

## 6.0 CULTURAL RESOURCES

In accordance with the requirements of 18 CFR Part 4.51, PacifiCorp has prepared a report on cultural resources for the Yale Hydroelectric Project.

Much of the southern Washington Cascade Mountain region was used by people on a seasonal basis by at least 6,600 before present (BP) (Daugherty et al. 1987a, 1987b). Some of the early sites were general base camps where many activities were conducted, while others were more task oriented. Characteristic artifacts of this early period include leaf-shaped points of various sizes, commonly called Cascade points, and large notched and stemmed broad-necked points. Human use of the region was interrupted by Mount St. Helens eruptive events between at least 3,500 BP and about 2,000 or 1,600 BP. The paucity of radiocarbon-dated occupations between about 5,000 and 3,500 BP may be partially due to the deep burial of sites by tephra from the subsequent eruptions (Lewarch and Benson 1991). Humans returned to the uplands, or the intensity of upland use increased substantially, after about 2,000 BP. Many sites are dated to the last 2,000 years with radiocarbon ages and by the appearance of small, narrow-necked projectile points associated with the use of the bow and arrow (Jermann et al. 1988; Lewarch and Benson 1991). As in the early period, the uplands were used during warmer seasons of the year, but after 2,000 BP this use seems more focused on specific tasks. Rather than general base camps, most sites appear to be locations where specific hunting, plant gathering and processing, or raw material procurement activities were conducted.

Few early sites have been documented in the Lower Columbia Valley, but the post-2,800 BP period is well represented (Boyd and Hajda 1987; Hajda 1984; Kennedy and Jermann 1978; Minor and Toepel 1985, 1993; Minor et al. 1994; Parchman and Hickey 1992; Pettigrew 1981, 1990; Saleeby 1983; Saleeby and Pettigrew 1983; Woodward 1974). Large, possibly sedentary, village sites are present in several lowland locations, and are generally characterized by the presence of rectangular houses similar in most respects to the plank houses used by the ethnographic Chinookan groups of the region (Ames et al. 1992; Dunnell et al. 1973; Hamilton 1993). The cultural chronology for the Portland basin developed by Pettigrew (1981, 1990) emphasizes a strong pattern of continuity in artifact assemblages and land use patterns from 2,800 BP on, culminating in the cultural lifeways of the ethnographic Chinookan groups.

Other evidence, however, suggests greater variability in regional cultural patterns during this time. Circular pithouses, distinct from rectangular Chinookan structures and similar to structures of the interior Columbia Plateau, have been found at several sites on both sides of the Columbia River (Dunnell and Beck 1979; Jermann et al. 1975; Minor 1989). Circular pithouses have also been documented in the Yale Lake area (see Section 6.1.1.2). Projectile point styles and radiocarbon ages associated with these circular features suggest that they may co-occur to some extent with sites of the Chinookan cultural pattern (Minor et al. 1993).

Thus, the Portland basin and surrounding uplands may have been home to more than one cultural group during at least a portion of the last 2,800 years, and these groups may have had somewhat differing systems of settlement and subsistence. The changes observed in upland use after 2,000 BP may reflect seasonal movements by lowland Chinookan groups, or use of the region by

groups from the east and southeast. Much more archaeological research will be necessary to resolve such questions.

#### 6.1.1.2 Archaeological Research in the Yale Project Vicinity

The rivers draining the south and west sides of the southern Washington Cascades are the pathways to the uplands. The valley floors are at much lower elevations and thus were probably used somewhat differently than the uplands or the lowlands of the Lower Columbia River valley. Yale Lake is 490 feet in elevation at full pool but is surrounded by uplands that rise to over 3,000 feet within 3 miles of the valley. Little archaeological research had been conducted in this region prior to the current study.

The first archaeological investigation in the Yale vicinity of the upper Lewis River Valley was a reconnaissance for archaeological resources within the proposed reservoir area in 1952-1953 (Bryan 1953, 1955). Six sites were identified and tested, all of which then were inundated by the reservoir. Site 45CL420 proved to be the most interesting, since a circular pithouse measuring 35 by 30 feet and 4 feet deep was encountered. Fifty-three stone tools and several hundred pieces of debitage were recovered from excavations in this pithouse. The age of this feature is unknown, but the presence of a pithouse suggests that this valley supported more residential settlements, possibly winter villages. The circular pithouse also suggests either: (1) an early occupation; or (2) later occupation by people with interior Plateau affiliations, instead of affiliations with people to the south and west in the Lower Columbia Valley.

Archaeological investigations have since been conducted at several sites near Yale Lake. Site 45CL319, a lithic scatter on Chelatchie Prairie, produced radiocarbon ages of 2,200 years BP and 930 BP (Marden 1989). Hunting-related activities were conducted here, along with plant food gathering and processing. The Lower Lewis River Falls site (45SA27), about 30 miles upstream from Yale Lake, is interpreted as a seasonal camp (Gowan and McClintock 1993). The primary use of the site was ended by an eruption of Mount St. Helens about 3,500 years ago. Surveys and site tests were conducted along Lake Merwin (O'Neill 1991) and near Yale Dam in response to cases of site vandalism. Archaeological testing at a heavily vandalized site (45CW102) near Yale Dam recovered numerous artifacts and the probable former presence of a pithouse. A second

#### 6.1.1.3 Archaeological Resources

Archaeological resources were found during each of the surveys. In all, 8 prehistoric archaeological sites, 5 historic archaeological sites, and 9 prehistoric isolated finds were identified and recorded in the Yale Project APE. Subsurface test excavations were conducted at the 8 prehistoric sites and at 4 of the prehistoric isolated find locations. The isolated finds and sites are summarized below.

Due to the sensitive nature of cultural resources, information regarding the specific locations of archaeological sites and finds is not available for general distribution. This information is contained in a separate report and has been made available to appropriate agencies and tribes only.

## Isolated Finds

**ISO-1:** A small lateral chert biface fragment was found near Saddle Dam.

**ISO-2:** Two flaked cobble choppers were found in the central portion of the reservoir drawdown zone. Subsurface tests were conducted at this location, but no other artifacts were found.

**ISO-3:** A chert flake and a small chert chunk were found at the northeast end of the lake.

**ISO-4:** Three small reddish chert flakes or chunks were found near Beaver Bay. **ISO-P4/1:** Two flaked cobble tools and 2 chert flakes were found on a mudflat on the southwest side of the lake.

**ISO-P4/2:** One flaked cobble was found north of ISO-P4/1.

**ISO-P4/3:** Three flaked cobble tools were found north of ISO-P4/2.

**TL-1:** One gray chert flake or chunk was found on an access road near the transmission line ROW.

**TL-2:** One chert cobble with flake scars was found in a roadbed in the ROW east of a drainage.

## Historic Sites

**45CW101:** This lithic scatter is downstream from Yale Dam. Illegal digging occurred at this site, and limited subsurface test excavations were conducted in 1995 to assess the damage. Supplemental testing was done in 1997. Six auger probes were excavated in the area where the illegal digging occurred, and 17 auger probes were excavated to determine site boundaries. These tests suggest that the site covers the terrace surface, measuring about 150x300 meters.

Cultural materials were found in 22 of the probes. One 1x1 meter test pit was also excavated. Altogether, over 300 flakes and 5 tools were recovered from the auger probe excavations, and 345 flakes and 10 tools were found in the test pit. A charcoal sample from the test pit produced a radiocarbon age of 4300 BP. Ten artifacts from this site, mostly projectile points, were retrieved by law enforcement officers from a relic collector. The projectile point styles are consistent with the radiocarbon age, suggesting that use of this site began around 4,000 years ago and continued until shortly before historic contact.

**45CW102:** This lithic scatter is also below Yale Dam. This site was badly damaged by relic collectors. Excavations to assess the damage were conducted at the site in 1995, and additional auger probes were excavated in 1997. Sixty-three auger probes indicate that cultural deposits are present across the terrace, extending along the east-west transmission line ROW for about 700 meters. The site extends to the edge of the river terrace, approximately 80 meters south of the ROW.

Four 1x1 meter test units were also excavated to document the cultural deposits in different areas of the site. Cultural deposits containing flakes, flaked stone tools, and fire-cracked rock ranged

from 1.0 to 1.8 meters in depth. Cultural stratigraphy in one of the vandalized areas suggests the former presence of a pithouse. Charcoal recovered in the test pit adjacent to this feature yielded a radiocarbon age of 3690 BP. Overall, 167 flaked stone tools, 18 cobble tools, and 12,975 flakes have been recovered in the subsurface tests. Forty artifacts, mostly projectile points, were retrieved from a relic collector. The point styles are consistent with the age of the early radiocarbon assay as well as subsequent periods, suggesting that use of this site began at least 3,600 years ago and continued until shortly before historic contact. The density and diversity of the artifact assemblage and the probable presence of a pithouse suggest the site was a base camp or a seasonally inhabited village.

**45CW103:** This small lithic scatter is on a mudflat on the west side of the lake. Approximately 75 chert flakes were found on the surface in a 10x20 meter area, along with 1 narrow-necked projectile point.

Eight 50x50 centimeter shovel probes were excavated across the artifact scatter, resulting in the inspection of 0.675 cubic meters of fill. The evaluation tests recovered 33 chert flakes, 1 basalt flake, the chert projectile point found on the surface, and a chert formed scraper fragment. The subsurface distribution of artifacts follows the surface distribution. The subsurface deposit is shallowly buried and is generally low in density. The point style suggests that the site was occupied within the last 2,000 years.

**45CW104:** This small, low density lithic scatter is on the southwest side of the lake. Approximately 25 flakes were scattered over an area of 80x120-meters, but nearly 20 were found in a small 10x10 meter area. Several flaked cobble implements were found individually on the edge of the flat, south of the small concentration area.

Six shovel probes were excavated, totaling 0.55 cubic meters of sediment. Four of the 6 probes yielded cultural materials, but few artifacts were found. Seven chert flakes were recovered, all on the surface or within the uppermost 20 centimeters. No tools were collected. This site is a low density surface artifact scatter with no buried cultural deposits.

**45CW105:** This site is on the southwest side of the lake. Approximately 50 basalt and chert flakes and over 50 flaked cobble tools were observed, the majority in a 20x40 meter area on the lower margin of the bench. A few artifacts were scattered over the rest of the exposed bench, and the site may continue downslope into the reservoir. This site contained the largest number and greatest density of flakes and tools observed during the surveys.

Investigations at the site included controlled surface collections of artifacts in a grid of six 10x10 meter squares, point provenience mapping and collection of specific tools found outside of the collection squares, and the excavation of 16 shovel probes. Overall, 1.7 cubic meters of material was excavated in the shovel probes.

In total, 933 artifacts were recovered in the 6 surface collection squares, and 3 tools were individually collected. In addition, 48 small animal bone fragments were collected. The surface artifact total includes 854 pieces of lithic debitage (516 chert flakes, 337 basalt flakes, 1 obsidian flake), 53 cobble tools, and 26 flaked stone tools. The flaked stone tools include a broad-necked

projectile point and a narrow-necked point. The probes yielded another 128 artifacts—28 basalt flakes, 99 chert flakes, and 1 flaked cobble fragment. The distribution of artifacts shows a central concentration for the surface and subsurface cultural deposits.

The large number of flaked cobble tools and the presence of basalt flakes suggest that some manufacturing of these implements occurred at this site. The additional presence of chert lithic debitage and a variety of chert flaked stone tools suggests that other manufacturing and maintenance activities occurred on site as well. The size and diversity of the artifact assemblage make site 45CW105 unique among the sites recorded along Yale Lake. The 2 projectile points suggest that the site was occupied within the last 2,000 years, but may have been used for several thousands of years prior to this as well.

**45CW106:** This lithic scatter is on the southwest side of the lake. The primary artifact concentration is on a slight rise about 10x15 meters in area, but artifacts are also scattered for another 30 meters to the northeast, resulting in an overall site area of about 15x40 meters. Approximately 35 flakes and several tools were identified on the surface.

Nine shovel probes and a 1x1 meter test pit were excavated. The 1x1 meter test unit was excavated to examine a dense, but apparently small, subsurface cultural deposit found in one of the probes. Several units were excavated nearby, but the nature of this feature could not be determined. In all, 1.825 cubic meters of material was excavated. A total of 145 artifacts, including 142 chert flakes, 1 basalt flake, and 2 tools, were found. In addition, 7 stone tools were collected from the surface. All of the flaked stone tools were made of chert, and the cobble tools were basalt. Two narrow-necked, contracting stem projectile points were recovered, one on the surface and one in a probe. These points were probably used within the last 2,000 years, based on their small size and neck widths.

The subsurface distribution of cultural materials at site 45CW106 reflects the horizontal extent of the surface scatter. Subsurface artifact density was low, with the exception of the very small, dense artifact cluster found in Probe 2. This deposit was not found in any of the nearby units. The projectile points suggest that the site was used during the last 2,000 years.

**45CL468:** A small artifact scatter was found on the east side of the lake. Eleven artifacts were found on the surface in a 15x20 meter area, including 6 flakes (4 chert, 2 basalt), 1 chert biface, 1 chert core, and 3 flaked cobble implements.

Five shovel probes were excavated, examining 0.45 cubic meters of material. Only one unit yielded subsurface artifacts, totaling 5 chert flakes. The chert biface was collected from the surface. No buried cultural deposit was found, although individual flakes have filtered down into buried contexts. The site is a small, low density surface artifact scatter, of unknown age.

**45CL469:** This artifact scatter is along the base of an eroded cutbank on the east side of the lake. Approximately 20 flakes were scattered along the beach near the cutbank, along with a chert biface fragment, a formed scraper, a flaked cobble chopper, and a ground stone metate fragment. The biface and scraper were collected.

Eighteen shovel probes were excavated, inspecting 2.95 cubic meters of fill. Small numbers of artifacts were found in 10 probes, but no more than 4 specimens were found per unit. Twenty chert flakes and 1 biface fragment were collected. The age of the site is unknown. The number of flakes and tools found on the beach and the lack of a subsurface cultural deposit suggest that the majority of this site has already been eroded by wave action.

### Significance Evaluation Recommendations

Eight prehistoric sites, 5 historic locations, and 9 isolated finds have been identified in the APE of the Yale Project (Table 6.1-1).

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (1966 and amended) requires that federal agencies consider the effects that an undertaking, such as the FERC relicensing process, may have on cultural resources that are listed on, or eligible for, the NRHP. Criteria used to evaluate properties for possible inclusion on the NRHP are listed in federal regulations 36 CFR 60.4. Criterion (D) of Section 60.4 is most commonly used for evaluating archaeological materials, deeming as significant those properties (sites, districts, etc.) "that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history." A site's significance lies in its proven or potential ability to make substantial contributions to "the theoretical and substantive knowledge of the discipline" (Butler 1987), either to regional cultural history or to broader questions of human behavior; this significance is not necessarily linked with quantitative measures of site size, artifact density and diversity, or the presence of cultural features.

The 5 historic locations and 9 isolated finds do not appear to be significant cultural properties under the NRHP criteria; therefore, Site Inventory Forms were not prepared for these locations. The trash scatter (H-1) contains 3 concentrations but they are small, limited in content, and all are similar. Similarly, the 2 raised grades (H-2, H-3), the ditch (H-4), and the possible house/cellar depression (H-5) lack significant historical associations, lack site integrity, and have few or no associated artifacts. The home site, H-5, may be associated with the Charles F. Baxter homestead, but this family does not seem to have been in the Yale valley for very long (no Baxters are listed in school records or subsequent census data) and did not contribute significantly to the history of the region. These locations are unlikely to provide much information on the historical development of the upper North Fork Lewis River region. It is recommended that these sites be considered *not eligible* for inclusion on the NRHP.

Likewise, the isolated finds ISO-1, ISO-3, ISO-4, TL-1, and TL-2 are not significant cultural properties with respect to the NRHP criteria. Their importance lies primarily in the knowledge of their existence, but they do not seem likely to contribute substantial additional information to the prehistory of the region. One of the chert chunks found at ISO-4 was atop a tree stump, suggesting that this artifact and the other small artifacts of these isolated finds have been moved by water action in the reservoir. The chert chunks of TL-1 and TL-2 may be the result of recent road construction or maintenance. It is recommended that these 5 isolated find locations be considered *not eligible* for the NRHP.

The significance of the prehistoric lithic scatter sites in the drawdown zone of the reservoir and of isolated find ISO-2, in terms of their eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP, could not be

determined on the basis of the surface survey information. To adequately determine the significance of these sites, subsurface tests were conducted to fully establish the size (horizontal and vertical), structure, integrity, and content of the sites, and to obtain better information pertaining to the age(s) and function(s) of the sites. The isolated find ISO-2 was included in this testing since it was possible that the 2 cobble tools might be part of a larger site and because illegal relic collecting ("pothunting") on this flat had been reported in the past.

The subsurface test excavations found that the artifacts at ISO-2 should be considered isolated cultural materials. In total, 3 flaked cobble tools and 2 flakes were found on the surface at this location, but no subsurface cultural materials were found. This isolated find is recommended as *not eligible* for the NRHP.

The site area originally identified as site P-4 was found to actually consist of 3 isolated artifact finds, labeled as isolates ISO-P4/1, ISO-P4/2, and ISO-P4/3. It is recommended that these isolated finds be considered *not eligible* for the NRHP.

The test excavations confirmed that sites 45CW103, 45CW104, 45CW105, 45CW106, 45CL468, and 45CL469 are prehistoric archaeological sites. Sites 45CW104, 45CL468, and 45CL469 are small thin surface artifact scatters with no buried cultural deposits. It is recommended that these 3 sites be considered *not eligible* for the NRHP. Sites 45CW103 and 45CW106 are surface artifact scatters of somewhat greater artifact density and both contain some shallowly buried cultural materials. These buried deposits are generally low in artifact density, averaging below 200 items/cubic meter. However, 1 small dense buried artifact cluster was encountered in probe 2 at site 45CW106. This cluster appears to be quite small in area, since no other units at this site encountered a similar artifact concentration. Temporally diagnostic projectile points were found at both sites. Both sites, therefore, have yielded significant chronological data in the form of projectile points and, while the subsurface deposits are somewhat limited and low in artifact density, both sites have some potential for yielding additional information important to the prehistory of the North Fork Lewis River region. Therefore, it is recommended that sites 45CW103 and 45CW106 be considered *eligible* for inclusion on the NRHP.

The archaeological investigations at site 45CW105 recovered a large surface assemblage of artifacts from six 10x10 meter collection squares and a smaller subsurface assemblage from the excavation of 16 shovel probes. The highest density of surface and subsurface artifacts coincide in location, indicating that the central surface artifact concentration overlies a small but distinct subsurface cultural component. The number of surface artifacts found at this site is considerably higher than at any of the other sites investigated by Heritage Research Associates (HRA) on Yale Lake. In addition, the composition of the artifact assemblage is more varied than the other investigated sites. Artifacts include a variety of flaked stone tools, a large number of flaked cobble tools, and several ground or pecked stone tools. Two temporally diagnostic projectile points were among the collected tools. The large number and variety of tools indicate that site 45CW105 was probably used more intensively than the other tested sites and that a wider array of activities may have taken place at this site. The presence of chronologically significant artifacts, the array of other tool types, and the distinct subsurface cultural component demonstrate the general integrity of the site. This site has yielded important information for the

prehistory of the North Fork Lewis River region and is likely to contribute additional data on the region's past. It is recommended that site 45CW105 be considered *eligible* for inclusion on the NRHP.

Based upon analyses of the damage assessment test excavations at sites 45CW101 and 45CW102, both sites appear *eligible* under NRHP criteria. Documentation of the 4,000- year occupation span, diagnostic artifacts, and site structure have already contributed to the knowledge of prehistory of the Yale vicinity.

To summarize, 8 prehistoric sites, 5 historic locations, and 9 isolated finds have been identified in the APE of the Yale Project (Table 6.1-1). The significance of these cultural resources has been evaluated in terms of their eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP. It is recommended that the 9 prehistoric isolated finds, the 5 historic locales, and prehistoric sites 45CW104, 45CL468, and 45CL469 be considered not significant and *not eligible* for the NRHP. It was recommended that prehistoric sites 45CW103, 45CW105, 45CW106, 45CW101, and 45CW102 be considered significant resources that are *eligible* for inclusion on the NRHP. Archaeological Site Inventory Forms were prepared and submitted to the State of Washington Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation for Sites 45CW101, 102, 103, 105, and 106; 45CL468; and 45CL469.

On April 3, 1998, the Washington Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) concurred with PacifiCorp's recommendations of eligibility for the prehistoric and historic resources. Sites 45CW101, 102, 103, 105, and 106 were judged to meet the eligibility requirements for inclusion on the National Register. Historic sites H-1 through H-5 as well as the prehistoric isolated finds were deemed not eligible for the National Register by the Washington OAHP.

### 6.1.2 Traditional Cultural Properties and Ethnohistory

Traditional cultural property studies have 3 objectives: (1) to identify traditional cultural uses and values of the project vicinity for native peoples of the region; (2) to describe the effects of the project on such traditional uses and values; and (3) to identify culturally appropriate steps for mitigating these effects. This investigation constitutes 1 portion of the studies of affected cultural resources required under 18 CFR 4.51(f)(4). The methods and goals of the study have been framed by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (16 U.S.C. 470) and its implementing regulations and guidelines (36 CFR 60 and 800).

The properties specifically targeted in this study are termed traditional cultural properties (TCPs) and are the subject of implementing guidelines issued by the Department of the Interior (USDI 1990). TCPs are sites, areas, or resources having continuing cultural significance for 1 or more contemporary peoples (in this context, American Indian tribes or communities). Such traditional cultural properties can include resource areas (for fishing, plant gathering, etc.); ritual sites; and areas of legendary, symbolic, or historic significance. While TCPs may be associated with archaeological sites, there is not necessarily a relationship between the 2.

Within the Yale project vicinity, and the Lewis River watershed in particular, various peoples lived, traveled, traded, and intermarried in a complex social and economic network prior to the



arrival of Euro-American settlers in the mid-1800s. Within the project vicinity, at least 3 major linguistic groups met (Chinookan, Salishan, and Sahaptin), and cultural characteristics of the Northwest Coast peoples met those of the Plateau to the east and south. Two of the major groups within the project vicinity were those identified as the Salishan-speaking Cowlitz (Cowlitz Tribe) and the Sahaptin-speaking Klickitat (one of the tribes of the Yakama Indian Nation).

#### 6.1.2.1 Cowlitz Tribe Ethnohistory

In the 19th century, the upper watershed of the Lewis River was occupied by the "Lewis River Cowlitz." Confusion exists about these people, for they are variously identified in historical and ethnographic accounts as Taidnapam, Klikitats, or Lewis River Cowlitz. Verne Frederick Ray, an anthropologist who worked for 20 years as expert witness for the Cowlitz Tribe in its land claims litigation before the Indian Claims Commission, wrote a summary assessment of these people in his *Handbook of Cowlitz Indians*, where he noted the similarities between the Lewis River Cowlitz and the Upper Cowlitz in terms of geography and ecology (Ray 1966).

Cowlitz subsistence was shaped by the environment in which they lived. That environment differed markedly from the ecological settings occupied by the Puget Sound Salish to the north, the Chinookans to the west and south, or the Sahaptins to the east. The Cowlitz situation was special because: (1) they lacked direct access to salt water, since the margins of the Columbia were in Chinookan hands and controlled by their villages; (2) they lived from several to dozens of miles upstream of the Columbia estuary and its marine resources; and (3) they had to focus their subsistence far more than any other tribe west of the Cascades on prairie resources deer, elk, roots, and berries because neither the Cowlitz nor Lewis rivers was highly productive in salmon (Ray 1966)

At this time there is no known historic information specific to the identity or fate of the Indians of Lewis River beyond the notes of R.H. Milroy, who in 1878 estimated a population of 75 to 100 Indians residing in the district (Milroy 1878). The probable primary changes which they encountered in the 19th century included the following:

- Trade with maritime vessels entering the Columbia estuary subsequent to 1792 or receiving trade goods from others.
- Incursion of the "Roving Klickitats" using horses to cross the Klickitat Trail to trade at Fort Vancouver subsequent to 1821 (Norton et al. 1983). [This route was virtually abandoned subsequent to the closing of the fort in 1846.]
- Demographic calamity because of the spread of new pathogens in the 1830s and the onset of the "fever" or "ague" (Boyd 1975).
- Failure to secure a ratified treaty in spite of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) councils at Tansy Point, Oregon in 1851, and Chehalis River, Washington in 1855.
- Spread of Euro-American settlement up the Lewis River and into the Yale Lake area in the 1890s (BLM n.d.).

The history of the Cowlitz in the Lewis River drainage is documented further in Appendix 2.3-1 of the FTR for Cultural Resources, "Ethnological Context Statement: Cowlitz Use of the Lewis River Drainage" (PacifiCorp 1998c).

Literature searches confirm the ambiguities about the exact locations of tribal activity in the early historic period. It is evident that a native population of several dozen people resided along the Lewis River until at least the 1880s, but documentation is incomplete. No village locations or other resource use areas are known for the project area on the basis of the ethnographic or ethnohistorical record. Ongoing consultation with Cowlitz informants has not yet revealed site-specific information. Area-specific information from Cowlitz tribal members confirms use of the project vicinity for hunting deer and elk and for fishing.

#### 6.1.2.2 Yakama Indian Nation Ethnohistory

As described above, there was considerable interaction among various cultural and linguistic groups, resulting in cultural identities and group affinities that defy easy definition. In particular there has been considerable discussion about the cultural affinity and origin of the people known as the Taidnapam. Their core area seems to have been the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River, and they probably used an area between the headwaters of the Cowlitz and Lewis Rivers (Indian Claims Commission 1969:164; Hodge 1907).

It is generally agreed that the lower reaches of the Lewis River were used and probably occupied by Upper Chinookan-speaking peoples who were decimated by epidemics in the early 1800s (Indian Claims Commission 1969:159; Ray 1966:A-1, A-2; Spier 1936:21; Jacobs 1931). Then Klickitat groups at least temporarily occupied areas near the lower Lewis River. But there has been disagreement about the groups that used the middle and upper reaches of the Lewis River and the extent to which the area was a core area of 1 group, or a multi-group use area.

The traditional Klickitat subsistence strategy consisted of seasonal movement through a series of environments at differing elevations to take advantage of a variety of food resources. During their seasonal round, the Klickitat shared various resource sites in common with many other groups of the region. The major exceptions to this pattern of sharing resource sites were some salmon-fishing sites, especially along the Columbia, where individuals and families were considered to have exclusive rights to particular sites, year after year. In general, the subsistence strategy depended upon and helped reinforce a network of social contact and cooperation with other groups and was itself supported by values of hospitality and peacefulness throughout the region.

Norton et al. (1983) surveyed and summarized various ethnohistorical data to provide a detailed description of the so-called Klickitat Trail, a major pre-contact and early contact route used by various Indian groups, especially the Klickitat, who used it as both a trade route and an integral part of their yearly subsistence round. The trail ran from Fort Vancouver (Vancouver, Washington) into traditional Yakama territory east of the Cascades. It crossed the upper Lewis River near the current Yale Lake and continued east for nearly 30 miles along the northern bank of the Lewis River, crossing the river again in an area southeast of Mount St. Helens, then continued east across the uplands to the south of Mount Adams. Along this route were villages, camps, and resource sites used by the Klickitat. Their work has documented numerous Sahaptin placenames in the region crossed by the Klickitat Trail.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, many historical forces have combined to transform the traditional Indian way of life described above. Eugene Hunn discusses several forces that brought change to Indian life during the early history of contact between Indian and Euro-American peoples in the Plateau. Acquisition of horses expanded regional contacts and networks and increased trade and distinctions of wealth in some Plateau Indian groups. Epidemic diseases preceding and accompanying Euro-American settlement devastated some Indian groups in the area, especially those along the Columbia River

corridor, and provoked major population movements and consolidations among various Indian groups, including the Klickitat. The fur trade brought traditional Indian peoples into contact and involvement with Euro-American economic systems. The missionaries' impact was complex and sometimes contradictory (Jermann and Mason 1976:66-68, 90; Ruby and Brown 1992:96; Curtis 1911:38; Hunn 1990:23-44). After the initial contact period, some of the most important forces of change included Euro-American settlement, the attempted suppression of Indian cultures, the destruction of traditional animal and plant foods and traditional sacred areas, and the destruction of anadromous fisheries.

#### 6.1.2.3 Traditional Cultural Properties: Interim Results

TCP studies are being accomplished in 4 steps: (1) literature research; (2) consultation with tribal officials; (3) interviews with knowledgeable tribal members; and (4) assessment and mitigation of project effects. Step 1 has been completed with the Cowlitz Tribe and the YIN. Consultation is ongoing to address steps 3 and 4.

PacifiCorp and the staff of the YIN Cultural Resources Program have agreed to a program of at least 5 interviews with tribal members. The YIN reports that it conducted the interviews in May 1998; however, as of April 1999, PacifiCorp has not received documentation of the results. Similarly, it is PacifiCorp's understanding that Cowlitz tribal representatives have conducted limited interviews and that no site-specific information was obtained. These interviews will provide the core data for any assessment of project effect on TCPs. Results of these interviews will be presented in documents prepared by PacifiCorp and the Cowlitz County PUD as part of the watershed studies.