of transportation for people and goods. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1880.



The company owned its original mill and the Imperial Mills until it went bankrupt during the 1882-1885 recession in 1884. William S. Ladd, owner of a recently-formed holding company called the Portland Flouring Mills, purchased all the warehouses, water rights and property associated with the two mills for \$1 in March 1885.¹⁰¹ Management of the mills was turned over to Ladd's trusted employee T.B. Wilcox, who expanded the business into Asian markets. Other industrial efforts included the establishment of the Oregon City Foundry by James Roake in 1887, at the corner of Water Street and Fifth.¹⁰²

Right: On the north end of Main Street, Oregon City maintained a more residential orientation until late in the nineteenth century. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1875.

Bottom: What was once Fifth and Water provided a clear view of the Falls but flooded frequently. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1880.



Hydroelectric Potential of the Falls

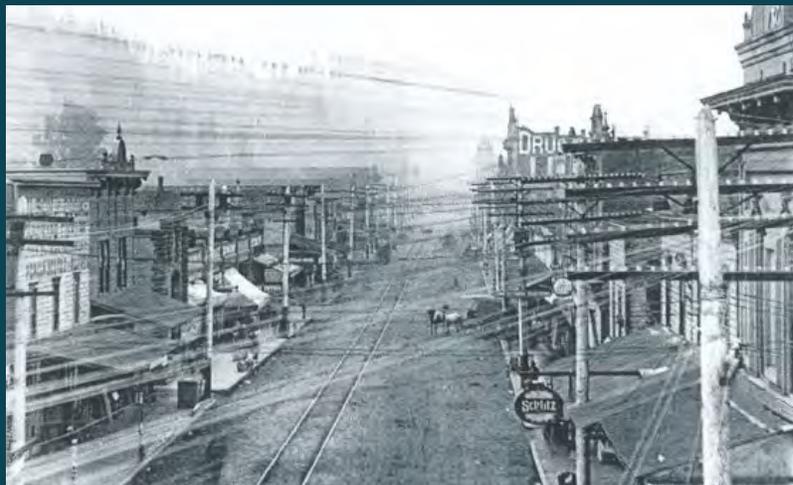
The biggest development during the decade was initiated by railroad financier and journalist Henry Villard, but despite his background it was not initially rail related. In the early 1880s, Villard gained control of the Willamette Transportation and Locks Company and hired Swiss Engineer P. Miescher to survey the hydroelectric potential of the Falls.¹⁰³ When Villard went bankrupt during the 1882-1885 recession, Edward L. Eastham of Oregon City took on the effort to produce hydroelectric power. By 1887, "a syndicate of Portland and Oregon City capitalists" led by Eastham purchased the water rights at the Falls and the adjacent land.¹⁰⁴ They established the Oregon City Electric Company and built a plant called Station A on the remaining basalt ledge of Abernethy Island in 1888.¹⁰⁵ During the same year they installed an Edison dynamo water turbine in a mill on the east bank of the river.¹⁰⁶

In November they began generating electricity from Station A, providing light for Oregon City stores, residences and street.¹⁰⁷

Station A (top) was repeatedly damaged during floods, causing the dam to be rebuilt, but it also started providing electricity for Oregon City (bottom) during 1888. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top 1890; Bottom: 1896.

Eastham's company merged with a Portland-based competitor to form the Willamette Falls Electric Company in 1889. At the beginning of June of that year, hydroelectric power generated at Station A was transmitted to a generating station in East Portland, lighting the streets in downtown Portland.¹⁰⁸

This was believed to be the first ever long distance transmission of electricity in the United States. This historic event started a half-century debate over private ownership of public utilities, but also made possible the industrial advances that Oregon City would see in the coming decades.



The Mills

When immigrants first arrived at Willamette Falls, they were captivated by the possibilities for harnessing the water's natural industrial advantages. Missionary Samuel Parker noted in 1835 that "there cannot be a better situation for a factory village than on the east side of the river." After John McLoughlin had a sawmill and flour mill built around 1832, mills were a near-constant and sometimes iconic presence at the site. By the early 1840s, the first major wave of Methodist missionaries and their associates had built at least two more mills on Abernethy Island. During the decades that followed, additional mills and industrial developments flourished near the Falls.

The importance of the industrial activity would be difficult to overstate, and not only because it provided employment, domestic goods for settlers, and products for trade. Aside from the Falls themselves, the mills were perhaps the most tangible reward for immigrants who made the arduous journey along the Oregon Trail. In journal entry after journal entry, settlers noted their relief at entering a community with mills and the hum of industry. Some spent a short time employed by the mills while seeking land claims or establishing other economic opportunities. Others merely expressed their gratitude and moved on. The mills produced a tremendous amount of noise, but to many immigrants they also represented hope and progress. Indeed, many early sketches

and photographs of Oregon City emphasized the mills rather than the Falls when they were pictured together. Historical photos and postcards of the woolen mill in particular provide some of the earliest images of Oregon City. When Willard P. Hawley opened his paper mills, these too became iconic components of the landscape. Browsing through old photos, one quickly notes the consistent positioning of the photographers that led to these built elements featured in the foreground rather than the Falls, which was frequently an afterthought in the background. Undoubtedly this was related at least in part to marketing considerations, but these mill-oriented views remain some of the best photos from Oregon City's earlier eras.



The broader social importance of the mills was apparent in other ways as well. After the paper mills opened, newspaper articles appeared frequently, sometimes daily, about their challenges, operations and potential expansions. Even Hawley's son's divorce was considered newsworthy. It is likely that in most cases these stories were printed on paper produced by these very mills. In 1922, a temporary bridge was constructed across

the river - in part to connect the mills during construction of a permanent connection. Over the course of the twentieth century, through wars and economic downturns, the mills, especially the paper mills, eventually expanded to cover the entirety of what had once been the core of early Oregon City. On the surface, Oregon City was much like any other factory town, in that the mills dominated the

economic, geographic and social landscape. The Falls provided a scenic view and a power source, without which the mills would have never existed. However, the mills did more than just produce flour, wood, wool and paper. They gave shape to a place that spawned a state and represented the fulfillment of the promise that immigrants on the Oregon Trail journeyed thousands of miles to realize.

Right: The Imperial Mills were eventually taken over by Hawley's paper mills, maintaining the industrial nature of the basin into the twentieth century. Oregon City Directory, c.1918.

Bottom: This panoramic view of Oregon City emphasizes the mills and Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1867.



c. 1884 PERIOD PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT

Willamette Falls

LEGACY PROJECT

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Industrial
- Housing / Lodging
- Commercial / Office
- Retail / Service
- Institutional / Public Utilities
- Mixed Use (Commercial + Lodging)
- Unknown Use
- Tree canopy
- Earth Surfacing / Groundcover
- Wood surfacing
- Rock / Fill
- Water
- Property boundary (2016)
- Rail line (historic)
- Tax lot (current)
- Stairs
- ① Possible location of Charman Mercantile
- ② Possible location of Ainsworth/Dierdorff and later Jobs Mercantile
- ③ Originally built in 1866 for Oregon City Paper Manufacturing Company
- ④ Possible location of Fashion Saloon
- ⑤ Barlow House

SOURCES

1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
3. Site Survey, 2015
4. Sanborn Map, April 1884
5. Historic Images, 1879-1889

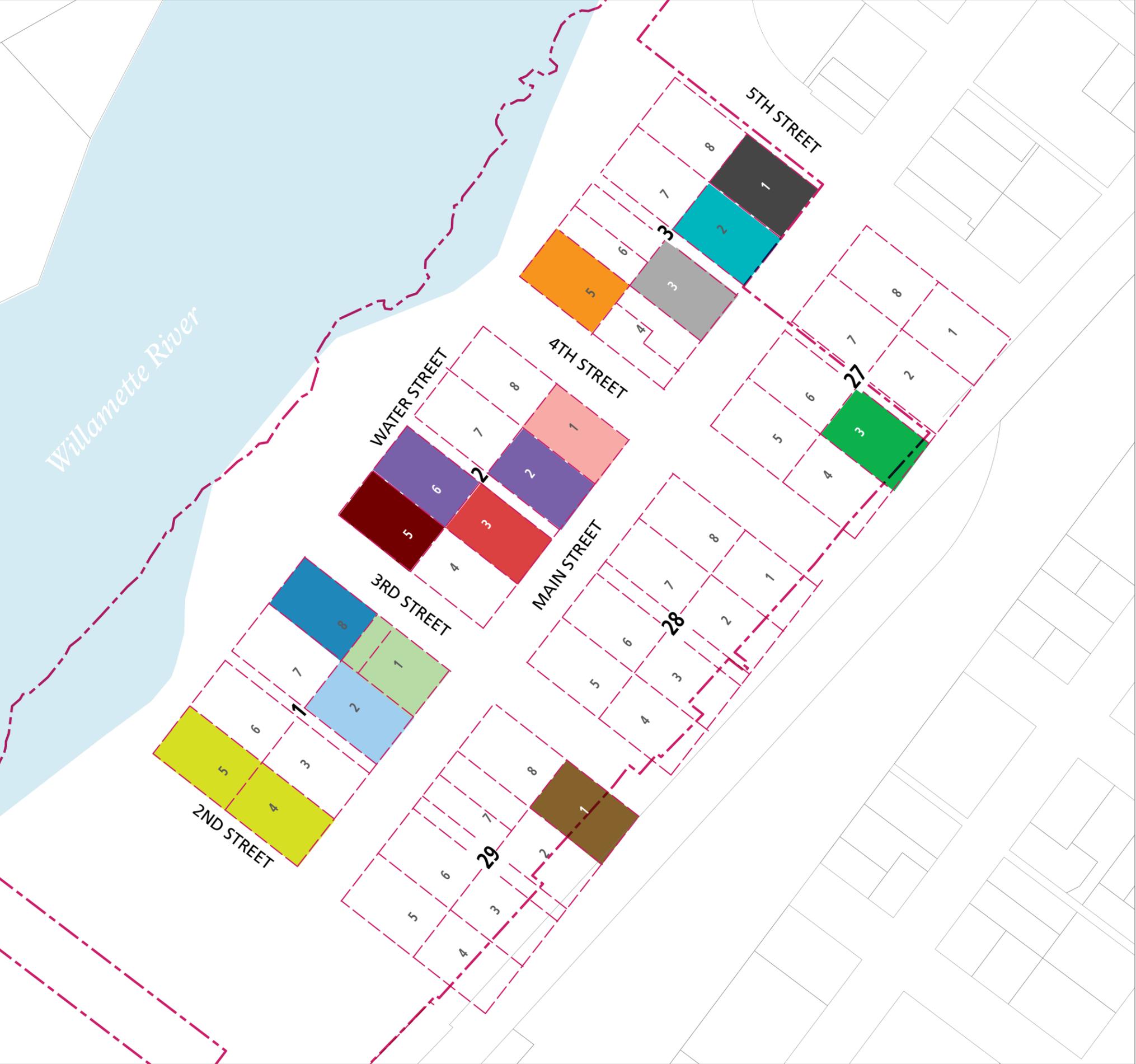


1861-1877 PLAT OWNERSHIP PUBLIC DRAFT

Willamette Falls

LEGACY PROJECT

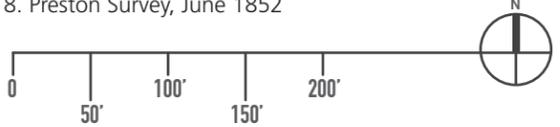
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Daniel & Eloisa M. Harvey
- William & Martha Ann Barlow; George Abernethy
- Alan McKinley
- Alan McKinley & William & Mary A. Barlow
- Thomas & Sophia Charman; John & S. E. by atty McCloskey
- Thomas & Sophia Charman
- John C. & J Ainsworth; Thomas & Sophia Charman
- John Mcloughlin
- Alveon Post, Hanna & Co.
- George Atwater (Tuttle A. heir of); Thomas & Sophia Charman; Robert Atwater– agent of CW Pope
- Amanda Thessing; Walter Moffett
- William C. Dement; Charles Albright
- William & Martha Ann Barlow
- John Lawson Barlow & F. O. & S. M. McCown
- Property boundary (2016)
- Tax lot (current)
- Tax lot (historic)

SOURCES

1. Plat ownership research by Karise Morey
2. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
3. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
4. Site Survey, 2015
5. Warre and Vavasour Survey, 1846
6. Historic Images, 1846-1852
7. Preston Survey, November 1851
8. Preston Survey, June 1852



Businesses Rebuild After the 1890 Flood

When the 1890s opened, Oregon City was home to flour, wool, cement, excelsior, shoddy and pulp mills.¹⁰⁹ However, these were all at risk in the second month of the decade when another major flood swept over the Falls on February 5, 1890.¹¹⁰ “Although the 1890 Willamette River flood had a smaller discharge than the 1861 flood, water from the later flood rose to a level 2.1 feet above the earlier flood, due to the presence of buildings along the river which reduced the channel capacity in Oregon City.”¹¹¹ According to Thomas Charman’s diary, the water rose to slightly more than 50 feet over the low water mark.¹¹² The bulkheads forming the basin were carried away, flooding Main Street and making it accessible almost exclusively

by boat. The road between Canemah and the Portland Flouring Mills [formerly the Imperial Mills] was also destroyed. A sawmill and excelsior mill owned by George Broughton (previously owned by his father William Broughton) were carried away, as was the structure that once housed the Oregon Mint.¹¹³

The 1890 flood destroyed the basin and completely flooded Main Street. The water above and below the Falls was nearly level. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1890.



The newly operational hydroelectric initiative was also heavily impacted by the flood. W.E. Pratt, the superintendent of the locks, sent a series of telegrams to Eastham, informing him of the extent of the flood damage.¹¹⁴ In one, he described the following: "All of old breakwater gone. Sawmill gone. Station still there. Excelsior warehouse gone.

Water up to Ackerman's store in street. Warehouse and lower breakwater still here. Pulp mill all right so far."¹¹⁵ His optimism was premature; the flood ultimately destroyed Station A and damaged its equipment.¹¹⁶ It was rebuilt almost immediately under the direction of T.W. Sullivan, a hydraulic engineer whose expertise would have lasting impacts in the region.

Businesses on the lower bluff (top left) underwent significant damage from the flood. Station A, as was its custom during floods, was destroyed (top right). Overall, most of the city on the lower bluff was under several feet of water (bottom). Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1890.



Rebuilding Station A

After Station A was rebuilt, it was converted from direct current (DC) to alternating current (AC).¹¹⁷ In September 1890, AC power was transmitted from Station A to downtown Portland, another milestone as “the first recorded long distance electrical transmission for commercial use in the United States.”¹¹⁸ Two years later, the Willamette Falls Electric Company constructed a dam across the entire river, starting at Station A. “This latest section of timber crib dam was approximately 950 feet in length and built sufficiently far upstream from the crest of the falls to serve as a coffer dam when a concrete dam was built later.”¹¹⁹ Also during 1892, the company merged with the Willamette Transportation and Locks Company to form the Portland General Electric Company (PGE).

Within two years, PGE owned all the water rights at the Falls and leased these to the various mills and factories on both sides of the river.¹²⁰ At this point the minimum capacity of the river was estimated at 50,000 horsepower (hp), of which more than 4,000 was leased to the ventures in and near Oregon City.

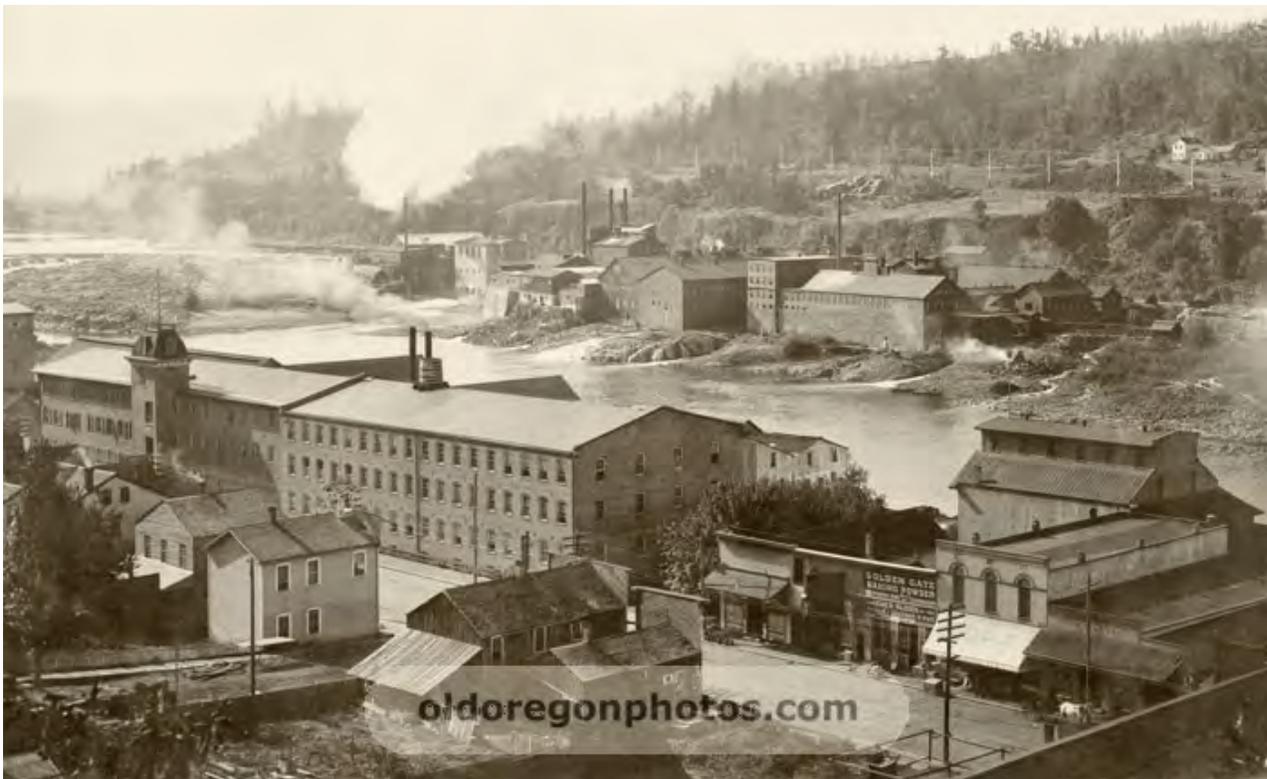
In 1897, however, Station B was built across the river and Station A was abandoned, except for a brief period when it was leased by the Willamette Pulp and Paper Company.¹²¹

The water level relative to Station A was one indication of the severity of the flooding in the late nineteenth century. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top: 1897; Bottom: 1890.





Station A was rebuilt multiple times before it was finally abandoned, with each rebuild slightly different than the last. As the building itself changed, the surrounding industrial sites evolved as well. Left: Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1895. Right: Old Oregon Photos, c.1895.

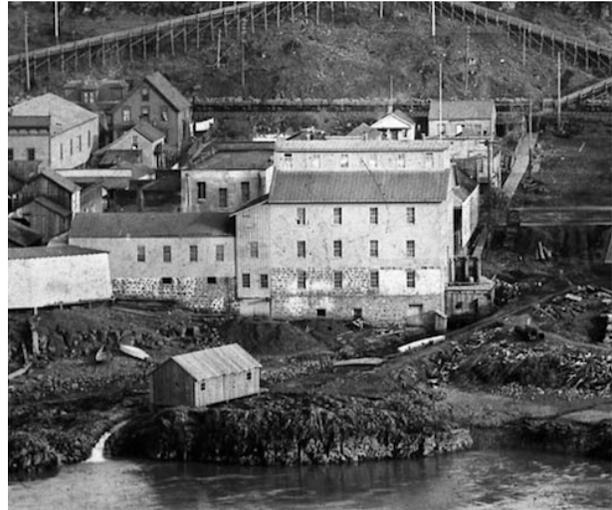


Despite the ongoing efforts to rebuild Station A, its value rapidly waned and electricity was more efficiently generated across the river at Station B. With the consistent source of power, industrial development continued on both sides of the river. Old Oregon Photos, c.1895.

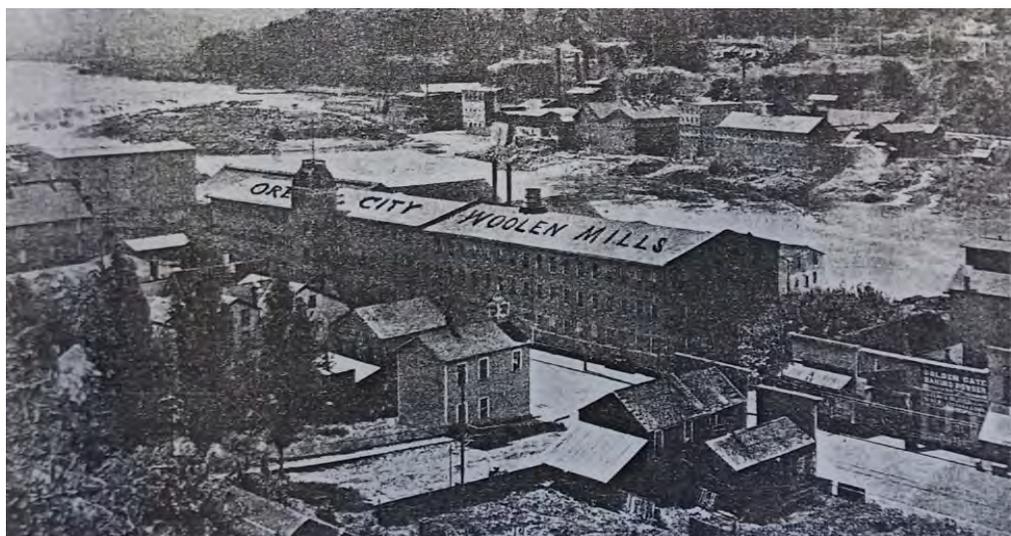
The period after the flood produced developments that achieved mixed degrees of success. Transportation upgrades started almost immediately. For example, the City built a plank road east of the Portland Flouring Mills to replace the former road to Canemah that was washed away.¹²² In May 1899, workmen began construction on a bicycle path between Oregon City and Portland.¹²³

The more impactful transit-related development was the interurban railway between Portland and Oregon City, financed by George Steel.¹²⁴ This was the first such railway to be powered by electricity generated at the Falls. Until this point, the trolley ran up and down Main Street and made daily runs to Portland. Construction of the new line lasted from 1890 to 1893 and used the existing railway where possible.

The Brick Mill had different owners and different functions over time, but was part of Oregon City's visual landscape and anchored Third Street for many years. James Nicita. Left: c.1890s; Right: 1892.



At the close of the nineteenth century, the woolen mills dominated the area closest to the Falls, but commercial enterprises were still present on that end of Main Street. Oregon Historical Society, 1899.





Electricity generated at the Falls provided transportation options for residents and made Main Street a bustling center of commercial activity. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1893.



The dam at Station A provided a uniform flow of water that served industrial, commercial and recreational purposes. Old Oregon Photos, 1895.

The various mills also underwent a variety of changes during the decade. In 1890, the Oregon City Manufacturing Company constructed an addition that doubled the size of the woolen mill.¹²⁵ This expanded the footprint of the building to lots 1, 2, 7 and 8 of Block 1.¹²⁶ On the other end of the industrial section of Main Street, James Roake moved his foundry from Water and Fifth to Water and Fourth in 1892, where it would remain for nearly 20 years.¹²⁷ On October 14, 1892, the Free Reading Room was opened in

a one-story building located on the south end of Main Street next to a livery stable that was rented from businessman George Harding, who owned a drugstore near the intersection of Sixth and Main Street.¹²⁸ This was one of many efforts throughout the nineteenth century to open a library in Oregon City.

In 1893, a major depression referred to as the Panic of 1893 brought changes to the social and industrial base of the community.

The reading room, for example, became a ‘hobo resort’ by the end of the decade, containing more dust than books. During this period the Brick Mill also closed its doors for about seven years, although the broader Portland Flouring Mills company carried on.¹²⁹ By mid-decade, however, most of the major businesses remained, with a wide range of mills and manufacturing enterprises still in Oregon City.¹³⁰ The value of the annual product of these ventures was estimated at about \$3,000,000.



Top: The original dam (top left) could not withstand the 1890 flood and was subsequently rebuilt (top right). Top left: Blue, 1890. Top right: Old Oregon Photos, 1890.

Right: At the beginning of the nineteenth century, American Indians gathered to fish at the Falls. By the end of the century, it was the city's white residents who enjoyed this popular recreational activity. eBay, c.1890.





Left: The evolving transportation network brought people and goods to the Falls. The stairway in the foreground connected Third Street to the upper bluff. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1897.

Bottom: The mill reserve area maintained a cluster of residential uses interspersed with commercial and industrial buildings in the late nineteenth century. Clockwise from upper right: Oregon Historical Society, c.1891; Blue, c.1890; Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1893; Jim Tompkins, c.1890.





Except for during floods, the dam helped maintain the water level and water flow at the basin, providing access to the mills for sternwheelers above the Falls. Oregon Historical Society, c.1890.



The stairways from the upper bluff, shown here connecting directly to Third Street on the right of the photo, provided access across the train tracks and to the lower portion of Oregon City. James Nicita, 1892.



Top: Salmon were less plentiful as the century progressed, but fishing remained a popular activity. Old Oregon Photos, c.1895



Left: Charman's drugstore, along with Pope Hardware (several buildings to the left of Charman's) were long-standing structures that served multiple purposes over time on Main Street. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1895.

c. 1900 PERIOD PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT

Willamette Falls

LEGACY PROJECT

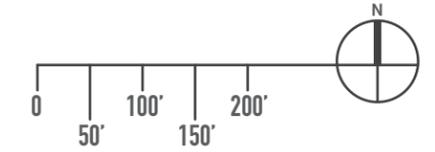
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Industrial
- Housing / Lodging
- Commercial / Office
- Retail / Service
- Institutional / Public Utilities
- Unknown Use
- Tree canopy
- Earth Surfacing / Groundcover
- Wood surfacing
- Rock / Fill
- Water
- Fence
- Underground Tail Race
- Property boundary (2016)
- Rail line (historic)
- Tax lot (current)
- Stairs
- ① Possible location of the Reading Room
- ② Formerly McLoughlin House
- ③ Formerly Cliff House
- ④ Relocated Barlow House

SOURCES

1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
3. Site Survey, 2015
4. Sanborn Map, May 1900
5. Historic Images, 1895-1905
6. Location of Existing and Proposed Canal and Locks Map, 1911

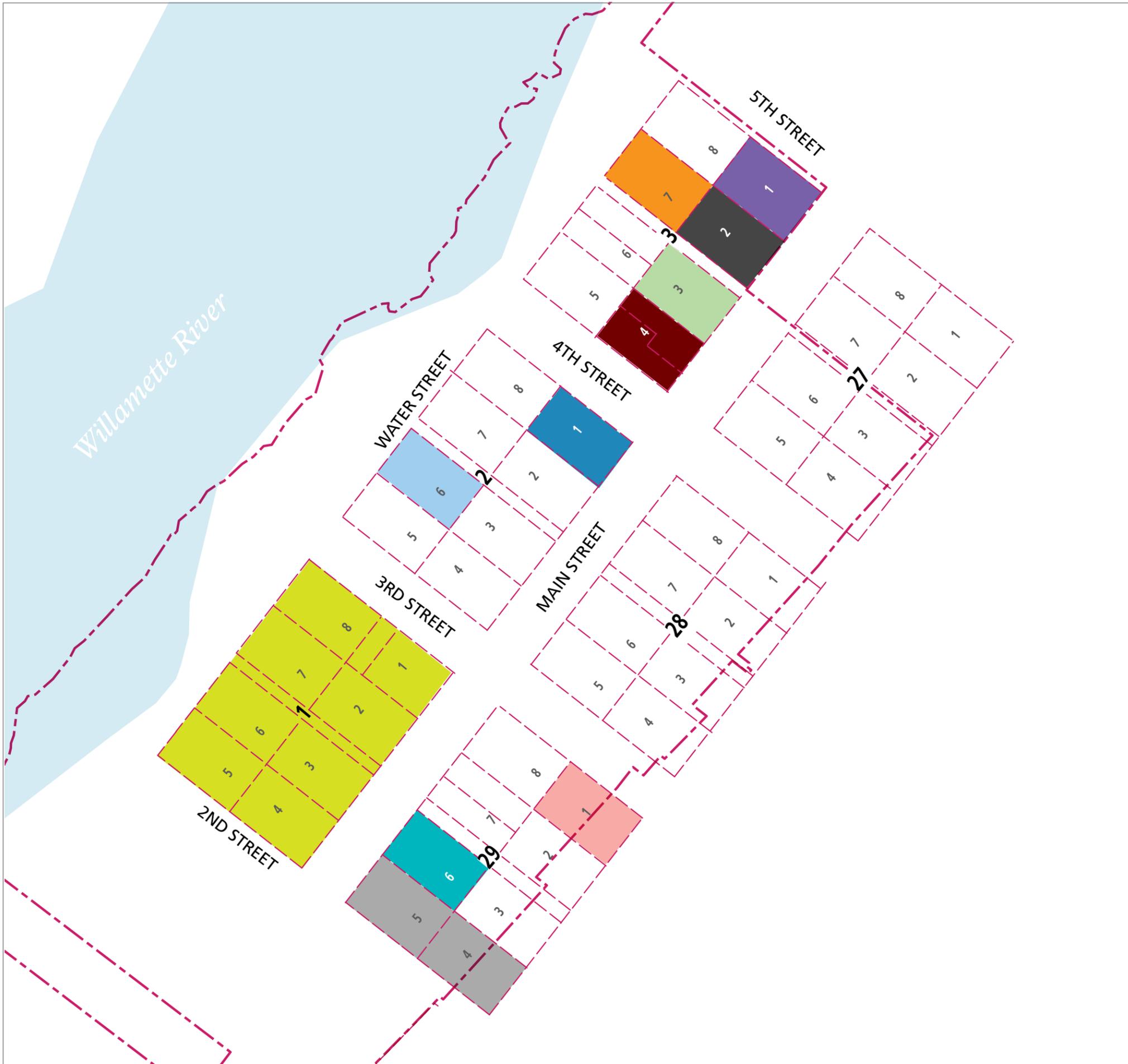


1880-1909 PLAT OWNERSHIP PUBLIC DRAFT

Willamette Falls

LEGACY PROJECT

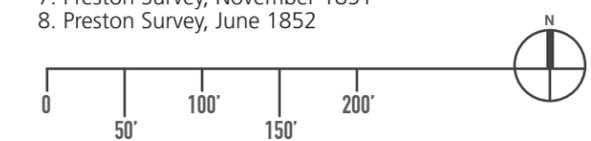
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Oregon City Manufacturing Company
- David Carter
- Williams & Stratton; John Schram
- James W. Barlow & M. E. & F. L. Nieta; B.A. Hughes; Estate J. Logus & Clara Morey; Charmans
- James W. Barlow
- Logus & Albright
- Isaac Farr
- Charles D. Latourette & Sedonia
- E. G. Caufield
- Frank T. & Mary E. Barlow
- T. Leonard & Kate L. Charman
- Property boundary (2016)
- Tax lot (current)
- Tax lot (historic)

SOURCES

1. Plat ownership research by Karise Morey
2. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
3. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
4. Site Survey, 2015
5. Warre and Vavasour Survey, 1846
6. Historic Images, 1846-1852
7. Preston Survey, November 1851
8. Preston Survey, June 1852





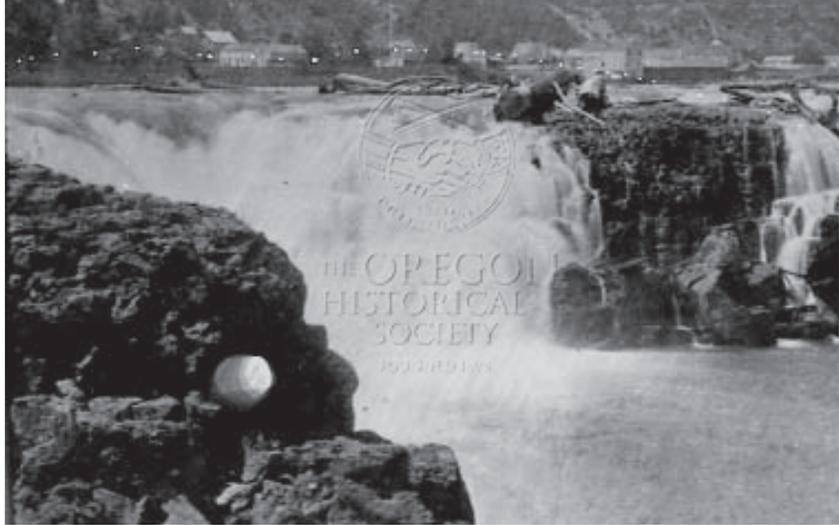
*Top: Viewed from the bluff, the commercial and industrial appeared to be clustered near the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1897.
Bottom: Viewed from across the river, the commercial and industrial uses were closely situated, but with commercial uses stretched further along Main Street. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1897.*



At the onset of the twentieth century, the mills started building on and over Main Street and the numbered side streets, initiating a period of rapid changes toward fuller industrialization. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1897.

As the century came to a close, Oregon City was a bustling and in some ways idyllic place. One observer noted around 1897 that the town: *strolls backward and upward on the successive ascents of the hills for a mile or more, and downward along the rivers flow for an equal distance. Its business is mostly confined to that part of the city lying between the first escarpment and the river, which constituted a bench of about forty rods in width, and is nearly on a level with the water of the river above the falls. [...] Oregon City has a population of about 5,000, and among its citizens are some of the best known and most influential of the State. Its churches and schools are excellent.*¹³¹

More than 70 years after John McLoughlin built his first short-lived cabins near Willamette Falls, Oregon City and the area around the Falls remained a continuously evolving center of industry and commerce. The new century would bring yet more changes to the town's original center.



Like the earliest artists who sketched and painted the Falls, the site was eventually a popular subject for photographers as well.

Top: Oregon Historical Society, 1864; Middle: Bancroft, 1867; Bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1870s.



The Falls were and continue to be frequently photographed, providing one glimpse of the ongoing changes from floods and dam projects.

Left: c.1890; Middle right: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1896; Bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1900; Middle left: Old Oregon Photos, c.1895.



NOTES

- 1 Jim Tompkins, *Oregon City*, Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.
- 2 Karl Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City: The Falls Were First," *Oregonian*, September 14, 1983.
- 3 Howard McKinley Corning, *Willamette Landings*, Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2004.
- 4 US Federal Insurance Administration, *Flood Insurance Study: City of Oregon City, Oregon, Clackamas County*, 1979.
- 5 *Enterprise Courier*, "Early Navigation on the Willamette," November 6, 1929; Rev. H.K. Hines, *An Illustrated History of the State of Oregon, Containing a History of Oregon from the Earliest Period of its Discovery to the Present Time, Together with Glimpses of its Auspicious Frontier; Illustrations and Full-Page Portraits of Some of its Eminent Men and Biographical Mention of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Citizens of Today*, Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1893. A previous, likely unintentional, attempt involved a captain who had been drinking.
- 6 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History," <http://www.usgenet.org/usa/or/county/clackamas/index.html>.
- 7 Eva Emery Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City," in *Portland, Oregon, Its History and Builders: In Connection with the Antecedent Explorations, Discoveries, and Movements of the Pioneers that Selected the Site for the Great City of the Pacific*, Joseph Gaston, 650-674, Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912; Portland Tribune.
- 8 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City;" *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*, 85 OR 574 (1917). The Willamette Iron Works was built circa 1858-59, likely on the southeastern edge of the Mill Reserve on the mainland.
- 9 *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*; Corning, *Willamette Landings*.
- 10 Arthur H. Greisser, *History of Portland General Electric Company, 1889-1981*, Portland, OR: Portland General Electric, 1982.
- 11 Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City."
- 12 *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*.
- 13 Klooster, "McLoughlin's Oregon City."
- 14 *Lovejoy et al. v. Willamette Falls Elec. Co. et al.*, 31 OR 181 (1897).
- 15 *History of the Oregon City Industrial Area*, n.d., copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory; James Nicita, "Daniel Harvey - like John McLoughlin - father of OC?" *Portland Tribune, Clackamas Review*, December 18, 2013.
- 16 *Unknown*, "New Mill," June 28, 1862.
- 17 Nicita, "Daniel Harvey."
- 18 *Enterprise Courier*, "Pictures Reveal Oregon City Has Come Far In Last [Century]," April 29, 1966.
- 19 Nicita, "Daniel Harvey."
- 20 USGenNet Data Repository, "Clackamas County History."
- 21 *Ibid.* He sold the water rights to John Moore, George Marshall, Samuel Stevens and Joseph Sweiter. It is not apparent whether each man purchased separate rights or the group purchased them together for a joint initiative.
- 22 *Enterprise Courier*, "Flour for Export," February 9, 1867.
- 23 Alfred L. Lomax, "Oregon City Woolen Mill," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1931): 240-261.
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CHAPTER 5

1900 - 1925

INDUSTRY CONSOLIDATES & TOWN SHIFTS

Changes to the Mills, Transportation and Electric Power

The Paper Industry Takes Hold in Oregon City

Non-Paper Industry in the Mill Reserve

Hawley Makes Plans for Further Expansion



From the level of the river at Canemah, the Falls were primarily visible as mist. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1902.

5

Industry Consolidates & Town Shifts

At the onset of the twentieth century, the section of Oregon City closest to the Falls retained a mix of commercial, industrial and residential uses. The various mills and other industrial uses occupied most of the land on the waterfront, stretching from the basin and several blocks down the Willamette River. In particular, a number of buildings associated with the woolen mill filled almost an entire city block south and west of the intersection at Third Street and Main Street.

Changes to the Mills, Transportation & Electric Power

The complex of buildings was noteworthy enough to warrant the production of postcards depicting both it and the Falls at the beginning of the century. These images are especially significant because they depict the area around the basin immediately before a period of tremendous change. For example, a fire in July 1903 destroyed several of the woolen mill structures, but plans to rebuild were announced the following month.¹

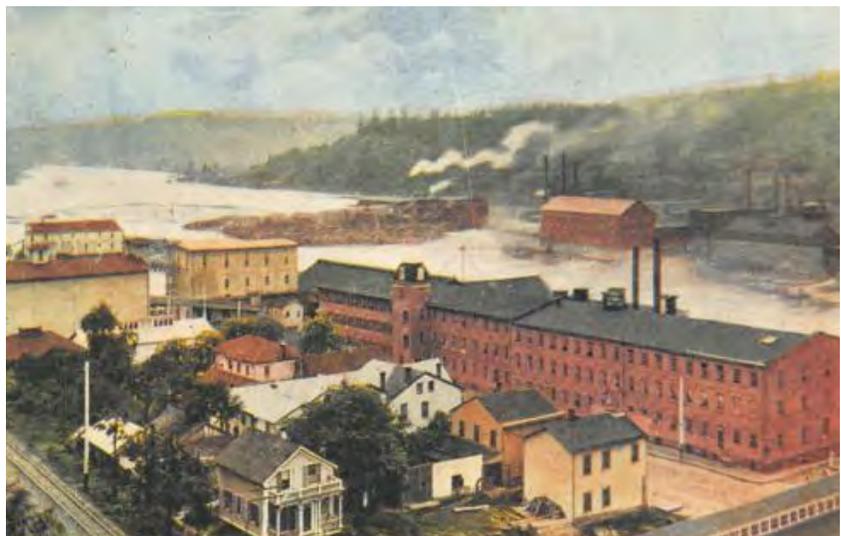
Among the newly constructed buildings, an annex eventually called Mill O was connected directly to the main mill structure. A short-lived labor strike in 1905 briefly impeded operations, but otherwise the woolen mill maintained its status as a major driver of the local economy.²

Other ventures were not so successful. After barely surviving the previous decade, the Brick Mill was closed by

the Portland Flouring Mills (PFM) in 1902.³ Its machinery was eventually shipped to PFM's other mills. Later in the decade, the Imperial Mills and PFM's other remaining flouring mills in Oregon City were also closed permanently after years of erratic use.⁴ This appears to be the end of industrial flour milling in town. Since the area's sawmills were already repurposed for other uses, this period represents the end of McLoughlin's original industrial developments at the Falls. However, like in previous years, the entrepreneurial

spirit of local businessmen would soon facilitate functional and profitable uses for what remained. The impacts of McLoughlin's earliest efforts would play a role in these developments.

Early postcards conveyed the centrality of the mills in the local economy at the turn of the century. eBay, c.1900.



In the meantime, other changes were underfoot in Oregon City. The transportation infrastructure in particular changed dramatically. Photos from 1901 show laborers laying train tracks down the center of Main Street, expanding the use of rail in town. This was likely done in conjunction with the extension of the tracks to Canemah the same year.⁵ The East Side Electric Railway, after undergoing multiple ownership and name changes, reemerged around 1903 as the Oregon Water Power and Railroad Company (OWPRC).⁶ In its newest iteration, the company built power sites on the Clackamas River and expanded the regional rail system. As demand increased, trains were run every half-hour between Portland and Oregon City, with many stops

along the way. On Sundays, a special three-hour, scenic excursion was offered; passengers were transported from Portland to Oregon City by rail in open cars and then returned to Portland on a sternwheeler riverboat.

From any angle, the Falls provided a spectacular view. Top: Old Oregon Photos, 1902; Bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1904.





Perhaps unintentionally, the tracks down Main Street helped further industrialize the area near the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1901.

Automobiles

The emergence of the automobile was, however, already making an impact in Oregon City. By 1904, shipments of Ford automobiles into town were common.⁷ However, the City had banned freight cars on the Main Street rails, forcing Ford to unload its vehicles from the boxcars and then transport them to the dealerships. It is not apparent whether this unloading occurred at the basin, at the train depot along the bluff near Sixth Street or at another site.

In any event, crowds would gather along Main Street to watch the parade of new cars pass by. During the early days and persisting until mid-century, the local automotive industry was dominated by Ford dealerships. The presence of cars led to the improvement of the roads in Clackamas County during this period. In 1910, Main Street was paved with cobblestones after local businessmen protested the existing gravel.⁸



Automobiles replaced horse-drawn wagons and eventually streetcars, reorienting transportation patterns and leading to upgrades of the road infrastructure. Horse stables were replaced by dealerships and auto shops (top), while local business owners protested for pavement (bottom). Top: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1911; Bottom: Jim Tompkins, 1910.



Celebratory parades down Main Street were common from Oregon City's earliest days as a settlement. In the bottom photo, Charman's drug store, Pope Hardware and the woolem mill are all visible. Top left: Jim Tompkins, 1905; Top right: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1905; Bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1911.

Portland Railway, Light and Power Company

Despite the emergence of automobiles, rail remained one of the most important modes of travel, especially regionally. The local industry, however, was undergoing major changes. In 1906, OWPRC was reconstituted as the Portland Railway, Light and Power Company (PRLP) after a series of mergers between rail and hydroelectric companies.⁹ It was called the biggest merger in Oregon history because it consolidated every regional electric light, power and traction company. In 1907, PRLP spent \$50,000 to replace

the timber crib dam at the Falls with a new concrete structure.¹⁰ Construction lasted from May to August. The effort was led by T.W. Sullivan and ultimately provided a more uniform flow of water.¹¹ In an article published during August of the following year, the concrete dam was described as containing 7,500 tons of cement.¹² The new dam was also attributed with saving all leakage and diverting the river to the sides of the Falls where the water furnished power for industrial uses.

As a consequence, reports from the time suggest that the picturesque flow of water over the Falls was severely curtailed. Sullivan's effort resulted in a horseshoe damn around the entire Falls and the straightening of the north end of the basin with a new concrete wall.¹³

Although transportation options were changing early in the twentieth century, the train remained an important component of moving people and goods. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1909.





Top: As commercial activities moved out of the mill reserve area, the steps to the bluff were re-oriented. Here, the steps in the center originate at Fourth and there are no longer steps from Third. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1904.

Bottom: Hawley took over the former Station A and repurposed it as Mill A. Old Oregon Photos, c.1910.



The Paper Industry Takes Hold in Oregon City

A major announcement at the onset of 1908 signaled the beginning of a new era for this area of Oregon City. On January 8, The Oregonian reported that Willard P. Hawley was purchasing PFM's Imperial and Brick Mills with plans to open new paper mills later in the year.¹⁴ Hawley was a veteran in the industry as a former employee of Crown Paper Company, established in 1899 in West Linn and part of a 1905 merger that resulted in the Crown-Columbia Pulp and Paper Company (CCPPC).¹⁵

He was also previously the plant manager for the Willamette Pulp and Paper Company, founded in 1889.¹⁶ During Hawley's time at the Crown Paper Company, the left-leaning *Courier-Herald* noted the paper milling activities around Oregon City and took the opportunity to attack its newspaper competition, declaring

"We read that 'The Crown Paper Company is putting in the machinery for a new digester, just received from the East, that will double its output of pulp. The new digester will fill a space 13 x 34 feet.' If that machine doesn't work, we advise them to try half a dozen Republican readers of The Oregonian. They can digest anything."¹⁷

Previous sarcasm notwithstanding, the Hawley Pulp and Paper Company (HPPC) was incorporated in Oregon by mid-January, with \$600,000 in capital to manufacture paper.¹⁸ In addition to Hawley, the founders included T. J. Seufert, R. E. Bryan and Joseph M. Healy. HPPC corporate records indicate the company was already assessing its options for the purchase of machinery and building materials on January 25. Payment for the PFM structures and properties was initiated in early February with the first of four payments of \$25,000.00. The second payment of \$25,000.00 was due in 60 days without interest, at which time PFM was required to have its machinery removed and the premises cleared.

At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, residential buildings were either absent or repurposed for commercial purposes in the mill reserve area by the Falls. Old Oregon Photos, c.1910.





Mill B, housing Paper Machine No. 1, and Mill C, were among the first structures to reorient the mill reserve to papermaking. *Old Oregon Photos, c.1910.*



Floating logs into the basin and Hawley's mills took agility and skill. Jim Tompkins, 1909.

In addition to purchasing the flour mills, Hawley acquired their water rights and leased Station A, which had been previously abandoned but was still standing. Purchase of materials and lumber to repair Station A was authorized in February as well. These repairs were underway by early April and specialized equipment for the mills was ordered from the east coast.

The structures were transformed both internally and externally. *The Oregonian* reported on April 5 that *“the main building on the west side of the street [formerly the Imperial Mills] will hold the beating engines and the second floor will be the finishing room. In the old grain warehouse on the east side*

*of the street (Mill C) there will be two digesters, 12 x 25 feet, and the necessary equipment for producing 25 tons of pulp daily.”*¹⁹

An additional building measuring 40 x 204 feet was constructed to the west of the former Imperial Mills (Paper Machine No. 1). This was directly along the east side of the CCPPC’s pulp mill (Mill H), built sometime after 1900 near a former storage building on the site. A division wall was to be constructed between the CCPPC’s existing building and HPPC’s old one, as discussed during HPPC’s internal meetings during that time.²⁰ However, in June 1908, CCPPC successfully acquired a restraining order to stop HPPC from

constructing the new building.²¹ A week later, the Oregon City Manufacturing Company (OCMC), who owned the nearby woolen mills, filed the same. The basis of both actions was that Daniel Harvey made provisions to keep the tail race, located between the two paper mills and OCMC, open when he deeded the site of the Imperial Mills.

The new building (Paper Machine No. 1) would be contrary to this provision. Corporate documents suggest these lawsuits dominated discussions during internal meetings.²²

When a livery barn burned down at Fourth and Main, it seemed to symbolize the end of one way of life and the emergence of the automobile. Charman’s and Pope’s are visible across the street in this photo. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1909.

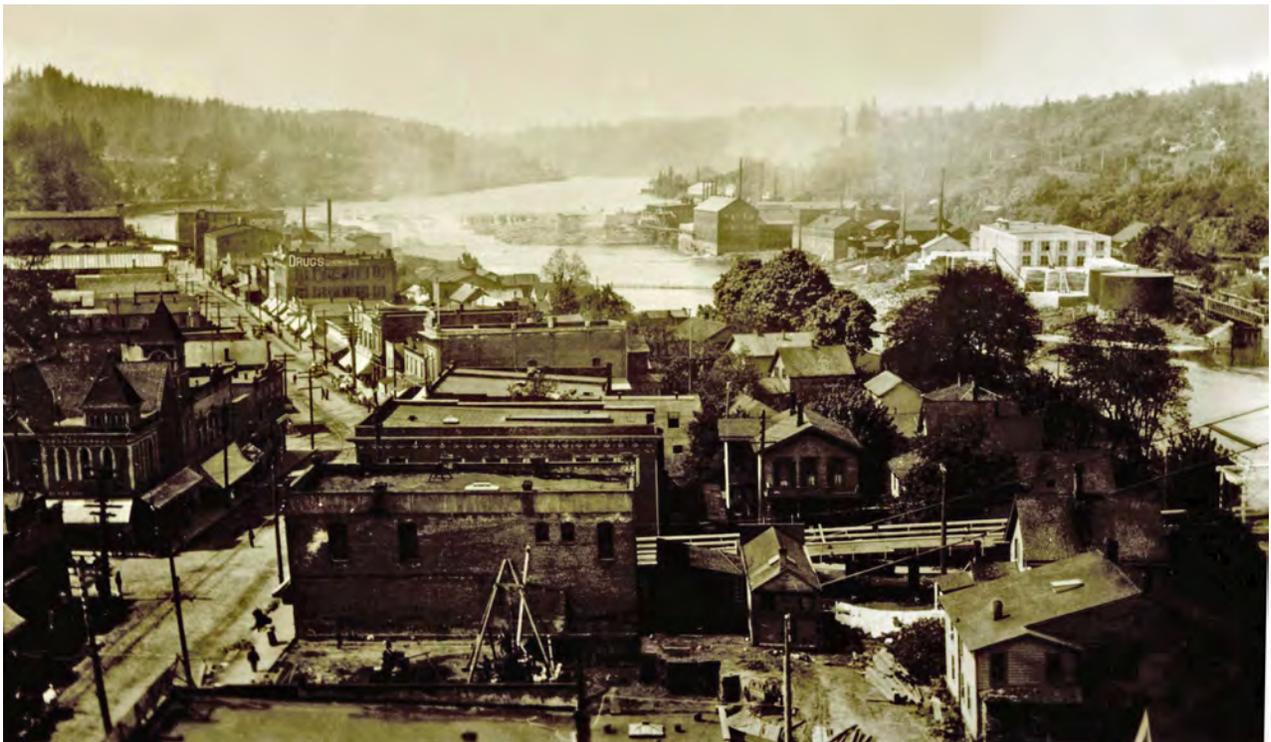


Water Rights

Although John McLoughlin had been dead for half a century, the traces of his early developments associated with the mill race and water rights were apparent even during the paper mill renovations. Indirectly McLoughlin and his son-in-law Daniel Harvey were responsible for the chasm under Hawley's warehouse that was the basis of the legal dispute due to the unclear ownership and management of the water rights. Bolts in the rocks present in the twentieth century, between the site of Hawley's warehouse and

the river, showed where one of the McLoughlin mills once stood.²³ Eventually the Imperial Mills and associated structures, originally built by Daniel Harvey and subsequent owners, was converted by Hawley and his associates to paper production now known as Mill B, a sulfite mill.²⁴ The adjacent basin would continue to serve a critical function, now as a means of transporting logs down the river.

From the tower of Oregon City's courthouse, a thriving town was visible. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1907.



Beginning in spring 1908, HPPC engaged in a transaction that initiated another set of dramatic changes to this area near the Falls. In April, the company came to an agreement with the Oregon City Council and Water Board.²⁵ In return for HPPC purchasing McLoughlin's 1851 house, other land was exchanged to accommodate the City's water plant and HPPC's construction of a short-line railroad to facilitate supply movement. HPPC

spent \$6,000 on the purchase and gained control of land that provided them with more convenient access to the Southern Pacific Railroad track. In 1909, Hawley donated the McLoughlin House, likely bought from Thomas Charman who owned Lot 6 Block 29, to a non-profit organization that moved it to a park on the bluff, which paved the way for the company's further expansion north towards Third Street along Main Street.²⁶

It should be noted that this was the first example of historic preservation in Oregon. Somewhat ironically, the new location was a site designated as a public space in 1851 when McLoughlin had the new city surveyed.²⁷ He did not, as had been thought, donate the land to Oregon City since it was determined in a 1904 legal case that he never held title to the land.²⁸



Left: Construction of the dam and other features re-directed and at times reduced the flow of water at the Falls. Oregon Historical Society, 1909.

Bottom: The woolen mill remained one of the most iconic features in Oregon City prior to the development of Hawley's mills. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1908.



Sale of the McLoughlin House

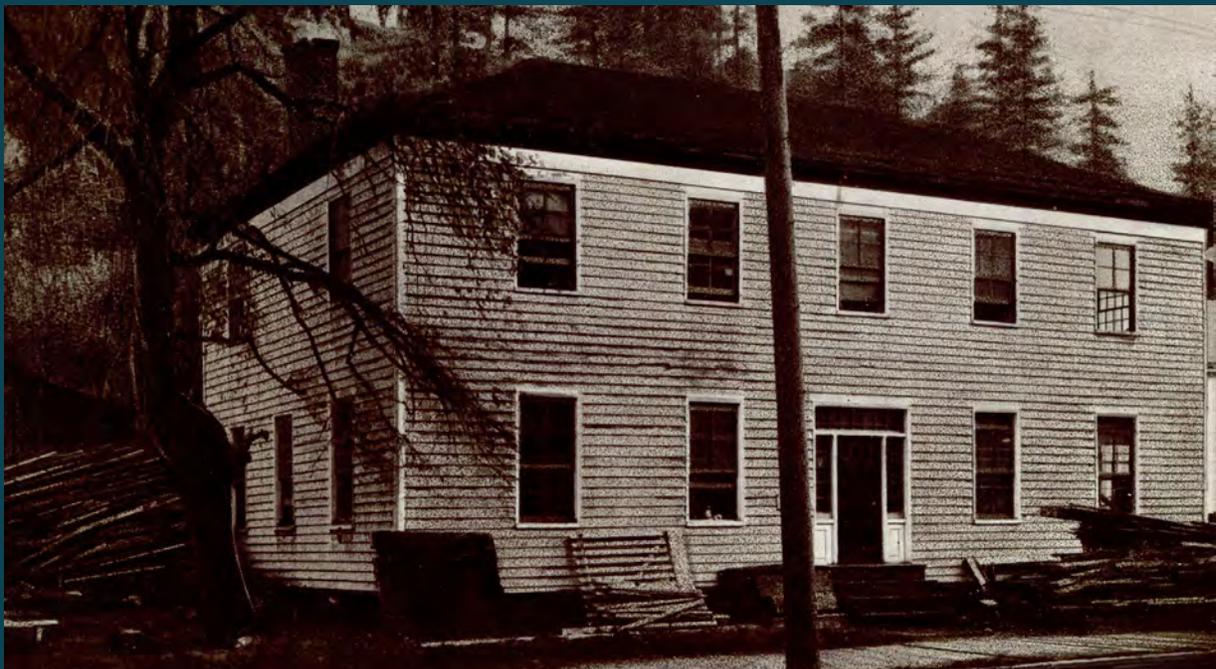
Sale of the McLoughlin House was just the beginning for HPPC's goal to open up property along Main Street between Second Street and Third Street (Block 29) to expand their operations. In 1909, HPPC purchased the Barlow House, which was operating as a lodging house called "Cottage Home."²⁹

At the time it was located across the street from the woolen mills, just south and next to the Cliff House. White Bros., a local contractor, was hired to remodel the Barlow House for HPPC's general offices. The lower floor was finished with natural fir panels and both floors were intended for office purposes.

Also during 1909, HPPC purchased more property from Charman (Block 29, Lots 2 and 3) and a single parcel from McMinnville College (Block 29, Lot 1).³⁰ All three lots were located along the bluff behind the Cliff House and Barlow House.



McLoughlin's house served many functions in Oregon City and was eventually moved to and conserved on the upper bluff. Top left: Jim Tompkins, 1909; Top right and bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1909.



Refurbishment of Station A was started in 1908, but modifications and enhancements were continued into the following year. A winter storm in mid-January 1909 encased the entire building in ice, likely delaying these efforts.³¹ In February, HPPC signed a lease with PRLP for water rights.³² By June, Hawley was advocating for a walkway on top of the dam to the station, now renamed Mill A.³³ T.W. Sullivan, in charge of the PRLP's hydroelectric operations at the Falls, was initially reluctant to allow this. Eventually he would concede

and construction was completed in September of the same year. At the same time the walkway was built, Mill A was outfitted with a grinder harness used to process wood.

Actual manufacturing started in March 1909.³⁴ Paper Machine #1 was installed in the refurbished Imperial Mills building, now called Mill B.³⁵ In May of the same year, Hawley and his general manager were authorized by the board of directors to continue building to increase the mills' storage capacity and manage operations

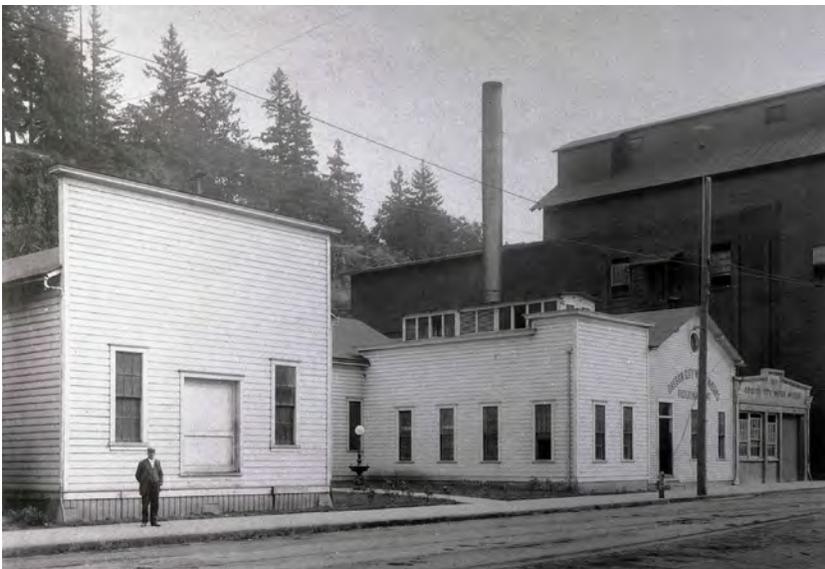
as they found appropriate.³⁸ A few months later Hawley submitted plans to renovate the Brick Mill located on Third Street between Main Street and Water Street, with construction and machinery anticipated to cost \$55,000.00. He was instructed by the board to proceed with the work, which became Mill D. At the onset of its operations, HPPC used the sulfite process to manufacture paper. This was the most common method at the beginning of the twentieth century and involved the use of acidic chemicals to digest wood chip at an elevated temperature and pressure.³⁷



The proposed locks through Hawley's mills would have likely ended his business. This map shows the proposed canal through the basin. James Nicita, 1911.



Top: Industrial development was rapid on both sides of the Falls during the early twentieth century. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1911.



Left: Hawley's expanding operations included the repurposing of many existing structures for papermaking and associated uses. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1910.

The Hawley Pulp and Paper Company (HPPC)

By the end of 1910, HPPC built Mill A, B, C, D and E, an oil house, an office building, a carpenter shop and a warehouse.³⁸ Mill A, as noted, was the former Station A. Mills B and C were built in the refurbished Imperial Mills and Imperial Mills grain elevator and warehouse, respectively.³⁹ Mill D was located in the old Brick Mill and housed Paper Machine #2.⁴⁰ Mill E was a

sawmill down the Willamette River in Milwaukie that produced wood blocks for the sulfite process in Mill C.⁴¹ Sanborn maps from 1911 show Warehouse #1 in the former Imperial Mills wheat warehouse with Mill C. Warehouse #2, freshly built, was located in the lots purchased from Charman and McMinnville College behind the Cliff House. The same Sanborn maps show a steel

oil tank at the northwest corner of Mill D, near the riverbank, while the carpenter shop was shown on Main Street immediately behind Mill B. The office, as previously noted, was the former Barlow House and still next to the Cliff House. It was moved to the northwest corner of Main Street and Third Street by 1925.

During the autumn of 1911, a canal was proposed for the east side of the Willamette Falls.⁴² Hawley claimed to support the canal in principle, but also stated it would put him out of business by cutting through his main plant. In mid-September he formally opposed the canal due to its almost certain impact on his company.⁴³ On September 26, the board of directors resolved to have the company's attorney draft a letter to the United States Engineers describing the extent of the likely impacts, including damages expected to reach in the millions of dollars.⁴⁴

The letter sent to Major J.F. McIndoe of the Engineer Corps read: *that the plan No. 1 would completely shut off the water supply to our power wheels and appropriate the basin, which we*

*need for water craft and as booming grounds for logs, besides appropriating land owned and leased by us, thereby absolutely destroying our business; That the plan No. 2 would appropriate the land leased by us from the P.R. L. & P. Co. for a new pulp mill site, upon which we are obliged, for forty-five years, to pay a heavy annual rental for power, and would appropriate our wharf and other grounds leased by us for a like period and would otherwise damage us so as to prevent a continuance of our business.*⁴⁵

Ultimately, no canal was built on the east side of the Falls. By the beginning of 1912, HPPC employed around 250 people in its Oregon City enterprises.⁴⁶ The company produced 35 tons of paper, 20 tons of sulfite and 30 tons of wood pulp while manufacturing high quality wrapping

paper, fruit wraps, newspaper, and tissue paper. Combined with the other paper mills around the Falls, the total investment in paper milling was more than five million dollars with 260 tons of paper produced.⁴⁷ The paper produced in these mills was shipped to ports along the Pacific coast, plus Hawaii, China, Australia, Alaska and New Zealand. Within this crowded marketplace, HPPC sought ways to maintain a competitive advantage. In January 1912, Hawley announced that all of his employees would be inoculated with an anti-typhoid serum to guard against the epidemic.⁴⁸ This marked the serum's first trial in the West and the first trial among American factory workers. It's also indicative of the culture of this part of Oregon City as a company town.

In late 1912, HPPC growth led Hawley to assess options for expansion of the mills. During the first week of November, the board of directors discussed construction of a new building for a new paper machine next to Mill D.⁴⁹ Hawley was authorized to undertake the project, with costs estimated between \$100,000 and \$120,000. On November 8, Hawley announced the plans for a new machine on Third Street between the machine room and the river.⁵⁰ Paper Machine

No. 3, as it was eventually called, was built on the corner of Water Street and Third Street.⁵¹ The *Oregon City Courier* announced its construction on January 1, 1914. "This structure, of concrete and steel, designed according to the best practice of the present day, is 40 by 300 feet, and occupies the entire block on the river front between Third and Fourth streets. It rises two stories above the ground, and has as well a commodious basement, thus adding 36,000 feet of floor space to the plant.

It contains an additional paper machine, and high-speed printing presses for the manufacture of fruit-wraps, bottle-wraps and other similar products in which the Hawley company has been specializing as a development of the general manufacture of all grades of paper."⁵² A little more than five years after its incorporation, HPPC was growing rapidly and remaking the mills in Oregon City.

Mill B, formerly the Imperial Mill, and Mill C, formerly the Imperial Mill grain elevator and warehouse, were the first point of entry for logs floated into the basin. Blue, 1918.



Non-Paper Industry in the Mill Reserve

Although Hawley and the HPPC increasingly dominated the area around the Falls, other businesses maintained a presence in the area during the early twentieth century. This caused a great deal of local optimism, with the Morning Enterprise questioning “whether there is a town of similar size in the country that has as large a proportion of steady wage earners as Oregon City.”⁵³ In 1912, the factories had an annual payroll of \$850,000.⁵⁴ CCPPC maintained a pulp mill near the basin and many of the smaller scale ventures provided services and support for the various mills.⁵⁵

For example, James Roake's Oregon City Foundry, at Fourth Street and Water Street, was destroyed by fire in 1909 but rebuilt on the same site.⁵⁶ In 1912 it was managed by his son J.A. Roake, known as Bert, who employed 15 men and transformed the plant to accommodate its more modern needs. The foundry's primary customers were likely the paper and woolen mills located down the street.

OCMC's woolen mill also thrived during this period. By 1912, the mill was using up to two million pounds of wool annually with an output of

around one million dollars.⁵⁷ In its catalogue, OCMC described its location as “in the Indians' great stamping grounds - a land endowed with every natural advantage and abounding in Indian relics and traditions, to shape and color the fancies of artists and craftsmen.”⁵⁸

The woolen mills produced a variety of products related to American Indian culture, though apparently none connected directly to the cultural heritage of the Falls. Oregon Historical Society, 1911.



The site was noted for its natural water power, while the region was credited for *“the finest fleece wool in the country, favored by the moderate climate, giving year-round grazing, and temperature that allows the oil to remain in the wool instead of being utilized by the animal for its warmth.”*⁵⁹

The enthusiasm was not universally shared as an arsonist attempted to set the mill on fire in 1913 and escaped by boat across the Willamette River.⁶⁰ Local newspapers noted the presence and activity of militant socialists hailing from Portland in and around the mill, suggesting the potential for a labor dispute.



George Young's secondhand store, located at Fifth and Main, sold a variety of goods early in the century. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1910.

Oregon City in 1912

Aside from the supposed Portland hooligans, Oregon City framed itself as a thriving and comfortable community in 1912, with *“an abundance of room for honest, progressive and law abiding settlers - but no room for the other kind.”*⁶¹

It apparently had neither millionaires nor paupers and one local newspaper modestly described itself as the best little daily in an indeterminate area. Main Street was well paved and the town had a municipal water plant with filtered water.⁶² By 1911, the city's water plant had been built between Mill C and HPPC's office on

Main Street.⁶³ Conveniently for the socialists, perhaps, train service was provided every 30 minutes between Oregon City and Portland between 6 a.m. and midnight.⁶⁴ Conveniently for everyone, the trains were almost always on time.

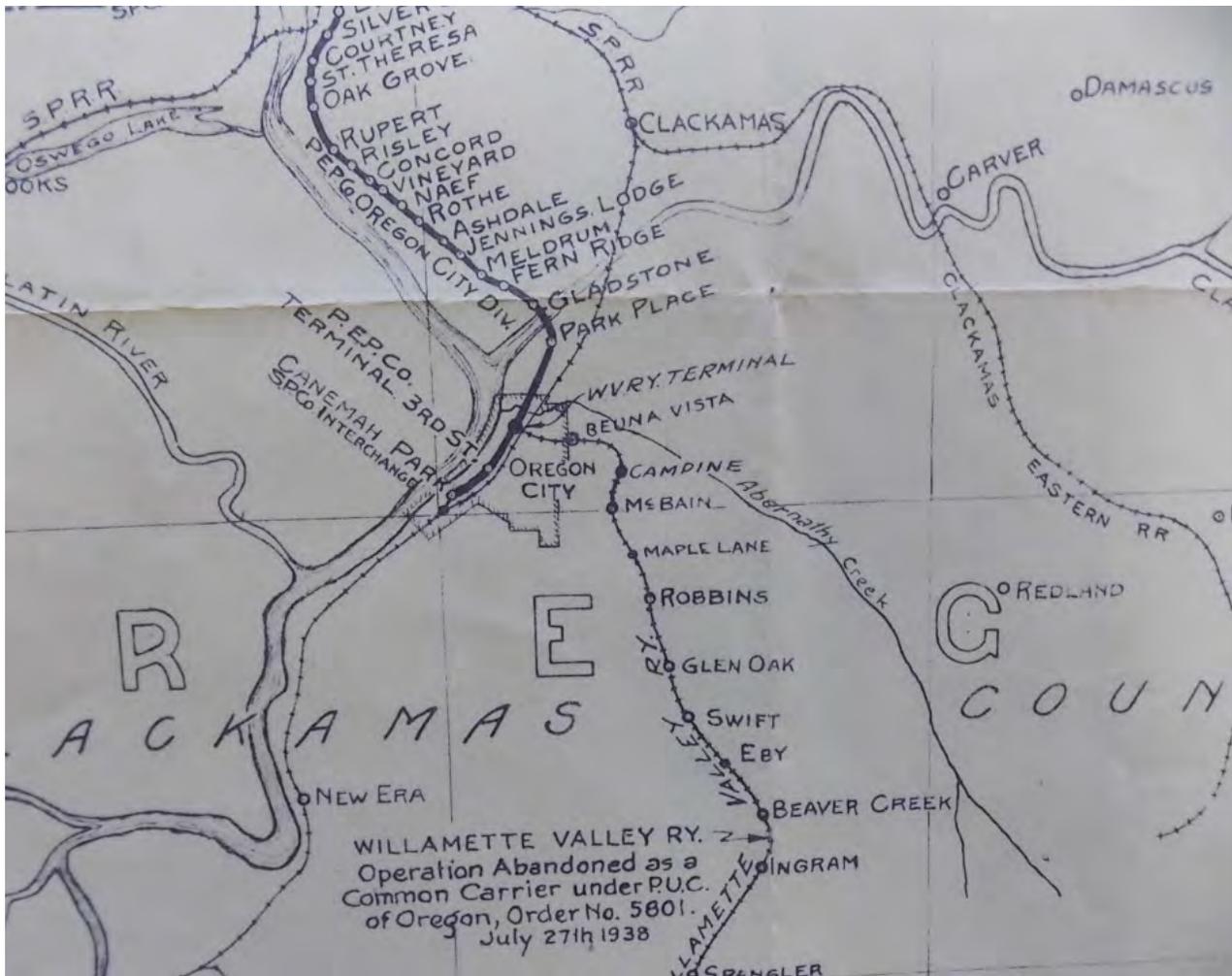
Improvements to the rail line and freight transport on the river were undertaken around the same time. In 1912, an effort was made to improve the docks and deepen the channel of the Willamette River between Portland and Oregon City.⁶⁵ The goal was to save on freight charges by enabling the pulp

and paper companies to bring logs all the way to the mills by water. However, other industries still relied on trains for transporting freight. In February 1915, the Willamette Valley Southern rail line, carrying passengers and agricultural products, was formally dedicated in Oregon City.⁶⁶ As part of the festivities, a parade marched down Main Street and culminated at the corner of Third Street. The men in attendance were taken on a tour through an HPPC plant while the women toured the woolen mill.

Another transit-related project undertaken at this time was the temporary bridge over the Willamette River. It was constructed in 1922 and connected Oregon City to West Linn.⁶⁷ Designed for foot traffic, it was located near the terminus of Fifth Street on the Oregon City side and also provided a connection between the mills on either side of the river. The temporary bridge provided access while the Arch Bridge was being built several blocks north.

Photos from 1922 show the completed foot bridge in the foreground and the in-progress Arch Bridge in the background. Other photos from the same year illustrate the impressive height of the foot bridge, which was needed to allow passage of sternwheelers to the wharfs along the river. Due to its height, travelers over the foot bridge had to climb a long ramp to reach the top.

For a time, the interurban line between Portland and Oregon City provided consistent transportation between the two cities. Oregon Historical Society, 1910.





The temporary bridge over the Willamette River at Fifth Street connected Oregon City and West Linn during the construction of a more permanent alternative. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1922.

Recreation at the Falls

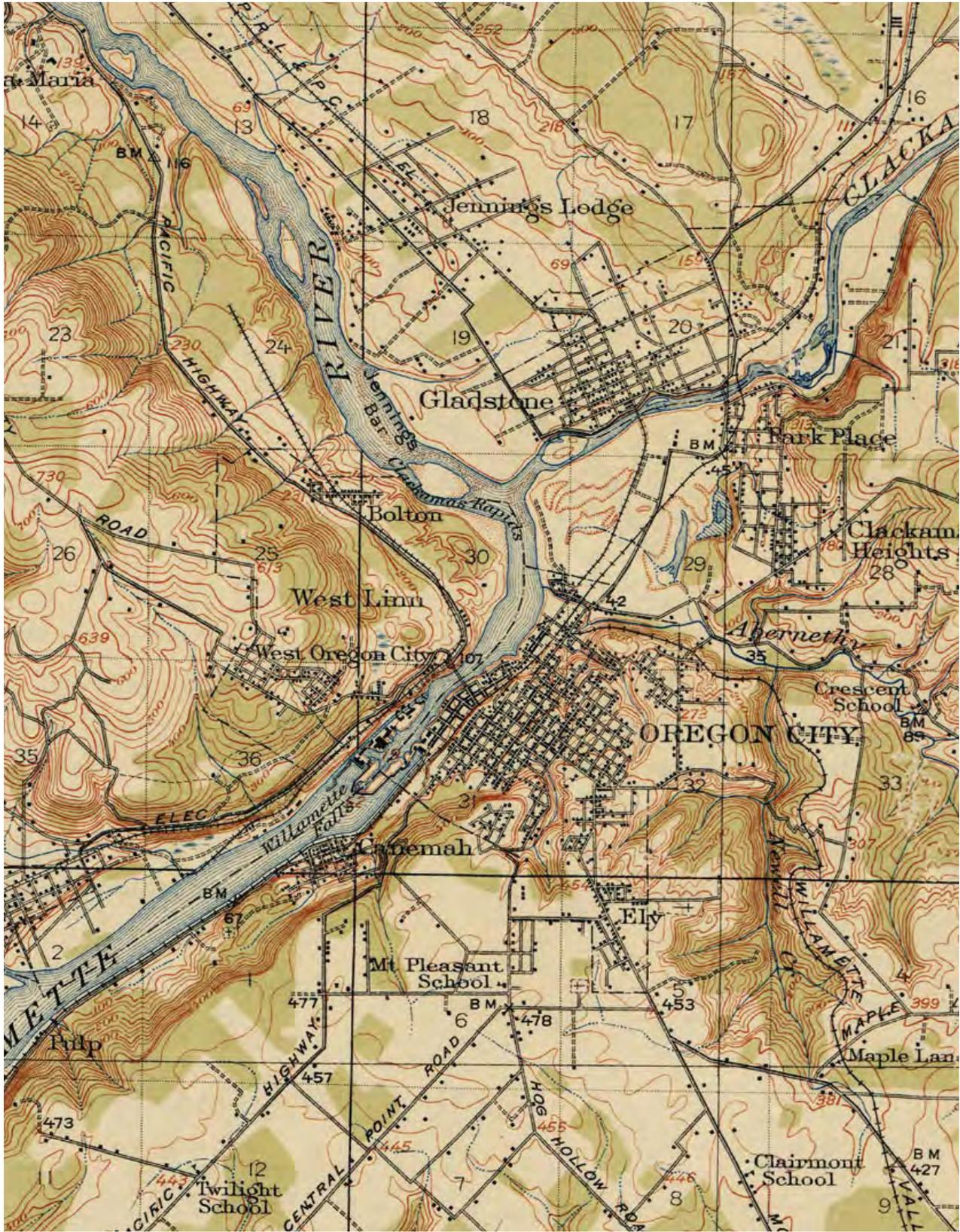
Though the Falls were dominated by industrial uses, they also served recreational purposes. Salmon fishing was especially popular during April, May and June for spring Chinook or “springers” as they are often referred.⁶⁸ It was described as an ideal sport for outdoors

enthusiasts, who came “in droves to cast their lines, weighted with well baited hooks, into the ripples of the waters for the game salmon, who [battled] to the very end before surrendering to his enemy of the land.”⁶⁹ As one former resident noted, “My father loved to fish,

and during the salmon season we went to the Oregon City Falls of the Willamette River. I rowed the boat for my father while he trolled for salmon. It was at the Oregon City Falls that I caught my first trout, the beginning of a life-long addiction to trout fishing.”⁷⁰

Fishing continued to combine spectacular views of the Falls with recreation during the 1920s. Top left: Blue, c.1910s; Top right: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1918; Bottom: Old Oregon Photos, c.1925.





Less than a century after it was first platted, most of Oregon City's center was located away from the Falls. University of Texas, 1912.

American Indians' Continued Presence at the Falls

Text to be provided in later draft.

Early in the twentieth century, lamprey were still found in large quantities at the Falls. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1913.





Artistic renderings of the Falls tended to emphasize their natural beauty, but industrial development predominated along both sides of the river.

Top: Old Oregon Photos, c.1924; Bottom: A sternwheeler moves down the Willamette River. Old Oregon Photos, c.1915.



OCMC plans to expand capacity

In December 1916, OCMC announced plans to double its capacity. The plans called "for the construction of a three-story, 80 by 250 feet reinforced concrete addition to their original woolen mill and the complete rearrangement of their operations."⁷¹ The addition was predicted to provide employment for an additional 150 men. In 1922, A.R. Jacobs, president and general

manager of the mills announced that "owing to the growth of our business we are hampered for storage space which handicaps us in handling our products. We need a commodious warehouse in Oregon City, which I estimate would cost between \$25,000.00 and \$30,000.00, including cost of [the] ground."⁷² He sought the authority from his board to begin construction later in

the year if warranted by business and other conditions. A comparison of the 1911 and 1925 Sanborn maps indicates that significant construction was undertaken during this period, particularly on Third Street and over what was previously Water Street. Much like HPPC, the growth of OCMC was changing the geography of the Mill Reserve area.

Expansion of woolen mill capacity and operations would create more work for the garment factory, shown here during a quiet moment. Oregon Historical Society, 1918.





Wool at the woolen mills was first sorted (above) and eventually it was sent to the cutting room (below). Oregon Historical Society, 1918.



Hawley Makes Plans for Further Expansion

By the end of 1915, paper imports from Canada and Europe were cut off because of World War I.⁷³ Prior to this many American mills had closed or were operating at reduced hours due to foreign competition, and Hawley took this opportunity to reclaim the domestic market. Hawley announced plans on December 2 to run their plant 24 hours a day and increase mill capacity by 75 percent in order to meet market demands. Another consequence of the war was that the cost of chemicals and dyes from Germany rose dramatically.

American-made dyes of the same era were considered to be inferior and so less used.⁷⁴ In accordance with the industry trend, HPPC reduced the dye in its newsprint by 50 percent and ceased using dyes in wrapping and tissue papers. Since dye in newsprint made the paper white, the shift created yellow-tinged newsprint instead.

In mid-December 1915, Hawley announced more changes, including the company's longer-term plan to build a paper mill employing 1000 men.⁷⁵ The first stage was construction of a mill for Paper Machine #4, extending south from Third Street to Mill C on the east side of Main Street. A local newspaper

reported that Hawley held options on almost this entire parcel of land, with the exception of two tracks owned by the City - the water filtering plant north of Mill C and the firehouse on the southeast corner of Third and Main Streets. Hawley eventually agreed to retain the City's pumps at the filtering plant and build his new mill over the pumps rather than remove them.⁷⁶ The 1925 Sanborn map shows a boiler house on this site. In addition to accommodating the City, HPPC's offices were moved to the northwest corner of Third and Main Streets to a building that had been a steam laundry facility in 1911.⁷⁷ That building was remodeled and a second story added to accommodate

Construction of Hawley's Powerhouse, adjacent to Mill A, was a complex project and one of several undertaken during 1915-16. Blue, 1916.



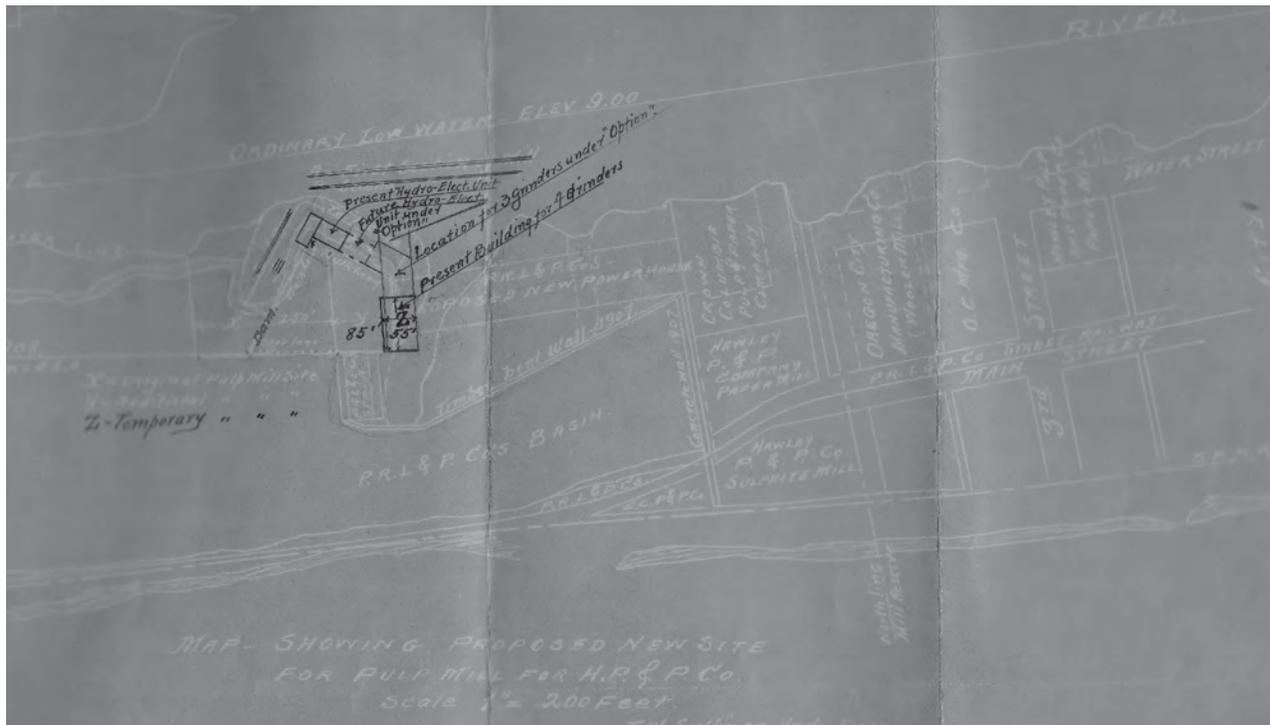
the new office functions. It is not known what happened to the Barlow House that had previously housed their office, but it was no longer present along Main Street. When the new mill was built, it covered the land previously occupied by the McLoughlin House, the Barlow House, the Cliff House and the City's water filtering plant, among other previous uses.

In February 1916, HPPC purchased "a piece of property extending 62 feet along Main street south from the corner of Fourth. [...] The company now own[ed] practically all of Block 28. The ground [was] used for the

storage of pulp,"⁷⁸ which it was still being used for 10 years later as noted on the 1925 Sanborn map. As of 1916, only two major parcels east of Main Street and south of Fourth Street were not owned by HPPC - the PRLP freight shed at the northeast corner of Third and Main Streets, and the Cataract Hose House on the southeast corner of Third and Main Streets.⁷⁹ With all the property now owned, the period was predictably a busy one for HPPC, with a tremendous amount of construction undertaken. Mill C was expanded, with digesters in the north half and a sulfite plant in the south half. The Hawley Powerhouse was built next to the Mill A site, at

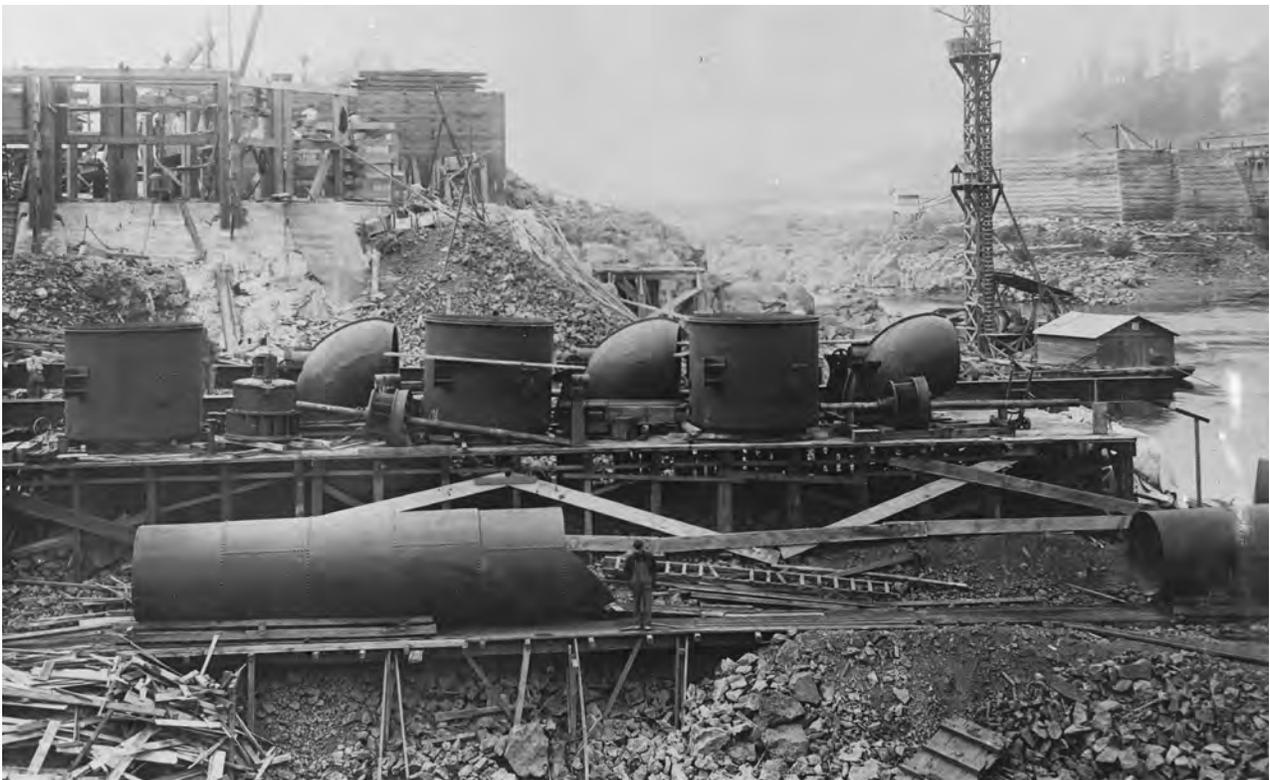
the easternmost point of the Falls. A warehouse was added to Mill D and built on the south side of Fourth Street, in the middle of the block between Water Street and Main Street. By the end of 1916, Paper Machine #4 was nearly completed and Hawley announced plans for yet another mill.⁸⁰ HPPC and the newly formed Crown Willamette Pulp and Paper Company (CWPPC) had both run at capacity to keep up with orders all year and depleted their reserve stocks.⁸¹ Even a February flood that briefly shut down the mills in Oregon City was only a minor inconvenience; no damage to the mills themselves was reported.⁸²

This 1916 site plan shows the rapid expansion of Hawley's operations across the mill reserve area. Blue, 1916.





Hawley repurposed some buildings, tore down others and constructed new ones as operations expanded. These photos, taken the same year, illustrate some of these changes near Third and Main. Left: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1916; Right: Oregon Historical Society, 1916.



Construction of paper mill facilities uncovered components of McLoughlin's earliest milling efforts. Blue, 1916.

The construction of facilities and a dam on the west side of the basin played a role in ending the flow of water from that side of the Falls. Left: Blue, 1916; Right: Oregon Historical Society, c.1890.



The buildings associated with Paper Machine No. 3 spanned an entire block between what had been Third and Fourth Streets, though along the river rather than along Main Street. The section on the right was previously the location of the Brick Mill. James Nicita, 1920.

Union recognition and wage increase

Although HPPC and CWPPC raised the salaries of their employees during early 1916, a labor dispute was on the horizon.⁸³ Workers from CWPPC went on strike in October 1917 demanding union recognition and wage increases.⁸⁴ The company placed an order for paper with HPPC, but Hawley's 600 workers responded by walking out rather than executing the CWPPC order. A spokesman for Hawley indicated their workers were protesting in solidarity rather than demanding workplace concessions. When the

strike continued into November, however, both mills were forced to bring in labor to resume their operations.⁸⁵ By December, the strike was in its sixth week and included more than 1000 men from the two mills.⁸⁶ Their demands included increased pay, Sundays off and recognition by company management of the union grievance committee. The governor appointed 14 state deputies to keep the peace and established a mediation board to work out a settlement. As the year ended, the strike dissipated

and both companies were back at full operations.⁸⁷ Although they claimed that the local cost of living had not increased, both companies announced an increased wage for their unskilled laborers of 20 cents per day, bringing the minimum wage to \$3.10 per day. This was identified as equal to or better than the best wages in the region. Despite this resolution, the strike was not formally called off until September 17, when the companies finally agreed to stop discriminating against union members.⁸⁸

Labor relations at the nearby OCMC were in seemingly better condition during this period. A December 1916 letter to employees points to the company's attention to their working conditions: "you no doubt know we are going to build a large addition to our plant, and in doing so we are making every provision for the comfort and better working conditions of all our employees, such as: ample modern toilets and wash rooms, cloak rooms, lunch room where a hot lunch will be served every noon at cost or less, a reading room in conjunction, sanitary drinking fountains in each department, etc."⁸⁹ Two years later, employee relations remained positive through the

holiday celebrations. As the president of OCMC wrote, "It gives me great pleasure to greet you and wish you welcome on this festive occasion. I also take this opportunity to thank you for the loyal support and co-operation you have given the company and myself during the trying period of war. With the coming victory and peace to our land, may the new year also bring to you and yours the full measure of happiness and prosperity."⁹⁰ The employees gathered for a Christmas celebration which featured chicken soup, turkey with chestnut dressing, baked sweet potatoes with melted butter, pumpkin pie and Hood River apples. The program for the event

included lyrics to "America" and "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Even with some temporary setbacks, fortune continued to favor Hawley's paper company ventures. In July 1917, the Oregon Supreme Court held that a triangular piece of land east of Mill B (former Imperial Mill) was private property following the City's objections to HPPC's continued building efforts.⁹¹ The City had claimed that Main Street extended through the tract in dispute and connected to the plank road to Canemah. Oregon City claimed they owned the roadway which provided the City with a right of passage over the street.⁹²

This decision allowed HPPC to continue building. The court's decision was based on McLoughlin's early plat of Oregon City, which designated the area as the "Mill Reserve," and therefore private property. It included the entire area south of Blocks 1 and 29 and west of Blocks 73, 74, 75, 76 and 77.⁹³ By this point, the former was occupied by the basin and the latter was primarily occupied by the railway, the plank road and elements of the papermaking industry.

Continuing with his expansion during 1917, Hawley offered to purchase the Cataract Hose Company fire house, as well as ground situated in Block 28 of Oregon City.⁹⁴ An ordinance was proposed and read in a city council meeting. The resolution passed and Cataract, located across Main Street from the woolen mill at the corner of Main Street and Third Street on Block 29, was now part of HPPC.⁹⁵

By 1919, construction was complete for a warehouse and finishing house situated north of the mill housing Paper Machine #4.⁹⁶ Warehouse #2 was also expanded further north to Third Street during this period.

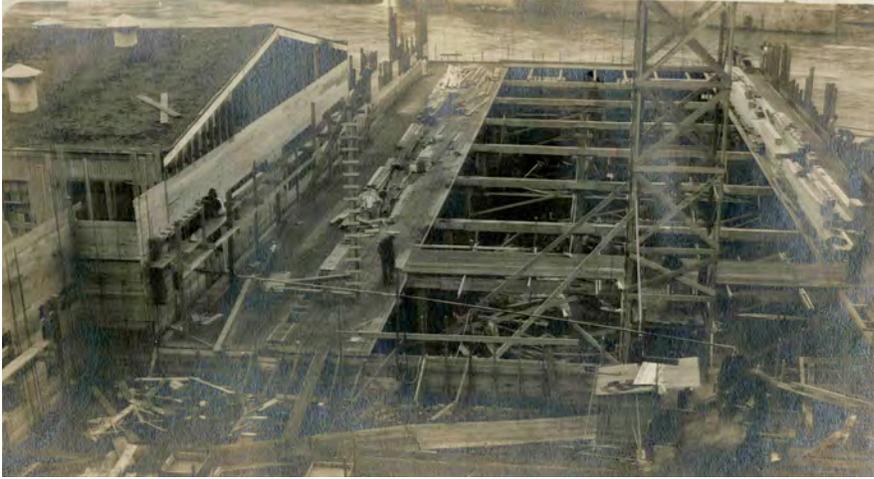
While labor relations at the paper mills were sometimes contentious, the woolen mill remained attentive to employee conditions. During the early twentieth century, banquets and special events were common. Oregon Historical Society, 1918.





Even when the Willamette River was not flooding, other weather conditions created challenges for industries around the Falls, with the whole river freezing during one notable winter. Top: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1919; Bottom: Blue, c.1910.





Although papermaking dominated the entire area around the basin (middle), the woolen mill also expanded (top) and other industries maintained their presence at the northern edge of the mill reserve area (bottom).

Top: County Historical Society, 1917; Middle: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1918; Bottom: Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1919.



The 1920s

The early 1920s brought more opportunities and challenges. In January 1920, Hawley announced that the expected sale of his large paper mill to a syndicate of western newspapers was cancelled.⁹⁷ Only two years later, he announced plans to construct a new mill, the fourth time that the plant would double its output since it began operating.⁹⁸

However, a fire in October 1923 completely destroyed Mill B and Paper Machine #1, located inside.⁹⁹ Insurance was expected to pay for 90 percent of the damage and a new fireproof building was constructed with a new machine. The new building, a bleach plant, marked the final break from the Imperial Mills that once stood on the same spot.

Despite being a commercial enterprise, HPPC hosted a variety of guests. For example in June 1920, a contingent of Shriners visited Oregon City from Portland.¹⁰⁰ They visited the HPPC site during their festivities, likely because Henry Henningsen, a Shriner, was Hawley's superintendent. Hawley ended operations early so his employees could attend the Shriners' parade.



Hawley utilized both sides of the basin wall for operations and storage. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1925.

Despite these diversions, papermaking remained paramount. In May 1922, the City came to an agreement with PRLP, HPPC, CWPPC and Southern Pacific Railroad.¹⁰¹ Each company contributed money to improve the road outlet from Oregon City to Pacific Highway, eventually Highway 99 East.

In exchange, the City made concessions to the first three companies. For HPPC, the City intended to vacate property on Third Street. On October 24, 1923, the city council adopted a resolution to vacate to HPPC “that portion of Third Street from the East Line of Main street to the Westerly line of the rail road right

of way of the Southern Pacific Railway Company.”¹⁰² This, combined with HPPC’s plans to build a pulp and paper mill in St. Helens during 1925, seemed to indicate the paper mill’s future at this site was assured.¹⁰³

Papermaking activities eventually posed an access barrier to the riverfront walkway. Some of these challenges would be addressed in court. Oregon Historical Society, c.1920.



c. 1925 PERIOD PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT



LEGACY PROJECT

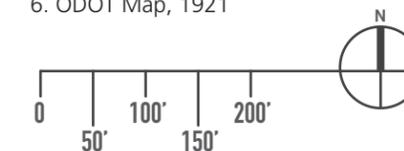
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Industrial
- Housing / Lodging
- Commercial / Office
- Retail / Service
- Institutional / Public Utilities
- Mixed Use (Commercial + Lodging)
- Unknown Use
- Tree canopy
- Earth Surfacing / Groundcover
- Wood surfacing
- Concrete / Asphalt surfacing
- Concrete structures (remnants)
- Rock / Fill
- Water
- Fence
- Metal stairs/ramp/catwalk
- Property boundary (2016)
- Rail line (historic)
- Tax lot (current)
- Stairs to top of bluff (see 1921 ODOT Plan for more detail)
- ① Former Location of McLoughlin House
- ② Former Location of Relocated Barlow House
- Former Flour Mill Sites
- ③ - Brick Mill
- ④ - Imperial Mill
- ⑤ - Imperial Mill Grain Elevator

SOURCES

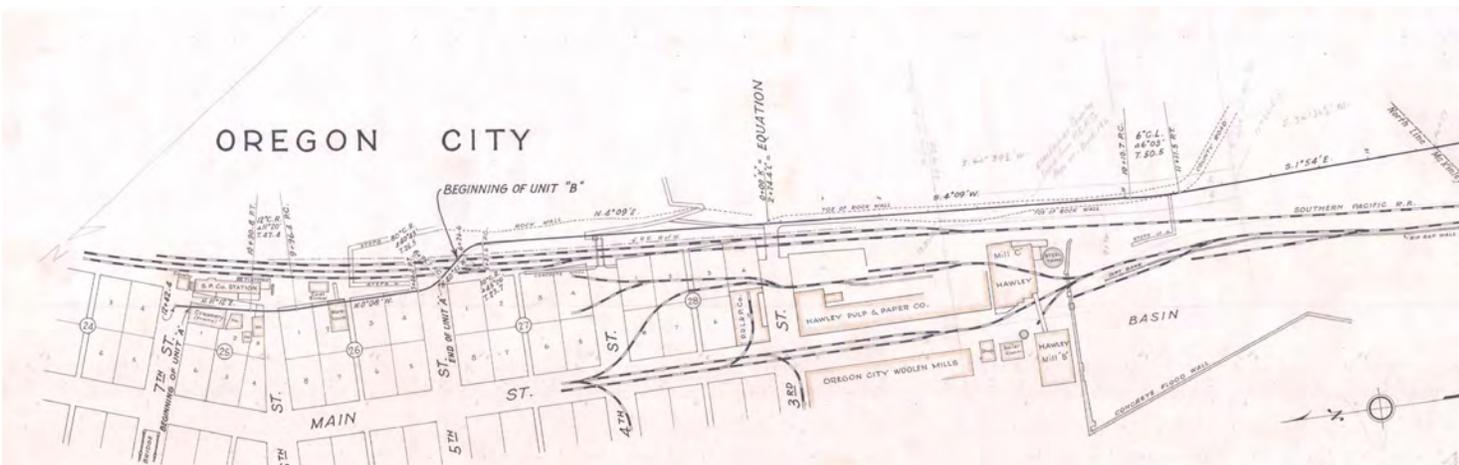
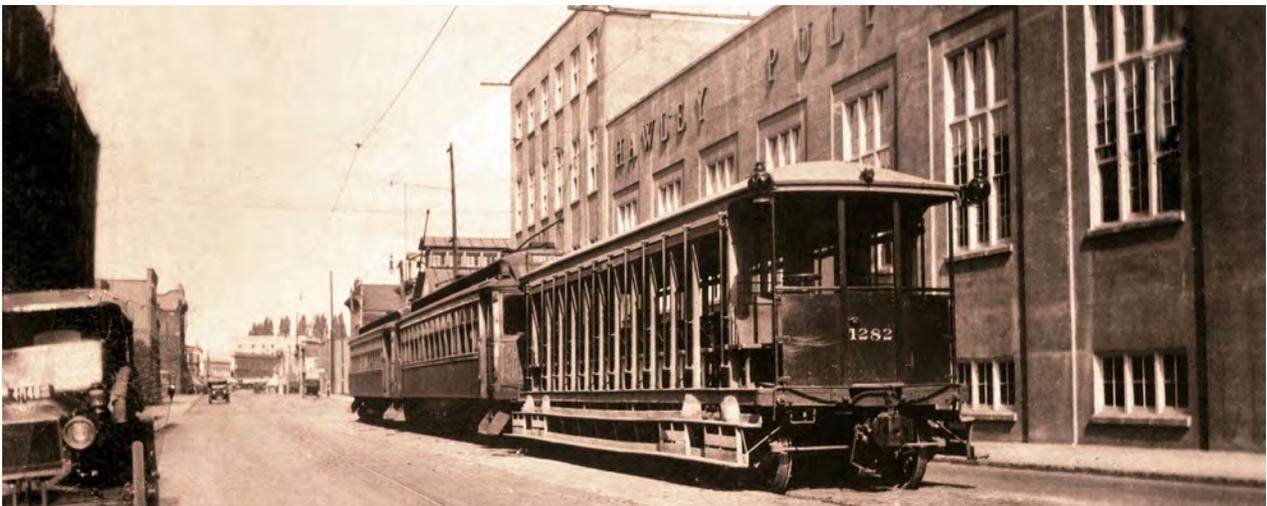
1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
3. Site Survey, 2015
4. Sanborn Map, January 1925
5. Historic Images, 1920-1930
6. ODOT Map, 1921





Top: After a 1923 fire destroyed Mill B and Paper Machine No. 1, a bleach plant was constructed on the same spot, marking the final break from the Imperial Mills era. Oregon Historical Society, 1924.

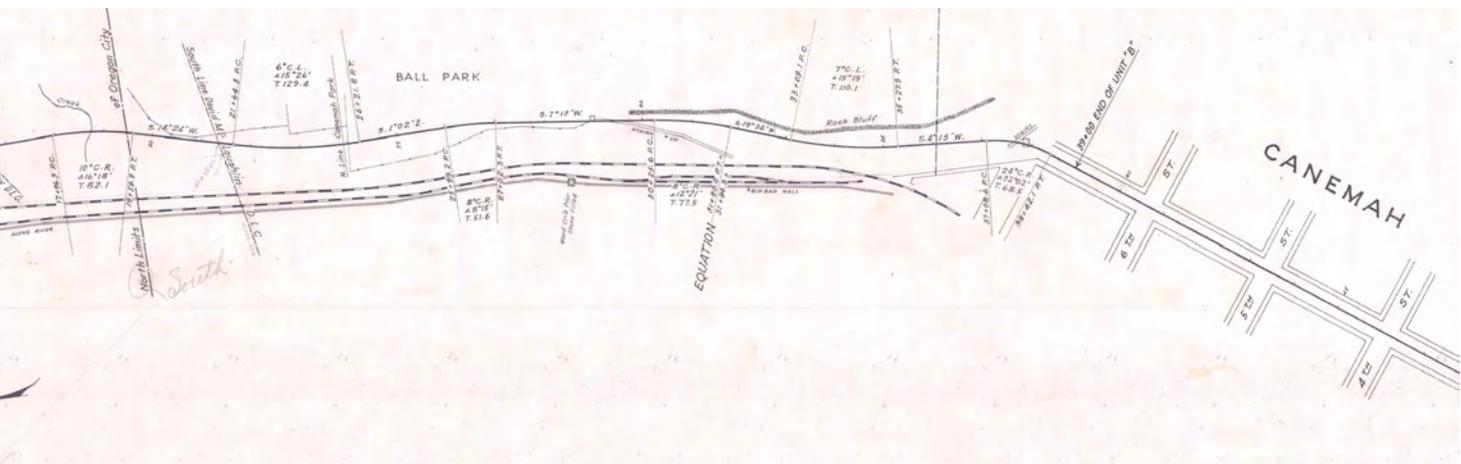
Center: The streetcar's southernmost stop was at the paper mills. Museum of the Oregon Territory, c.1925.



Development of the rail lines and a county road helped to reconfigure the blocks around the mills. Karin Morey, 1921.



Top: This aerial from the 1920s shows the Falls dominated by industrial development and with a highly managed flow. Oregon Historical Society, c.1925.



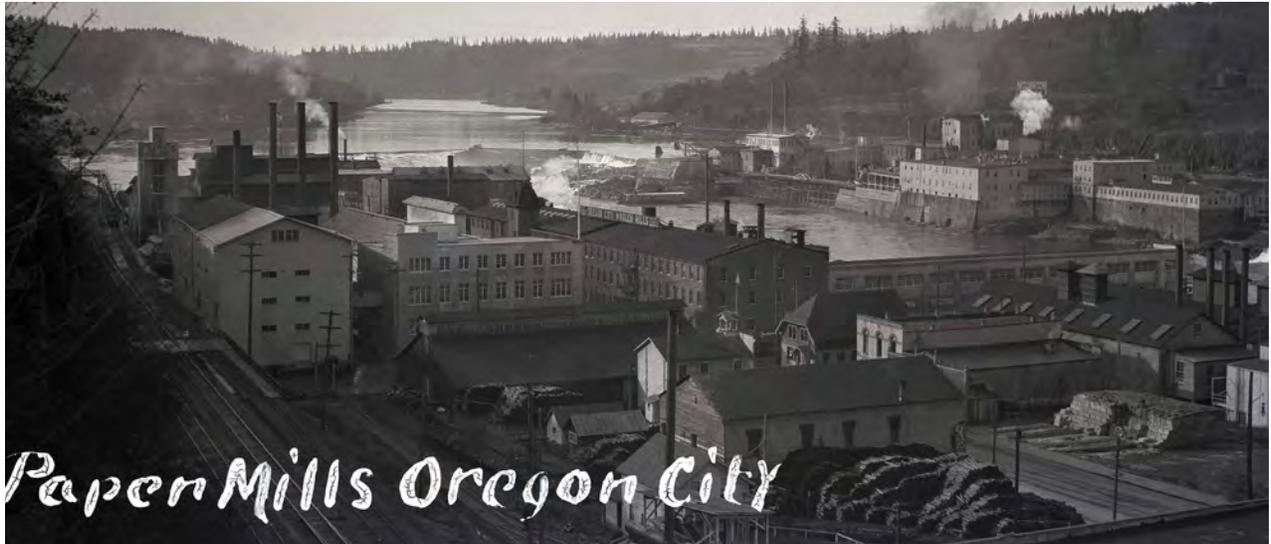


Top: Storage and transportation of paper products around the mill sites took a tremendous amount of space and physical effort. Blue, c.1920.

Middle: The pulp pile, visible in the lower left-hand corner, was larger than many of the nearby buildings. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1922.

Bottom: Even logs not floating in the basin found their way into the water, with floods consistently causing havoc. Note the water level on the right, for example, relative to previous photos. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1923.





Only half a century after construction of the flour and woolen mills sparked economic optimism (bottom), the woolen and paper mills helped drive the local economy. By the 1920s, industrial activity completely transformed both sides of the Falls (top). Museum of the Oregon Territory, Top: c.1925; Bottom: c.1872.



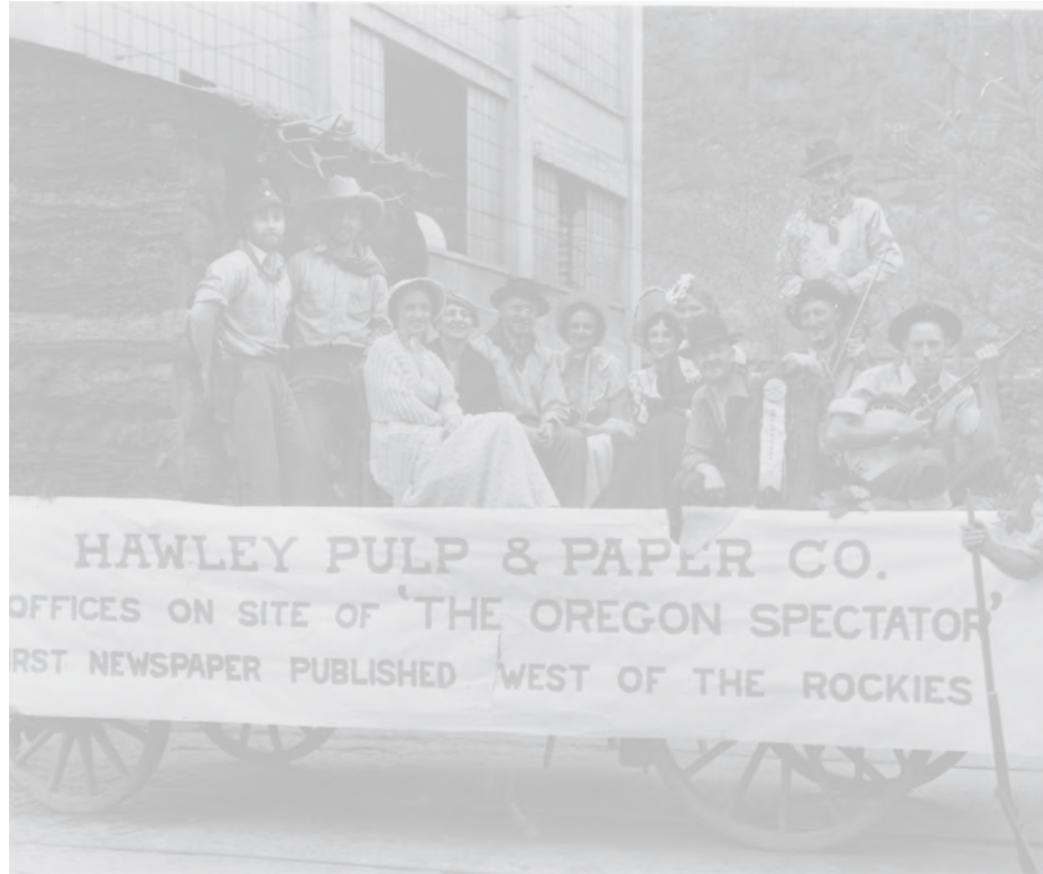
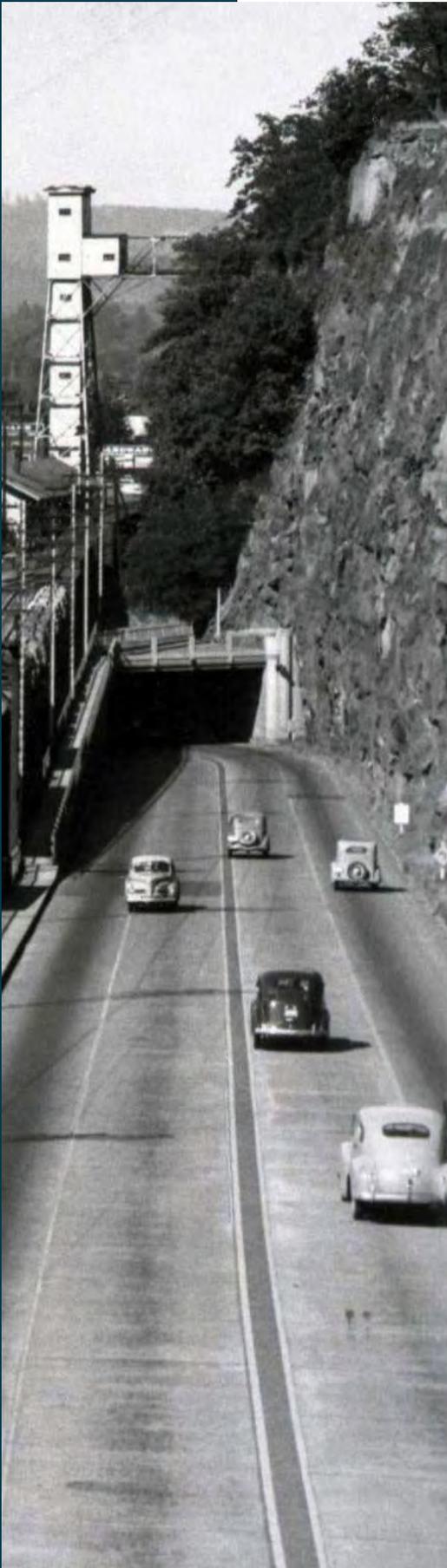
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- 47 *Morning Enterprise*, "Manufacturing in Oregon City."
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- 49 *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records*.
- 50 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mill to Expand," November 8, 1912.
- 51 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 52 James Nicita, "No. 3 Paper Machine: 'The Treasure in a Box,'" *Portland Tribune*, April 2, 2014, quoting *Oregon City Courier*, January 1, 1914.
- 53 *Morning Enterprise*, "Manufacturing in Oregon City."
- 54 *Morning Enterprise*, "Brief Facts About Oregon City," January 12, 1912.
- 55 *Morning Enterprise*, "Crown-Columbia Pulp & Paper."
- 56 *Morning Enterprise*, "Oregon City Foundry," January 12, 1912.
- 57 *Morning Enterprise*, "Manufacturing in Oregon City."
- 58 Oregon City Woolen Mills, *Navajo Art-Craft*, 1911.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 *Morning Enterprise*, "Attempt Made to Burn Oregon Woolen Mills," June 19, 1913.
- 61 *Morning Enterprise*, "Brief Facts About Oregon City."
- 62 *Morning Enterprise*, "E.H. Cooper, Morning Enterprise."
- 63 By 1925, the water plant had been moved.
- 64 *Morning Enterprise*, "Oregon City Has Good Transportation Facilities," January 12, 1912.
- 65 *Morning Enterprise*, "Crown-Columbia Pulp & Paper."
- 66 *Oregonian*, "Oregon City Pays Tribute to Road," February 20, 1915.
- 67 Gardner Photo #14; Tompkins, *Oregon City*.
- 68 *Morning Enterprise*, "Fishing at Oregon City," January 12, 1912.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Edward W. Strong, "University History Series: Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965: Oral Interview with Edward W. Strong.," by Harriet Nathan, University of California at Berkeley, 1992.
- 71 *Oregonian*, "Woolen Mills to Build Big Plant: Oregon City Company Plans to Double Capacity and Employ 150 More," 1916.
- 72 *Oregon City Manufacturing Company Records, 1864-1970*, retrieved from <http://librarycatalog.ohs.org/EOSWeb/OPAC/TitleView/CompleteDisplay.aspx?FromOPAC=true&DbCode=0&PatronCode=0&Language=english&RwSearchCode=0&WordHits=&BibCodes=17155533>.
- 73 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mills Busy," December 2, 1915.
- 74 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mills Use One Half Less Dye," May 1, 1916.
- 75 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mill Plans \$500,000 Addition," December 9, 1915.
- 76 *Oregonian*, "Oregon City Firm Agrees," December 22, 1915.
- 77 Fred Lockley, *History of the Columbia River Valley from The Dalles to the Sea, Vol. II*, Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1928.

- 78 *Oregonian*, "Mill Buys More Land," February 10, 1916.
- 79 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility; City Council Meeting Minutes*, n.d., copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory.
- 80 *Oregonian*, "Paper-Making Industry Makes Big Strides in Northwest During 1916," December 31, 1916.
- 81 *Oregonian*, "Bigger Mill in Mind," May 16, 1916. CWPPC was the result of a merger between Crown Columbia Paper Company and Willamette Pulp and Paper Company in 1914. See Adams, "History of Papermaking in the Pacific Northwest: II."
- 82 *Oregonian*, "Rise Closes Mills; 1000 Out of Work," February 9, 1916.
- 83 *Oregonian*, "Bigger Mill in Mind." No word as to whether the Portland socialists were the instigators.
- 84 *Oregonian*, "Hawleys To Start," 1917.
- 85 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mills Operate," November 6, 1917.
- 86 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mill Strike May Be Mediated," December 8, 1917.
- 87 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mill Wage Higher," December 28, 1917.
- 88 *Oregonian*, "Strike Called Off," September 18, 1918.
- 89 Jacobs, A.R., "Letter to Oregon City Woolen Mill Employees," December 1916.
- 90 Jacobs, A.R., "Banquet and Christmas Celebration at the Oregon City Woolen Mills," December 28, 1918.
- 91 *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*, 85 OR 574 (1917).
- 92 *Oregonian*, "Town Claims Road," February 5, 1914. Attorney Ley Stipp, who first raised the claim, was likely a Justice of the Peace for Oregon City at this time and would later be the District Attorney of Clackamas County.
- 93 *Portland Ry. Light and Power Co. v. Oregon City*. Blocks were renumbered in the early part of the century. On the 1911 Sanborn map, Block 73 was listed as 281, 74 as 307, 75 as 311, 76 as 315 and 77 as 319. Blocks 1 and 29 were eventually 279 and 280, respectively.
- 94 *City Council Meeting Minutes*. On the 1851 Preston map, Block 28 was east of Main Street between Third and Fourth Streets.
- 95 Tompkins, *Oregon City*. The 1911 Sanborn maps show the "O.C.E.D. Hose House" on this site.
- 96 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 97 *Oregonian*, "Pulp Mill Deal is Off," January 15, 1920.
- 98 *Oregonian*, "Hawley Company to Enlarge Plant," 1922.
- 99 *Oregonian*, "Fire Ruins Surveyed," October 10, 1923; Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 100 *Oregonian*, "Shriners Will See Oregon City Mills," June 21, 1920. Shriners are a fraternal order started by Masons in New York during the nineteenth century, dedicated to the principles of brotherly love, relief and truth.
- 101 *Oregonian*, "Road Route is Settled," May 9, 1922.
- 102 "Oregon City Resolution 10-24-23," October 24, 1923.
- 103 *Oregonian*, "Paper Mill Assured," October 7, 1925.



CHAPTER 6

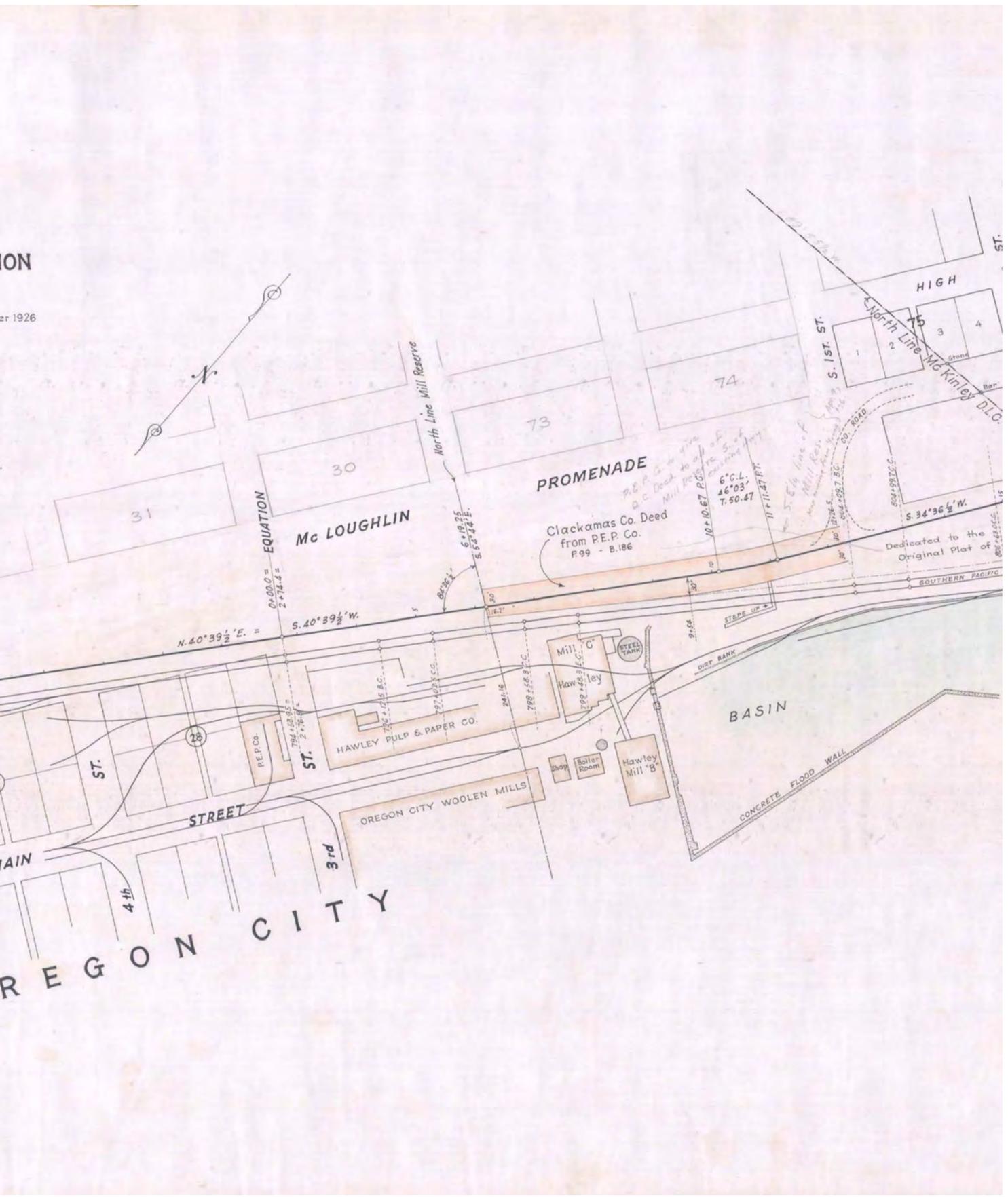
1926 - 1959

PAPER BECOMES KING AND WOOL WANES

Corporate and Land Use Changes Near The Falls
Transformation During The Great Depression and World War II
The End of Wool and the Beginning of the Publishers Paper Era

ION

er 1926



By the late 1920s, the area around the basin was devoted to paper, wool and electricity. Oregon Department of Transportation, 1926.

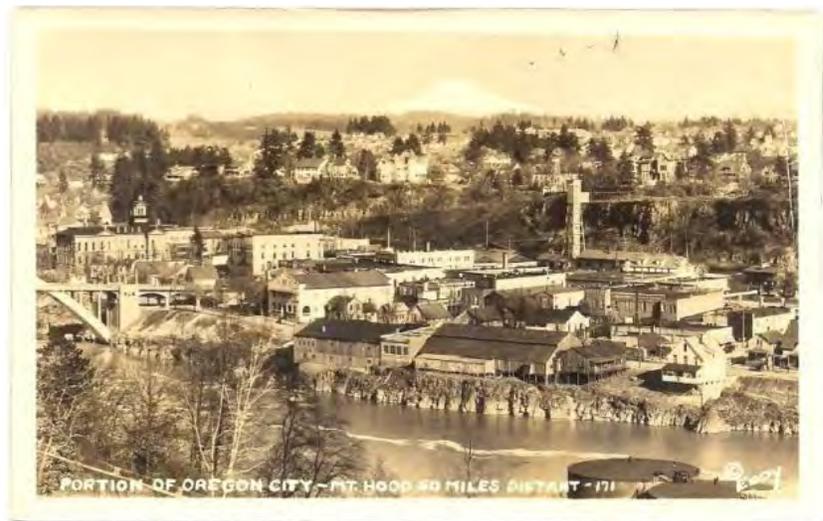


Paper Becomes King & Wool Wanes

After the successes of the previous decades, the mills and other businesses near Willamette Falls would transform and undergo a brief period of major expansion in the late 1920s. The changes at Hawley Pulp and Paper Company (HPPC) started in 1926 when it was reincorporated in Delaware.¹

Corporate & Land Use Changes Near the Falls

During July of the same year, the company offered its first preferred stock, with Lumbermens Trust Company advertising sale of the stock for "price \$98 per share and accrued dividend, yielding about 7.15%."² An HPPC contract with the Bank of California described the company's land holdings in Clackamas County during this period.³ The tract containing Mill B before the 1923 fire was described in relation to the original grist mill erected by Daniel Harvey and the water rights from George LaRocque, calling to mind HPPC's more humble beginnings.



Top: At the end of the 1920s, the lower bluff between Fourth and Fifth was not yet fully industrialized. eBay, c.1930.

Bottom: The section of the lower bluff between the basin and Third Street, however, underwent continuous changes between the bluff and the riverbank. Jim Tompkins, 1926.



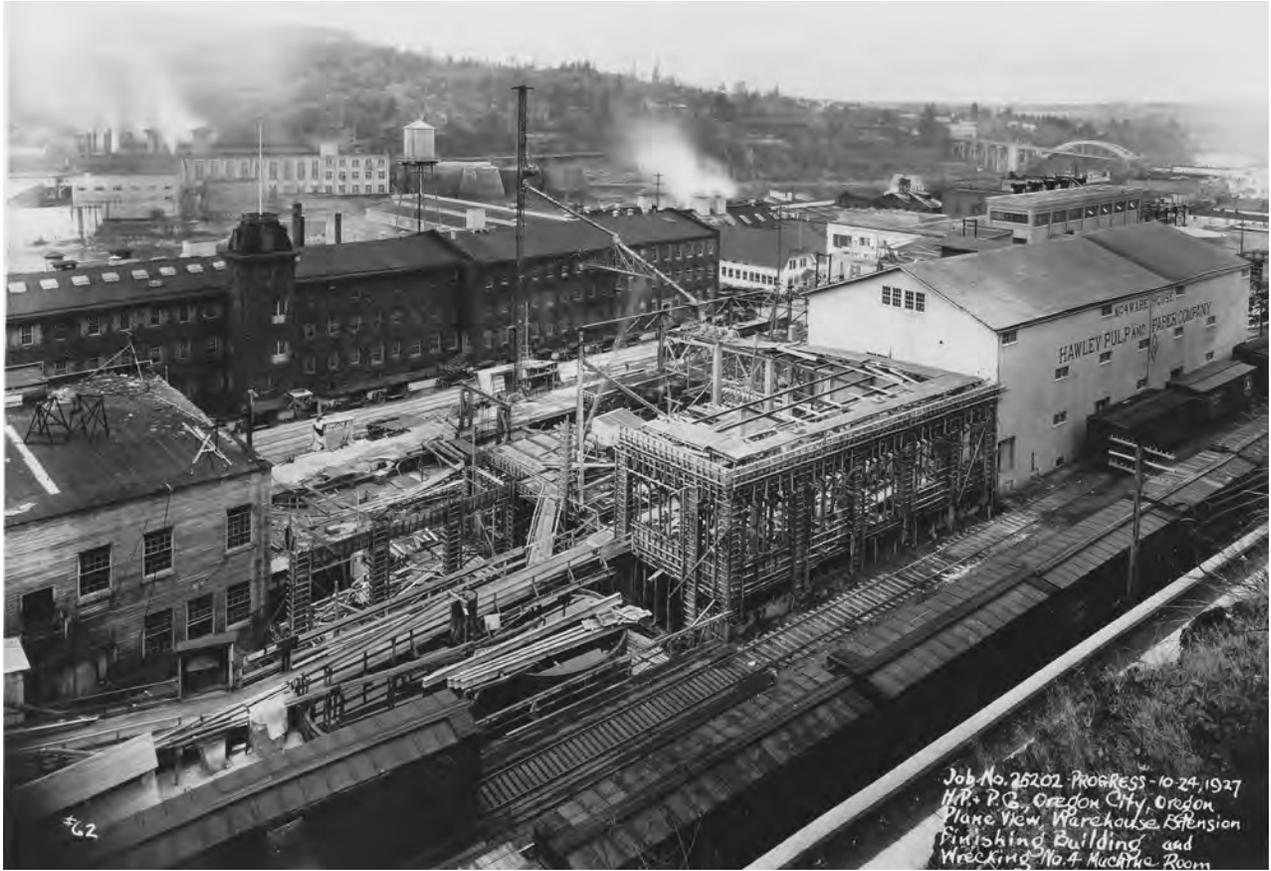
Reinforcing the sense of the dramatic growth from the initial mill 20 years earlier, the company continued to expand. In 1928, Paper Machine #4 was replaced with a new newsprint machine that was the largest and fastest of its type in the western US, at a cost of two million dollars.⁴ The building was also enlarged as part of the machine's installation. During the same year, the functions of Mill B were rebuilt at a new location at the corner of Third Street and Main Street. The new building, also known as the HPPC De-Ink, stood on the site of the recently demolished Portland Railway Light & Power Company (PRLPC) freight shed. After taking over this parcel, HPPC owned all the property in the area east

of Main Street and south of Fourth Street. Improvements continued into 1929, with more than \$50,000 spent on Mill A, carbon dioxide recorders, soot blowers and a steam turbine at Paper Machine #4.⁵

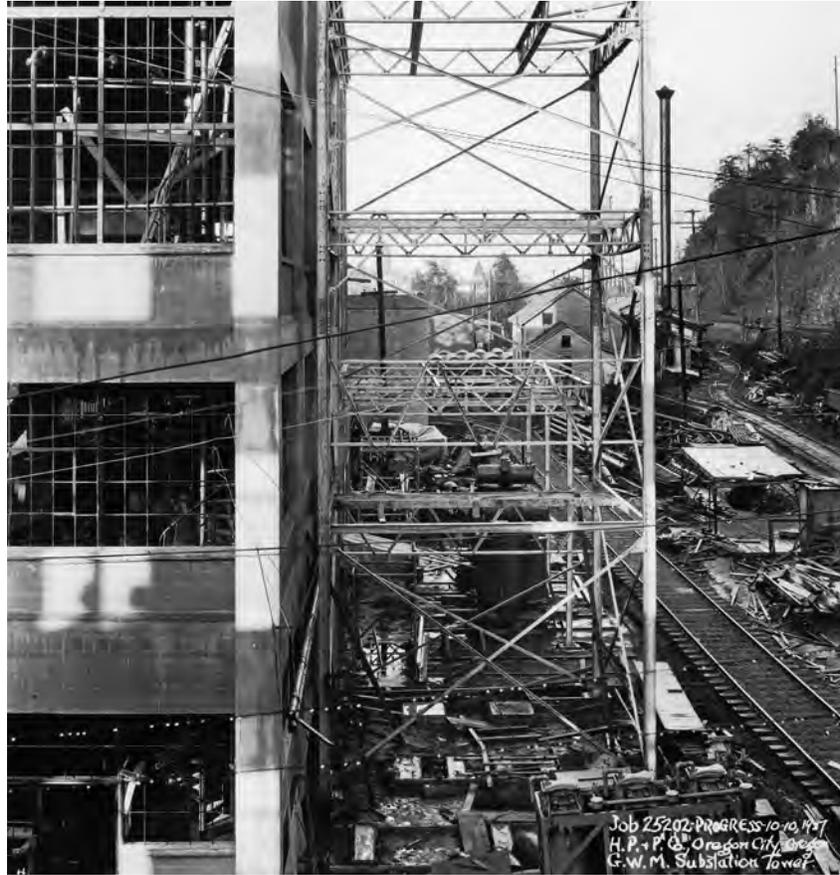
Top, both pages: Once Hawley owned all the tracts south of Fourth Street, expansion was rapid. Note the large pulp piles. Blue, 1927.
Bottom: Paper Machine No. 4 and its structure were both updated during this period. Blue, 1928.
Bottom, opposite page: The De-Ink stretched along Main Street, covering a portion of Third Street. Blue, 1927.



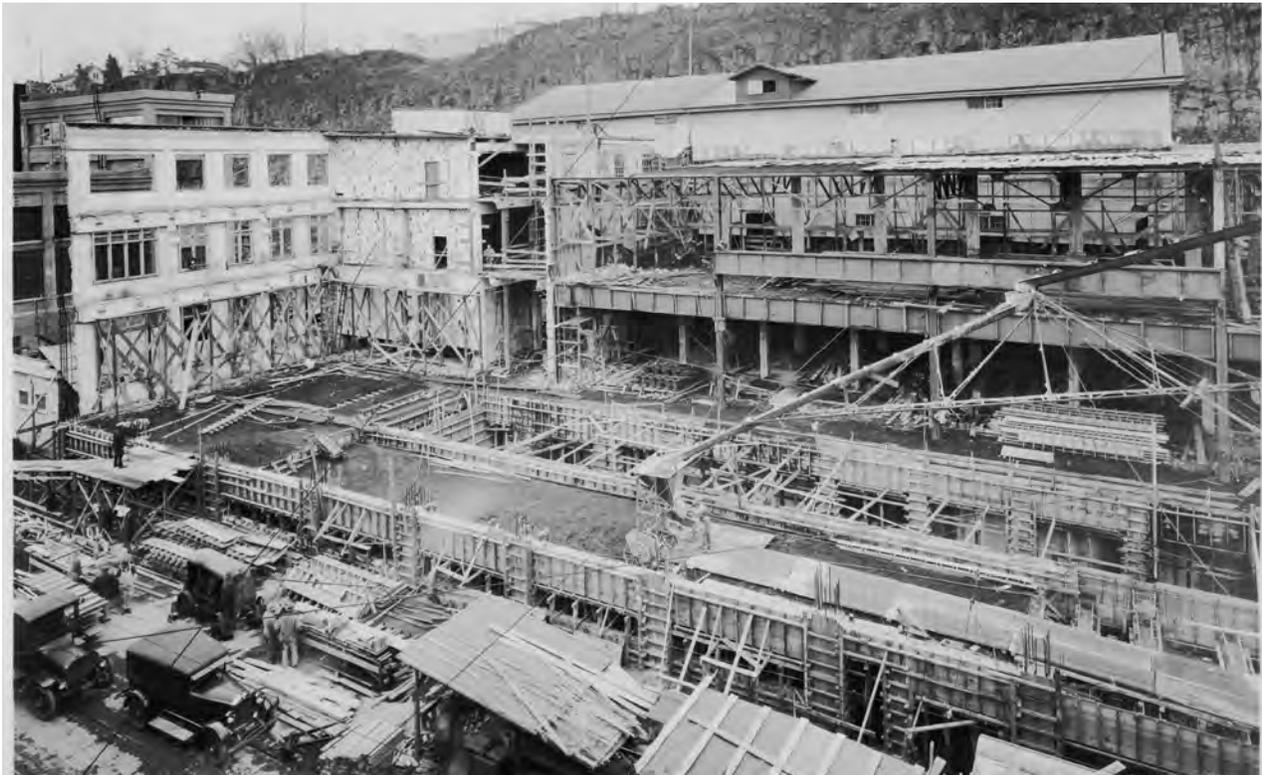


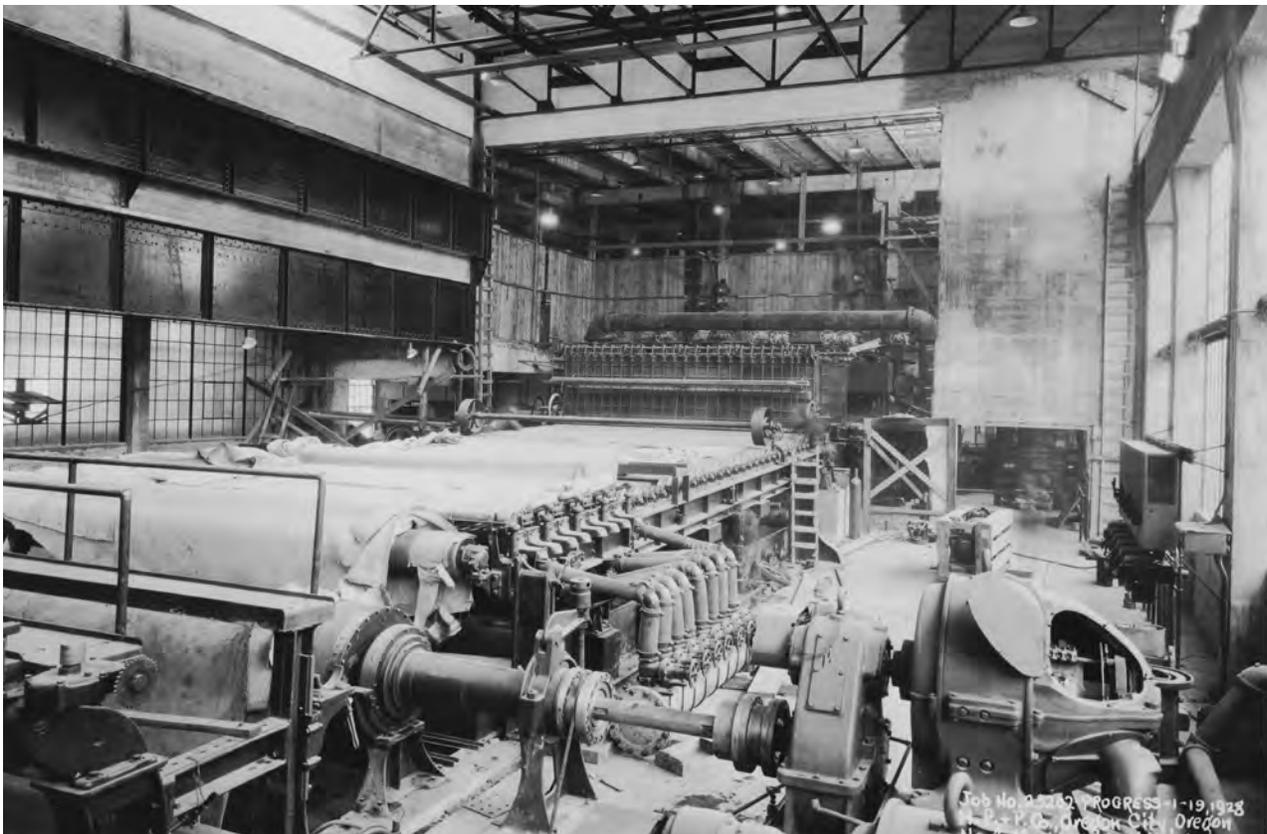
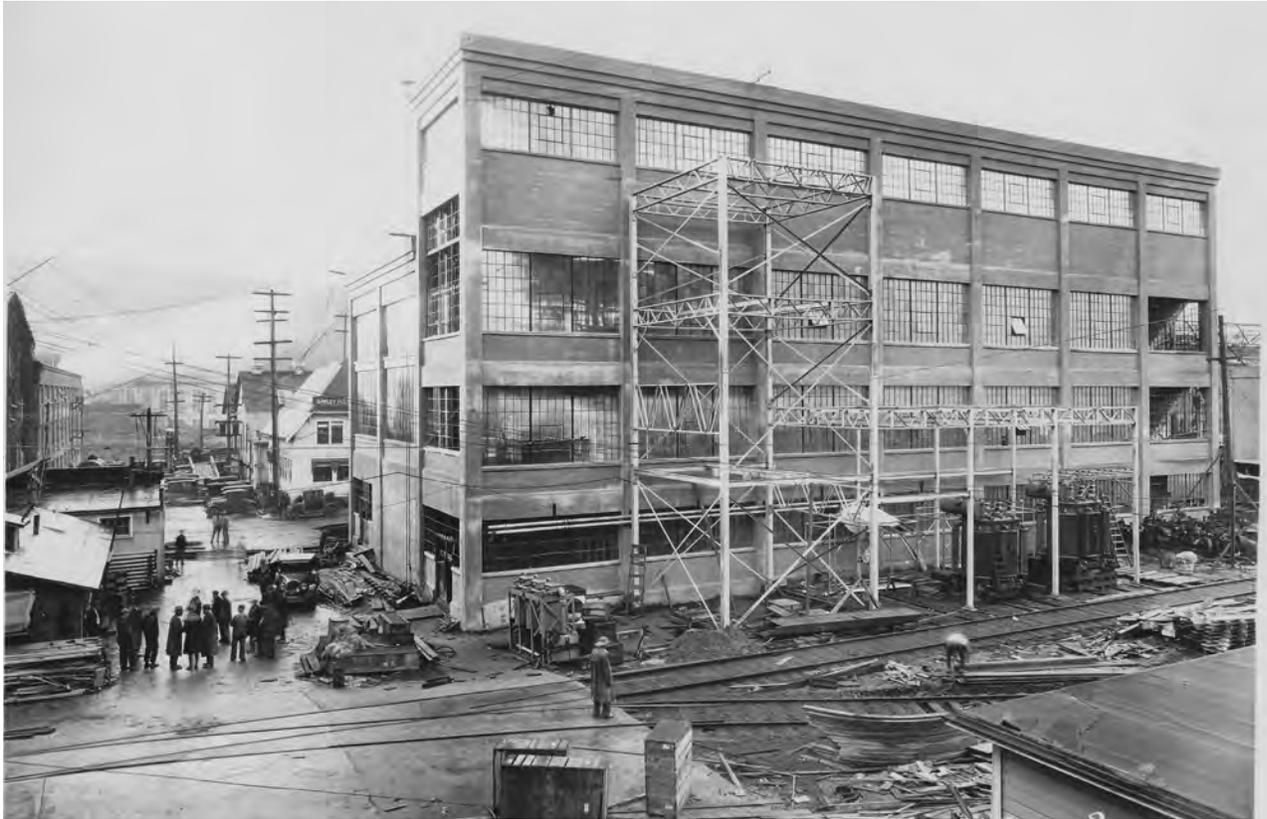


Top, both pages: Construction of the new buildings quickly overwhelmed the area's previous structures in terms of scale. For comparison, note contrast between the former residential structures and the De-Ink in both photos. Blue, 1927.



Bottom, both pages: After rapidly constructing the new building for the paper machine, paper production started almost immediately. Blue, 1927; Right, 1928.







After the paper machine building was enlarged during the late 1920s, it integrated rather than replaced the former warehouse. Blue.
 Top: 1927; Bottom: 1928.





Job No. 25202 - PROGRESS 4-27-1928
H. P. & R. Co., Oregon City, Oregon
Plane View - Northeast Elevation
New Construction Units - Final

From the basin to Fourth Street, papermaking overtook the entire east side of Main Street. Blue. Top: 1928; Bottom, 1927.



Job No. 25202 - PROGRESS 4-27-1928



Corporate Reorganization

Aside from these expansions and updates, HPPC underwent more corporate reorganization as the decade came to a close. In 1929, Hawley and his son Willard, the vice president of the company, relinquished their controlling interest to Blyth & Co., an investment banking firm.⁶ Though HPPC as an entity was technically inactive by 1930, papermaking continued under Hawley's name during this period.⁷ However, the new ownership was unable to generate adequate profits

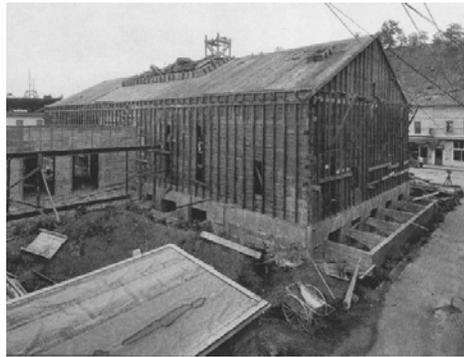
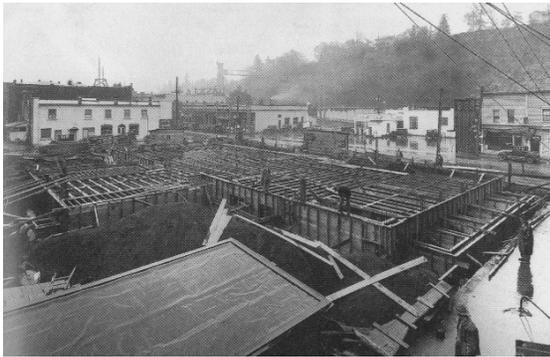
and eventually HPPC's debts forced another reconfiguration. Western Cooperage Company took over management in 1934, at which point HPPC was nearly three million dollars in debt.⁸ Under the terms of their arrangement, Western was to retire a certain amount of the indebtedness annually. In the event that the debt was reduced by the sum of \$1,400,000, Western was to receive specified amounts of HPPC's capital stock as compensation for the service rendered.

With paper production dominating both sides of the Falls prior to the onset of the Great Depression, pulp piles became a common site at this section of the Willamette River. Old Oregon Photos, 1929.

The other businesses and properties near the Falls also underwent changes during this period. In 1928, the Crown Willamette Pulp and Paper Company merged with the Zellerbach Corporation, forming the Crown Zellerbach Corporation.⁹ As of 1925, Crown was still running Mill H immediately northwest of the original site of Mill B.¹⁰ A few blocks

down Main Street, the land and building occupied by Pope Hardware & Company was transferred to the Oregon City Foundry in 1927.¹⁸ Because of this transaction, the company's presence increased along Fourth Street near Main Street until after World War II when it was removed to make way for additional paper manufacturing functions.

Around the corner at southwest Main Street at Fifth Street, the Oregon City Post Office was constructed in 1932 on land previously occupied by a variety of retail establishments.¹² At the onset of the 1930s, the previous core of Oregon City's commercial, residential and industrial area was rapidly narrowing to almost entirely industrial uses.



Construction of the post office at the corner of Fifth and Main provided one of the few non-industrial developments in the mill reserve area during the 1930s. Museum of the Oregon Territory. Top, both: 1933; Bottom: 1934.



Transformation During the Great Depression & World War II

The 1930s were a major turning point for the Oregon City Manufacturing Company (OCMC). In 1932, the woolen mill closed for a time due to the Great Depression.¹³ This was not the end for OCMC, but the corporate records from this period paint a complex picture.

For example, according to a company letter to an auditor from the State Tax Commission, the Oregon City Woolen Mills (OCWM) was incorporated in 1925 “to protect the name Oregon

City Woolen Mills from adoption by any other corporation who might take advantage of the product manufactured by Oregon City Manufacturing Company.”¹⁴ The letter alleged that OCWM never did any business but simply served the function of protecting the name, thus should be exempt from paying taxes. The rationale makes sense to a certain extent, because not only was OCMC known informally as the woolen mills for many decades, the company also used woolen mills letterhead during the same era.

Although the distinction between the two corporate entities became more apparent during the 30s, this simply added to the confusion.

On May 29, 1933, a special meeting of the OCWM board of directors resolved that the company would be dissolved. In the early 40s, however, both companies continued to exist. In June 1941, for example, the board of directors for OCMC decided to “lease directly to the Oregon City Woolen Mills that portion of its plant now used in manufacturing suits, coats, etc. [...]”¹⁵ Almost a decade later, the board of directors at OCWM was holding discussions about a one-year lease with OCMC. Though neither company was apparently dissolved during the depression or war years, both experienced a steady decline.

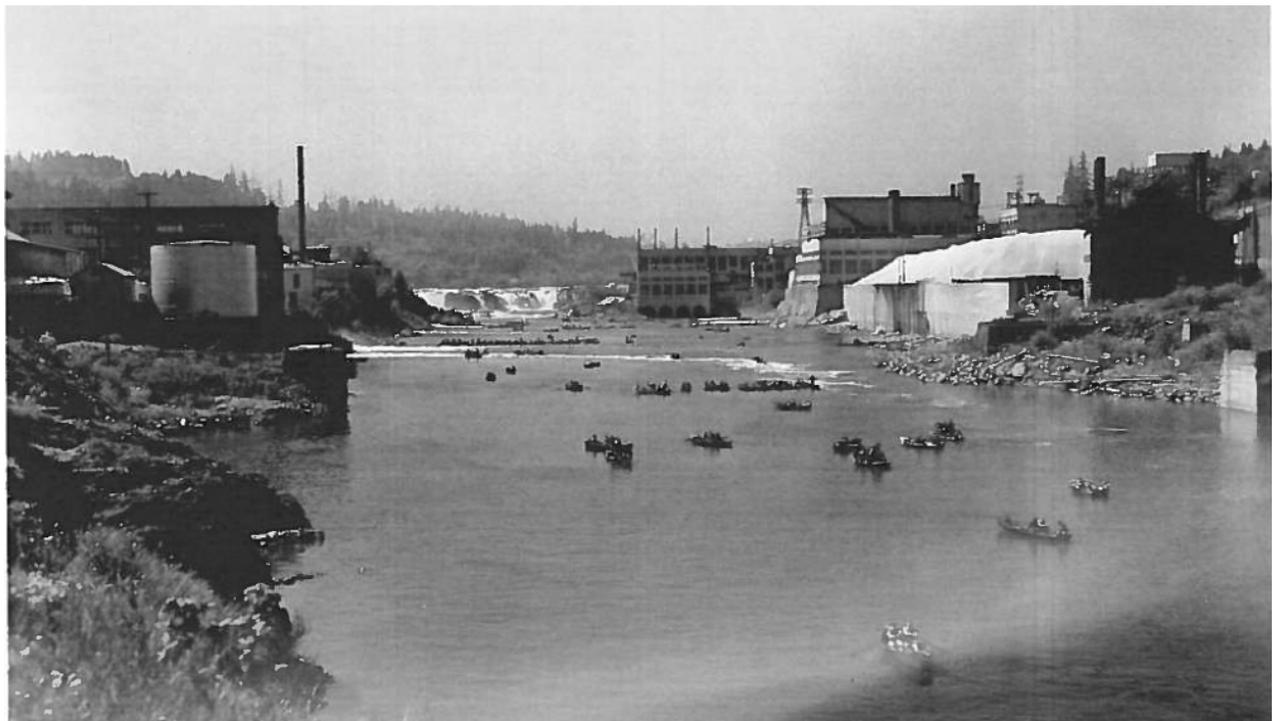
Despite the sometimes bleak industrial development nearby, the Falls continued to be a popular artistic subject in the 1930s. eBay, c.1930.





Top: Although the woolen mills experienced a rapid decline, the iconic building and its ivy-covered walls remained standing for many years. Old Oregon Photos, 1926.

Bottom: Despite the ongoing industrial uses, the Willamette River remained a popular recreation destination. Oregon Historical Society, c.1935.



The Paper Mills Continued to Expand During the War Years

The paper mills, on the other hand, continued to expand during the war years. In 1944, Mill E was constructed on the northeast corner of the basin, adjacent to the former road to Canemah, to process logs floated down the river.¹⁶ This mill replaced the original Mill E that burned down in Milwaukie during the previous decade.

Sanborn maps from 1951 describe the new mill as being built on concrete pilings. By 1947, a conveyor carried wood chips from Mill E to the top of a new chip silo, then a second conveyor at the base of the silo carried the chips to the roof of Mill C. A magnet on the roof removed nails before a third conveyor carried the chips to a bin above the digesters.

On the north side of Third Street, Mill D and its warehouse underwent modifications around 1945-46. Third Street itself underwent modifications during the decade, eventually transforming from a street to a shipping shed on the northern end of No. 4 Warehouse.

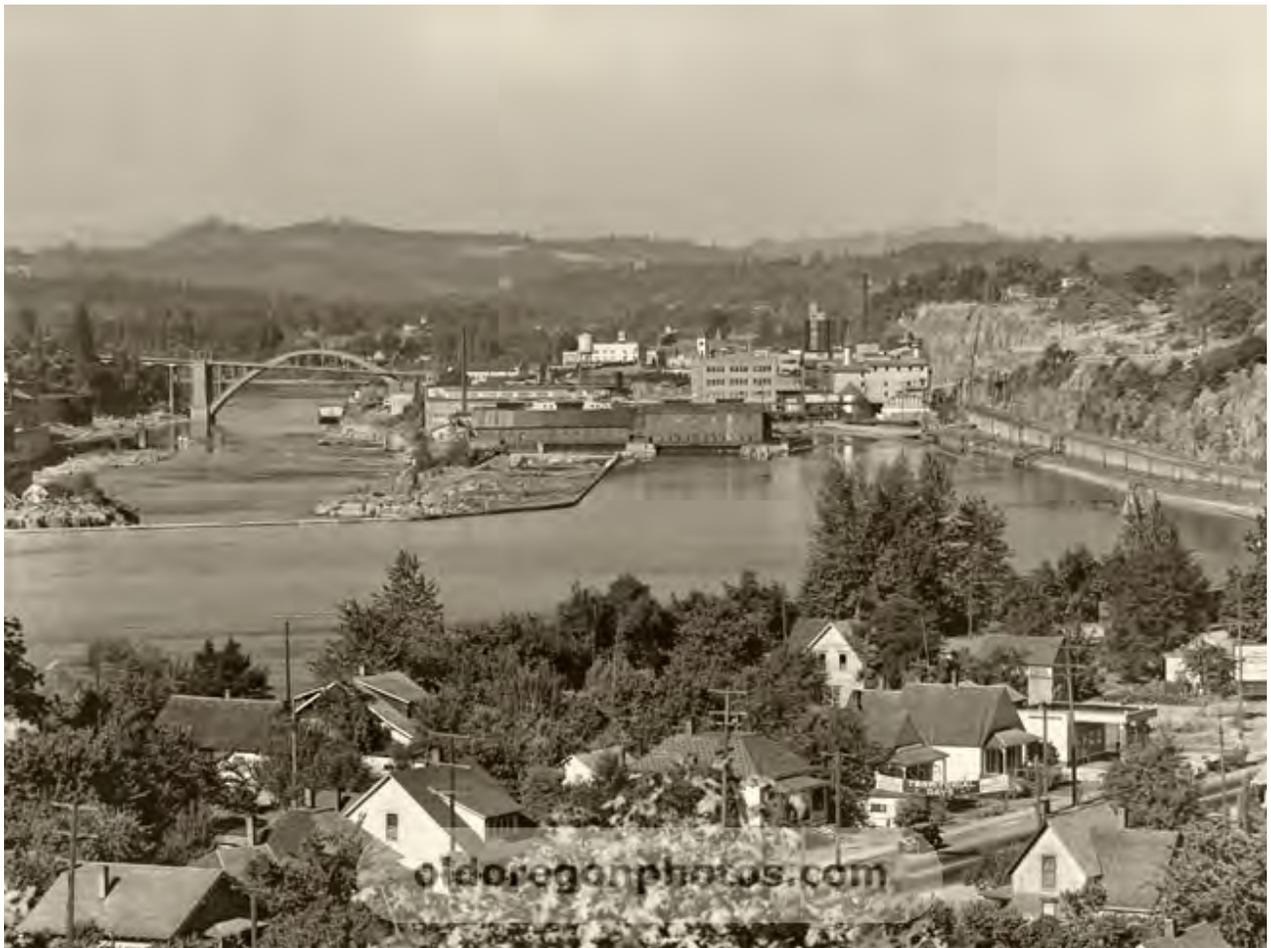


As the paper mills expanded, the basin was transformed several times during the twentieth century. Jim Tompkins, 1933.



Top: Construction of a road along the bluff helped replace the stairways and riverfront walkway for access to the upper bluff and Canemah, respectively. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1935.

Bottom: From Canemah, the paper mills blocked the view of most of Oregon City. Old Oregon Photos, 1937.



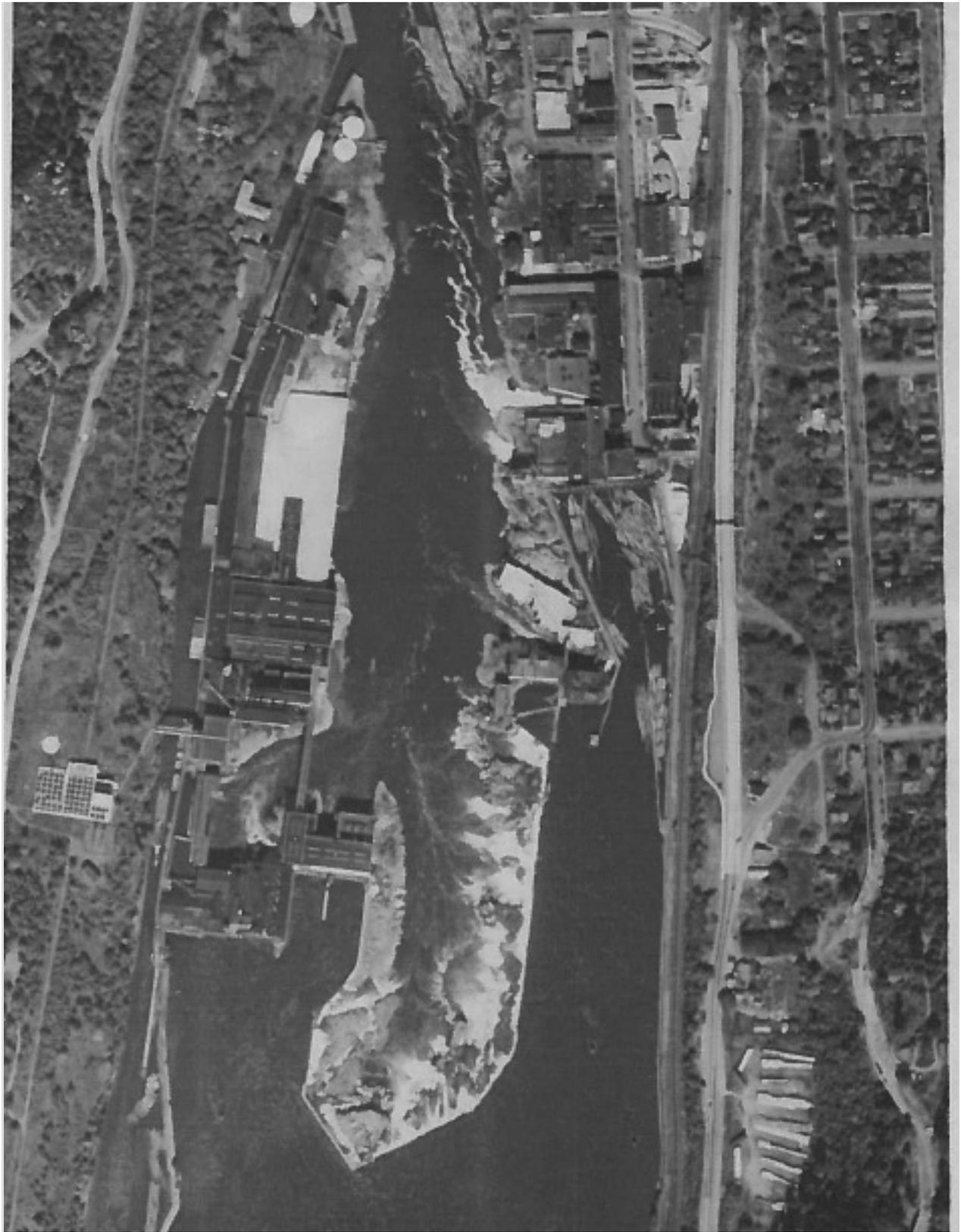
Back at the Falls, Mill A underwent extensive renovations on at least two occasions during the 40s. The second time, in 1943, was almost certainly related to flooding and dam reconstruction. In 1923, the dam was reinforced with rock-filled cribs after a portion was washed out. Twelve years later, the top of the dam was raised and additional cribs were added on the downstream side. Both proved to be inadequate. During a flood in January 1943, a 160-foot section of the dam

was washed away between Mill A and the basin.¹⁷ A new concrete dam was constructed that reached 875 feet in length and 25 feet in height.¹⁸ During the dam's reconstruction, a cofferdam was built to dewater the construction area.¹⁹ The original millrace blasted for McLoughlin in the 1830s, to power his flourmill and sawmill, was exposed in the rock bed.

Though the site was likely altered beyond what he would recognize from his earliest developments, the fruit of his efforts continued to bloom near the Falls.

Improvements around the basin were frequently inadequate during floods, though catastrophic damage was less common over time. Blue, 1943.





From the air, the man-made modifications to the Falls were readily apparent. Oregon Historical Society, 1941.

A Short History of Station A

After decades of facilitating fishing and industrial uses, the Falls were tapped for their hydroelectric power during the 1880s. Edward L. Eastham led a syndicate of local capitalists who purchased the water rights at the Falls and adjacent land, forming the Oregon City Electric Company. In 1888, the company built a plant called Station A on the remaining basalt ledge of Abernethy Island and installed an Edison dynamo water turbine in a nearby mill. In November of the same year, electricity generated at Station A was lighting Oregon City stores, residences and streets. During June of the following year, the lights in downtown Portland were powered by the first ever long-distance transmission of electricity in the United States, again generated at Station A.

A major flood in 1890 destroyed Station A and damaged its equipment, but it was rebuilt almost immediately under the direction of T.W. Sullivan, a hydroelectric engineer whose expertise would have lasting impacts on the region. After construction was completed, the station was converted from direct

current (DC) to alternating current (AC), achieving new milestones in electricity transmission. In 1892, Station A was the terminus of a dam constructed across the entire river, with Sullivan again part of the effort. When Station B was designed and constructed under Sullivan's direction on the west side of the Falls in 1897, Station A was abandoned except for a brief period of use by the Willamette Pulp and Paper Company, almost certainly for hydroelectric power. Station B would eventually bear Sullivan's name for his contributions to the stations, the dam and hydroelectric power in Oregon.

In 1908, Station A was leased by Willard P. Hawley for his own paper mill efforts. By April of that year, materials and lumber were ordered and repairs of the station were underway. These refurbishments would extend into the following year, likely delayed in part by a winter storm in January 1909 that encased the entire building in ice. As these improvements were completed, Hawley renamed the station Mill A and advocated for a walkway from the dam to the station.

Sullivan, still managing hydroelectric operations at the Falls, was reluctant but eventually conceded; construction of the walkway was completed during September 1909. In addition to the walkway, Mill A was fitted with a grinder harness to process wood. Around 1916, the Hawley Powerhouse was built next to Mill A, but little was recorded about Mill A in the decades that followed.

It was a flood, naturally, that brought Mill A back to the forefront. In January 1943, a 160-foot section of the dam washed away between Mill A and the basin. Extensive renovations to Mill A were undertaken in 1943 in conjunction with the effort to construct a new dam. By the early 1950s, however, Mill A was technologically bypassed by the newer Mill E and again fell out of use. When another major flood caused extensive damage to Mill A in December 1964, the writing was on the wall. Bypassed technologically for both its hydroelectric and milling purposes, Mill A was finally razed.



Top: During WWII, women became a more significant part of the paper mill workforce. Blue, 1943.

Bottom: Charman's drug store found new purpose as the Electric Hotel, but by mid-century the structure's days were drawing to a close. Blue, 1943.





After major flooding in 1943, a new dam was built at the basin (top and bottom). One of the casualties of the flood was the rip saw, shown here floating away (right). Blue, 1943.

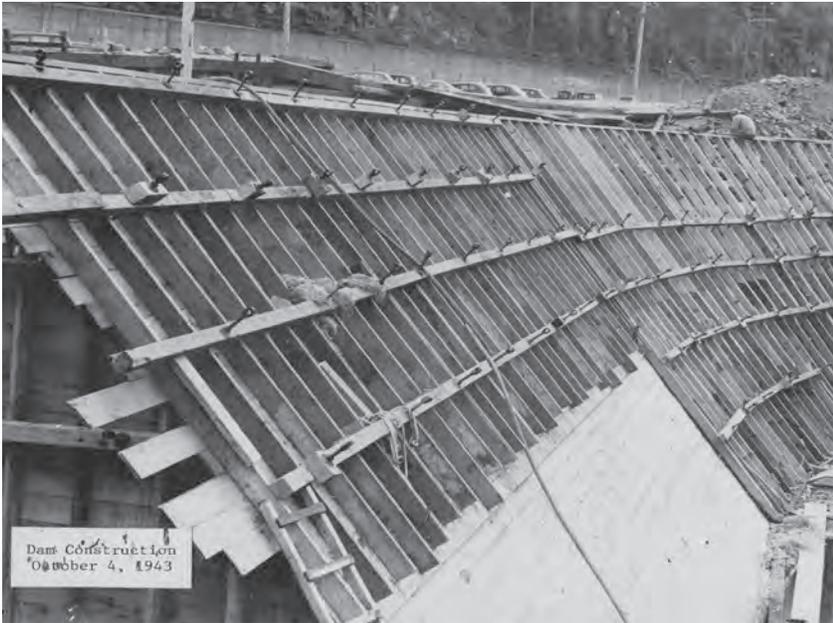




Left: The 1943 flood raised water levels above the walkway on the riverbank. Blue: 1943.

Bottom: Like Station A in previous floods, Mill A was damaged and extensively renovated following the 1943 flood. Oregon Historical Society, 1943.





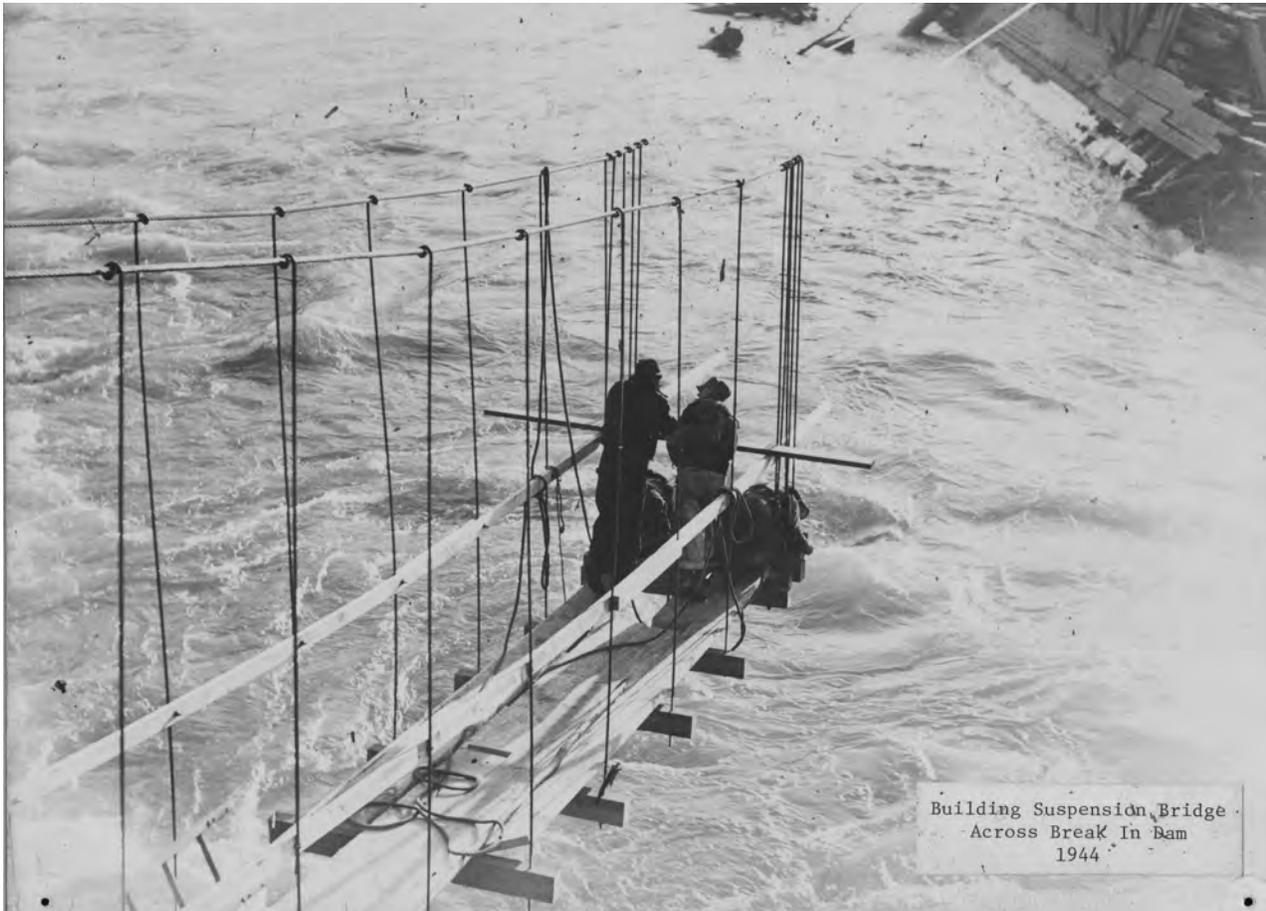
Dam reconstruction after the 1943 flood extended into the following year. Blue, 1943.



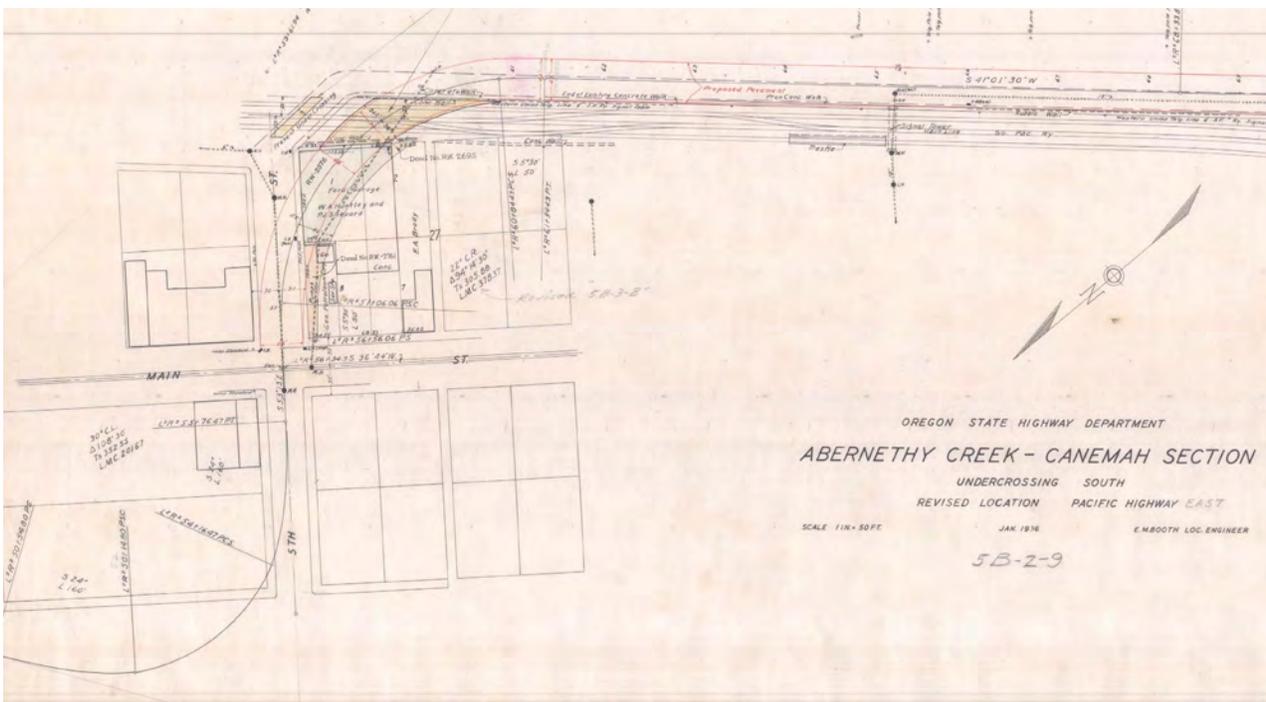


By early 1944, water was spilling over the dam. Blue, 1944.





Top: Construction of the new dam was facilitated by a temporary suspension bridge, shown here during its construction. Blue, 1944.

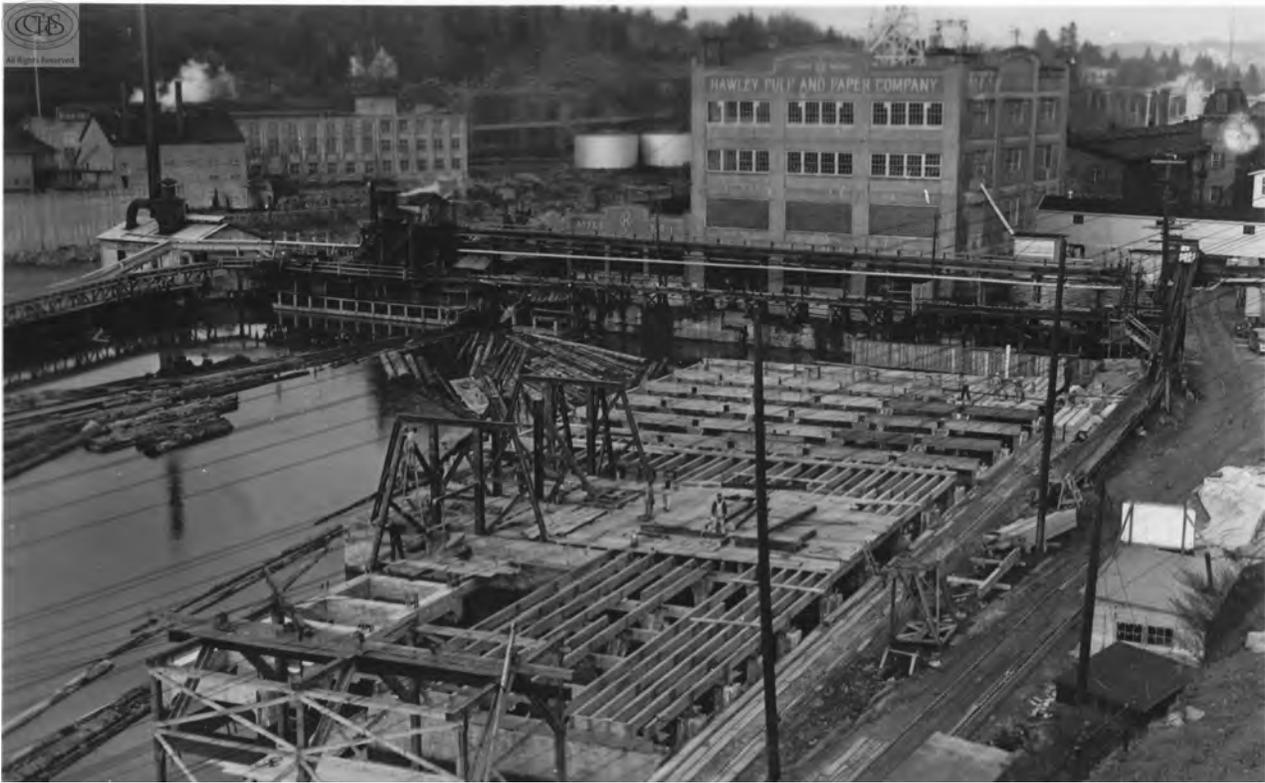


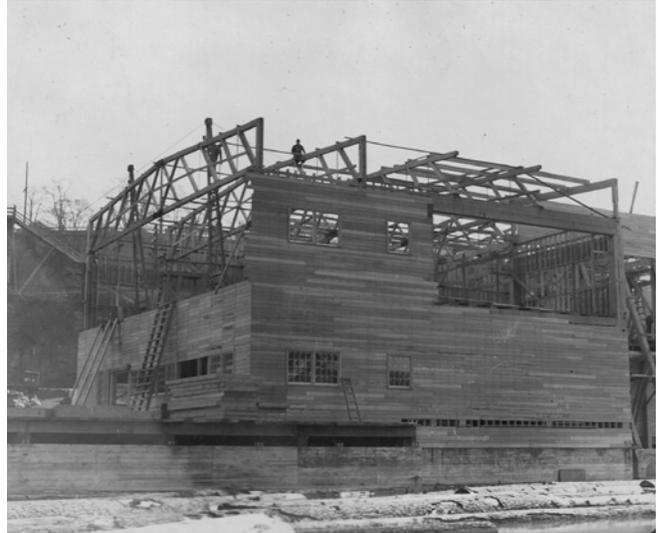


Both pages: After the original Mill E burned down in nearby Milkwaukie, its successor was built in the basin, along the walkway to Canemah. The new mill processed logs floated down the Willamette River. Blue, 1944.







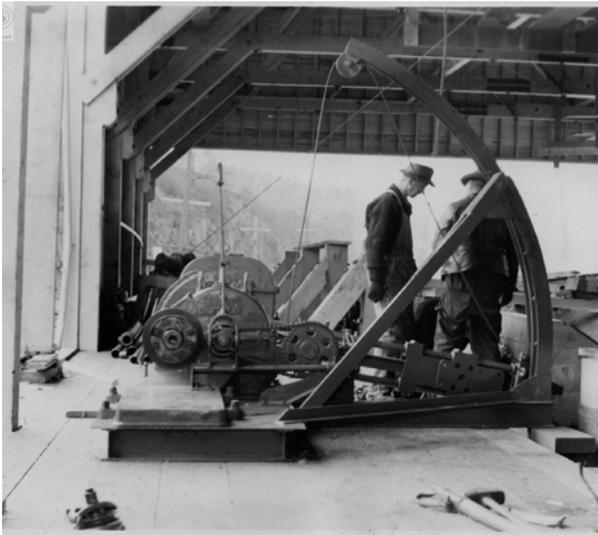


Construction of Mill E was one of multiple efforts that literally and figuratively reshaped the basin. It too would eventually expand. Top, opposite page: Blue, 1944. Remainder, both pages: Blue, 1945.





Neither war nor ongoing construction significantly impeded operations at the paper mills during the 1940s.
 Left: Blue, 1944. Bottom: Blue, 1945.





CARLOAD OF WOOD
AT HAWLEY'S
NOVEMBER 5, 1945

S. P. & S. 32239

CAPY.
50,000

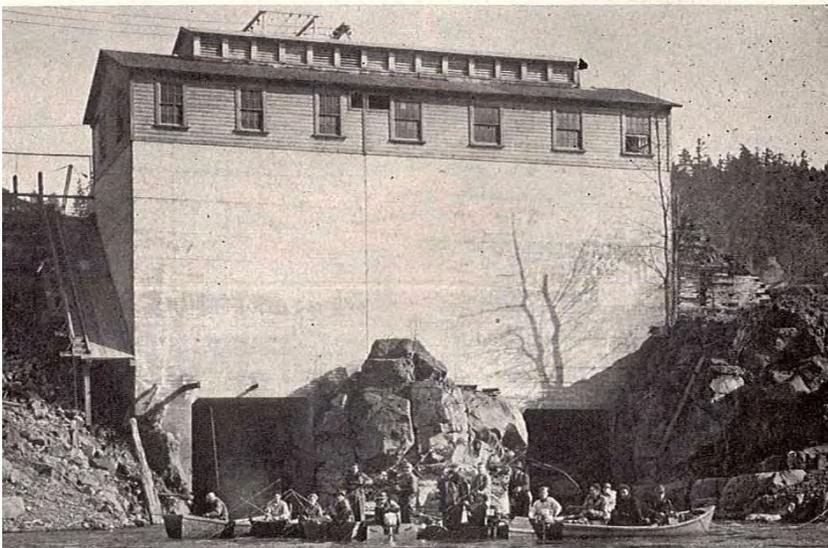
LIQ. MT.
10,000

T.T. WT.
1,100V 10-3

Top: Trains brought a variety of goods to the mills for paper production. Blue, 1945.

Bottom: A flood in December 1945 did not cause significant damage. Oregon Historical Society, 1945.



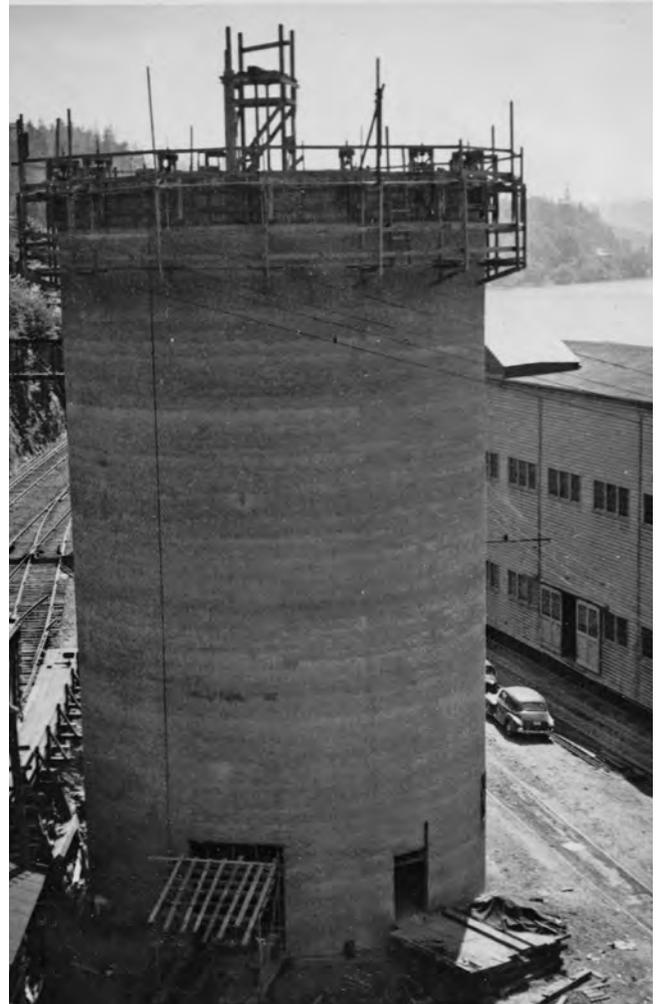
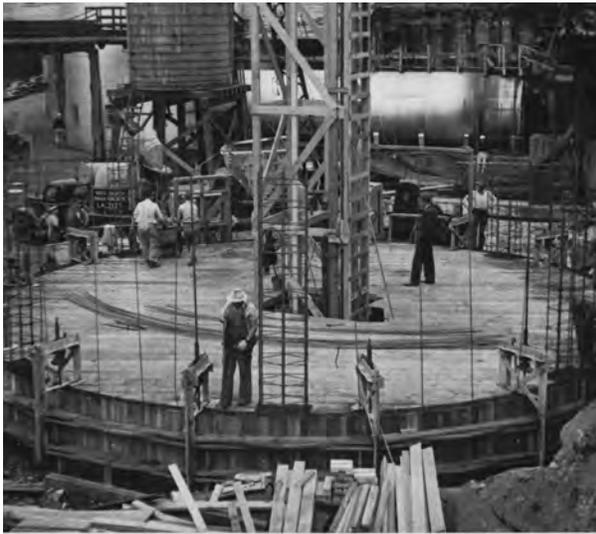


The boats and methods modernized over time, but fishing remained a popular activity near the Falls during the 1940s. Pacific Paper Mill News, 1947.

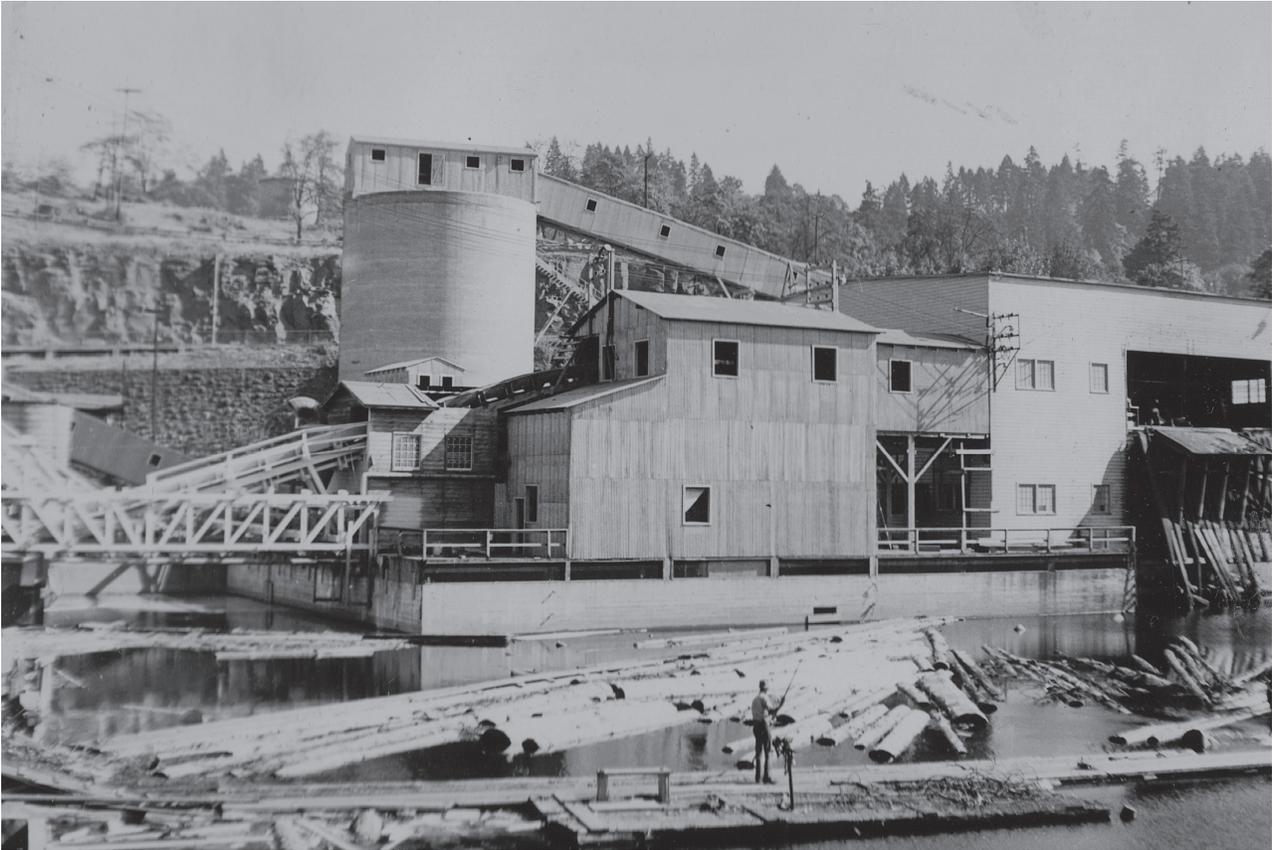


By mid-century, the aerial of Oregon City showed a basin almost fully overtaken by industrial activity. Oregon Historical Society, 1947.



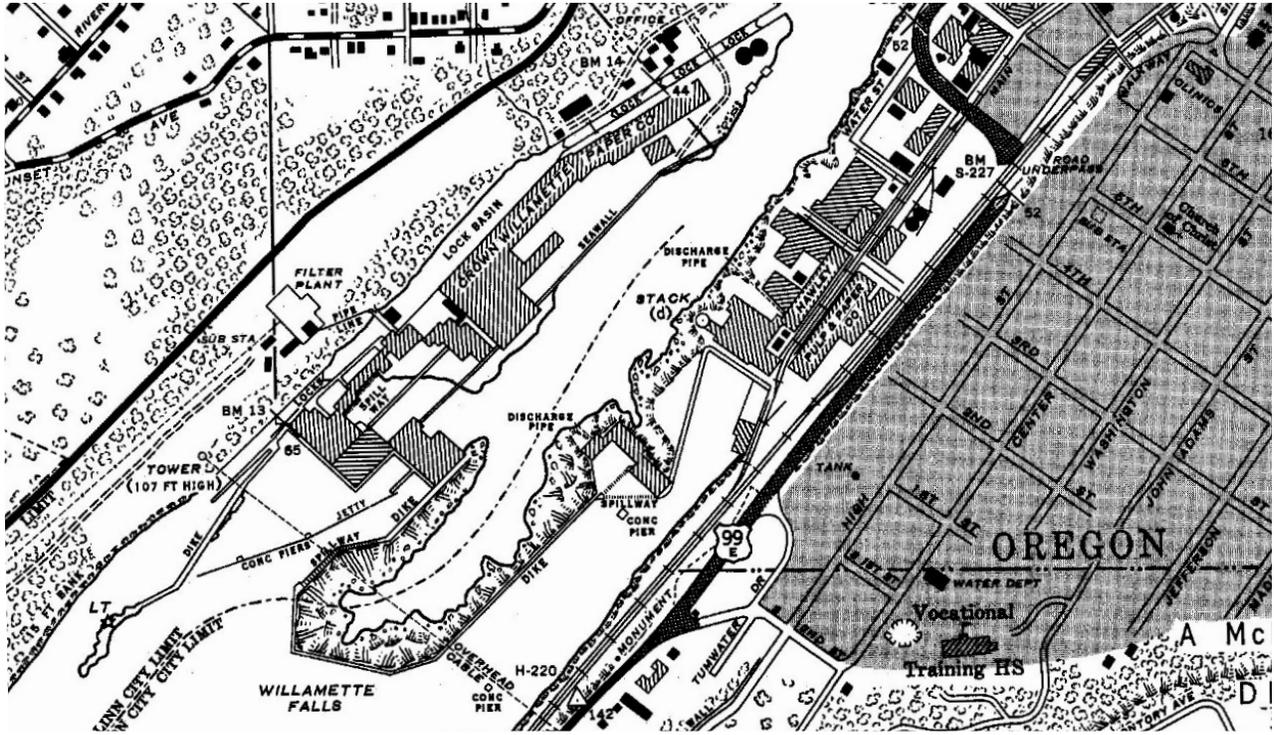


Expansion of Mill E included a chip silo, shown on both pages in various stages of construction. Blue, 1947.



From Mill E, a conveyer brought chips up to the top of the silo (top), then a conveyer from the bottom of the silo sent the chips to Mill C (left). Blue, 1947.





Top: By mid-century, Hawley's enterprise fully dominated the basin and mill reserve area. US Geological Survey, 1947.

Bottom: From this aerial view to the north, neither the Falls nor the mills seem especially prominent. Oregon Historical Society, 1947.





Top: Remaining residential structures were repurposed for corporate offices in the early twentieth century, but these too would be demolished in the decades that followed. Blue, 1947

Middle and bottom: The De-Ink dwarfed the buildings across the street (middle), but was in turn overwhelmed by the scale of the neighboring warehouse, which was eventually expanded over Third Street. Blue, 1947.



Pope Hardware (top left) remained standing mid-century, but with the ongoing expansion of pulp piles and paper mills, it too was coming to the end of its functional uses. Blue, 1947.





Top: The mills' employment office occupied the site that was once the southwest corner of Fourth and Main. Blue, 1947.

Middle: A flood in 1948 caused minimal damage and was not the most notable event of the year - Hawley's heirs sold their interest in the company to Times-Mirror Corporation. Blue, 1948.

Bottom: The headwall at Mill A was one of several structures renovated over time, likely in conjunction with the frequent floods. Blue, 1948.



Top and bottom right: Based on contextual clues in the photos, this turbine is likely being installed in the De-ink. Note the location of the ivy-covered wall in the top photo and the bluff in the bottom photo. Blue, 1948.



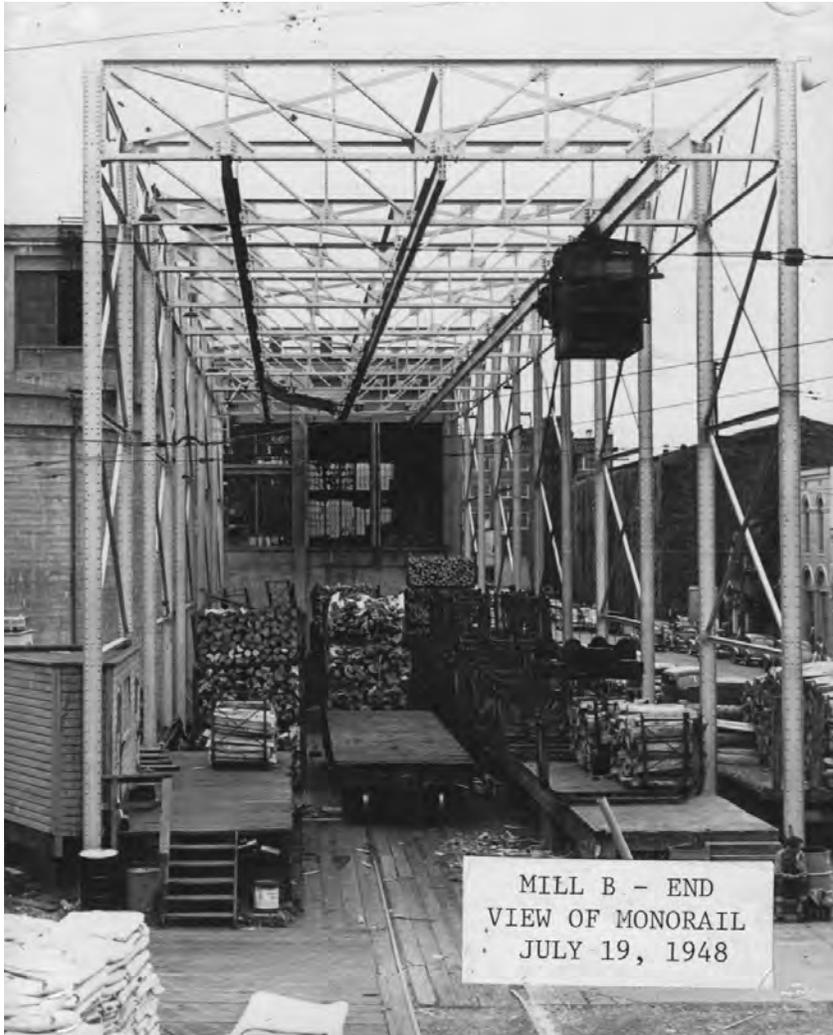
Bottom left: From the interior, the Mill A headwall was not a spectacular site. Blue, 1948.





Top: Logs were brought to the mills from both ends of the river. Blue, 1948.
Bottom: The pulp dryer was one of several structures adjacent to Mill A. Blue, 1948.



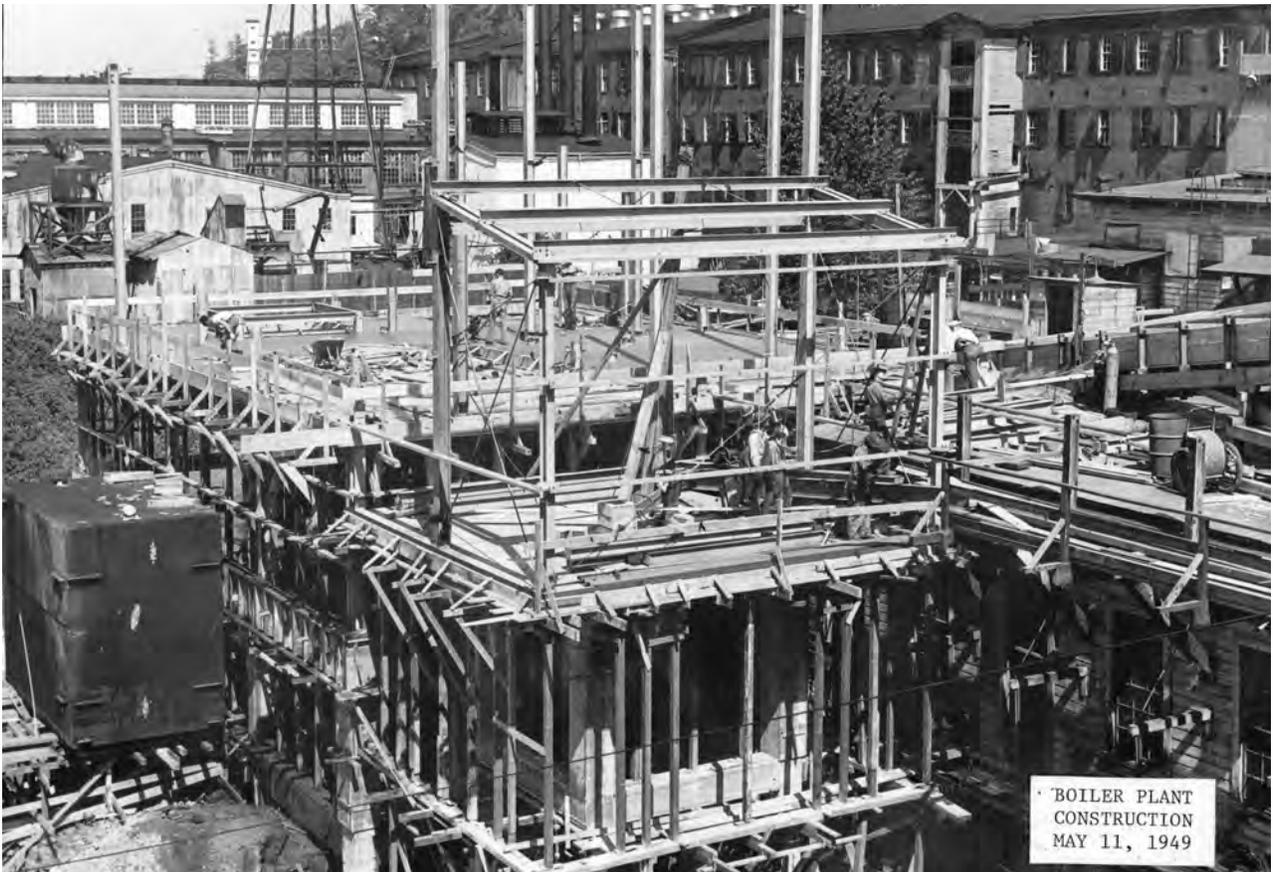


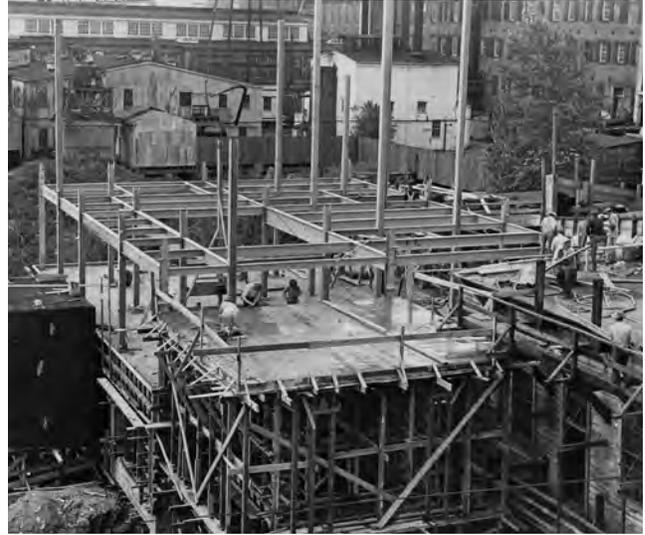
In 1950, PPC became the first company to use sawmill chips instead of logs in the papermaking process. This change would have led to operational adjustments at the mills. Blue, 1948.



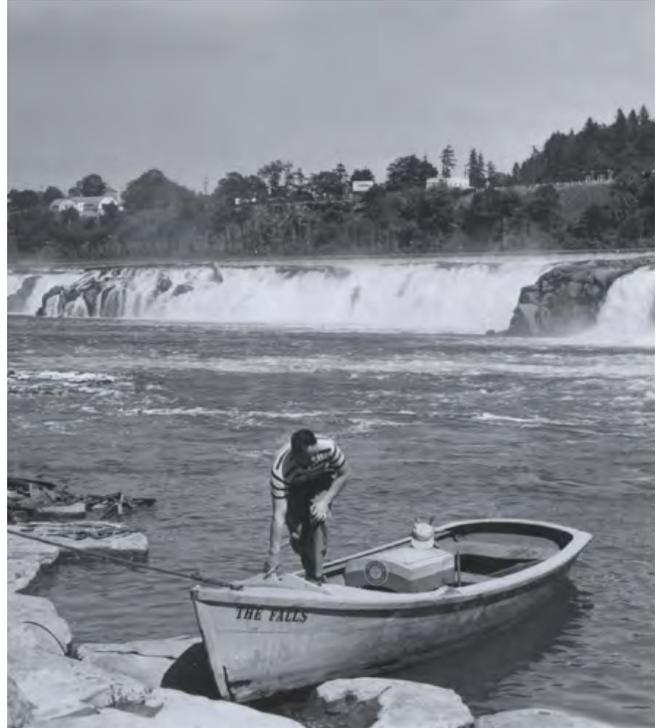
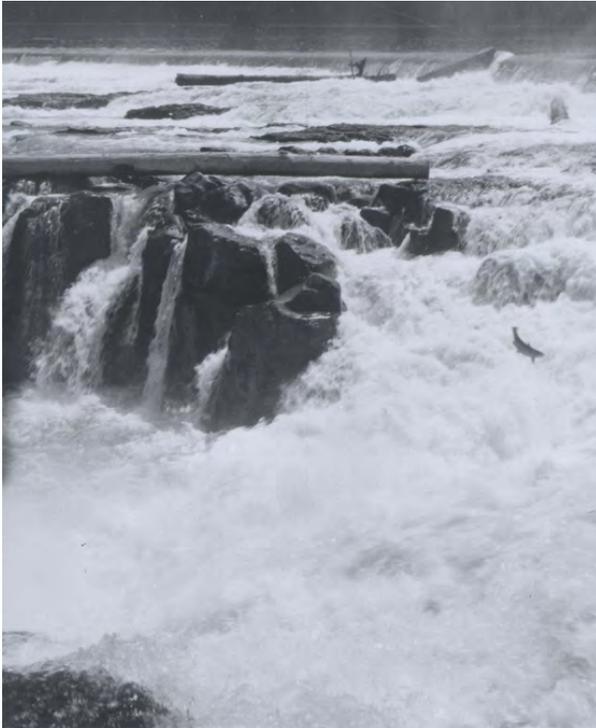


Mill H, owned in the early 1950s by Crown Zellerbach Corporation, was purchased by PPC and reconstructed as the mills' primary boiler plant. Blue, 1949.





Construction of the new Mill H took into account the locations of previously blasted tailraces and the likelihood of flooding. As the footprint of this and adjacent buildings expanded, it took over sites previously used by the woolen mills. Blue. Top, bottom left: 1949. Bottom right: 1950.



Top: The salmon population significantly dwindled during the first century of white settlement at the Falls, leading to formal efforts to protect traditional spawning patterns. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, c.1950.

Bottom: Freezing at the Falls was likely facilitated by the man-made alterations to the water flow. Blue, 1950.

Opposite page: By mid-century, the mill reserve area was almost fully dominated by papermaking. Blue, c.1950.







The End of Wool & the Beginning of the Publishers Paper Era

In 1948, Hawley's mills were still producing a considerable amount of paper, especially for Life and Time magazines.²⁰ Despite this, his heirs sold their remaining interest in HPPC during the same year and the company was dissolved.²¹ The buyer, Times-Mirror Corporation, additionally bought several other associated interests to form a subsidiary, Publishers Paper Company (PPC), in 1950. The new company primarily focused on manufacturing newsprint for the Los Angeles Times. PPC joined the Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers in 1950 and became the first mill to use sawmill chips rather than logs in the papermaking process.²²

Following the corporate reconfiguration, structural improvements were undertaken as well. Some of this might have been related to flooding in 1952 and 1953; historic photos show water inside buildings and down Main Street. Whether the motivation was water damage or general upgrades, Mill C was modernized with new machines and equipment in 1951-52, with exterior remodeling completed during the same period.²³ Mill H, owned by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation but potentially not operational at this time, was purchased by PPC in the 1950s and almost entirely razed. In its reconfigured state, it served as the primary boiler location. Mill A was technologically bypassed by Mill E during the decade and rapidly fell out of use.

Historic photos show the extensive construction and development efforts at each of the active mills. Starting in September 1953 and continuing into 1954, a water filtration plant was built at the northeast corner of Water Street and Fourth Street. Historic photos and the 1951 Sanborn maps show paper and pulp storage on this site in the years immediately prior, with a variety of lodging types just north of the new building. The filtration plant was behind the Electric Hotel and former Oregon City Foundry, both fronting Main Street.

Opposite page: From above, the original road network was barely discernable by mid-century. University of Oregon, 1952.

Bottom: At the basin, logs were floated along the east side of the dam and pulp piles rose above the west side. Blue, 1953.





Many parts of papermaking were mechanized, but physical labor was still an important and complementary part of the process. The composition of the workforce varied by era, but various cultural groups were frequently represented at the mills. Blue.

Top right, top and bottom left: 1951;
Bottom right: 1953.





Top: Construction of a chip yard for Mill E was undertaken north of the De-Ink (left), across the street from Pope Hardware and the Electric Hotel (right). This effort extended papermaking facilities to nearly Fifth Street. Blue, 1951.



Left and bottom: As technology evolved, cranes on land and in the basin became an important part of construction and operations at the mills. The bleach plant is under construction in the bottom left photo. Blue. Left and bottom right: 1951; Bottom left: 1953.





Top left: To the untrained eye, the bleach plant was a confusing array of pipes and structures. Blue, 1953.





Top, middle: Whether in piles or in rail cars, pulp and its byproducts were present in large quantities across the entire mill reserve area. Blue, 1952.



Bottom, both pages: Dam improvements might have helped mitigate the effects of flooding, but it did not stop water from rushing over the basin and into the mill reserve area. Blue.

Bottom, opposite page: 1952; Right: 1953.





The need to store wood and pulp eventually overtook the lot behind the Electric Hotel (above). Over time, papermaking equipment spilled out onto Main Street. Blue, 1953.



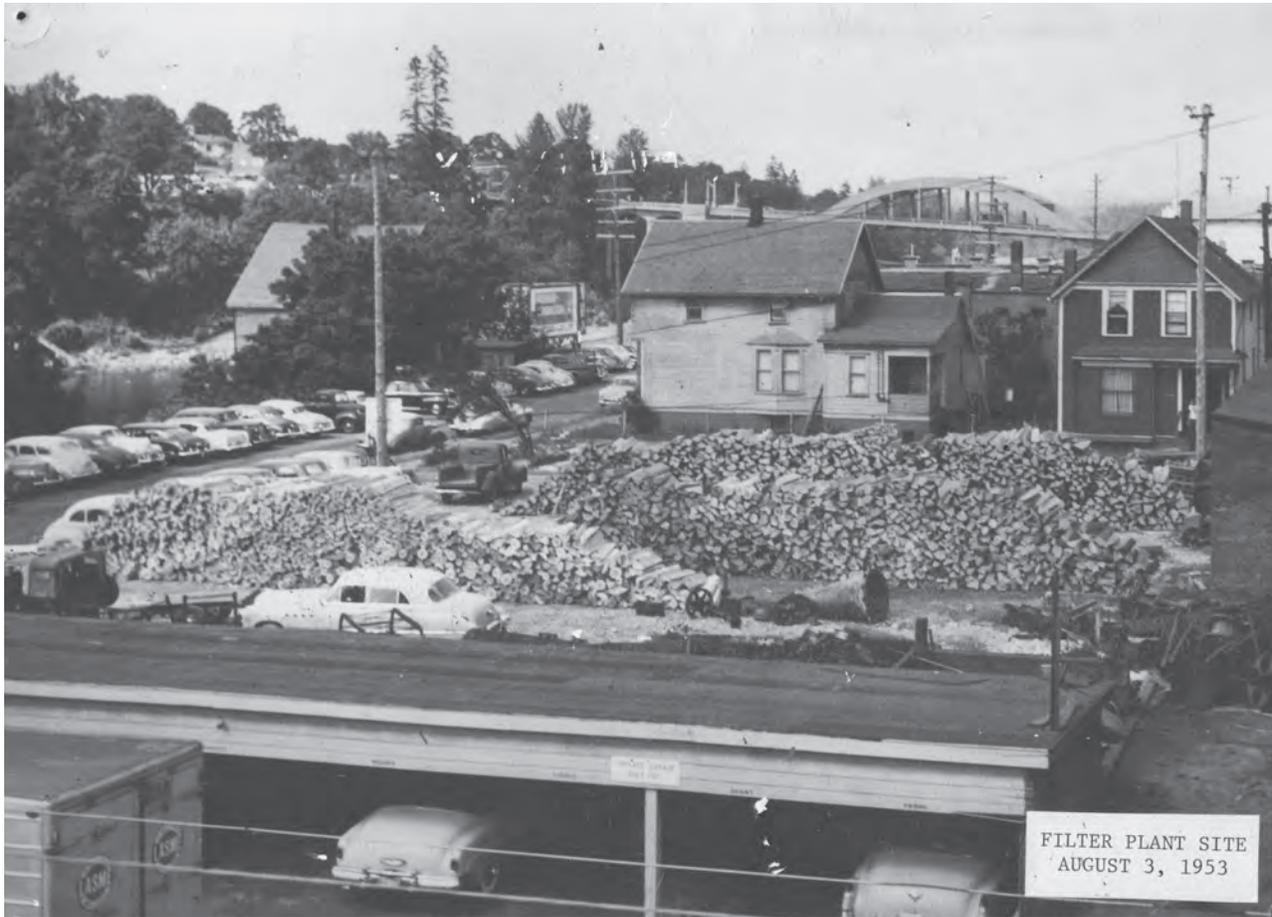


Left: Although the woolen mill was not yet liquidated at this point, expansion of papermaking activities around the ivy-covered building reflect its waning economic strength. Blue, 1953.



Middle and bottom: Some paper mill structures and components were built off site and transported up the Willamette River. Based on contextual clues in the photos, these structures were likely built at or near Portland's south waterfront. In the bottom left photo, note the building in the background hills; this is almost certainly what is known today as Oregon Health and Science University's Multnomah Pavilion. Blue. Middle and bottom left: 1953; Bottom right: 1954.



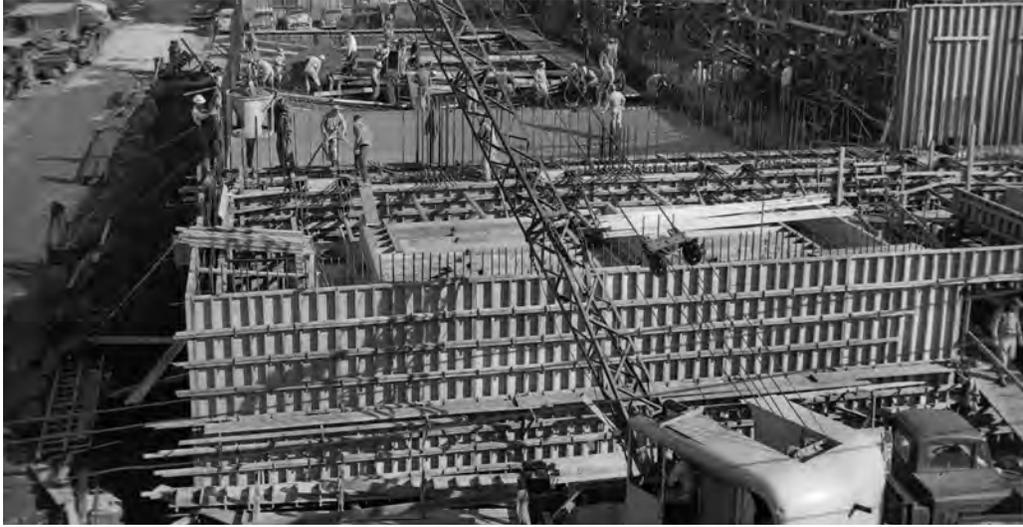


Filtration Plant

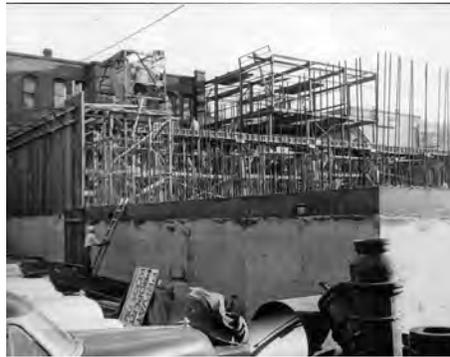
Construction of the filtration plant illustrated the ongoing evolution of Block 3 during this era, primarily because the filtration plant was built on land previously occupied by the Oregon City Foundry. The foundry was moved and reopened in a new location in October 1952.²⁴ The Pope Hardware & Company building, also owned by the foundry, was likely sold to PPC around the same time. By 1951 it had been converted into a paper towel cutting and packing facility. A

fire station was built on Fourth Street around 1955 in the slim space between the new filtration plant and the paper towel cutting and packing facility. One building north of the former Pope Hardware & Company building on Main Street, the Electric Hotel was still an active business in 1952, with W.M. McKillop serving as the proprietor. It had served as a hotel in this location since the late nineteenth century, one of the most consistent uses on site. However, it too was reaching the end of its existence.

A filter plant, also called the filtration plant, was eventually built behind Pope Hardware and the Electric Hotel, but for at least a short time the space was used to store logs. Pope Hardware was sold to PPC during this period. Blue, 1953.



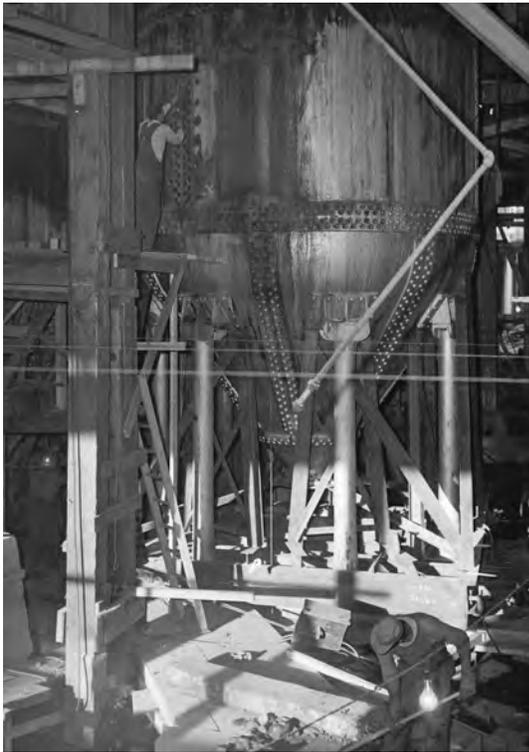
The filtration plant was constructed on the site of the former Oregon City Foundry; its construction was one of the last steps toward removing non-industrial uses from the mill reserve area. A fire in a crane may have slowed the construction process, but only temporarily. Blue, 1954.



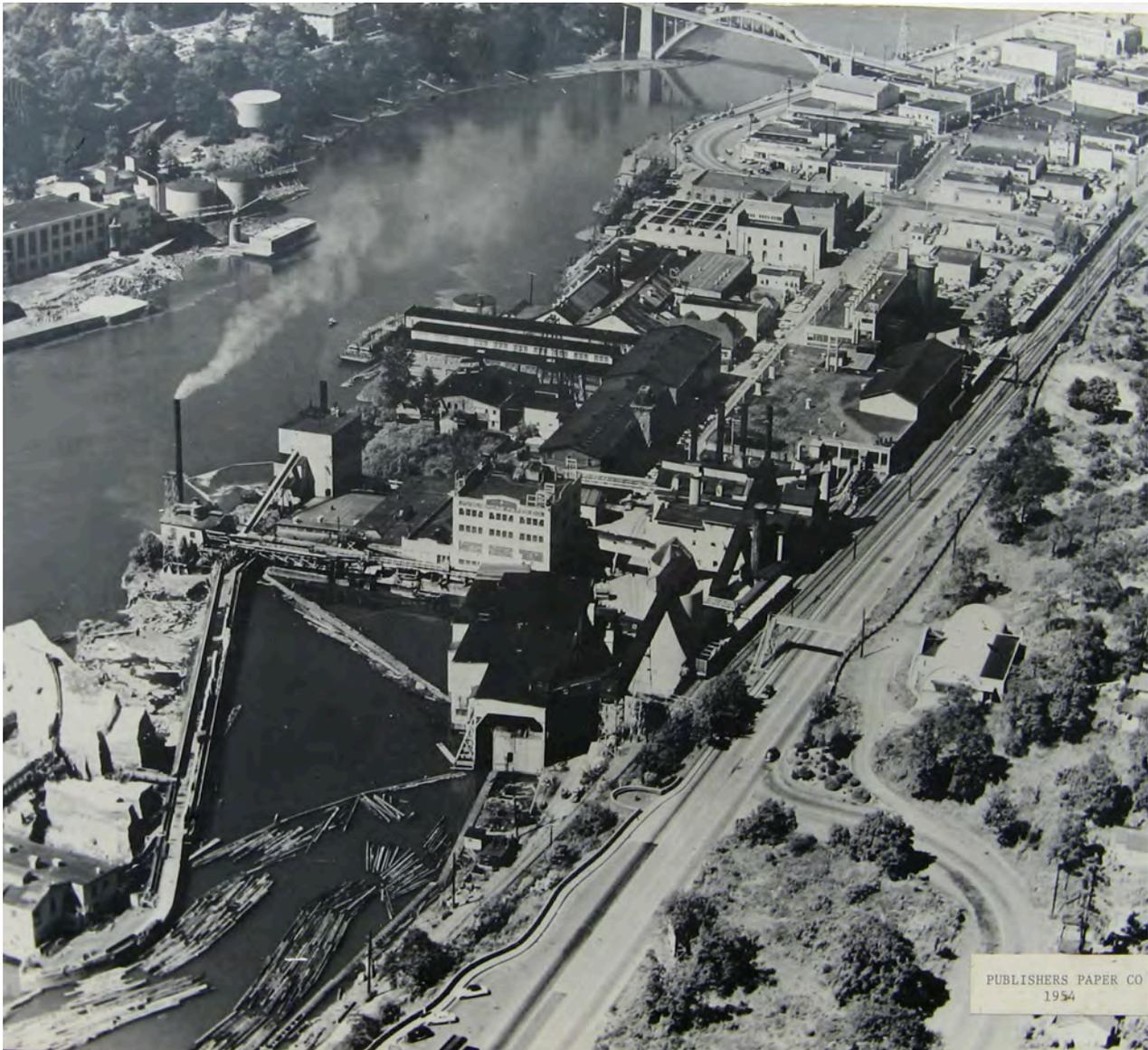


Mid-century, cars could still access Third Street and other parts of the mill reserve area. Over time, expansion of buildings limited this access. Blue, 1954.





Mill C was modernized and upgraded during the 1950s. To the casual observer, these changes were more readily apparent on the exterior of the building. Inside, papermaking remained a messy and grueling endeavor. Blue, 1954.



Top: Although the woolen mill structures were still standing during this period, PPC's enterprises spanned the entire mill reserve area by the middle of the twentieth century. Blue, 1954.

Bottom: As always, floods were an inevitable part of business at the paper mills. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 1954.



The most dramatic change near the Falls occurred in 1954 when OCMC started liquidating its assets, 90 years after it first incorporated.²⁵ The heirs of the Jacobs family sold the mill property, buildings and water rights to PPC during the same year.²⁶

A letter dated August 30, 1954, from Samuel Stern, president of OCMC, to S.J. Robinson, vice president of PPC, laid out the terms of the transaction.²⁷ One of the conditions of the sale was that OCMC would retain possession of the mills through the end of 1955, likely to allow time to make preparations for the future. A special meeting of OCMC's board of directors, on September 14, 1954, was held for the purpose of ensuring the necessary steps were taken "to fully effectuate sale of the company's property."²⁸

On February 1, 1955, OCMC formally ceased its manufacturing operations in Oregon City, though it retained a number of its retail sites.²⁹ To reflect the shift from manufacturing to retail, a special meeting of OCWM's board of directors on January 20, 1955 recommended changing the company name from Oregon City Woolen Mills to Oregon City Woolen Stores, Inc.³⁰

Perhaps appropriately, a major spill in 1955 covered the whole mill area in pulp. Historic images from the incident show pulp in the streets, on cars and up to men's waists in some areas. Whether literally or metaphorically, paper production had taken over the area by the Falls.

Unintentionally commemorating the closure of the woolen mills, a major pulp spill covered the mill reserve area during 1955. Blue, 1955.





Top and top left: The paper mills blocked physical and visual access to the Falls. Blue, 1955.

Bottom: After PPC took over paper production, the company focused on manufacturing its giant rolls of newsprint for the Los Angeles Times. Blue, 1954.

Opposite page: This aerial shows the land between the woolen mill and riverbank prior to its development for papermaking purposes. Blue, c.1955.



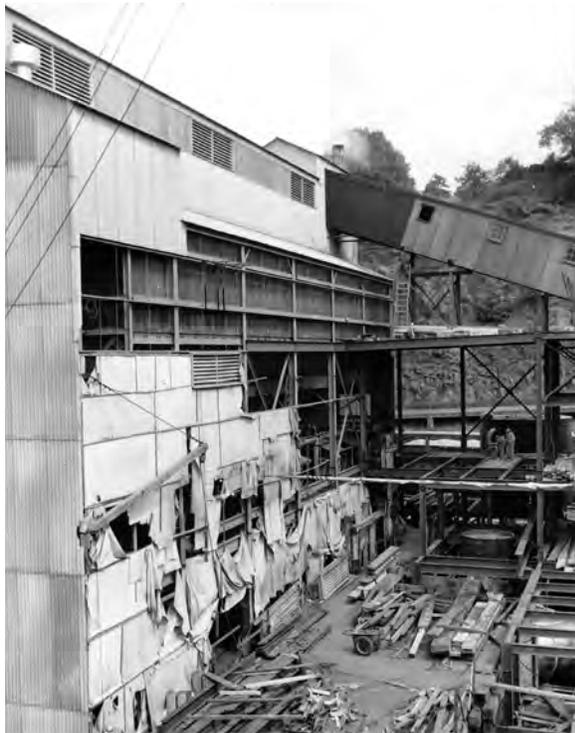




Left: This method of unloading chips from trucks was the predecessor to the Green Monster. Blue, 1955.

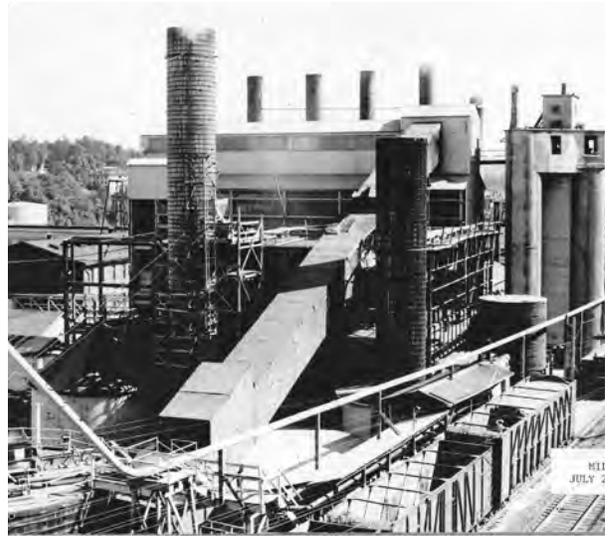
Bottom: The riverfront pathway to Canemah was used for parking and truck access to Mill E during the middle of the twentieth century. Blue, 1955.





Top, bottom left: Between the upgrades to Mill C and papermaking process itself, activity at the mills was fairly constant. Blue, 1956.

Bottom right: Construction of the chip conveyor system overtook the site once home to restaurants, shops, a barber, stables and a hotel. Across the street, the Electric Hotel was in its last days. Blue, 1955.



This page: Construction of Mill C was a primary activity in the mill reserve area during the 1950s. Blue, 1956.

Opposite page: Aerial photography does not convey the totality of PPC's domination over the mill reserve area. University of Oregon, 1956.









Whether for transportation, recreation or papermaking, the Willamette River maintained an integral role in life near the Falls. Opposite page, top: Clackamas County Historical Society, 1957;

Opposite page, bottom: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 1958; Top right: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 1959; Top left: Blue, c.1959; Bottom: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 1957.



c. 1950 PERIOD PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT



LEGACY PROJECT

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Industrial
- Housing / Lodging
- Commercial / Office
- Retail / Service
- Institutional / Public Utilities
- Mixed Use (Commercial + Lodging)
- Unknown Use
- Tree canopy
- Earth Surfacing / Groundcover
- Wood surfacing
- Concrete surfacing
- Concrete structures (remnants)
- Rock / Fill
- Water
- Fence
- Metal stairs/ramp/catwalk
- Water utility line
- Stormwater utility line
- Retaining wall
- Property boundary (2016)
- Rail line (historic)
- Tax lot (current)

SOURCES

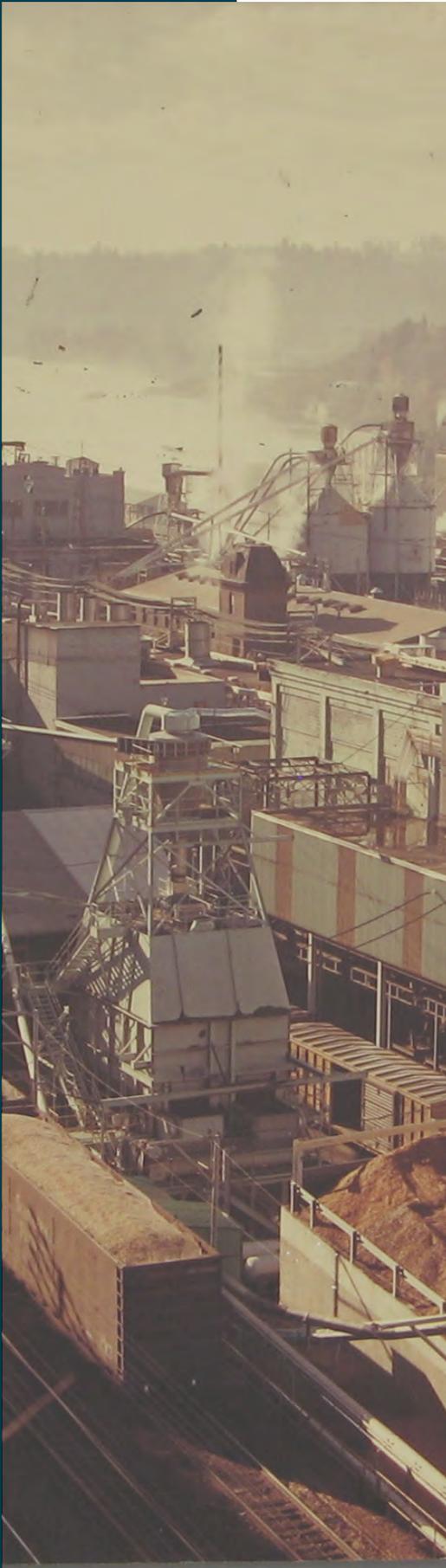
1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
3. Site Survey, 2015
4. Sanborn Map, January 1951
5. Historic Images, 1947-1952



NOTES

- 1 *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records, c. 1908-1957*, copy at the Oregon Historical Society.
- 2 *Oregonian*, "Hawley Pulp and Paper Company First Preferred Stock," July 30, 1926.
- 3 *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records, c. 1908-1957*.
- 4 George Kramer, *Willamette Falls Industrial Area: Request for Determination of Eligibility*, May 2002.
- 5 *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records, c. 1908-1957*.
- 6 *Oregonian*, "Hawley Gives Up Control of Two Paper Companies," July 12, 1929. Blyth and Co. eventually became part of UBS Financial Services.
- 7 *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records, c. 1908-1957*.
- 8 *Comm'r of Internal Revenue v. Smith*, 324 U.S. 177 (1945).
- 9 W. Claude Adams, "History of Papermaking in the Pacific Northwest: II," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1951): 83-100.
- 10 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*. Mill H was operational into the 1940s.
- 11 Mackenzie/Saito & Associates, *The Historic Commercial - Industrial District: Oregon City, Oregon*, 1980.
- 12 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 13 *Blue Heron Paper Company History*, 2001, copy at the Museum of the Oregon Territory.
- 14 *Oregon City Manufacturing Company Records, 1864-1970*, retrieved from <http://librarycatalog.ohs.org/EOSWeb/OPAC/TitleView/CompleteDisplay.aspx?FromOPAC=true&DbCode=0&PatronCode=0&Language=english&RwSearchCode=0&WordHits=&BibCodes=17155533>.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 James Nicita, "From grain elevator to sulphite mill: The transformation of OC's Mill C," *Portland Tribune, Clackamas Review*, August 27, 2014; Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 17 Arthur H. Greisser, *History of Portland General Electric Company, 1889-1981*, Portland, OR: Portland General Electric, 1982.
- 18 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 19 Greisser, *History of Portland General Electric*. A cofferdam is a watertight enclosure that enables construction below the waterline.
- 20 "Pacific Northwest Promotional Brochures Collection, 1895-1983," copy at the Oregon Historical Society, *Historic Oregon City: Cradle of Northwest History*, 1948.
- 21 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*; *Hawley Pulp and Paper Company Records, c. 1908-1957*; International Typographical Union, *Federal Responsibility for a Free and Competitive Press*, 1963.
- 22 International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, and Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers, *Uniform Labor Agreement of 1950*, 1950; Jim Tompkins, *Oregon City*, Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.
- 23 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.

- 24 *Clackamas County Central Labor Council Pictorial Review*, Clackamas County, October 1952. The exact location is unknown, though it was on Pacific Highway and likely in view of the Falls.
- 25 *Oregon Journal*, "Old Firm Ends Retail Operation," December 27, 1961.
- 26 Mackenzie/Saito & Associates, *The Historic Commercial - Industrial District*; Stephen D. Beckham, *Willamette Falls Legacy Project Historic Context Statement*; Tompkins, Oregon City.
- 27 *Oregon City Manufacturing Company Records, 1864-1970*.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 *Weekly Enterprise*, "February 1 Woolen Mills Closure Told," January 18, 1955.
- 30 The recommendation was taken. Ultimately, OCMC closed its last retail store in 1961 and merged with Oregon City Woolen Stores in 1962. During this period, it was primarily an investment company, but the change was short-lived. The new, combined company was dissolved in 1970 and its assets liquidated.



CHAPTER 7

1960- 2011

PUBLISHERS PAPER & BLUE HERON PAPER COMPANY

Expansion Followed by Decline for Publishers Paper Company

Power Production Continues and the Mills Change Hands



In the 1970s, papermaking enveloped the whole area near the Falls. University of Oregon, 1977.



Publishers Paper & Blue Heron Paper Company

When Willard Hawley Jr. died unexpectedly in 1960, he and his father left behind a legacy of a half-century of industry and innovation.¹ In the half-century following his death, Publishers Paper Company (PPC) and its successors would do the same. During the first full decade under PPC's ownership, the paper mills and associated structures near the Falls were expanded tremendously.

Expansion Followed By Decline

The de-inking annex was extended to the north along Main Street.² A truck unloading shed known as the Green Monster was built at the southeastern corner of Fourth Street and Main Street, on the other end of the de-inking annex. The building got its name from its green painted exterior.

Over the previous century, Sanborn maps show a wide range of previous uses where these new buildings were constructed, including lodging and services for Chinese laborers, a soda shop, a wagon shop and the location of a pulp pile.

The Green Monster extended over Fourth Street, further blurring the city street grid that was slowly being enveloped by industrial expansion.

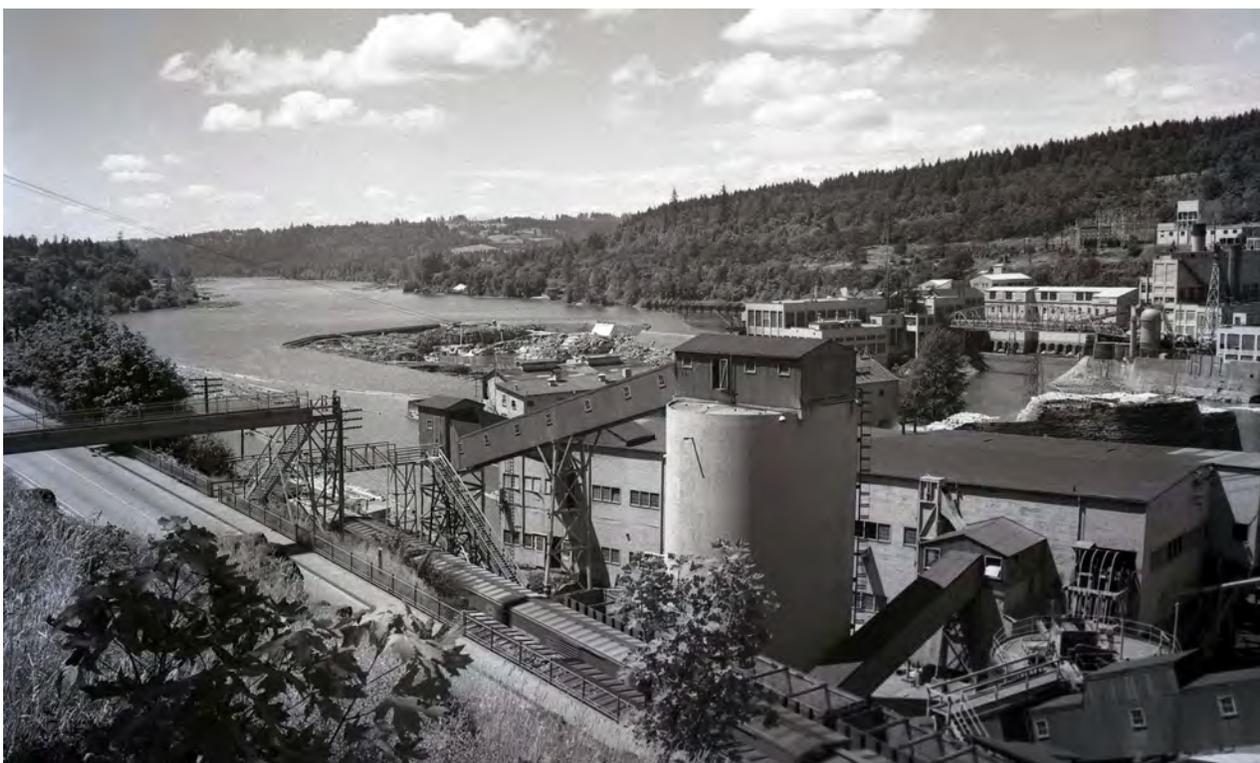
Between the smoke and tall buildings, the iconic view of the Falls from the bluff was no longer visible after mid-century, but photos from this vantage point were still common. Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1960.



Northeast of the Green Monster, a chip and sawdust silo was also built during the 1960s. It was constructed along the bluff and set back from Main Street, across from the Electric Hotel. In previous decades, Sanborn maps show the parcel of land in use almost exclusively for dwellings and sheds. Mill O, formerly the Oregon City Manufacturing Company's (OCMC) annex along Third Street, was converted to paper uses. A number of complementary structures were built just south of this mill during the decade, including carpenter, millwright, pipe and auto shops. The area previously housed a variety of structures related to the woolen mill.

This page: North of Fifth Street, Oregon City's commercial district grew along Main Street (top). South of Fifth, papermaking continued on both sides of Main (bottom). Museum of the Oregon Territory, 1960.

Opposite page: From overhead, the densely clustered papermaking facilities give no clue about their functions. University of Oregon, 1964.





Flood of 1964

In December 1964, a major flood caused extensive damage to waterfront industrial and retail areas throughout Oregon City.³ As might be anticipated due to the trend of previous floods, Mill A was damaged extensively.⁴ It was subsequently razed, though Hawley's Powerhouse remained at the Falls. Historic images from the period also show water along the former plank road to Canemah, running between buildings and also inside buildings. One image shows water reaching the western edge of the former woolen mill, with significant portions of the annex and recently built shops under water. The pipe shop was either submerged entirely or still unbuilt at this point.

Both pages: The flood in 1964 impacted almost the entire west coast and brought significant changes to the mills, including the inevitable razing of Mill A. Water rushed over the basin and across the mill reserve area, but the dam seems to have withstood the torrent. The flood is considered by some as the worst in Oregon history. Blue, 1964.







Top: The post office at Fifth and Main was still standing during the 1960s, but would soon be replaced with a more modern structure. Blue, 1966.
Bottom: The area around the Falls was consistently captured in aerial photos. University of Oregon, 1970.



In April 1967, a clarifier was built on the rocks on the southwestern corner of the basin, in roughly the same location as McLoughlin's early mills; evidence seems to indicate that nothing had been constructed there since the basin was blasted. The clarifier was a large holding tank and processing unit and was operating by September of the same year. By 1972, the Electric Hotel was demolished, replaced with parking and a building for security and first aid. The Pope Hardware building remained

standing. An aerial photograph from the same year shows Water Street ending at the southwestern edge of the filtration plant and in use for parking rather than as a public road. This marked the formal end of Water Street as a thoroughfare, further erasing the street grid. What had once been Oregon City's principal promenade was reserved for parking, built over with industrial structures or simply washed away with the disintegration of the river shoreline.⁵ During the same period, the corporate headquarters, located in the

Barlow House on the site of the *Oregon Spectator*, was removed and replaced with the Butler Building, used for storage.⁶ PPC subsequently moved its corporate offices into the space formerly occupied by the post office on the corner of Fifth Street and Main Street, though the building was remodeled extensively and bore no resemblance to its previous form. Mill E was also redesigned during the 1970s.

A clarifier was built on the same site as McLoughlin's early mills, providing insight about the contours of the mill reserve and the location of Abernethy Island. Blue, 1967.





The new post office (left) bore no resemblance to the one previously constructed on the same site. By the 1970s, very little about the site resembled anything prior to the onset of papermaking. Note the presence of Pope Hardware and absence of the Electric Hotel in the photo below. Blue, 1979.





Though modernized inside and out, many of the mill buildings maintained visual similarity to earlier versions of the structures. Blue, 1979.



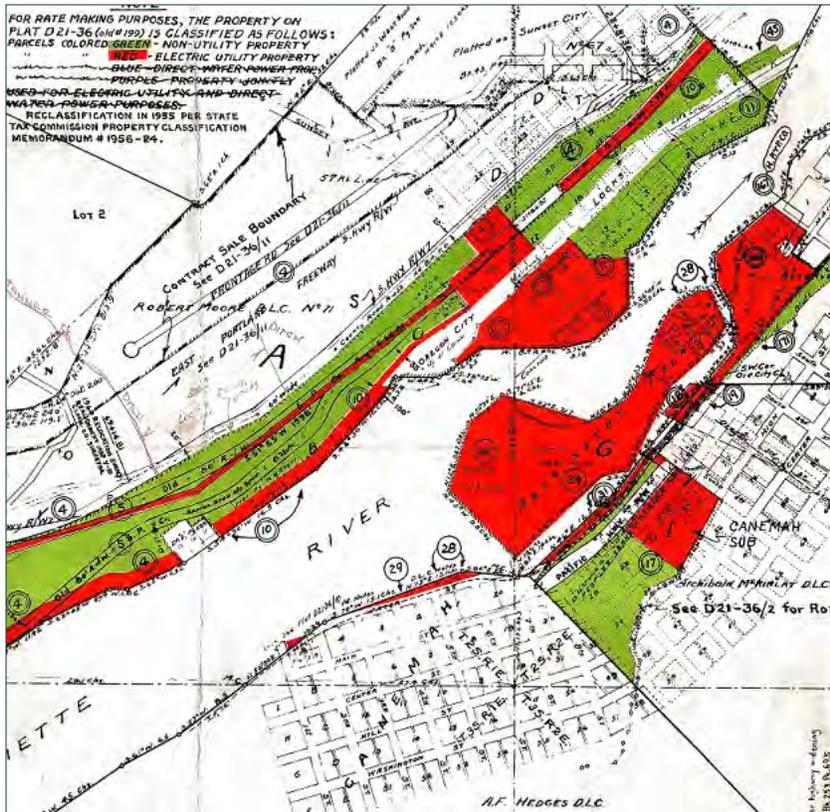


Chip Unloading
1979

Chip unloading, storage and transportation was accomplished with an increasingly complex series of structures and machines. Blue, 1979.



Chip Storage



Left: The PGE plat provides an outline of Abernethy Island in the center, in red. 1972.

Bottom: A roof eventually covered Third Street, spanning the building that was once the woolen mill on one side and the Hawley headquarters on the other side. Blue, 1979.

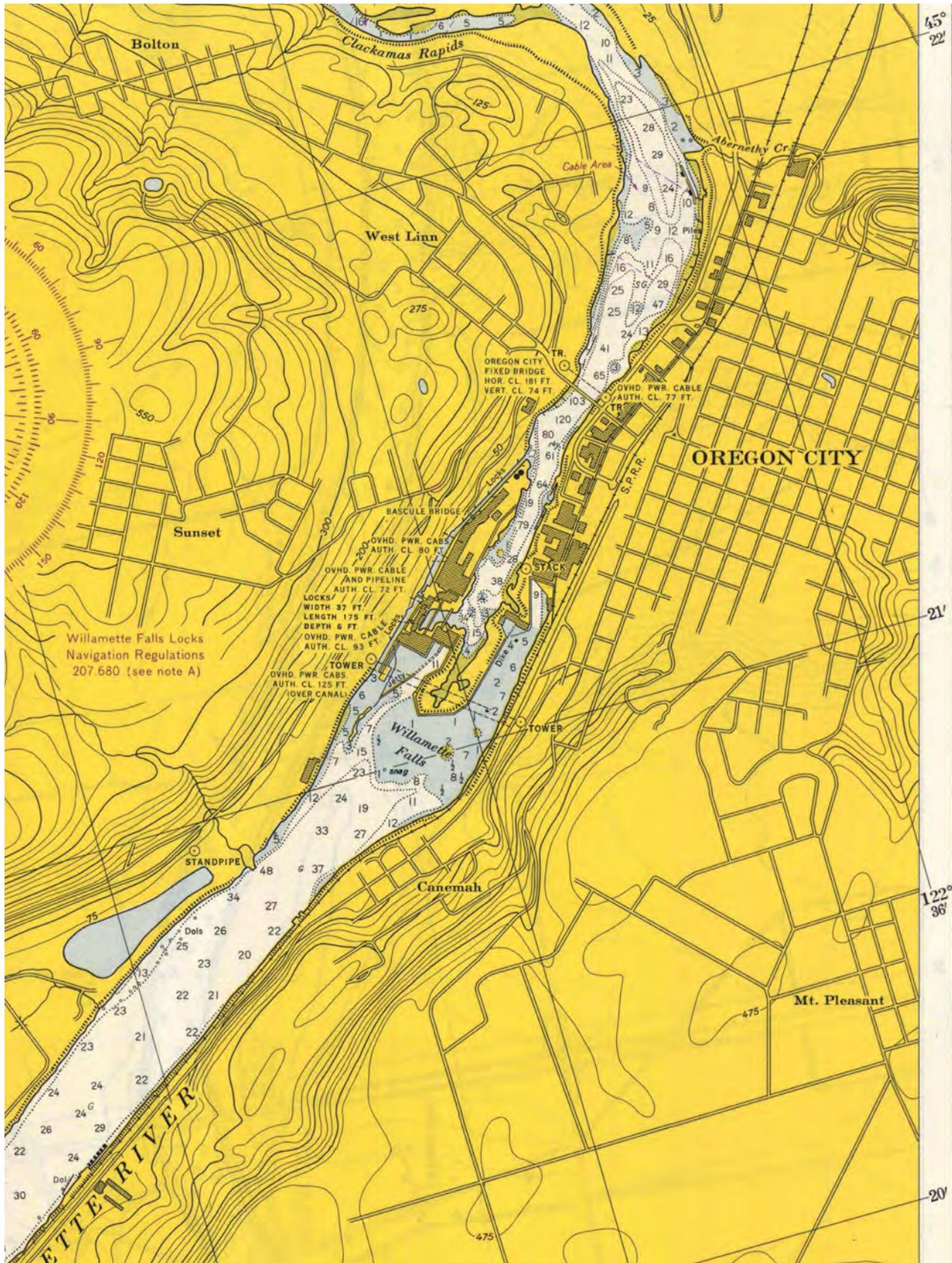




Top: The aerial view of the Falls shows where Mill A and the Powerhouse once stood, to the far right in the center of the photo. 1972.

Left: A tank spill at Mill B flooded the streets to nearly Fifth and Main. it is not clear whether this was a pulp or other type of spill. Blue, 1977.

Opposite page: A nautical map of the Willamette River shows the limited road grid in the mill reserve area. 1967.



Tours of the Mills

As in previous decades during the Hawleys' ownership, tours of the mills were offered to the general public. An image from May 1966 shows gateway signage over Main Street with train tracks extending down the middle of the street towards the basin. The sign, extending from sidewalk to sidewalk in front of the site where the Electric Hotel once stood, announces that mill tours are offered Monday through Friday at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. Pope's

Hardware building stands behind the sign. The Green Monster is in the background to the left. In a similarly positioned photo from 1979, the Green Monster is enclosed with walls and the post office is already remodeled as the headquarters for PPC. The gateway signage is gone, but the only other readily apparent change is the addition of a substantial tower on the north end of the Green Monster, bearing the Publishers Paper name.

Although papermaking was the economic driver in the mill reserve area, it was far from the only activity. Mill tours, renovations and expansions were ongoing. Blue, 1966.





Top: Almost 150 years after artists painted scenes of American Indians catching salmon at the Falls, the site remained a popular spot for fishing. Blue, 1973. Bottom: The clarifier occupied the space where pulp piles once stood, but the absence of Mill A left a void difficult to fill. Blue, c.1977.





Aerial photos in the 1970s indicate few changes at the mills. University of Oregon. This page: 1974; Opposite page: 1977.



The 1980s

If the 1970s were characterized by expansion, the following decade was the opposite. A number of buildings were closed, demolished or both. In 1980, the woolen mill was demolished except for the basalt foundation, which was largely retained.⁷ The foundation represents a portion of one of the oldest industrial structures in the Pacific Northwest. Other structures associated with the woolen mill, adjacent to Mill O, were also

demolished. In 1982, Paper Machine #2, in Mill D behind the new Butler Building, was shut down. The building that housed the machine was later dismantled, leaving only portions of the exterior brick walls and interior cement floors. It is possible that the footprint of this building extends back to the construction of the Brick Mill in the nineteenth century. Finally, in 1983, the sulfite mill occupying the southern half of Mill C was closed.

Though not entirely clear due to the lack of sharpness in the image, this was likely the last aerial photo of the site to capture the woolen mill, which was demolished during the year the photo was taken. University of Oregon, 1980.





This land survey completed for PPC shows the full street grid and lots in the mill reserve area, though some of the streets no longer existed and buildings were not constrained by lots. 1986.



Slightly more than 100 years after the woolen mills first presented an iconic view from the bluff, the roof and tower were still visible above the paper mills, but only barely (top). A few years later, the building was demolished and only the basalt foundation was visible in aerial photos (bottom). Top: Blue, 1979; Bottom: University of Oregon, 1982.

Power Production Continues and the Mills Change Hands

Despite a variety of mergers and name changes, the Portland Electric Power Company (PEPCO) produced power from the Falls and ran the regional transit system until 1948, when the company was dissolved after decades of corporate and financial obstacles.⁸ PEPCO's hydroelectric elements, already managed by Portland General Electric (PGE), became an independent, investor-owned utility under the PGE name at this time.

In 1986, Portland General Corp. was formed as a holding company for PGE and other subsidiaries.⁹ On June 15, 1989, PGE celebrated 100 years of power generation from the Falls by lighting the Hawthorne Bridge in Portland like a birthday cake.¹⁰ Though the modern power plant at Oregon City was on the west side of the Willamette River and Falls, the celebration recognized Station A's original contributions to electric power in the region and the Pacific northwest. Aside from electricity, the other century-long constant at the Falls was papermaking.

After nearly 30 years of ownership under PPC, the paper mills were sold in the mid-1980s to Jefferson Smurfit.¹¹ As the Smurfit Paper Newsprint Division, the new company operated for approximately 15 years as a major user of recycled newsprint. Smurfit underwent a variety of corporate changes and by the late 1990s its papermaking interests were managed under the Smurfit Stone Container Corporation (SSCC).¹² In the year 2000, SSCC sold the mill to its own employees and KPS, a New York City-based private equity fund, who formed the Blue Heron Paper Company (BHPC).

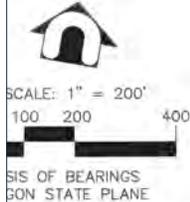
The mills underwent several corporate changes in the 1980s and 1990s as business waned, but the aerial photo did not differ substantially from previous decades. University of Oregon, 1994.



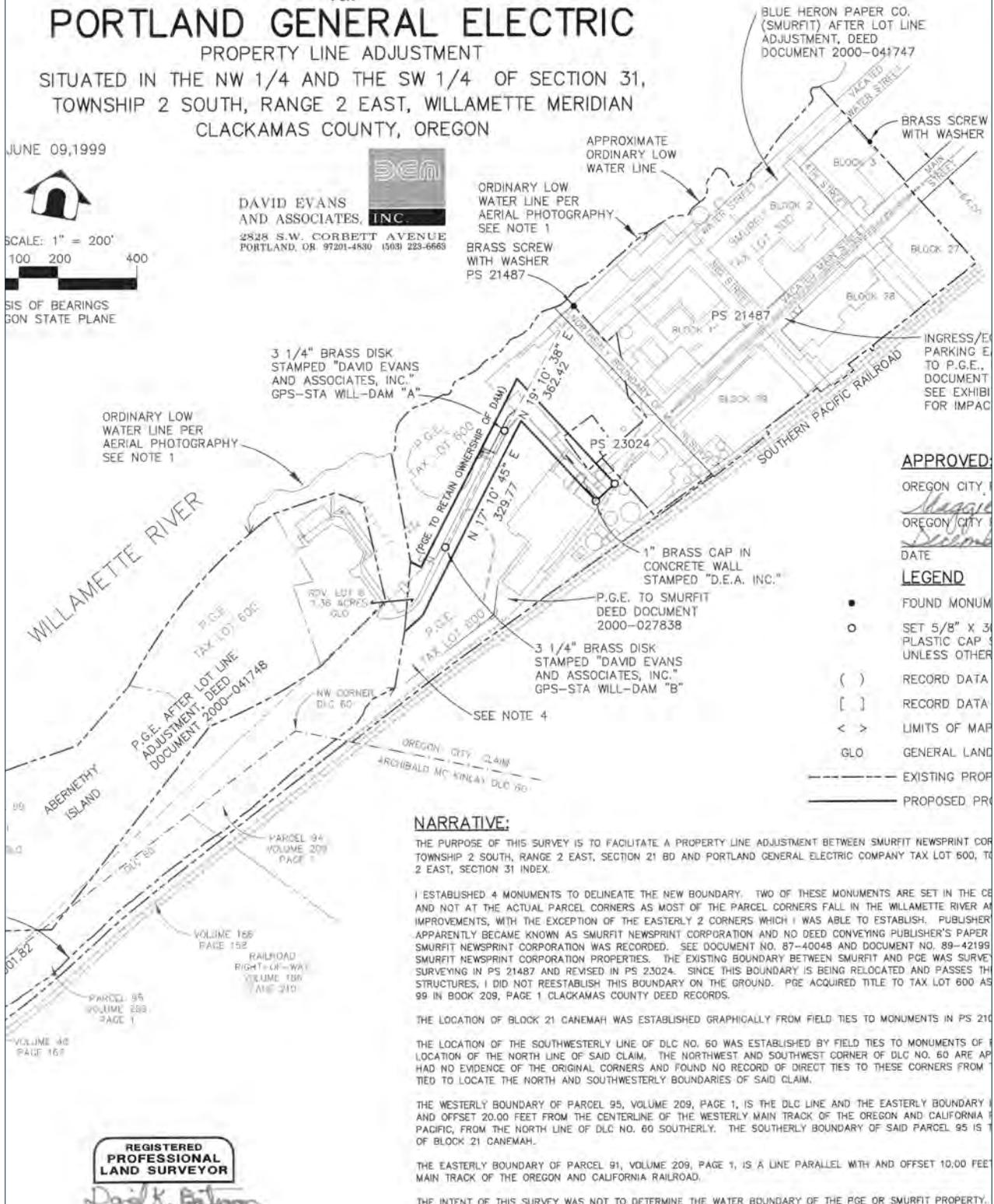
RECORD OF SURVEY FOR PORTLAND GENERAL ELECTRIC

PROPERTY LINE ADJUSTMENT
SITUATED IN THE NW 1/4 AND THE SW 1/4 OF SECTION 31,
TOWNSHIP 2 SOUTH, RANGE 2 EAST, WILLAMETTE MERIDIAN
CLACKAMAS COUNTY, OREGON

JUNE 09, 1999



DEA
DAVID EVANS
AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
2828 S.W. CORBETT AVENUE
PORTLAND, OR 97201-4530 (503) 223-6663



APPROVED:

OREGON CITY, OREGON
DATE

LEGEND

- FOUND MONUMENT
- SET 5/8" X 3/4" PLASTIC CAP UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
- () RECORD DATA
- [] RECORD DATA
- < > LIMITS OF MAP
- GLO GENERAL LAND OFFICE
- - - EXISTING PROPERTY
- PROPOSED PROPERTY

NARRATIVE:

THE PURPOSE OF THIS SURVEY IS TO FACILITATE A PROPERTY LINE ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN SMURFIT NEWSPRINT CORPORATION AND PORTLAND GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY TAX LOT 600, TOWNSHIP 2 SOUTH, RANGE 2 EAST, SECTION 21 BD AND PORTLAND GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY TAX LOT 600, TOWNSHIP 2 SOUTH, RANGE 2 EAST, SECTION 31 INDEX.

I ESTABLISHED 4 MONUMENTS TO DELINEATE THE NEW BOUNDARY. TWO OF THESE MONUMENTS ARE SET IN THE CENTERLINE OF THE WILLAMETTE RIVER AND NOT AT THE ACTUAL PARCEL CORNERS AS MOST OF THE PARCEL CORNERS FALL IN THE WILLAMETTE RIVER AND ARE IMPROVEMENTS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE EASTERLY 2 CORNERS WHICH I WAS ABLE TO ESTABLISH. PUBLISHER'S PROPERTY APPARENTLY BECAME KNOWN AS SMURFIT NEWSPRINT CORPORATION AND NO DEED CONVEYING PUBLISHER'S PROPERTY TO SMURFIT NEWSPRINT CORPORATION WAS RECORDED. SEE DOCUMENT NO. 87-40048 AND DOCUMENT NO. 89-42199. SMURFIT NEWSPRINT CORPORATION PROPERTIES. THE EXISTING BOUNDARY BETWEEN SMURFIT AND PGE WAS SURVEYED IN PS 21487 AND REVISED IN PS 23024. SINCE THIS BOUNDARY IS BEING RELOCATED AND PASSES THROUGH THE STRUCTURES, I DID NOT REESTABLISH THIS BOUNDARY ON THE GROUND. PGE ACQUIRED TITLE TO TAX LOT 600 AS PARCEL 99 IN BOOK 209, PAGE 1 CLACKAMAS COUNTY DEED RECORDS.

THE LOCATION OF BLOCK 21 CANEMAH WAS ESTABLISHED GRAPHICALLY FROM FIELD TIES TO MONUMENTS IN PS 21024.

THE LOCATION OF THE SOUTHWESTERLY LINE OF DLC NO. 60 WAS ESTABLISHED BY FIELD TIES TO MONUMENTS OF PGE. THE LOCATION OF THE NORTH LINE OF SAID CLAIM. THE NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST CORNER OF DLC NO. 60 ARE LOCATED BY FIELD TIES TO MONUMENTS. I HAD NO EVIDENCE OF THE ORIGINAL CORNERS AND FOUND NO RECORD OF DIRECT TIES TO THESE CORNERS FROM THE GROUND. I TIED TO LOCATE THE NORTH AND SOUTHWESTERLY BOUNDARIES OF SAID CLAIM.

THE WESTERLY BOUNDARY OF PARCEL 95, VOLUME 209, PAGE 1, IS THE DLC LINE AND THE EASTERLY BOUNDARY IS A LINE PARALLEL WITH AND OFFSET 20.00 FEET FROM THE CENTERLINE OF THE WESTERLY MAIN TRACK OF THE OREGON AND CALIFORNIA PACIFIC RAILROAD. THE SOUTHERLY BOUNDARY OF SAID PARCEL 95 IS A LINE PARALLEL WITH AND OFFSET 10.00 FEET FROM THE CENTERLINE OF THE WESTERLY MAIN TRACK OF THE OREGON AND CALIFORNIA PACIFIC RAILROAD.

THE EASTERLY BOUNDARY OF PARCEL 91, VOLUME 209, PAGE 1, IS A LINE PARALLEL WITH AND OFFSET 10.00 FEET FROM THE CENTERLINE OF THE WESTERLY MAIN TRACK OF THE OREGON AND CALIFORNIA PACIFIC RAILROAD.

THE INTENT OF THIS SURVEY WAS NOT TO DETERMINE THE WATER BOUNDARY OF THE PGE OR SMURFIT PROPERTY.

**REGISTERED
PROFESSIONAL
LAND SURVEYOR**

The inclusion of Abernethy Island in modern PGE maps, despite the island's long-past destruction in a flood, provides an ongoing reminder of the historical significance of Willamette Falls. 1999.

The 2000s

By around 2002, some of the structures around the site were no longer in use while others were used in a modified capacity. Mill E, for example, was used for maintenance and mill offices.¹³ Across the basin, the concrete foundations and steel intakes and gates of Station A / Mill A remained at the head of the log pond, though the structure itself was obviously long-since removed.

Adjacent to the foundations, the Hawley Powerhouse continued to generate power during this time. Although somewhat modified, its basic structure, i.e. its generation equipment and features, remained virtually as built. The multi-story chip and sawdust silo, north of the Green Monster, was no longer in use. South of the Green Monster, located around the perimeter of the De-Ink Building, were a variety

of ancillary uses such as tanks, sheds, piping and so forth. Mill O, the old woolen mill annex, housed a variety of functions for paper manufacturing including storage space, warehouse space and a lab at the western end of the building. Around the corner on Main Street, the foundation walls of the woolen mill itself defined an open parking area designated for contractor trailers, as well as a covered storage area.



Papermaking continues on the other side of the Falls in the twenty-first century, but all that remains of Oregon City's early industries are crumbling, vacant buildings or their remnants. Blue, 2001.

Each of the four paper machines or an aspect of their footprint also remained in 2002. Though Paper Machine #1 was not replaced after the original Mill B burned down, the new building's distinctive signage remained visible beneath the paint despite a variety of modifications after it became the Bleach Plant. Paper Machine #2 was not present either, but portions of the exterior brick walls and concrete floors remained as an interior element of more recent development. Next door, Mill D Warehouse was expanded to include a covered loading bay that projected out to Main Street, although the construction of this addition is

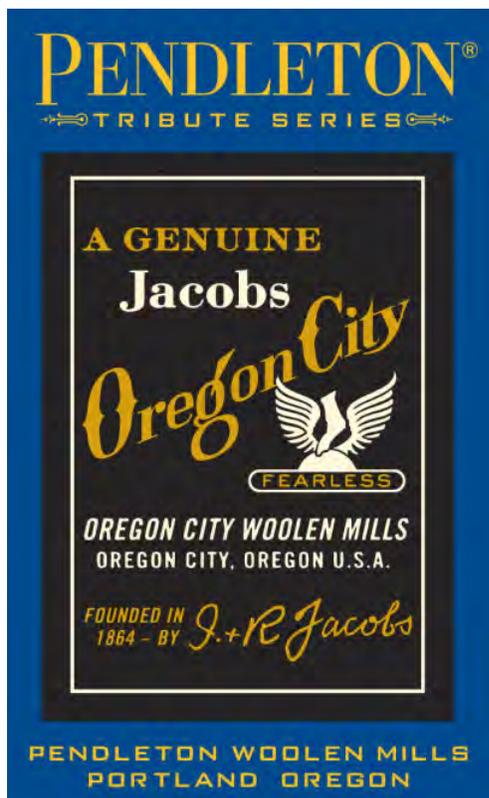
undocumented. Adjacent to the site of Paper Machine #2, Paper Machine #3 continued in its original use during this period. Across Main Street, Paper Machine #4 was also operational during this period. The building was remodeled and expanded, but much of its original exterior and character remained intact.

By 2004, BHPC produced about 650 tons of paper each day, making newsprint and specialty paper products.¹⁴ During the same year, the company undertook a model-based energy assessment to identify energy and cost savings opportunities.

Whatever strategies were eventually implemented for the company's financial health were ultimately not enough. In 2009, BHPC filed for bankruptcy and then in 2011 the company closed permanently.¹⁵

More than a millennium after the first American Indian settlements at the Willamette Falls and nearly two centuries after John McLoughlin first envisioned the site's potential for development, the eastern side of the Falls was absent of American Indians and industrial or commercial activity.

Aside from the basalt structure of the mill itself, all that remains of the woolen mills are tributes from former competitors, honoring the former industrial giant with blankets and other similar goods. Pendleton, c.2013.



EXISTING CONDITIONS PLAN PUBLIC DRAFT



LEGACY PROJECT

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT OREGON CITY, OR



- Eligible / significant building or structure
- Not eligible building or structure
- Undetermined building or structure
- Building overhang / overhead structure
- 5' contour intervals
- Tree canopy
- Groundcover
- Asphalt surfacing
- Concrete surfacing
- Concrete structures (remnants)
- Rock / Fill
- Water
- Chainlink fence
- Metal stairs/ramp/catwalk
- Water utility line
- Stormwater utility line
- Retaining wall
- Property boundary
- Riverwalk Easement
- Other easement
- Rail line (current)
- Rail line (historic)
- Tax lot (current)
- Tax lot (historic)

- SOURCES**
1. Metro Regional Land Information System, Oregon City GIS Department
 2. Google Earth Aerial Image, 2015
 3. Site Survey, XX



NOTES

- 1 *Oregonian*, "Unexpected Death Ends W.P. Hawley Jr. Career," February 3, 1960.
- 2 George Kramer, *Willamette Falls Industrial Area: Request for Determination of Eligibility*, May 2002.
- 3 US Federal Insurance Administration, *Flood Insurance Study: City of Oregon City, Oregon, Clackamas County*, 1979.
- 4 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 5 Eva Emery Dye, "Historical Sketch of Oregon City," in *Portland, Oregon, Its History and Builders: In Connection with the Antecedent Explorations, Discoveries, and Movements of the Pioneers that Selected the Site for the Great City of the Pacific*, Joseph Gaston, 650-674, Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912.
- 6 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 7 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*; Jim Tompkins, *Oregon City*, Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006; Historic Oregon: Pat Erigeron, "Historic Oregon City: Main Street Walking Tour," City of Oregon City, 1983.
- 8 Karl Klooster, "A PGE Century: Part II- Power positive," *Oregonian*, June 7, 1989.
- 9 *Oregonian*, "PGE Celebrates 100th Anniversary," June 15, 1989.
- 10 John Kirkland, "100 Years Bringing Power to the People," *Oregon Business*, June 1989; Klooster, "A PGE Century."
- 11 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*; Tompkins, *Oregon City*. At least one source lists the year as 1985, though this might refer to when negotiations were started.
- 12 National Renewable Energy Lab, *Pulp and Paper Best Practices Plant-Wide Assessment Case Study*, US Department of Energy, 2004.
- 13 Kramer, *Request for Determination of Eligibility*.
- 14 National Renewable Energy Lab, *Pulp and Paper Best Practices*. According to BHPC's own documentation, paper was produced on three paper machines. Of the four paper machines installed by Hawley, Paper Machine #3 and #4 were operational in 2004 and #1 was destroyed in the 1923 fire. The fate of #2 is unknown, as the building housing it was dismantled by PPC.
- 15 Walker Macy, *A Vision for the Willamette Falls Legacy Project*, 2014.



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