Special Edition: Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Articles
In Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of Restoration
1983-2013

Editorial Board 2012-2013:
Editor: Keni Sturgeon, Willamette Heritage Center
Gabriel Bennett, Oregon State University
Chad Iwertz, Oregon State University
Abby Johnson, Oregon State University
Dianne Huddleston, Independent Historian
Hannah Marshall, Western Washington University
Duke Morton, Western Oregon University
Jeffrey Sawyer, Independent Historian
Amy Vandegrift, Willamette Heritage Center

© 2013 Willamette Heritage Center at The Mill

Willamette Valley Voices: Connecting Generations is published biannually – summer and winter – by the Willamette Heritage Center at The Mill, 1313 Mill Street SE, Salem, OR 97301. Nothing in the journal may be reprinted in whole or part without written permission from the publisher.

www.willametteheritage.org
In This Special Issue

For the past 200 years, the Tribes that came to Grand Ronde suffered unimaginable trauma that resulted in the near complete extinction of some 60 Tribes of Native peoples from western Oregon. Removal to the reservation offered some protection from further devastation, but the Tribal histories became minimized in favor of those of the newcomers to the region. For more than 150 years, history was written from the perspective of the settler, the Oregon pioneer, and the covered wagon became the revered chariot of the favored race of Americans destined to conquer and own everything. Colonization of the Tribes caused declines in health and culture, and much of this decline was again ignored in history books in favor of the agricultural potential of the Willamette Valley and the building of Oregon. In 1954, the United States seemingly accomplished what it had started in the 1850s - to completely dissociate the Tribes from the land, to terminate all of their responsibilities to Tribal peoples and assimilate all of those remaining people into American society. In 100 years, the Tribe went from owning all of the land under aboriginal claim to owning nothing; a loss of some 14 million acres.

The three articles in this Special Edition were written to begin to fill in the history of the Tribe from the beginning of records to the present. In Tribal Elder oral accounts, we have found that their memories of the Tribe are much different from that portrayed in the history books, and usually more accurate. Likewise, in government records and in museum archives we have found numerous sources of information that tell us that what was written and understood about Tribal history for more than 150 years was inaccurate. These three stories begin to correct the inaccurate histories and bring a human quality to the history of the Kalapuyan peoples of the Willamette Valley. The history that is revealed is more compelling than any previous accounts that have graced the marginalia of Oregon history.

As we engage in the next generation of research about the history of the Grand Ronde Tribe, there will be continued published accounts of the Tribe’s history that will change the way the Tribe is envisioned in western Oregon. I trust that as the years pass, Tribal members will be recognized for their amazing sacrifices, stories of survival, accomplishment and commitment to the land, waterways and cultures, which have existed for more than 14,000 years in these traditional homelands of the 27 or more Tribes and Bands that make up the Grand Ronde Tribe.

Dr. David G. Lewis, Tribal Historian
September 9, 2013
Salem, Oregon
Willamette Valley Voices:
Connecting Generations
A Journal of Willamette Valley History

Special Edition:
Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Articles
In Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of Restoration

Introduction
Reynold L. Leno
Tribal Council Chairman
4

Achaf-hammi
A House Built of Cedar Planks
David G. Lewis
5

Amenma Dinibau
Canoe Culture of the Kalapuya Tribes
David G. Lewis
13

We Are Here to Stay:
The Annual Celebration of the Restoration of the Grand Ronde Tribe
David G. Lewis
23

Cultural Vector
35
As chairman of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and as a member of Tribal Council for more than 17 years, I have had the privilege of seeing our Tribe grow leaps and bounds since we were restored in 1983. Over the last 30 years we have successfully established endowments, created affordable housing for our members, provided access to health care and education, and created sustainable forest management plans that have helped us successfully manage our reservation lands and harvest timber.

Like those who have walked on before me and some of my peers and colleagues, I remember what Grand Ronde was like in the 1950s. The land was sparse, our natural resources were abundant and the social climate was not so forgiving. The Western Oregon Indian Termination Act tried to strip Grand Ronde of everything. When we were terminated, the federal government left us with nothing but our name, a cemetery lot and building that would house within its walls a restoration movement decades later.

After Restoration in 1983, the Tribe sought to provide fundamental services to its membership and was determined to assert its sovereignty for the betterment of future generations. In the early years, the Tribe utilized Tribal committees and what limited staff it had to establish a solid foundation for what would become a thriving Tribal government and organization. While the Tribe was still limited by the amount of capital it had in its holdings, Tribal leaders thought ahead and quickly established endowments for fundamental services like health care and education knowing that the benefits ought to be protected for generations to come. In 1997, the Tribe embarked on a new journey and opened the doors to Spirit Mountain Casino; a Tribal enterprise that would create a steady stream of funding and employment, which would enable the Tribe to become self-sufficient and would allow the Tribe to provide greater services to its membership.

Since then, the Tribe has become a thriving organization comprised of various entities and departments that have all contributed to the continued success and sovereignty of the Tribe. We have worked hard at restoring our language, educating local and federal officials about our seven treaties and our rights under those treaties, restoring our ceremonial hunting and fishing rights, and have re-established our presence within our ceded lands. Our goal has always been and will always be to further the vision of the Tribe and to care for the Tribal membership. There is no telling where we’ll be decades from now, but one thing is certain, we will never forget where we’ve been, where we come from or what it means to be Grand Ronde.

Sincerely,

Reynold L. Leno
Tribal Council Chairman
Achaf-hammi  
A House Built of Cedar Planks

Figure 1. The plank house with its Trail of Tears Pole in place. Photo courtesy of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.

In 2009, the Grand Ronde Tribe completed its plank house. The project had been pursued for a decade and involved Tribal Council members, people from different Tribes, Elders, students, federal agencies and many families at the reservation.

The Grand Ronde plank house, named Achaf-hammi (Yamhill Kalapuya for A House Built of Cedar Planks), is built in a mixture of traditional Tribal styles, some from the Columbia River and some from the Willamette Valley. The contemporary Tribe is a confederation of some 27 Tribes and Bands from throughout western Oregon. The major groups that came to the Grand Ronde Reservation are the Middle Chinook, Kalapuyas, Upper Umpqua, Takelma, Athapaskan, Molalla and Tillamook. As such, contemporary Tribal members are inheritors of all of these cultures and many Tribal members have five
or more Tribes they may claim as relations. This situation makes the culture of the Tribe incredibly complex, and thus the project to construct a plank house very complicated.

In recent years, many members have found cultural support in their Chinookan heritage as the Tribe has pursued programs to restore canoe traditions and the Chinuk wawa language. The Tribe currently has a preschool and kindergarten immersion program for Chinuk wawa and the community has developed a “Canoe Family” to pursue cultural education of the Tribal community in canoe travel and the cultural traditions and ceremonies associated with visiting Tribal neighbors to the north. These canoe-related programs alone have attracted more than 100 Tribes and at least 10,000 people in the Northwest on annual canoe journeys where the Tribes voyage together through Washington state waterways for two weeks during the summer in common cultural practice. At Grand Ronde, the Canoe Family has largely embraced Chinook traditions, but also has participated in canoe races in Coos Bay and has sponsored intertribal canoe journeys on the Willamette River. Other Tribes in Oregon have followed Grand Ronde’s lead by developing their own restored canoe traditions.

Parallel with the development of the canoes and language traditions, Tribes have worked to build ceremonial houses, known as longhouses or plank houses, where cultural traditions unite the communities in common ceremonies. The term plank house is more closely related to the structures of western Oregon because the houses are made from large planks of the western red cedar. The sturdy design takes advantage of the straight grain of cedar and its ability to weather well, resisting rot and degradation. These are essential qualities in the Northwest with its rain forest-like environment where everything degrades quickly when left out in the weather. As such, hide houses like tipis were not built here. Eastern Oregon had other styles of longhouses built from large woven tule mats cast over a frame, but this style was only common up to the eastern edge of the Cascade Mountains.

Plank houses were first built as living quarters for multi-family groups. Some plank houses also were built as ceremonial or dance houses. Plank houses in a ceremonial context embody the spirit of the community as a central place to concentrate annual events. Some traditional annual events were First Fish Ceremonies and plank houses near rivers would be a part of these. Intertribal gatherings, where it became a place to exchange gifts and honor your friends and neighbors, were common at plank houses. The Grand Ronde plank house is used today for potlatches (giveaways), naming ceremonies, intertribal gatherings, seasonal ceremonies, the annual Grand Ronde Restoration Celebration, the Youth Culture Camp and for hosting cultural education groups.
In the late 1990s, Don Day, a Grand Ronde Elder, began attending the University of Oregon. Day pursued a degree in archaeology after first working for the Tribe for a short time as a cultural site protection monitor. He had attended Chemeketa Community College in Salem and met with David Lewis at the Coquille Tribal Culture Conference in Coos Bay, where he was recruited to attend the University of Oregon. At the Coquille Culture Conference, participants observed the work of Yurok Elder Walt Lara, who was a traditional plank house builder at the Yurok Reservation in northern California. After witnessing how Lara split 20- to 40-foot cedar logs with metal wedges into perfectly flat planks, Day was inspired to work even more traditionally. After transferring to the University of Oregon in 2000, Day began a study of the traditional technologies of the Grand Ronde Tribe. Day immediately secured agreements with the ranger districts of the Willamette National Forest to obtain cedar for cultural uses.

Day had been a logger in earlier years and knew how to work with large logs. He began experimenting with wooden wedges made from yew and oak. During his experimentation over a period of five to six years, he recreated the traditional indigenous technology of splitting cedar using only wooden wedges and wooden mallets. During this period, Day invited many Tribal members to help learn how to split logs. This group Day called his

Figure 2. Don Day (center) being blanketed by the Tribe, David Rogers is second from the left. Photo courtesy of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.
“Regular Crew” included myself, Leslie Riggs, Deitrich Peters, Norman Peters, Jesse Peters and Michael Michelle, and occasional crew members were Gary Lewis, Larry Lewis, Bob Tom and Peta Tinda (Smoke Signals newspaper reporter), as well as others who only participated once. For many years we toured around western Oregon displaying the plank splitting techniques in Eugene, Yoncalla and Coos Bay. Day eventually built a small plank house for the permanent exhibit at the Museum of Natural and Cultural History at the University of Oregon (2004). In 2007, a small plank house for the Little People, Big World TV show was built and still stands on the Roloff Farm near Hillsboro. In 2009 and 2010, Day designed and hand-built the interior walls of a Lane Community College longhouse interior room while employed by the Grand Ronde Tribe. Day’s fame has led him to consult with the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands on plank splitting.

Sometime in the early 2000s, Day proposed the idea of building a plank house at the Tribe to contain Tribal ceremonies. Other Tribes in western Oregon had built plank houses: Siletz had been the first in the 1990s with a traditional dance house followed by Coquille a decade later with a more modern facility. The methods and inspiration for the return of the plank houses came largely from the dance house built at Nelechundin near the Tolowa Indian, Smith River Rancheria, California, by Loren Bommelyn in the 1980s. Bommelyn taught many of his techniques to people in Oregon and has been a regional cultural leader in the areas of language, dance, song and ceremony.

In the early 2000s, the Grand Ronde Tribal Council supported the notion of a plank house and many years of planning and work commenced with the Cultural Resources Department and the Culture Committee being a big part of the planning efforts. During this time, the Tribe developed good relations with Willamette National Forest and Day was able to secure continuous cultural-use permits to gather cedar logs. He spent hundreds of hours cruising forest roads to find large cedar. This relationship continues today with the Detroit Ranger District helping the Tribe acquire big cedar logs from the bottom of the reservoirs to be used in carving projects.

Plank splitting trips in 2004 included roughly a dozen Tribal members gathering at the ranger district offices and then convoys up to a site where Day had found a number of good-sized logs. Day would cut the logs into 10-foot segments with a chainsaw and the team would follow his direction to split the logs into large planks. We would normally get about 20 large planks from a log. The planks would then be stacked in two trucks and convoys again to Day’s house, where he would shape them into usable planks.

Splitting a log required a half-dozen yew wedges (manufactured by Day) and the team would follow directions to set the wedges to guide each section to be a straight plank.
Day would say, “Listen to the log,” and we could hear it splitting after just a few strikes of a wooden sledge (usually a segment of a small Douglas fir with a study limb attached). One wedge, buried into the log, would eventually have split the log in half, but we helped speed the progress by setting additional wedges to equalize the pressure and stress on the plank to help it remain straight. Western red cedar and redwood have the unique quality of having straight grain running the length of the tree, enabling this method of splitting to occur. As the years advanced, Day modified his methods using a froe to begin a straight line and using advanced techniques of equalizing the splitting pressure to split multiple planks at the same time from one log.

In 2007, the Tribe began working on the plank house project in earnest, choosing a site for the house adjacent to the Tribe’s new powwow grounds below Fort Yamhill State Park off Highway 22. The Tribe hired a contractor, Dave Rogers, to build the house. The contractor dug the pit and prepared the area for water drainage. The Tribe had secured an agreement from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to harvest a limited number of large Douglas firs from the Tribe’s reservation forest. These trees were seasoned for a year and cleaned to become the prominent center posts and cross beams of the house. In 2008, the frame of the house began to take shape and the post and cross beams were closely fitted to remain
stable for many years. Following the erection of the frame, Tribal members began volunteering to help with building the exterior and interior walls from milled cedar planks.

The milled planks were from old growth cedar logs that had been flown out of the Willamette National Forest a few years previously. Day had found the standing logs, which had died from a fire and then partially buried by a landslide in the middle of the forest near Sweet Home. The Tribe hired a helicopter crew and in one day the 20-foot sections were transported to a staging area where they could then be transported to the Tribe. The decision to mill the logs was made to save wood because the Tribe did not know if it would have enough cedar to complete the planned 60-by-100-foot plank house.

In 2008, the majority of the heavy sections of the plank house were completed and the Tribe took over the project completely, employing the staff of the Cultural Resources Department, especially Bobby Mercier and Brian Krehbiel, to work on the project on a daily basis. They led a crew of other staff and community volunteers to complete the walls and lay the roof. Some problems with the roof design became apparent as there were significant leaks and about half of the roof had to be taken up and re-laid with addition supports and water protection. In 2009, the house was completed and traditionally opened with a potlatch with many of the neighboring Tribes. Traditionally, other Tribes had to be there to welcome a new plank house into the community and their members conducted much of the traditional opening.

The Grand Ronde cultural community spent about a year gathering giveaway donations for the opening. They also worked on songs and dances appropriate for such a traditional event. Finally, they prepared traditional regalia for the opening in the Tribe’s cultural classes. Many Tribal members took responsibility for learning the practices so that the house would be opened appropriately.

Since 2009, additional work has been accomplished to develop the landscaping, to build a wood shed and to prepare cooking facilities. An important project was the erection of a pole near the house. Cultural staff Bobby Mercier and Brian Krehbiel worked with Tribal community volunteers at the carving shed to create the pole, designed by Adam McIsaac. The Trail of Tears Pole commemorates the forced removal of the Tribes to the Grand Ronde Reservation in the winter of 1856.

The plank house is one of the major steps the Tribe is taking toward restoring its cultural traditions. For more than 160 years, the Tribe has undergone colonization and many people lost connections with their Tribal culture. The federal government worked
diligently to suppress the Tribal traditions, eliminate the cultures and to assimilate everyone into “American culture.” In the 20th century, the efforts of the federal government were effective and much was lost. After Termination (1954), only a few families retained much of the culture. But since Restoration (1983), the Tribe has been undergoing a rebirth and traditions are coming back; the plank house is one of the major elements that enable the return of Tribal traditions. The environment of the house, its spirit and power, gathered from the spirit of the community - a community that has endured so much loss only to find a way to return from a precipice - is strong. As the community relearns and restores its spirit, the house will gather more power and other traditions will return. We are seeing the revitalization in the return of Tribal oral histories, language and history, and the development of a museum complex to tell its own story. Without the foundation of the plank house much of this would not be possible.

Achaf-Hammi is the ceremonial house of the Grand Ronde Tribe. There, the Tribe welcomes guests to the reservation and holds ceremonial events in support of the culture and community. There, any of the Tribal traditions may be practiced and the community

Figure 4. A close-up of the Trail of Tears Pole. Photo courtesy of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.
is in the midst of bringing back the traditions of giving names, celebrating the wealth of the seasons, honoring ancestors, commemorating the restoration of the Tribe, and recognizing the intense struggles of the Tribes who came to the reservation more than 150 years ago.
Amenma Dinibau¹ (Kalapuya Canoes)
Canoe Culture of the Kalapuya Tribes

Abstract: For more than 15,000 years, the Native peoples of the Willamette Valley have canoed the waterways of the Willamette River. The Kalapuyans were the Tribes that lived along the river and gathered, hunted and fished throughout the basin. Many of their favorite foods, wapato and camas, grew in the valley near waterways. They gathered these bulbs and traded them with the Clackamas and Clowewalla (downriver) and with the Molallas and other Kalapuyan groups (upriver). Many cultural activities occurred on the water, from gathering plants like cattail and tule for basket weaving to fishing for salmon and trout to transporting goods from summer encampment to winter villages. Newcomer explorers and settlers encountered the early canoes of the Kalapuya and witnessed cultural changes as they were occurring.

¹ Amenma is Santiam Kalapuya for people of the Kalapuya tribe. Dinibau is Santiam Kalapuya for Canoe.
I myself (Mose Hudson) saw a Kalapuya canoe long ago. We got into it when we went across the Willamette River at Salem. That sort of canoe was not large. Only three people got in it. Now one person sat in the rear of that boat, the paddler who took the canoe across, and we sat in the middle. We took care with the canoe, it is round underneath, it might tip over very readily, if one did not know how to ride in the canoe. It was not like these whites’ canoe, that canoe was always easily tipped over. That is how the Kalapuya Indians’ canoe was long ago. When they went across the river (the Willamette), or a large stream, they used it in such a stream always. That is how they did with their canoes. It is said that when they made it with a round log, they built a fire on top of it. So they watched it when there was fire on it, and then they made a hole in the log, and so they made their canoe.²

For centuries the Native peoples of the Willamette Valley have used the resources of the Willamette River to live a wealthy life. The peoples of the valley – the numerous Tribes and Bands of the Kalapuya, the Molalla in the Cascades and its foothills and the Chinookan peoples of the north Valley - utilized the waterways to travel and transport people, foods and trade goods quickly and efficiently. Tribes and Bands lived in distinct villages at the junctions of the river and its tributaries where they could efficiently trade with their neighbors.

The Kalapuya Tribes are the most numerous of Tribes in the Valley, inhabiting the majority of its floor and foothills. Their various Tribes were politically arranged so that principal chiefs at the main villages oversaw numerous offshoot Bands that were led by secondary chiefs and headmen. These Tribes were the Atfalati, Yamhalla, Halpam, Ahantsayuk, Chemapho, Pee-you, Winfelly, Chafan, Lakmiut, Chelamela, Santiam and Pinafu.³ There was also the Yoncalla Kalapuya of the Umpqua Valley. Each of these Tribes had numerous villages in political association such that their territories were 20 to 60 miles wide. The Santiam Kalapuya alone claimed an area from somewhere above Salem down to Eugene through the politically associated sub-tribe of the Calapooia (Kalapuya) at Brownsville. Particularly rich Tribal areas, many with over a dozen villages, surrounded major resources like Wapato Lake at Gaston, where wapato was a highly prized food sometimes called “Indian potato.” Other areas, like the prairies of the valley, contained vast beds of camas that were dug annually by the Tribes.

² Mose Hudson and the Dugout Canoe at Salem, circa 1936, Mose Hudson is John B. Hudson Jr., an informant of Dr. Melville Jacobs in the 1920s and 1930s regarding Santiam Kalapuya language. The story is no. 33 Dugout Canoe from Kalapuya Texts, volume 2, page 38. Published by the University of Washington Press, 1945.
³ Atfalati (Tualatin), Yamhalla (Yamhill), Halpam (Santiam), Ahantsayuk (Pudding River), Chemapho (Maddy river), Pee-you (Mohawk), Winfelly, Chafan, Lakmiut (Luckamute), Chelamela (Long Tom), and Pinafu (Marysville).
The Molalla inhabited the Cascades and several of their Tribes claimed regions that included the foothills down into the Willamette Valley near Silver Creek Falls. They were organized as a northern band of Molalla or Molel, a central band (the Santiam Band of Molalla) and several southern tribes. They inhabited the headwaters of most of the tributaries of the Willamette River. The Molalla were known as great traders who transported goods from the Columbia River south to the Klamath Basin, and goods from northern California back to the Columbia. They travelled the high mountain trails at 4,000 feet and above that formed an interconnected indigenous trail system running north-south. Other trails entered the Willamette Valley through mountain passes. Additionally, the Molalla had villages on the Molalla River and many of the rivers that originated from the western slope of the Cascades, and they were known to have participated in Columbia River trade as far away as Clatsop, where the best canoe builders were said to exist.\(^4\)

The Chinookans of the north valley inhabited Willamette Falls and north along the Willamette to the Columbia River and along the Clackamas and Sandy rivers. They were the Clowewalla, Multnomah, Watlala and Clackamas.\(^5\) They controlled trade in their area

---

\(^4\) Drucker, Philip. Notes of MS 4516 (18) vol. 1, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1934.  
\(^5\) Clowewalla (Oregon City), Multnomah (Wapato), Watlala (Cascades) and Clackamas.
of the rivers and owned the wealthy resource of the Willamette Falls, where salmon, lamprey and other anadromous fish were netted, processed and traded to other Tribes.

Earliest written accounts of the Willamette River, those of captains Lewis and Clark in 1806, named the river the Multnomah, reflecting its original name from the Chinook peoples from the area. William Clark spent one day on the river, though the expedition mostly missed it (twice) along their journey. Here we get a sense of how populated the valley was, especially on the river itself.

I prevailed [sic] on an old Indian to mark the Multnomah R down on the sand which [he did] and perfectly corresponded [sic] with the sketch given me by sundry others, with the addition of a circular mountain which passes this river at the falls and which connects with the mountains of the Seacoast. He also laid down the Clackamos passing a high conical mountain near its mouth on the lower side and heads in Mount Jefferson which he lays [sic] down by raising the Sand as a very high mountain and covered with eternal snow. The high mountain which this Indian lays [sic] down near the enterance [sic] of Clarkamos river, we have not seen as the hills in its direction from this valley is high and obscures the sight of it from us…. This Indian also informed me that Multnomah above the falls was crowded [sic] with rapids and thickly inhabited by Indians of the Cal-leh-po-e-wah Nation.6

Later, Scottish botanist and explorer David Douglas also calls the river Multnomah. It is with the influx of American settlers that the river’s name is changed to Willamette.7

The Willamette River is one of the great rivers of the region, emptying a lush agricultural area with many tributaries. Willamette Valley soils, brought here by the Missoula Floods (as many as 40 of these flood events are theorized to have occurred between 13,000 and 14,500 years ago)8, are some of the richest in the world. A combination of heavy rainfall,

---

6 Lewis, Meriwether & William Clark, Rueben Gold Thwaites, Charles Floyd, Joseph Whitehouse. Original journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806: printed from the original manuscripts in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and by direction of its Committee on Historical Documents, together with manuscript material of Lewis and Clark from other sources, including notebooks, letters, maps, etc., and the journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse, now for the first time published in full and exactly as written, Antiquarian Press, New York. p. 254-255.
7 The name “Willamette” derives from a Chinoookan village on the lower river in numerous ethnographic sources. CTGR Cultural Protection Program GIS Database.
mild temperature and good soil makes the valley an ecologically complex and diverse place to live. The Native people of the valley did not want for resources as there were plenty of vegetal foods to gather, lots of berries, and plenty of meats and fish.

The valley sits at the center of a major trading route for the Native peoples of the region. The Columbia River and its tributaries link hundreds of Tribes in a trade network extending far into the Canadian north and to the Rocky Mountains, and down into the arid regions of the upper plateau, which in Oregon is eastern Oregon. Trade goods all along this route would come down the Columbia and enrich the Chinookan Tribes of the northern Willamette Valley. Wealth goods like dentalium shells, ooligan (smelt) grease, buffalo hides, canoes and whale bones would make their way into the Willamette Valley through the Multnomah and Watlala Tribes. The Kalapuyans traded prodigious amounts of wapato, camas bulbs and basketry for wealth items. In order to gain economic and political favor, Tualatin chiefs would seek to marry their daughters to Chinookan chiefs to acquire access to the best resources, especially access to fishing sites with copious amounts of salmon, sturgeon and lamprey.

Kalapuya oral histories state that they placed a high value on their lands and their water resources. For the Santiam Kalapuya, the area between the forks of the Santiam River was the most important. There they had buried their people for many thousands of years and fully utilized all of the environments between the lowland prairies and the upland foothills of the Cascade Range. It is this area they chose as a permanent reservation while negotiating the first treaty with the United States in 1851: “We don’t want any other piece of land as a reserve than that in the forks of the Santiam River. We do not wish to remove.”

---

It is where the Santiam River joins the Willamette that the Santiams had at least two towns that David Douglas encountered in 1836:

Wednesday 15\textsuperscript{th} - on arriving at Sandiam [sic] River, which falls in the Multnomah, a stream of considerable magnitude, we found the village deserted and no canoes. The men chose to swim their horses, I alone. …proceeded on and found an Indian village only two miles further on, with plenty of canoes.\textsuperscript{10}

This account is significant because it is possible that Douglas was witness to the results of the malarial epidemics, represented by the empty village, which swept the land in the 1830s, killing up to 95 percent of the Native population. The remaining Kalapuya would gather, seeking out surviving people for companionship and mutual protection. The account is also interesting for the description of the volume of canoes that were indicative of the cultural lifestyle of the Santiam Kalapuya tribe.

Another early encounter with the Kalapuya was with the Applegate family in 1844. While traveling down the Willamette River to their first settlement at Salt Creek, the Applegates encountered the village at Champoeg\textsuperscript{11}:

We found a tribe of Kalapooyas [sic] living along the river at this place (Champoeg). They were not numerous. There were a few families of them living in miserable hovels near us, and down the river, less than a quarter of a mile, was a small village. There were a few huts at other places, but little skill was made manifest in the design or construction of their houses. These Indians were poor in every sense of the word. A few miserable ponies were all the livestock they had - except for vermin and fleas. They were spiritless and sickly yet appear satisfied with a miserable existence. Many died that winter, and the hideous wail of the mourners, as they conducted the funeral services, was heard almost daily.\textsuperscript{12}

Again we see that the Kalapuya, here a band of the Yamhill-Tualatin Kalapuyas, were

\textsuperscript{10} Douglas, David. 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, with appendices containing a list of the plants introduced by Douglas and an account of his death in 1834. Published under the direction of the Royal Horticultural Society, (London: 1914): 237.

\textsuperscript{11} Zenk, Henry, Notes on Native American Place-names of the Willamette Valley Region. Oregon Historical Quarterly vol. 109, no. 1. The Tualatin place name Champoeg means “place of Yampah.” Yampah is a Kalapuya word for wapato.

river people who located their towns along the Willamette River. We also see that by the 1840s diseases were still present and affecting the Tribes to the point that they were having trouble keeping the village in order.

The Willamette River system before American settlement was a meandering river with many marshes and wetlands throughout the valley. The river was full of debris from the harsh winters when huge trees would be washed out of the Cascades and down the Santiam River to lodge somewhere along the main stem of the Willamette. The river ecology was incredibly diverse with an immense diversity of animals, plants, fish, birds, reptiles and amphibians living in numerous environments.

Figure 4. Tule, *Schoenoplectus acutus var. occidentalis*, and wapato in the marshlands of the Willamette Valley. Photo courtesy of the CTGR Land and Culture Department.

The character of the Willamette River, and that of the valley, has changed dramatically since the time when Kalapuya villages dotted the river banks. Back then, the braided, slow and meandering waterways had plenty of snags and were perfect for river canoes. Canoe travel was very common and all Tribes had permanent towns along the major rivers. Ideal locations to have a village were at the junction of rivers where access could be had to a wide variety of environments by canoe. The falls also were good places
because when salmon and other anadromous fish sought to travel upriver, Native people could catch them when they attempted to ascend the falls.

The main canoe style of the Kalapuya was mainly a shallow river canoe. These canoes were easily made from drift logs, cedar being the best wood for canoes. The shallow nature of their canoe style made it easy to float through shallow rivers and marshes, and they also could be easily turned in a current. The western style of canoe, also called the Chinook canoe, also was common in the valley, but was made by the Chinook peoples of the Columbia River. These canoes were made for fast travel and for travel in surf and ocean conditions where the water is deep and waves are high. Some Tribes on the coast hunted whales in these canoes. Chinook canoes were made out of cedar logs, which were burned out, carved, steamed and stretched to a greater width for carrying many people. Many of these canoes could be extremely long, up to at most 60 feet. Chinook canoes were highly prized by the Kalapuya as wealth and status symbols and chiefs would normally have one.

When Americans settled the valley, they sought to establish industries and farms. To do this, they needed to change the Willamette River to allow larger river vessels to travel with products to worldwide markets. By 1855, travel by sternwheeler steamboat was possible to Eugene from Canemah above Willamette Falls. Regular traffic necessitated that the river be cleared of debris, making it safer for daily travel. By 1878, a canal was cut through Willamette Falls to eliminate the need to portage goods around the falls. The river channel was regularly dredged, eliminating the need for the river to meander and helping to lessen the nearly annual flooding. Later reservoirs were cut into the upper reaches of most of the Willamette River’s tributaries and dams were built to better control the river’s flow, to preserve water for year-round use and to generate hydropower. American agriculture and ranching in the valley caused changes in nutrient levels of water runoff. Mills in towns like Eugene, Salem and Oregon City utilized millraces of diverted river water to run their waterwheels or canals to get around the falls. Salmon wheels were built that harvested salmon by the thousands. These fish were sent to be canned at commercial canneries, and canoes became unnecessary and inefficient for commerce or travel on the river.

In 1856, the Tribes were removed from their ancestral lands after ceding their territories to the United States under the ratified Kalapuya Treaty and six other treaties (1853-1855). The Tribes ceased to need canoes as they were kept at the reservations and were not

---

13 Canemah was a town above Willamette Falls on the east side of the river. This is the original site of an Indian village. Kanim is the Chinuk Wawa word for canoe. There is a possible linkage to the Chinuk Wawa word Ikanum, meaning myth stories, as well.
allowed to leave, except to take agricultural work in the valley. Canoe culture stopped being supported, having been overcome by the horse, larger boats/ships, trains and eventually the automobile for travel and commerce.

For more than 100 years, the descendants of more than 30 Tribes at the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation were forced to turn away from their canoe culture. In the 21st century, Tribal people began working to re-establish their connection to the canoe culture by joining Northwest Tribal Canoe Journeys. For the past decade, the Grand Ronde Tribe has engaged in a Canoe Family project, which sends a crew of adults, Elders and youth into Washington state to take part in the journeys. Each summer more than 100 canoes travel together for two weeks for mutual kinship and cultural restoration. The project has inspired development of Tribal language immersion programs, the building of plank houses, the exploration of traditional dances and songs, and the institution of renewed Tribal cultural life-ways in the whole region.
Canoe culture has returned to Grand Ronde as Kalapuya and Chinook descendants now participate in canoe journeys throughout the region. Locally, the Canoe Family annually paddles the Willamette River, from Independence to Portland. The Tribe’s vision is to return canoe culture to all Tribal people in the area so that we again travel the indigenous waterways named after the valley’s Tribes, the Luckiamute, Santiam, Long Tom, Yamhill, the Calapooia, Clackamas and the Tualatin, all tributaries to the Willamette River.
We Are Here to Stay: The Annual Celebration of the Restoration of the Grand Ronde Tribe

Abstract: November 22nd annually marks the date when the Tribe was restored to federal status by the federal government and holds a Restoration Celebration. The event brings together Tribal members, community and friends to celebrate the Tribe's Restoration. The celebration features Native music, video histories, speeches and recognitions of people important to the Tribe’s Restoration. People are re-energized by their reflections on the Tribe’s tumultuous history, and the struggles our Elders underwent to bring the Tribe back from non-existence. Tribal members can then reflect on what happened to the Tribe when it was terminated: How much of the culture and language was lost, there was no Tribal center and many people lived in poverty for three decades. After Restoration, the Tribe had to re-establish its economy, membership and slowly build community and member services. The casino helped make this a reality and had fueled the government for almost 20 years. Attendees can then celebrate all of the wonderful things the Tribe has done to help Tribal members and the larger community. The celebration is now in its 30th year of celebrating the Tribe’s Restoration.
Each year, since November 22, 1983, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde has renewed the celebration of its Restoration from federal termination. The event normally features ceremonies, speeches, song and sharing of food at the Tribal campus located in Grand Ronde, Oregon. The celebrations are attended by about 500 participants who experience presentations from current and past Tribal leaders, performances by Tribal musicians, and films and video presentations about Tribal history. Tribal ceremonies are held in the Tribe’s traditional plank house.

For 29 years,\(^1\) the Tribe endured federal termination where many people lived in a nexus of being Tribal - the descendants of more than 27 tribes from western Oregon - while at the same time being federally terminated - having no rights to any services for Tribal peoples and divested of the right to the permanent reservation land base promised in seven ratified treaties. Many in the Tribe felt that the government had been wrong in terminating the Tribe, and that termination had destroyed the remaining Tribal spaces that kept Tribal cultures alive. The Tribal story of continuous loss and eventual renewal contains many dramatic qualities that make the Restoration a truly remarkable event.

In the 1850s, more than 27 Tribes came to the Grand Ronde Reservation. The Tribes came from the Columbia River, the Willamette Valley, the Cascades and the Umpqua and Rogue River basins. American settlers, ranchers and miners invaded Tribal lands, taking farmsteads, ranch land and mining claims regardless of the Tribes already living there. To eliminate the Tribal presence, volunteer militias were formed by the territorial government and fostered conflicts, committed massacres and inflicted wars on Tribal villages in their efforts to drive the Tribes from the land. In the 1850s, many American settlers, the newcomers, believed the Tribes needed to be exterminated and horrendous genocides of Tribal village populations occurred. The Tribes answered these attacks through thefts, attacks and depredations against the settlers.

To find peace and security, the Tribes signed seven treaties with the federal government that removed them to temporary reservations at Table Rock and the Umpqua Valley by 1854. The local militias continued to press their attacks on reservation Tribes and conflicts erupted again in 1855. As a result, the Tribes were removed by the U.S. Army on to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in 1856. From 1856 to 1954, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde existed as a distinct Tribal community until federal termination took their remaining lands and forced the Tribal people to leave - to become assimilated Americans living in the cities of the Willamette Valley and elsewhere.

---

\(^{1}\) PL 588, the termination bill, was passed in 1954, but services were not lost until 1956 with the final termination bill.
Figure 2. Hand drumming in the Tribal Plank house during the Restoration Celebration. From left, Eric Bernando, Izaiah Fisher, Dakota Ross, Travis Stewart, Dustin Ross, Greg Leno, Richard Sohappy, Brian Krehbiel, Bobby Mercier, Nick Atanacio, Chucky Fryberg, Madison Leno, Tammy Fisher, SuSun Fisher (Siletz Royalty) and Amelia Mooney (Grand Ronde Royalty) Photo Michelle Alaimo, Smoke Signals Newspaper.

Through the treaties, The tribes ceded more than 14 million acres to the federal government in exchange for a little more than 60,000 acres of the reservation. The reservation was created to be their permanent home thereafter, as was promised in the treaties. The Tribes accepted this situation because their survival was a concern as they were quickly dying from the efforts of the newcomers invading their homelands. The Tribes also were to receive some money, food, supplies and services so they might live well at the reservation. Some of the treaty provisions were honored by the government; schools were built and people received some services and food for many years thereafter.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Tribes lost more than 30,000 acres of their reservation after individual allotments under the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. From 1901 to 1950, many more thousands of acres were sold as the Tribes sought to endure vast changes in their lifestyle and survive in American society. By 1950, there were slightly more than 400 acres remaining under Indian allotment at Grand Ronde.
Figure 3. Ceded Lands. Courtesy of the CTGR’s Cultural Resources Department.
The political environment had changed by 1940 and the federal government wanted to liquidate all Tribes in the nation, removing that burden from the bottom line. The western Oregon Tribes were the first to be subjected to termination, as they were deemed to be “assimilated enough” that they did not need any further governmental support.

In 1953, these Tribes were presented a choice to be terminated, but they refused to agree. And because the government had not settled the Indian Claims Cases, the Tribes lobbied against the government. Nonetheless, the Tribes were terminated in 1954 without their agreement and two years later lost their federal recognition and rights guaranteed under the treaties. In 100 years, Tribes went from owning all of the land under aboriginal land claims to owning nothing. And while the government suggested the Indian allottees could purchase their allotments, very few Tribal people had the resources to do so.

In 1956, the payment for each Grand Ronde member’s share in the reservation was $35. Most Tribal members had to leave the area to find work in the cities and many lived in relative poverty for more than two decades. During this period, many people did not learn the Tribal culture or languages, or learn the knowledge of their Tribal genealogy. Some people turned to drugs and alcohol, and people’s Tribal identity became a question. Recognized Tribes began to reject members of the terminated Grand Ronde Tribe, thinking they had accepted termination and were therefore no longer deserving of being Indian and attending Indian events. Grand Ronde members questioned whether they were Indian, and many did not know if they could still fish and hunt under their Indian rights, rights that were not addressed in Termination. Many people developed psychological trauma due to the extreme loss they had endured.

In 1975, the United States conducted an investigation to see how well Termination had worked for the Tribes. The American Indian Policy Review Commission: Task Force Ten for Terminated and Non-federally Recognized Indians first met in Salem, Oregon, to conduct interviews with Tribal leaders. Jo Jo Hunt was the chair of the commission and a member of the Lumbee Tribe. Robert Bojocas of the Klamath Tribe (who passed on in 2008) and Merle Holmes of Grand Ronde testified at the commission, as follows:

Mr. Bojorcas: The rationale used in terminating tribes was instead to put the Indians in the mainstream of society. Has that been successful in the Grand Ronde case?

Merle Holmes: It would have if it put them in the mainstream of society, in as much as it run most of us out of there. There was no way to make a living in there. After I went out of the service, I came out and ended up here in Salem and I don’t know, there’s no way I could have got anywhere
if I would have stayed there. Nobody wants to walk around in the woods soaking wet all winter long, and it’s not the kind of life for most of us, and it scattered us all around. We have people who took advantage of the education. I know one gentleman who lived in California. He was educated in diesels there, and he still lives there.

Ms. Hunt: So termination not only did ruin tribal structure, but any sense of community in being able to do things on a collective basis?

Mr. Holmes: This is true. We’re pretty much victimized being isolated like we are in Grand Ronde. There’s the nearest town, Willamina. You’re looking at nine miles there. So you have to drive to Lincoln City and we’re isolated to just the lumber industry to sustain. So we need the vocational training to get the people into a little bit of a better blue collar work.²

In the 1970s, Tribal Elders organized the Tribe to get restored and were greatly aided by path forged through Congress to successful restoration set by the Menominee tribe, which was the first restored in 1973. The findings of the Task Force Ten commission report helped as well:

No referendum vote on the subject of termination by Oregon Indian Tribes ever took place… A strong case can be made that most Indians were unaware of the important features of the termination bill, and that cooperation and participation in the passage of the bill was extremely limited… There is simply no evidence that termination in any way on any measure had a positive effect on Klamath or Western Oregon Indians.³

The Tribe sought support from local governments and local politicians like Senator Mark Hatfield and Congressman Les AuCoin. The Tribe was restored in 1983 after a decade of work on the part of the Tribal Elders and their political allies. The final few years of political work were tough on the Tribe. There was little money and Elders would give some of their Social Security to help with travel expenses to Washington, D.C. The Tribe held bake sales, sold canned foods and held powwows to raise money. In addition, there was quite a bit of opposition to Grand Ronde’s restoration due to political opposition on the part of some local governments and the timber industry. The fears were that the restoration of the Tribe would limit or eliminate the timber industry in Polk, Yamhill and Tillamook counties. Timber industry leaders sent letters of opposition to politicians who

championed the restoration of the Tribe, causing long delays. The Tribe addressed the concerns of timber executives and local residents with a meeting at the Grand Ronde Elementary School where Tribal leaders sufficiently alleviated their fears enough to eliminate opposition to restoration.

There also was some opposition from fishing and hunting organizations that feared the Tribe would limit the average American’s ability to freely fish and hunt in western Oregon. This opposition, however, had already run its course against Siletz before they were restored in 1977 and Oregon’s politicians had already worked out a solution. The solution was to present a restoration bill where hunting and fishing rights of Tribal members were revoked. This provision appeared in the Grand Ronde bill before serious opposition could be mounted by the fishing and hunting organizations. The opposition to Grand Ronde’s restoration caused at least five years of delay in restoring the Tribe as politicians sought to introduce the bill in a friendly political environment so that it would be successful. Congressman Les AuCoin shepherded the bill through the U.S. House of Representatives. It was signed into law on Nov. 22, 1983.  

Elders state that when they heard that the Tribe’s restoration bill was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, they were elated. Many people gathered at the Tribal office, the shed in the Tribe’s 2.5-acre cemetery, to celebrate. They stated that people were shouting and cheering as they had fought for Restoration for about a decade and finally won. Elizabeth Furse, former Congresswoman and a member of the legal team that helped the Tribe in Restoration, stated that the Tribe had nothing, and they were the best they could be in that final effort for Restoration.

Our people celebrated their Restoration, believing that now they could begin to address all of the economic and social problems that had plagued them for more than a quarter century. Restoration also created a list of Tribal people who are now legendary to the effort: Margaret Provost, Merle Holmes, Marvin Kimsey and former Tribal Chairwoman Kathryn Harrison. Margaret, Merle and Marvin initiated the effort and worked hard to make it successful. Kathryn, who worked on both the restoration of the Siletz Tribe and the Grand Ronde Tribe, later became a legendary Tribal chair. Former Tribal Chairwoman Cheryle A. Kennedy, Barbara Mercier, Jackie Whisler, former Tribal Chairman Mark Mercier and many others all had parts to play and became Tribal leaders in the following decades. Of the non-Tribal names, Senator Mark Hatfield, Congressman Les AuCoin, and Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse all worked to help the Tribe be

---

restored, while President Ronald Reagan signed the Tribe’s restoration bill. These people are all included in the Tribe’s Restoration as celebrated figures in our recent history.

![Margaret Provost in 2012](www.andyjenness.wordpress.com)

The question of why we were restored is explained by Kathryn Harrison. Harrison said that the Tribal Council got the political leaders to agree that Restoration was the best thing that could occur to save the Tribe. The Tribal people had suffered so much with Termination that only the ability to help themselves would preserve this vital Oregon culture. In the era of civil rights, the Tribe benefitted from national cultural conflicts by successfully presenting the situation that they needed federal status to preserve their culture.
Therefore, every year on or about November 22nd, the Tribe has a Restoration celebration, and each year the format is a bit different. All Tribal members and their families are welcome, and the Tribe issues special invitations to a number of dignitaries. All of the events are open to Tribal members and invited guests, while the powwow at the end of the day is open for anyone to attend. Many Tribal members travel long distances to return to the Tribe for just this celebration so they can see all of their relatives.

In 2012, the 29th celebration, the Tribe had its celebration on Sunday, Nov. 18th, because the anniversary fell on Thanksgiving Day. The Tribe began with traditional songs and dances in the plank house in the morning. The membership witnessed the traditional ceremony of hand-drum songs and dances by gathering in the stands. During this part of the day, the ceremony was led by Bobby Mercier, who talked to the Tribal ancestors in
Chinuk Wawa and told the history of Tribal struggles to the audience. Elders, Tribal Council members and important Tribal dignitaries also spoke and sang if invited to.

This event blessed the day and at about noon the membership and guests convened at the Tribal gym, where they prepared for a brunch and watched video presentations of Tribal history. Tribal Council made a presentation about the meaning of the celebration to the Tribe and the assembled watched a video showing who among the Tribe’s Elders have passed in the last year. A genealogical chart was strung along one wall of the gym and people were invited to add details as they saw fit.

![Figure 6. Tribal members viewing the Tribal genealogy chart. From left – three unknown Tribal members, Steve Bobb Sr. (Tribal Council) and Dave Leno on right. Photo Michelle Alaimo, Smoke Signals Newspaper.](image)

After these presentations, the assembled membership and guests ate together while participating in raffle giveaways. Dinner was of traditional foods, salmon and elk meat, and served by Tribal councilors, Public Affairs, Royalty and other staff of the Tribe. Entertainment during the brunch was provided by Jan Looking Wolf Reibach, who played a flute song from his award-winning repertoire. The Canoe Family sang at least three drum songs while the dancers danced around the perimeter of the gym.
After brunch, the gym was transformed into a powwow arena and welcomed anyone to attend. Chairs were arranged circling the center and Tribal vendor tables ringed the walls. This year we had at least six drum groups from Warm Springs, Klamath, Chemawa, Salem and Grand Ronde at the celebration. The Grand Ronde Veterans Honor Guard opened the powwow by bringing in the flags. The drums played many different songs, and the intertribal, round and owl dances were meant for all attendees to come dance on the floor. We also heard traditional songs for fancy, traditional and jingle dancers. We also had Chemawa students doing exhibitions of fancy dancing and hoop dancing. This year we had visitation from a Tribal film crew recording a documentary about Native dance. The event ended at 8 p.m.

The Restoration celebration reminds the people that the Tribe was on the brink of absolute destruction, that we were suffering from assimilation and loss of identity, and that many of our people had lost connections with their families and Tribes. It also reminds us that the Tribe has come back from this brink to become one of the most successful of the restored Tribes in western Oregon. Today, the tribal population exceeds
5,200 members, one of the largest in Oregon, and our casino, Spirit Mountain, is the most successful in the Northwest. The Tribe has given more than $60 million to cultural, social and Tribal organizations in western Oregon, and is one of the top 10 charitable agencies in Oregon. It reminds us that the Tribe is a significant member of the Oregon community and is dedicated to remaining fully immersed as a partner in state, federal and local organizations. And it reminds us that the Tribes of Grand Ronde have been here for at least 14,000 years and we plan to stay a vital part of the Oregon community forever.
Cultural Vector

The culture of the Grand Ronde Tribe is undergoing a period of complex development. With the growth of elements like the canoe culture, the plank house, teachings of the language and culture, protection of cultural resources, collections of historical writing, research on Tribal history and the development of the museum, we will have most of the elements in place to control our cultural destiny. Our efforts are made to preserve and protect, recover and restore, and then to heal from multiple generations of trauma focused on the Tribe. The Tribe’s ultimate mission is to rise to a place where our culture and community life-ways are practiced and preserved strong enough so that the Tribe can weather the political storms of the future.

The Tribe is much more than a political entity, or a corporation, but a living expression of the will of the people. We are descendants of more than 30 Tribes, and inheritors of a complex history of engagement with all of the cultures, ethnicities and peoples of Oregon. These are notions that we seek to reveal from the veil of history as it has been written previously. Furthermore, we seek to promote understanding on the part of all peoples in the region of the Tribe’s rightful place in western Oregon.

These are our traditional homelands, these 14 million acres, and the Tribe will always be the steward of these lands. Tribal members are spiritually and emotionally linked to this land through their shared histories. We have more than 14,000 years of history and cultural interaction with western Oregon; we created this place, and we continue to work for the well-being of this place, our Tribal homelands, our world.

Note About The Special Edition

These three articles previously appeared in the first three issues of Willamette Valley Voices. The articles have been updated according to changes in some information about the tribe. Some details of history have been updated as well as we continue to find new information about tribal history which changes our understandings. This is a continuous process of research and rethinking who we are and the details of how we got to this place in the tribe’s history.
To learn more about Grand Ronde’s culture and history, check out the CTGR’s Culture webpage at: http://www.grandronde.org/culture/.

At this site you can explore Tribal history, including Termination and Restoration, through Ntsayka Ikanum: Our Story, which traces the journey of the Grand Ronde people. Our Story: A Virtual Experience is a distillation of the eras and facets of Grand Ronde history and culture for the edification of Tribal members and the general public.

In addition to Ntsayka Ikanum: Our Story, the CTGR’s Culture page offers information on Site Protection and Cultural Collection. Site Protection: The mission of Site Protection is to manage our cultural resources in accordance with our traditions, applicable laws, regulations and professional standards, wherever they occur on our Tribal lands, our ceded lands and within our traditional usual and accustomed gathering places.

Cultural Collection: The Cultural Collection program’s mission is to preserve and perpetuate the cultural heritage of the original Tribes of the Grand Ronde community by acquiring, managing and protecting Tribally affiliated collections through exhibition, loan and repatriation.

For more information, contact: cultural@grandronde.org.