

White American Violence on Tribal Peoples on the Oregon Coast

OREGON VOICES

by David G. Lewis and Thomas J. Connolly

Traditional narratives of nineteenth-century western movement of White people across North America often present the West as an empty space waiting to be filled with an energetic, advancing vanguard of civilization. Arriving migrants were not filling an unoccupied demographic void; they were displacing and replacing complex, settled societies that had resided there for thousands of years. The newcomers self-defined their culture and institutions as superior to those practiced by the Indigenous populations, asserting that this presumed superiority granted them a supreme right to govern and control this now-contested space. The resident populations were unconvinced and vigorously opposed Whites' claims to supremacy. Ultimately, the coercive power of violence was the decisive factor in the ascendancy of Whites in the West.

DURING THE PAST five centuries, Native peoples of the North American continent have lost nearly all of their landholdings to peoples of European descent. The acts required for taking those lands rested on the denial that tribal people were humans, deserving of human rights, and that violent actions were wrong when perpetrated on “savage” Indians. The relevant body of law, commonly referred to as the Doctrine of Discovery, is rooted in the Papal bull of 1493, which directed “barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith.” The U.S. Supreme

court upheld fundamental elements of this doctrine in 1823.¹

Long before Europeans and Americans brought new laws and customs to what would become Oregon, Native peoples of the valley and coastal regions controlled access to their natural resources on their lands through property rights and access rules. Specific families often owned assets such as fishing sites or managed gathering places, while hunting grounds might be shared with the broader community. Such rules contributed to their effectiveness as prolific traders who were savvy



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IN 1851, Capt. William Tichenor claimed land in the territory of the Kwatami tunne, the Sixes River band of the Tututni peoples, which would become Port Orford, Oregon. On arrival, Tichenor and hired men mounted a cannon on a large shore rock, later named Battle Rock, that resulted in a standoff and many Native deaths. This 1856 sketch, published in *Harper's Weekly*, depicts a scene from the battle.

about commerce. The Tualatin people of the northern Willamette Valley (relatives of Santiam author David Lewis), for example, traded with the Clackamas Chinook for salmon at Willamette Falls, but were not permitted to fish with dip nets. One guilty of trespass or theft from a neighbor might face fatal retribution.²

Settlers who began to arrive in the late 1830s and into the decades that followed routinely ignored tribal laws and policies. Over time, fur traders, settlers, miners, entrepreneurs, and military agents engaged in repeated and often shocking acts of violence against Native people. Those acts of physical injury, murder, and trauma provide insight into how White supremacy was institutionalized in Oregon. Bear-

ing witness to this violence is crucial to understanding how those foundations of Oregon White supremacy looked and felt to Native people.

During the fur trade era, the Oregon Country was primarily under the influence of the British Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). The company's large trapping parties effectively bypassed engaging with their Native hosts, from whose lands they harvested furs and game “without permission or apology.”³ Trappers disregarded traditional ownership protocols and, when challenged, countered with a strategy of “massive retaliation” or “generalized vengeance homicide.”⁴ The lesson that harming HBC employees could mean the death of multiple innocents firmly established

subsequent relationships between Indians and Whites. From the Whites' view, those relationships enforced economic and political superiority, but from the Natives' perspective, the relationships established an enduring mistrust.

One example, analyzed by scholar R. Scott Byram, illustrates this reality. In 1832, Alsea hunters killed two HBC trappers who were in Alsea territory and trapping for furs without Alsea consent. The Chief Factor of the local HBC outpost at Fort Vancouver, John McLoughlin, instructed his employee, Michel Laframboise, to lead a retaliatory expedition. Laframboise was to deliver the threat that, if the Indians would not identify and kill the perpetrators, the HBC "would come back and Kill every one of the tribe that came in our way and would not stop till we had killed every one of them."⁵ The retaliatory party attacked an innocent Yaquina village, and, according to a narrative by Coquelle Thompson, "They shot down man, woman, and child as they ran naked from the houses. Not one escaped. That is why only Yaqwina [Yaquina] John and few others of the Yaquina people survived. [The fur trappers] killed many people in revenge for two of a different tribe."⁶ According to HBC records, the party killed six Indians; an account of the incident reported by Corporal Royal Bensell, however, claimed the "Sixes" (possibly Yaquina) "lost some 400 warriors."⁷ Certainly, both accounts exaggerate the real circumstances to serve their own interests, but as Byram emphasized, in the oral history of the Yaquina, this incident — "in initial, wide-scale breakdown of principles of justice regarding international

relations" — was effectively the end of the Yaquina people as a nation.⁸

In 1851, an American schooner arrived at a remote natural coastal port in the territory of the Kwatami tunne, the Sixes River band of the Tututni peoples, which would come to be known as Port Orford. American businessman Capt. William Tichenor had the goal of beginning a new American port town to service the gold fields of southern Oregon, and he secured a donation land claim in the Kwatami lands without having first discussed his desires with the Tribe. Such claims were technically illegal under U.S. land law, as the Tribes had neither negotiated treaties nor sold their land to the United States.⁹

Tichenor had hired men from Portland and took on firearms at Astoria, and on arrival at his land claim, they mounted a ship's cannon on top of a large shore rock, called by the local Athapaskan speakers *Ma-na-xe oe* and later renamed Battle Rock.¹⁰ They encountered stiff opposition from the Kwatami people who occupied the area, supplemented by a canoe arriving from the direction of Rogue River and bringing the number of Indians to "at least one hundred."¹¹ Tichenor's men responded to the Kwatami's first attack with small arms fire and cannon shots, killing twelve or thirteen Natives with the cannon's first firing.¹² Following the battle, "We counted seventeen dead Indians," according to an account by party leader J.M. Kirkpatrick, who later learned "from an Indian at the mouth of the Umpqua that there were twenty killed and fifteen wounded."¹³ After fourteen days of this standoff, Tichenor's men escaped north.

When Tichenor returned from San Francisco, he found his men gone and signs of a great battle. He again went south to San Francisco and returned on July 14 with some sixty-five men, who he employed to establish a firmly fortified beachhead and to claim Port Orford for his town. The men who escaped battle eventually reached settlements in the north, and on hearing their story, the command at Fort Vancouver sent a military detachment to punish the Tribes and to build a fort, Fort Orford, to ensure the safety of the Americans in the region. More deaths followed, including many due to punishments handed out by the military detachment on neighboring Tribes. Tichenor, supported by the U.S. military, created the first southern coastal port on the Oregon coast, on unceded Kwatami lands, on September 14, 1851. It served as the center of colonization and Indian administration for the southern Oregon coast for many years thereafter.¹⁴

Editorials in regional newspapers debated the treatment of Native people, with some regularly calling for the extermination of the Tribes, who they referred to as if they were a scourge on the region needing to be eliminated. An editorial in the Salem-based *Oregon Statesman*, on July 8, 1851, for example, stated, "Permission has been asked, we learn, of the Governor [of Oregon], to march into their [Rogue



DOROTHY LOPEZ WILLIAMS (TOLOWA) stands on a hillside looking out over the Pacific Ocean. Edward Curtis took this photograph in 1923.

River] country and slay the savages wherever they can be found."¹⁵ The *Oregon City Oregon Spectator* editorialized on September 2, 1853, that:

The Indians are revengeful, though they seem bent upon plunder more than the shedding of blood; but the whites are highly exasperated, and are determined, they say, to exterminate the race. . . .

A general disposition appears to pervade the minds of the whites to kill all the Indians they come across. The extinction of the entire race in that region is the most unanimous sentiment.

These sentiments promoted the genocide of Native peoples. The rhetoric was reinforced by the depredations

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laws and policies of California and Oregon, which allowed for the reimbursement of expenses from such attacks, and by federal Indian Bureau of Indian Affairs policy, which provided Americans, but not Indians, reimbursements for war losses.¹⁶

Beginning in the fall of 1853, entrepreneur Augustus F. Miller made money by building a port town at the mouth of the Chetco River to serve southwest Oregon miners with a store, hotel, and his own ferry service. He planned to establish that town in the midst of two Chetco villages at the estuary. At the Chetco River village called *Chit*, the Tolowa-speaking Athapaskans were already offering ferry services to American miners and travelers.¹⁷ Miller ordered the Chetco people to stop offering White people ferry rides across the river, but they did not comply — despite his numerous threats. In February 1854, Miller hired experienced Indian fighters from California to destroy the two Native towns. Early one morning, Miller's mercenaries fired into the plank houses, killing an estimated twenty-three natives.¹⁸

In May 1854, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, traveled to southwestern Oregon, to Crescent City, California, and then north to the Chetco River to investigate the Chetco massacre, which he documented in his September 11, 1854, report:

morning at daylight the party, consisting of eight or nine men, well armed, attacked the village, and as the Indians came from their lodges they were shot dead by these monsters. The women and children were permitted to escape.

Three men remained in the lodges and returned the fire with bows and arrows. Being unable to get a sight of these Indians, they ordered two squaws, pets in the family of Miller, to set fire to their lodges.

Two were consumed in the conflagration, and the third, while raising his head through the flame and smoke for breath, was shot dead.¹⁹

Josiah Parrish, the Indian sub-Agent of the Port Orford District, had reported on the massacre to Palmer on July 20, 1854:

On my arrival at Chetco on the fifth of June last I was creditably informed that the massacre of six Indians, three of which men shot and three burned to death in their houses, and the burning of forty-two Indian houses (which composed these villages), that one Augustus F. Miller was the chief instigator in the bloody tragedy. . . .

[Miller] sent to Crescent City and raised a party of desperate Indian killers. . . . and then one morning about daylight when they were all quiet, asleep in their houses, they were attacked by this party, who shot three of their men killing, them dead on the spot, then set their houses on fire over their heads and burned three of them alive, and wounded others.²⁰

The surviving Chetco people escaped, hiding in the Coast Range and on a river island to protect themselves from further attacks. Palmer sent a Native boy to persuade them to return to their villages, and sent presents, but he had no success in getting them to return or speak with him.²¹

The legal system newly imposed on the region offered no justice in the face of this violence. Acting on Palmer's orders, Parrish arrested Miller and had him placed "into the hands of the mili-

tary at Port Orford." The Justice of the Peace, however, soon released Miller, which led Parrish to conclude: "here allow me to express an opinion that Miller nor no other man can be convicted of any crime against the Indians however murderous and criminal."²² Palmer described the events:

Miller was subsequently arrested and placed in the custody of the military at Port Orford; but on his examination before a justice of the peace was set at large on the ground of justification and want of sufficient testimony to commit.

The details of a similar occurrence at Coquille have been laid before you in a copy of the report of Special Agent F.M. Smith, of the circumstantial truthfulness of which I am fully satisfied.

These narratives will give you some idea of the state of affairs in the mining districts on this coast. Arrests are evidently useless, as no act of a white man against an Indian, however atrocious, can be followed by a conviction.²³

Palmer's frustration reflected the overall lack of justice for Native peoples in the Oregon court system. White people could commit crimes, murders, rapes, and genocide on Native peoples and would not be held accountable. Many Native people, for decades afterward, continued to hide in the coastal forests to protect themselves from White Americans.²⁴

The attack on the two Chetco villages followed another that had taken place recently, just twenty-two miles to the south, on the Tolowa peoples of the Smith River, in California. Tolowa people, including "Pyuwa of Enchwo [a Tolowa village], who lived to be a very old man; one of very few adult male survivors," provided a first-person account:

People were gathered for Needash, after the fall harvest, at the center of the world at Yontocket. Indians from all over gathered to celebrate creation and give thanks to the creator. On the third night of the ten night dance, whites came into the village in the early morning hours. They torched the redwood plank houses, and as the Indians attempted to escape through the round holes in the houses, the militia killed them. This village existed as the largest native settlement consisting of over thirty houses. The whites would cut off the heads of the Indians and through them into the fire. They lined their horses on the slough and as the Indians sought refuge, they were gunned down. . . . The center of the world, Yontocket, burned for days and that's how the place received the name "Burnt Ranch." Roughly five hundred Indians died in this massacre.²⁵

The Yontocket, or Burnt Ranch, massacre was just one in a series of such attacks that occurred nearly every year along the northern California coast, from 1853 into the 1860s. Thousands of coastal Native people were killed or removed to reservations, making room for White settlers and freeing up the land for new American coastal port settlements, such as Crescent City, Brookings, and Port Orford. The pattern of first attacking and pacifying tribal villages, followed by forcing the removal of the survivors, was true to both the northern California and southern Oregon coasts.²⁶

In 1857, Oregon Indian Superintendent James Nesmith ordered John F. Miller, Indian Agent at the Grand Ronde Agency, to begin hiring Special Indian Agents, to hunt down encampments of Natives hiding in the Coast Range to force their removal north to the reservation.²⁷ White settlers sent letters to

Indian agents, demanding the removal of remaining coastal bands. One petition, sent to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon City, was from seventeen “residents at and near the Mouth of Rogue River” who requested the removal of the Chetcos, declaring:

the route from this point to Crescent City cannot be passed in safety in consequence of numbers of Indians being suffered to remain in the vicinity of Whaleshead and Chetcoe. . . .

*We do not come before you as supplicants but demand as a right to ask you to adopt and execute such measures as will ensure peace and security to us for the future and throw around us the shield our Country Cheerfully guarantees to all “American Citizens.”*²⁸

These “Citizens” saw themselves as the righteous occupants of the land, and those who had occupied the land for untold generations, and whose lands were sanctified by the remains of countless ancestors, as outlaws and threats to the manifest destiny of “Americans.”

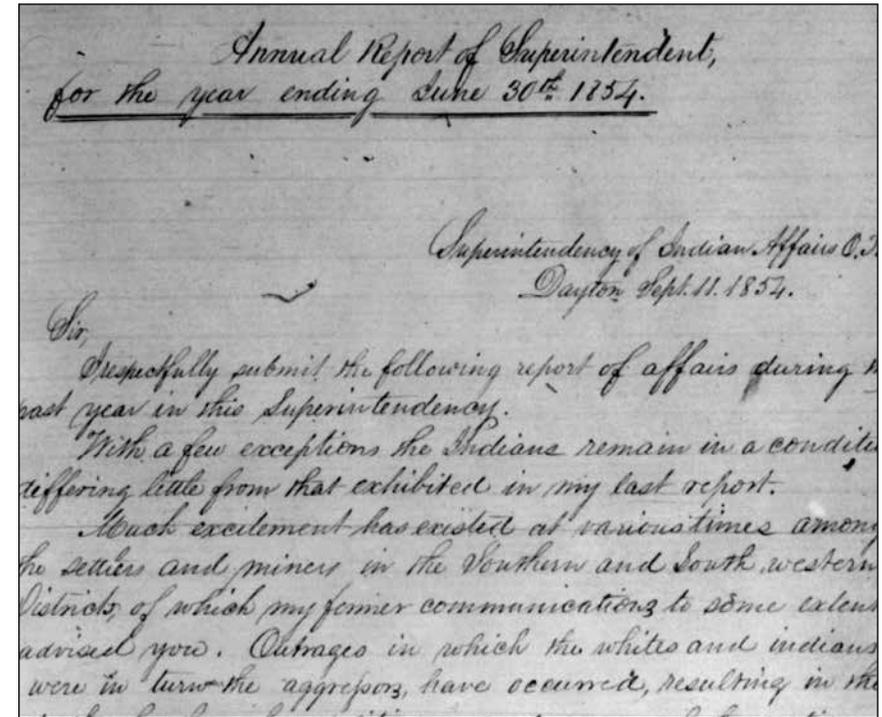
The original project of removing the Chetcos began in the fall of 1856 and was largely completed by June 1858. Between January 3 and February 15, 1858, Lt. Lorenzo Lorain of Fort Umpqua, Capt. William Tichenor, and a small detached command of men began to escort the remaining Chetcos north.²⁹ They collected about 150 Indians. Once past the Rogue River, all of the soldiers left the column, and with fewer men to escort them, a number of Natives attempted escape. Acting on a tip from some of the Native women, Tichenor laid a trap for the Native men and ordered his men to shoot if they tried to escape again, which they did.

Following the incident, Major John B. Scott of Fort Umpqua reported:

*the Indian men in the party — say 15 in number — tried several times to effect an escape . . . and return to their old haunts; and he was convinced from the report of some of the squaws, that at a certain place on the route, they would make another attempt; and that in consequence, he so disposed of the men in his employ, that when the point was reached, they fell upon these Indians, killing fourteen of them, and wounding the two boys — one Indian man, a squaw & some few children escaped.*³⁰

Through his continued service, Tichenor appears to never have been held accountable for his actions. In fact, First Lt. George P. Ihrie, stationed at Fort Umpqua, wrote to James Nesmith, praising Tichenor, on June 19, 1858. “It affords me much gratification and pleasure to bear testimony to the efficient and ceaseless and judicious efforts of Mr. Wm. Tichenor of Port Orford, O.T., in securing and safely conducting to the Grand Round Reservation the families of several bands of Indians, the Warriors of which, two years ago, were in open hostilities to the whites, and the unpunished perpetrators of numerous murders and depredations.”³¹ By July 26, 1858, Tichenor and his men were back at work collecting Indians from the south coast, this time Pistol River Indians.³²

The intent in the removal of the coastal tribes was to make the Oregon Territory a place for White Americans, and that is the story of the settlement of the Oregon Territory. Tribal rights, sovereignty, and previous occupation by tribes and bands were simply not



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IN A SEPTEMBER 11, 1854, annual report, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, relayed details about a Chetco village massacre. The instigator, White entrepreneur Augustus F. Miller, was arrested but released soon after, leading Palmer to conclude: “Arrests are evidently useless, as no act of a white man against an Indian, however atrocious, can be followed by a conviction.”

considered relevant by opportunistic settlers, gold miners, and businessmen. The deciding factor in determination of land tenure or the administration of justice was whether one was a White person — a true “American Citizen” — or not.

Some representatives of the United States were well aware of the dichotomy of rights in the territory. Correspondence of two of the Indian Superintendents of Oregon, James W. Nesmith and Joel Palmer, documents

their recognition of the need for government protection of Native people from White settlers. Writing to the Commission of Indian Affairs in 1857, Nesmith pleaded:

As the lands of the [Indians] are entirely occupied by the whites, their means of obtaining a living are greatly curtailed.

*The wants of those “untutored wards of the Government” should be supplied, and their rights protected, unless the Government has determined that they should be doomed to extermination at the hands of the whites.*³³

In 1856, Palmer wrote the following to Governor of the Oregon Territory George Law Curry:

You are not ignorant of the feeling . . . which, in many districts looked to the system of extermination as the only available policy to be pursued by the Government. . . . a history of the settlement and occupancy by whites, of Southern Oregon and Northern California would be a history of wrong against the red man; and the cunning, the violation of faith, the treachery and savage brutality said to be the characteristics of that people, have been practiced towards them to a degree almost inconceivable, by the reckless portion of whites who have cursed that land, with their presence the past six years.³⁴

Nesmith and Palmer reflected the higher ideals present in American policy, but the betrayals of good faith were relentless. Throughout western Oregon, White Americans established land claims well before any land cessions were negotiated. Treaties negotiated with Clatsop and northern Tillamook bands in 1851, and with coastal tribes in 1855, were never ratified by Congress or honored by the U.S. government.³⁵

The violence brought to bear on Indian peoples persisted in the written word. The telling of events leading to the eruption of the Rogue River War serves as an example. In October 1855, a band of “white settlers and miners from Jacksonville” (self-described “exterminators”) attacked a Takelma encampment on Little Butte Creek near Table Rock, killing dozens (estimates range from 28 to 106).³⁶ This was a final atrocity for many Indians, who retaliated with violence, killing 15 to 27 Whites the following day. As Charles Wilkinson writes: “It is unnerving the extent to

which the majority society, even with the perspective of time, conceived of Indians as completely apart from the Oregon populace — apart, it seems, even from the human race. . . . Even Frances Fuller Victor, one of the finest nineteenth-century western historians, writing in 1894, called October 9 ‘altogether the bloodiest day the valley had ever seen;’ completely dismissing the far greater number of Indian people murdered the previous day.³⁷ Such historical bias compounded the effects of violence on tribal people.

Oregon’s Tribal peoples hold a significant amount of disaffection regarding their long-term mistreatment at the hands of the federal and state governments and by those Americans who took whatever they wanted and tried to exterminate the Tribes. Tribal members, historians, and others have worked to document and share the long and complex histories of treaties, reservations, boarding schools, federal termination policy, and a variety of other methods of attempting to erase, or assimilate, Native people, and of the ways Native people have survived and thrived, despite those efforts. During the 1970s and 1980s, Congress passed a series of acts that guaranteed significant rights to Native peoples. Laws such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) (42 U.S.C. § 1996), the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (ICWA) (Public Law 95–608, 92 Stat. 3069), and Indian Education Act of 1972, (Public Law No. 92-318, 86 Stat. 235) began to secure rights for tribal peoples. Under the U.S. national policy of self-determination (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975,

Public Law 93-638), Tribes are now able to advocate for their rights and have begun the process of recovering from over two-hundred years of colonization by the United States.

The recovery is still young, and an honest Oregon Native history of

the past century and a half remains largely untold. The recovery of that history and the context of colonization, of which White supremacy was a large part, is important to the process of recovery and healing efforts by Native peoples.

NOTES

1. See Robert J. Miller, “The Doctrine of Discovery, Manifest Destiny, and American Indians,” (2015) <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2689279> (accessed October 31, 2019); Robert J. Miller “The Doctrine of Discovery in American Indian Law,” *Idaho Law Review* 42 (2005): 1–96; and Lindsay Gordon Robertson, *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 2005).

2. Henry Zenk, “Contributions to Tualatin Ethnography: Subsistence and Ethnobiology” (MA thesis, Portland State University, 1976), 49–50; Melville Jacobs, *Kalapuya Texts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1945), 187–88. Although this group of Chinook is referred to as “Willamette Falls Chinook” in the cited passage of Zenk, they are referred to as Clackamas Chinook throughout the document and elsewhere in common usage. See Michael Silverstein, “Chinookans of the Lower Columbia,” in *Northwest Coast: Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 7*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 533–46.

3. Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, “A Siletz History: Part III, Fur Trade and Early Exploration,” (2019), electronic document, <http://www.ctsi.nsn.us/chinook-indian-tribe-siletz-heritage/our-history/part-iii> (accessed October 31, 2019).

4. Douglas Deur, “The Making of Seaside’s ‘Indian Place’: Contested and Enduring Native Spaces on the Nineteenth Century Oregon Coast,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 117:4 (Winter 2016): 542; R. Scott Byram, Colonial Power and

Indigenous Justice,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 109:3 (Fall 2008): 374.

5. John McLoughlin letter #248, May 15, 1832, letter to James Birnie, quoted in Byram, “Colonial Power and Indigenous Justice,” 372.

6. John Peabody Harrington Papers, John P. Harrington microfilms: Alaska/Northwest Coast, ed. Elaine Mills, National Anthropological Series, Smithsonian Institution, reel 26, frames 95–99, quoted in Byram, “Colonial Power and Indigenous Justice,” 363.

7. Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill: The Civil War in Oregon*, ed. Gunther Barth (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1959), 141, quoted in Byram, “Colonial Power and Indigenous Justice,” 366–67.

8. Byram, “Colonial Power and Indigenous Justice,” 363, 373.

9. Orvil Dodge, ed., *The Heroes of Battle Rock or The Miner’s Reward, a Short Story of Thrilling Interest* (January 1904), 1–2; Philip Druker, “The Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 36 (1937): 221–300; Jay Miller and William R. Seaburg, “Athapaskans of Southwest Oregon,” in *Northwest Coast: Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 580–88; Elizabeth Tichenor and William Tichenor, land patent issued February 5, 1866, under authority of 1850 Oregon Donation Act, BLM General Land Office Records online, <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=ORRAA%20%20040278&docClass=SER&sid=jzjvaohy.h1n> (accessed November 12, 2019). See, also in this

issue, Kenneth Coleman, “We’ll All Start Even”: White Egalitarianism and The Oregon Donation Land Claim,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, “White Supremacy & Resistance” 120:4 (Winter 2019): 414–37.

10. Orvil Dodge, ed., *The Heroes of Battle Rock or The Miner’s Reward*, 1–2. See also Bert Webber and Margie Webber, *Battle Rock: The Hero’s Story: A True Account-Oregon Coast Indian Attack* (Webb Research Group, 1992), 27; and A.G. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon, Comprising Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties* (Portland, Ore., 1884). This place-name spelling is transcribed from J.P. Harrington Papers, 1943, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, roll 26, frames 384–85; George Wasson, Jr., a Coquille descendant, referenced to J.P. Harrington the place *Ma’-na’-xhay-Thet*, which means, “ply canoe back and forth-rock,” when gathering mussels there. The word is probably *manaxe*, and Harrington’s linguistic transcription is probably *má·ná·x.e è·* (David Lewis’s personal communication with Patricia Whereat Phillips, 2019). The Athapaskan tribal name is *Ma-na-xe oe*. The name *Kwatami* has also been written as *Quatomah* or *Quah-to-mah*. See also David G. Lewis, “Ethnohistory of Battlerock: Preparation for the National Register Nomination,” Coquille Tribe in-house report, 2017.

11. Orvil Dodge, *The Pioneer History of Coos and Curry Counties, Or.* (Salem: Capital Printing, 1898), 36. See J.P. Harrington Papers 1943, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Roll 26.

12. Bert Webber and Margie Webber, *Battle Rock*, 27; A.G. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon, Comprising Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties* (Portland, Ore., 1884), 472.

13. Emil R. Peterson and Alfred Powers, *A Century of Coos and Curry* (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1952), 37; Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, 472.

14. Peterson and Powers, *A Century of Coos and Curry*, 38–40; Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, 473.

15. *Oregon Statesman*, editorial, July 8, 1851. The editorial is critical of an *Oregon*

Spectator (Oregon City) editorial that is itself critical of unsuccessful miners who were fomenting war and extermination of the Tribes as a means of gaining pay for their time. It was common for the newspapers of the time to criticize one another.

16. See federal records of Indian Depredations claims in Records of the Oregon Superintendency, National Archives Records Administration [hereafter NARA], RG 75, M2; Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, RG75 M234. The records of depredations claims extend from 1856 into the 1870s with additional claims from descendants happening into the twentieth century. There is no record that Tribes could make similar claims. For Oregon volunteer militia war claims and federal claims see Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon* (Salem: F.C. Baker, State Printer, 1894), 271–320.

17. Joel Palmer, “Annual Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending June 30th, 1854, No. 87, September 11, 1854, p. 257–59,” to Geo. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, <http://truwe.sohs.org/files/1854%20superintendency.html> (accessed November 1, 2019); Janice Marschner, *Oregon 1859: A Snapshot in Time*, (Portland, Timber Press, 2013), 105. Spelled linguistically, the village name is “tset.” See Philip Drucker, *The Tolowa and their Southwest Oregon Kin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 269.

18. Palmer, “Annual Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending June 30th, 1854,” 257–59.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Josiah J. Parrish, “Report of the Chetco Umpqua,” to Joel Palmer, Port Orford, July 20, 1854, <http://truwe.sohs.org/files/1854%20superintendency.html> (accessed November 1, 2019).

21. Palmer, “Annual Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending June 30th, 1854,” 258.”

22. Parrish, “Report of the Chetco Umpqua.” According to Oregon’s Organic Acts, section 700, if a person was of unsound mind, or unable to give testimony to the satisfaction of the

court, they could be discounted as a witness. Because most Indians in this period could not speak English, with few translators available, at individual judge’s discretion, the court could discount the Native witnesses. Matthew P. Deady, *The Organic and Other general laws of Oregon, together with the national Constitution and other public acts and statutes of the United States, 1845–1864* (Portland: H.L. Pittock, Oregon State Printer, 1866), 324.

23. Palmer, “Annual Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending June 30, 1854.”

24. Joel Palmer, Indian Agent Journal, 1871–1872, unpublished, photocopy in the Grand Ronde Cultural Archives, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Grand Ronde, Oregon.

25. Annette Louise Reed, “Neeyu Nn’ee min’ Nngheeyilh Naach’aaghitlthni: Lhla’ti Deeni Tr’vmdan’ Natlshri: Rooted in the Land of Our Ancestors, We are Strong: a Tolowa History” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 59–61. Reed compiled this Native account of the violence from primary sources. See also David Lewis, “The Most Persistent Attempt to Exterminate the Tribes, Beginning with the Yontocket Massacre 1853,” <https://wp.me/p2ENjV-Z9> (accessed November 14, 2019).

26. Benjamin Madley, “Tolowa Indian Genocide, 1851–1856” in *New Directions in Genocide Research*, ed. Adam Jones (Routledge: New York, 2012), 174–91; Annette Reed, “Neeyu Nn’ee Min’ Nngheeyilh Naach’aaghitlthni,” 59–61; Lewis, David G. “The Most Persistent Attempt to Exterminate the Tribes.”

27. James Nesmith to John F. Miller, August 3, 1857, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, RG75 M2, Roll 6.

28. Petition from the Mouth of the Rogue River with seventeen names, January 29, 1857, to A.B. Hedges, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, RG 75, M2, Roll 15. Emphasis in original.

29. The removals from the southern Coast began in the fall of 1856; by July 1858, Tichenor’s attention turned to the Pistol River Indians. Nathan Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters*, (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002), 166; Maj.

J.B. Scott to Maj. W.W. Machall, June 17, 1858, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, RG 75, M2, Roll 16.

30. Scott to Machall, June 17, 1858, NARA, RG 75, M2, Roll 16.

31. Ist Lt. George P. Ihrie to James Nesmith, June 19, 1858, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, RG 75, M2, Roll 16.

32. Major J.B. Scott to J.W. Nesmith, July 26, 1858, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, RG 75, M2, Roll 16.

33. J.W. Nesmith, Salem, Oregon, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., September 1, 1857, page 10, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, RG75 M234, Roll 610.

34. Joel Palmer to Gov. George L. Curry, August 8, 1856, p. 4–5, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, RG 75, M234, Roll 609.

35. Gail Wells, “Treaties and Reservations,” *The Oregon History Project*, <https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/treaties-and-reservations-2/#.XclyONWIZhE> (accessed 11/5/ 2019); David Lewis, “Coast Indian Reservation,” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/coast_indian_reservation/#.XcYC4VVkiw4 (accessed November 8, 2019); Territorial Papers of the United States: for the Territory of Oregon, 1848–1859, NARA M1049, Reels 1–3, Oregon State Library, Salem, Oregon.

36. Charles Wilkinson, *The People are Dancing Again: The History of the Siletz Tribe of Western Oregon* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2010), 119; Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, 243; Joel Palmer to Geo. W. Manypenny, October 19, 1855, Records of the Oregon Superintendency, NARA, RG 75, M2 Roll 5, p. 355, contains details of attacks on Table Rock reservation with 106 native people killed. See also Jeff Lalande, “Council of Table Rock.” *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/council_of_table_rock/#.XbCoa2Z7IPY (accessed October 23, 2019).

37. Wilkinson, *The People are Dancing Again*, 120.