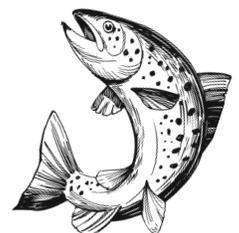


*Echo of Falling Water:*  
*The Inundation of Celilo Falls*

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Kyler Wang & Alan Zhou  
Senior Division  
Group Documentary  
Process Paper: 500 words



## *Process Paper*

Despite living in Oregon, neither of us was originally familiar with this topic. While looking at the exhibits at the Oregon Historical Society, we stumbled upon a short video describing the inundation of Celilo Falls. We realized we were looking, for the first time, at the darker side of the hydropower movement, a topic almost always portrayed in a positive light. While there are many examples of displacement of indigenous peoples along the Columbia, the destruction of Celilo Falls remains the most flagrant example. We were intrigued by the event itself, and also its larger relevance to federal policy and twentieth-century economic development.

The bulk of our research was done at the Oregon Historical Society research library, where we looked at primary-source newspaper articles, film clips, and documents. Through the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, we interviewed Ed Edmo and Tabitha Whitefoot, former residents of the inundated region. They put us in contact with Linda Meanus, who spoke about her experiences living in Celilo Village with her great-grandfather, Chief Tommy Thompson. As non-Natives, we were unable to fully understand Celilo Falls' importance at a visceral level, and knew that facts and statistics would not do the event justice. These interviews allowed us, and our viewers, to connect with the event emotionally. Later, we reached out to the Army Corps of Engineers, who gave us a private tour of the dam and access to numerous primary-source reports, memos, and plans from their research library. Our most important secondary-sources were *Death of Celilo Falls* by Dr. Katrine Barber, professor at Portland State University, and the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, a compilation of papers on Celilo Falls. These two sources gave a

comprehensive view of the event, covering multiple perspectives and thoroughly analysing its motivations and impacts.

We knew that primary-source interviews would be key to creating a compelling research project about Celilo Falls. The documentary medium allowed us to convey these interviews directly to viewers, unlike in a research paper or exhibit. The bulk of our footage came from VHS tapes from the OHS Moving Images Archive. We recorded the script on a Marantz MPM-2000 microphone and filmed using Panasonic G7 and Panasonic AF100 cameras. The documentary was assembled and edited using Adobe Premiere Pro.

When we began researching this topic, we thought we had a clear understanding of how this event connected to “triumph and tragedy”: the Dalles Dam was the triumph, and the inundation of Celilo Falls was the tragedy. However, we realized that the actual event was not so black and white; rather, it connected to the theme on a more abstract level. The Dalles Dam, in itself, was not that big a triumph. Instead, it was the idea it represented that made it so irresistible to the American people. The Dam was seen as a physical manifestation of American greatness and technological progress. America’s need for triumph, and the resulting tragedy, is a theme echoed throughout American history, especially in interactions between federal government and indigenous peoples.

## *Primary Sources, Annotated*

### **Interviews**

Edmo, Ed. Personal Interview. April 22, 2019. Ed Edmo lived in Celilo Village until the Falls was inundated when he was eleven years old. He shared memories of Celilo Falls, inundation, and being relocated following the destruction of Celilo Village. He provided us with a deeper emotional understanding of the event in a way that our other sources could not fully convey. In our documentary, we used a clip of him describing the legacy of Celilo Falls to support our description of the inundation's cultural impacts on Celilo Village.

Meanus, Linda. Personal Interview. June 3, 2019. Linda Meanus lived with her great-grandfather, Chief Tommy Thompson, in Celilo Village until the Falls was inundated when she was six years old. She described Chief Thompson's character and leadership through her personal experiences living with him, helping us characterize him in a more personal way in our documentary. She shared childhood memories of Celilo Falls and the day of inundation, becoming deeply emotional during the interview. Her deep emotional connection to Celilo Falls, even over 60 years later, made us realize the magnitude of this tragedy in a way that our written and audiovisual sources could not. We used a clip from her interview when describing Tommy Thompson's death.

Shenk, Brian. Phone Interview. May 17, 2019. Brian Shenk is the chief at the U.S Army Corps of Engineers Hydropower Analysis Center. He spoke as a primary-source on the economic role of hydropower in the region and the importance of the Dalles Dam. He explained the rationale behind building the dam upstream of the Falls, and also compared the Dalles Dam to other dams like the Hoover and Grand Coulee dams. We used this interview to support our claim that the Dalles Dam accomplished its intended goal of producing hydropower and improving river navigation.

Whitefoot, Tabitha. Personal Interview. May 23, 2019. Tabitha Whitefoot is a member of the Yakama Nation who lived at Spearfish, Washington until it was inundated by the Dalles Dam when she was four years old. She described the sounds and smells of the Falls, its legacy, and Celilo Village's resilience in the decades since. In our documentary, we used her description of the Falls as the opening scene, and also her memories from the day of inundation to describe the event.

## Periodicals

“An Open River for the Northwest.” *The Colville Examiner*. February 1, 1919. This article triumphantly describes a \$2,000,000 appropriation by Congress going toward the construction of the Celilo Canal, opening up river navigation past the Falls and further inland. The Dalles Lock and Dam was later built to solve this same problem of navigation, calling into question whether Celilo Falls really needed to be inundated. Furthermore, this source provided insight into the “Inland Empire” and the importance of trade. We used this source to examine river navigation difficulties and the importance of trade in the early 20th century Pacific Northwest.

Castner, Charles F. “Save Celilo Falls!” *The Oregonian*. May 19, 1952. This editorial, written by a Native American fisher, presents numerous arguments against the dam, including ones about salmon population, spiritual importance, United States obligation, and nuclear energy. These arguments shed light on the dam’s treaty violations, an argument we explained in the documentary. We also used this source’s discussion of treaty violations and government promises as part of our documentary’s analysis of the event.

“Chief Tommy Thompson Never Accepted Loss of Ancestral Fishing Grounds.” April, 1959. This newspaper clipping from the Celilo Falls Vertical File at the Oregon Historical Society explains that Chief Tommy Thompson never accepted the settlement from the United States Army Corps of Engineers, saying that he would never “signature away his salmon.” It furthered our understanding of the profound loss Chief Thompson felt from the inundation, and demonstrated that Celilo Falls held extreme cultural value as well as economic value to residents of Celilo Village.

*Evening star*. [volume] (Washington, D.C.), 02 Jan. 1938. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1938-01-02/ed-1/seq-100.pdf>. This newspaper infographic explores fishing life at Celilo Falls. It takes a lighthearted tone, taking a focused look at one particular family living in the area. Besides using it in our documentary for its visual appeal, its cheerful, oversimplified description also revealed that outsiders saw Celilo Falls simply as a tourist attraction, not a location with real cultural value.

"Indians Fight Dam as Blow to 'Rights'." *The New York Times*, May 17, 1953. This newspaper lists different forms of opposition to the dam, and also the government's attempts at deciding on a settlement. It focuses, in particular, on the Yakama Tribe's efforts at relocating the dam to a location thirteen miles upstream. The article, presumably written by a white reporter, has a clear bias against the Native American protesters, giving us a window into the perspective of white Americans at the time. Because the opinion of white Americans dictated policy, this article helped us better understand federal actions around the dam.

"Indians in Church Appeal for Shrine; 4 Yakima Chiefs Ask Christians to Help Save Celilo Falls From Dam in Oregon." *The New York Times*, February 2, 1953. This newspaper article describes the efforts of Native Americans to build a coalition in support of Celilo Falls. It further describes their support from Senator Wayne Morse and the Portland Women's Forum, and also the government's indifferent response. These white supporters held more power than the tribes, and became key to gaining financial and social capital during settlement negotiations.

"Indian Orator Take Stand Against Dam." *The Dalles Optimist*, April 27, 1945. This article reports that a number of representatives from the Warm Springs, Umatilla, and Yakama reservations protested the construction of the Dalles Dam before Colonel Ralph Tudor of the Army Corps of Engineers. It gave us an understanding of the arguments made against the dam and also provided numerous quotes from tribal leaders, including Tommy Thompson. We used this source to identify key tribal and government leaders involved in the protests.

J. J. W. "Dams and Fish." *The Dalles Chronicle*. May 2, 1949. This article describes the fishing industry in the Dalles, and concludes that the relatively small fishing industry is not as economically important as dam construction. It provided information about non-Indian use of the river and conflicts within the region's fishing industry, and also the perspective of residents of the Dalles. It revealed the complexity of the conflict as not strictly between Natives and non-Natives, but also inclusive of dam-opposed white commercial fishermen.

Lawrence, Davies E. "DAM ON COLUMBIA MAY BE COSTLIEST; Newest Project in Northwest Power Pool, The Dalles, Is in Era of Mounting Costs." *The New York Times*, June 21, 1953. This newspaper article's criticizes the cost of the dam, but concludes that the dam's benefits are worth the cost. It only briefly mentions opposition from Native Americans, revealing that Americans were more concerned about the dam's costs than the loss of Celilo Falls. This article helped us understand the concerns Americans had in regards to dam construction.

Lawrence, Davies E. "Nixon Dedicates a Giant Dam on the Columbia." *The New York Times*, October 11, 1959. This front-page New York Times Article discusses then-Vice President Richard Nixon's dedication of the Dalles Dam. It further explains the dam's financial figures and the politics surrounding it, describing the positions of Democratic and Republican politicians. This article provided us with information about the political impacts the dam had.

Lindsay, George. "Indians Make Final Pilgrimage to Fishing Spot at Celilo Falls." *The Oregonian*, October 31, 1956. This newspaper article describes the last Celilo Falls fishing season. It focuses on the life of Lester Bennet, a 54-year-old fisherman who had fished at Celilo almost his entire life. The article provided insight into how the inundation affected Celilo fishermen at a personal level, which we used in our documentary to describe the dam's immediate impacts.

Mattila, Walter. "Ailing Chief Misses Last Celilo Fishing." *Oregon Journals*. September 9, 1956. This newspaper article describes Chief Tommy Thompson's inability to see the last Celilo fishing season due to illness. It provided insight into Tommy Thompson's character and illustrates his passion for the falls through quotes from him and his wife, Flora Thompson. We used this source to chronicle the last Celilo Fishing season and characterize Tommy Thompson in our documentary.

McCarten, Larry. "Chief Tommy Wishes to Return to Falls." *Oregon Journal*. February 8, 1959.

This article, written two months before Tommy Thompson's death, illustrates the impact the Dalles Dam had on the Chief's health. It explains that Thompson was unable to sleep well because of the "terrible dreams" he had about Celilo Falls' inundation. We used details from this article to better characterize Tommy Thompson in our documentary and depict the importance the Falls had to him.

McKeown, Martha F. "Members of Ancient Tribe Worried About Apparent Attempt by Whites To Go Back on Treaty Signed in 1855." *The Sunday Oregonian*, October 6, 1946. This article, written before the construction of the dam, reveals that violation of treaty fishing rights were common long before the inundation of the falls. It gave us a new understanding of the complicated, tumultuous relationship between tribal members and white settlers on the Columbia in the 19th and 20th centuries. We used this source as a starting point in establishing the white-Native dynamic in the Dalles region.

"Plan for New Celilo Falls Indian Village Attacked in Letter from Chief Thompson." *The Oregonian*, May 23, 1949. This letter from Celilo Village Chief Tommy Thompson and Councilman Charlie Quitalkin expresses unhappiness with a proposal to move the village to the south side of the Columbia River. It discusses multiple reasons why the new proposal would not be adequate, one being that fish drying would be less efficient. This letter gave us information about the effects of relocating Celilo Village and the cultural values residents of Celilo Village held dear. The failure of this protest further illustrated the federal government's indifferent attitude toward residents of the village.

Zimmerman, Jack. "1 Man Credited as Driving Force Behind Columbia's Newest Dam." *The Oregonian*. October 12, 1959. This article gave us information on Wallace S. Nelson, manager of the Dalles Chamber of Commerce. It depicts Nelson and the Dalles Dam in a positive light and praises the dam as a triumph. We used this source to identify Nelson as a key figure in the construction of the dam. Furthermore, the article's omission of Celilo Falls helped us understand the greater American public's ignorance of Celilo Falls' importance.

## Audiovisual

*Beneath Stilled Waters*. 02298, OHS Moving Image Archives. VHS, ca. 1946-1957. This VHS tape is a compilation of various recorded TV clips from 1946-1957, including a KATU program and a press release. In one clip, the reporter took a condescending tone as he described the residents of Celilo Village, providing insight into the degrading and patronizing view of Native Americans many Americans had at the time. The footage gave us an inside look at life in the Village prior to inundation. We also used a clip of fishermen riding on the cable-boxes when describing fishing at Celilo Falls.

Bonneville Power Administration. *Look to the River*. ca. 1940's. 06953. Oregon Historical Society Moving Image Archives. This promotional film describes various hydropower projects on the Columbia, such as the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams. The film's optimistic, exaggerated tone captures the era's rhetoric of progress, a lens we analyze in our documentary. We used footage from this film when describing the hydropower movement at the beginning of the documentary.

*Celilo Falls*. 02131, OHS Moving Image Archives. VHS, ca. 1924. This VHS tape depicts life at Celilo in the early 20th century. It provided us with footage of Celilo Falls from over thirty years before the dam's completion, and is the closest representation to traditional life on the Columbia we could find. We used footage from this film when describing the history and traditions of Celilo Falls.

*Celilo Falls*. 01335, OHS Moving Image Archives. VHS, 1948. This tape depicts life at Celilo Falls in the years before inundation, including fishing on the platforms, a pan of the falls, and a barge going through the Celilo Canal. We used footage from this tape at the beginning of the documentary when describing traditional life on the Columbia, and also when discussing Celilo's role as a marketplace.

*The Columbia*. Bonneville Power Administration, 1949. *Internet Archive*, uploaded by FDR Presidential Library. This film, produced by the Bonneville Power Administration, includes rare footage of the Columbia, including rare footage of the Grand Coulee Dam Construction and fishing at Celilo Falls. It also includes songs by Woody Guthrie, a famous musician from the time period, which we later used in the documentary. We also used numerous clips to support our description of the region, dam construction, and fishing.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: "Address at Bonneville Dam, Oregon.," September 28, 1937. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15469>. In this dedication speech, Franklin D. Roosevelt describes the importance of hydropower to the Pacific Northwest region. His rhetoric centers around the same idea of “progress” and “triumph” that we discuss in our analysis of the event. Information from this audio clip helped us understand how the Dalles Dam fit into the greater hydropower movement.

*Navigation on the Columbia*. 06645, Oregon Historical Society Moving Images Archive. Washington State Reporter, 1955. This news clip describes the history of navigation on the Columbia and outlines commercial traffic. It discussed the importance of river trade and navigation, one of the main motivations behind building the Dalles Dam. We also used footage from this tape when discussing river navigation as a motivation for building dams.

*Time-Lapse of Celilo Falls Disappearing Under Water from The Dalles Dam*. 01746, OHS Moving Image Archives. VHS, 1957. This tape includes a time-lapse of the inundation of Celilo Falls, and also footage of the dam’s construction. We used footage from this film when describing the construction process and the day of the dam’s completion.

Oregon Historical Society. "Yakama Nation & Corps Discuss Celilo Settlement." December 1954. *Oregon History Project*. This is a photo of representatives of the Yakama tribe negotiating with the United States government for financial compensation for the destruction of Celilo Falls. We used this photograph in our documentary.

Office of Indian Affairs, Division of Motion Pictures. “Rebuilding Indian Country.” Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933. Electronically published November 1, 2012. *Youtube*, uploaded by Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission. [youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=99&v=IovgQLj0hH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=99&v=IovgQLj0hH4). This is a film produced by the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933. We used this film to further our understanding of the dynamic between the federal government and indigenous peoples, and also some of its clips in our documentary.

*The Last Salmon Feast of the Celilo Indians*. Directed by Thomas Vaughn. Oregon Historical Society. Uploaded to Youtube by James Parker, [youtube.com/watch?v=UY\\_GO0kgYkE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UY_GO0kgYkE). This Oregon Historical Society film documents the last First Salmon Ceremony in 1956. The film provided the only available footage of the First Salmon Feast from before inundation, and was our only visual representation of the traditional event. We used clips from this film to accompany our description of the First Food Ceremonies.

## Additional Sources

“Columbia River and Minor Tributaries.” House Document 103, 73rd Congress 1st session. March 19, 1932. StreamNet Regional Library, [streamnetlibrary.org/bibliographies/congressional-documents/columbia-river-and-minor-tributaries](http://streamnetlibrary.org/bibliographies/congressional-documents/columbia-river-and-minor-tributaries). These are the “308 Reports,” detailing a plan for hydroelectricity on the Columbia River conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers. This comprehensive water survey led to the recommendation that a series of dams be built on the Columbia, including the Dalles Dam. The reports explain just how important dams were to the United States government, and why they chose the Columbia River. We used these reports to support the connection between the Depression-era dams and the Dalles Dam.

Celilo Falls. 1952-1960. MS 280: 17, The Association of American Indian Affairs Archives, General and Tribal Files, 1851-1983: Tribal Files. Mudd Library, Princeton University. Indigenous Peoples: North America (accessed May 10, 2019). This file includes various primary-source news articles about Celilo Falls, from tribal resistance to the inundation’s aftermath. These news articles, mostly written by white Americans, offered a window into the majority voice at the time. We also found many of the news articles and editorials particularly helpful in understanding arguments for and against the dam.

*Summary Report on the Indian Fishery at Celilo Falls and Vicinity Columbia River 1947-1954.* Prepared by the Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior for Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army Portland, Oregon, District. August 1955. This report summarizes the results of the 4-year fishing report conducted by the Fish and Wildlife service. It provides detailed information on the fish catch and trading at Celilo, for example finding that the average annual catch was 2,353,000 pounds. We used this information to examine the economic ramifications of the Dalles Dam, and also better understand the rationale behind the settlement.

Portland District, Corps of Engineers. “Special Report on Indian Fisher Problem- The Dalles Dam.” 10 Mar. 1952. StreamNet Regional Library. [docs.streamnetlibrary.org/USACE/Indian\\_Fishery\\_Problem-1952.pdf](http://docs.streamnetlibrary.org/USACE/Indian_Fishery_Problem-1952.pdf). This report published by the Corps of Engineers explains Native American opposition to the Dalles Dam. It describes various treaty claims made by each tribe in detail. It showed us the extent that the government was aware of Celilo Falls in the early 1950s, and illustrated a complex, antagonistic relationship between the federal government and tribes on the Columbia.

"Map showing Indian Reservations within the limits of the United States compiled under the direction of the Hon. T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs." U.S. Census Office. 11th Census. 1890, V.10 follows page 34, 1890 Census. This map, made in 1890 by the United States government, depicts the locations of tribal reservations. It gave us information about where the Columbia river people were relocated to following various 19th century treaties, including the Treaty of 1855, and deepened our understanding of the federal government's history of land claims in the Columbia region.

McKeown, Martha F. Martha McKeown to Barbara MacKenzie. May 20, 1956. In *Celilo Falls Indian Relocation Project Collection*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society. This letter from Martha McKeown, ally of Celilo Village, to Barbara MacKenzie describes the poor housing conditions at the new Celilo Village. It gave us examples of problems residents faced, such as a woman named Hazel who could not access medical treatment because she was a "non-reservation Indian." This source helped us identify Celilo Village's non-reservation status as one of many problems that plagued the Village.

McKeown, Martha F. "Memo Regarding non-reservation Indians living in the Columbia River Gorge." Portland: 1955. This memo includes a resolution passed in 1955 by the Daughters of the American Revolution Oregon State Society, calling upon the United States Congress to make amends for the construction of the dam. This memo gave us a better understanding of opposition from non-Native civic groups. It demonstrated that the conflict was not strictly between Native Americans and white people, but much more complicated than we previously believed.

Oregon Congress. House. *House Concurrent Resolution*. April 23, 1959. This 1959 Oregon House Resolution honors the life of Chief Thompson. Although it does not explicitly mention Celilo Falls, it indicates implicitly that the Oregon government was aware of Celilo Falls' deep cultural importance. It also revealed to us that Chief Thompson was well-known and highly respected by the Oregon government.

"Ratified Indian Treaty 293: Walla Walla and Wasco Columbia River." National Archives Catalog. June 25, 1855. This treaty guarantees Native American rights to fish at all "usual and accustomed stations," and became a key point of contention dam construction. This treaty not only enhanced our understanding of arguments made against the construction of the dam, it also expanded our view of the event as not an isolated event, but one of many in a series of broken treaties in the Columbia region. We discussed this treaty in our documentary to explain resistance to the Dalles Dam..

R. W. Schoning, T.R. Merrell, Jr. , D.R. Johnson. Oregon Fish Commission, Portland, OR. November, 1951. *The Indian Dip Net Fishery at Celilo Falls on The Columbia River*. This report reports on fishing at Celilo Falls, with detailed economic and fishing statistics. It also provided detailed information on the fishing and trading processes at Celilo Falls, such as the type of nets the fishers used. We used this report to support our economic analyses and descriptions of fishing at Celilo.

*Summary Report on Indian Fishery Census*. U.S. Department of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of the Regional Director Swan Island Portland 18, Oregon. 1952-1955. These four annual reports thoroughly detail fishing and sales data from 1951-1954. It records all financial transactions and instances of fishing during these four years, and later became one of the key documents used during settlement negotiations. We used these reports to examine the dam's economic impacts and to better understand the settlement negotiations.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Portland District. "Post Authorization Change for Celilo Village Redevelopment." May 2003. This document discusses modern day Celilo Village redevelopment plans, and includes tribal resolutions, correspondence between the Army Corps and the tribes, and sketches of redevelopment plans. It demonstrated the government's recent attempts to make amends, supporting the optimistic outlook we took at the end of our documentary.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Portland District. *Special Report on Preparation & Execution of Plan for Vice Presidential Dedication of The Dalles Dam on October 10 1959*. This hundred-page report chronicles Vice President Richard Nixon's dedication of the Dalles Dam, and includes flyers and promotional material from the event. It provided information on the marching band, airshow, watershow, and VIP luncheon. In our documentary, we used the event's pomp and celebratory tone to connect the Dalles Dam back to the theme of Triumph and Tragedy. For the average white American, the Dalles Dam - and the hydropower movement - represented a huge triumph.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Portland District. *The Dalles Lock & Dam Master Plan*. August 1975. This Master Plan was intended to guide development, management, and conservation of the land and water resources of the Dalles Dam project in the years after 1975. It also outlined the dam's economic objectives, stating that power generation made up 96.2 percent of benefits, with navigation and recreation making up the other four percent of benefits. We used this source in our analysis of the dam's economic impacts near the end of our documentary.

## *Secondary Sources, Annotated*

### **Interviews**

Barber, Katrine. Personal Interview. February 6, 2019. Katrine Barber is the author of *Death of Celilo Falls* and *In Defense of Wyam: Indigenous-White Alliances and the Struggle for Celilo Village*. She is also a professor at Portland State University, specializing in the survivance of Native American nations in the Pacific Northwest. She provided a rich discussion of Celilo Falls, thoroughly analyzing the motivations behind the dam's construction and the complex dynamics between white fishermen, Native American fishermen, and residents of the Dalles. We used a clip of her explaining the importance of American "progress" in our analysis of the event.

Edmo, John D. Personal Interview. April 22, 2019. John Edmo is a Native American youth advocate and musician. Although he did not witness the event firsthand, his father, Ed Edmo lived in Celilo Village until he was 11 years old. John spoke on the legacy of Celilo Falls, how it connected to modern events, and shared relevant personal experiences. He also played music for us, which we used in our documentary.

Larson, Pamela. Personal Interview. May 14, 2019. Pamela Larson is an educator specializing in the inundation of Celilo Falls, and has worked with many former residents of Celilo Village through her work. We discussed the federal government's recent attempts to make amends for the inundation and modern day fishing at Celilo. She spoke about the public's ignorance of this historical event, and brought a modern perspective that we were not previously exposed to.

Tilton, Amber. Personal Interview. April 28, 2019. Amber Tilton is the main park ranger at the Dalles Dam. She discussed a wide range of topics, such as the salmon population and the dam's hydropower production, and also gave us a private tour of the dam. Before interviewing her, we did not realize the full extent of the dam's generation capacity - it alone can power two cities the size of Portland, Oregon.

## Periodicals

Babits, Sadie. "Celilo Village Is Rebuilt, But Poverty Remains." Oregon Public Broadcasting, OPB, 17 July 2012, [www.opb.org/news/article/celilo-village-rebuilt-poverty-remains/](http://www.opb.org/news/article/celilo-village-rebuilt-poverty-remains/). This article gave us information on the inundation's effect on Celilo Village, over 60 years later. It discusses the poor living conditions at Celilo and the Corps' recent attempts at improving housing and redeveloping the village. This source gave us further insight into the way that the government has tried to redeem itself since the inundation, and revealed a more optimistic future for federal-Indian policy.

"First Foods Ceremony Lives On." The Dalles Chronicle, 20 Apr. 2018, [www.thedalleschronicle.com/news/local/first-foods-ceremony-lives-on/article\\_5c3955e4-e1e7-50c1-a60c-4270e56100db.html](http://www.thedalleschronicle.com/news/local/first-foods-ceremony-lives-on/article_5c3955e4-e1e7-50c1-a60c-4270e56100db.html). This article describes the First Salmon Ceremony, a Celilo tradition that has existed for centuries. It gave us information on the Creation Story and the continuance of Celilo traditions. The article, quoting current residents of Celilo, explains the importance of salmon in tribal cultural and religious practices.

Rojas-Burke, Joe. "Sonar shows Celilo Falls are intact." *The Oregonian*. November 28, 2008. This article disproves the rumor that Celilo Falls was exploded by dynamite during construction of the dam. While unlikely, this proves that Celilo Falls could exist again if the Dalles Dam was removed from the river, a possibility we hint near the end of our documentary.

## Audiovisual

*Grand Coulee Dam: A Man-Made Marvel*. Bureau of Reclamation Pacific Northwest Region's Public Affairs Office. 13 May 2014, [usbr.gov/pn/grandcoulee/history/construction/index.html](http://usbr.gov/pn/grandcoulee/history/construction/index.html). This video documents the construction process of the Grand Coulee Dam. It provided an overview of the start of the hydropower movement and the Grand Coulee's displacement of Native Americans. It demonstrated that displacement of Native Americans was not an isolated incident, but a greater byproduct of the hydropower movement as a whole. We used a clip of its construction when we explained the beginning of the hydropower in our documentary.

Harbarger, Molly. "Celilo Village Through the Years (Historical Photos)." *The Oregonian/OregonLive*, 2016. [oregonlive.com/politics/2016/05/celilo\\_through\\_the\\_years.html](http://oregonlive.com/politics/2016/05/celilo_through_the_years.html). This collection of photos document the change Celilo Village has undertaken over the last century. We used post-inundation photos from this collection to illustrate the poor quality of living of the reconstructed Celilo Village.

Howard, Brian Clark. "River Revives After Largest Dam Removal in U.S. History." *National Geographic*, June 2, 2016, [news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/06/largest-dam-removal-elwha-river-restoration-environment](http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/06/largest-dam-removal-elwha-river-restoration-environment). This article describes the removal of the Elwha Dam and its impact on the local ecosystem. It also includes a timelapse of dam removal that we used in our documentary. While it was too early to see the long term environmental impacts, early tests have shown an increase in salmon population and habitat restoration.

*The Story of Hoover Dam*. C-Span, Department of the Interior, 1955, [c-span.org/video/?321009-1/reel-america-the-story-hoover-dam](http://c-span.org/video/?321009-1/reel-america-the-story-hoover-dam). This film was created during the construction of the Dalles Dam, and it provides information on the Hoover Dam and the greater hydroelectricity movement. We also used a clip from this film when describing the Hoover Dam as a pioneer in the hydropower movement.

## Additional Sources

- American Rivers. 2019. Raw Dataset— ARDamRemovalList\_figshare\_2018. Figshare. doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5234068.v5. This database gave us information on dam removal from the last couple of decades. It shows that over 900 dams have been removed from 1990 to 2015, a statistic we use in our documentary. It demonstrates that dam removal isn't a phenomenon limited to the Elwha or the Pacific Northwest, but has become widespread nationally.
- Barber, Katrine. *Death of Celilo Falls*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005. This book was the most comprehensive source we found on the topic. It not only thoroughly described the events leading to and following the inundation of Celilo Falls, it also included detailed analysis, placing it in the larger context of the twentieth century.
- Barber, Katrine. *In Defense of Wyam: Native-White Alliances and the Struggle for Celilo Village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, June 2018. This book takes a focused look at the alliance between two of the most influential figures at the time of the destruction. It furthered our understanding of dynamics within Celilo Village and between white settlers and Native Americans.
- Barber, Katrine, and Andrew H. Fisher. "From Coyote to the Corps of Engineers: Recalling the History of the Dalles—Celilo Reach." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 4 (2007): 520-31. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615790>. This essay gives a higher-level analysis of the event, providing the perspectives of numerous former Celilo fishers. We used this source to look at Celilo Falls' larger relevance to the Columbia River's history in our documentary's analysis.
- Binus, John. "Umatilla Indians Compensated for Celilo Flooding." Oregon History Project, 2003. [oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/umatilla-indians-compensated-for-celilo-flooding/#.XMJ3EOhKjb1](http://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/umatilla-indians-compensated-for-celilo-flooding/#.XMJ3EOhKjb1). This article discusses settlements following the inundation of Celilo Falls, and outlines the relationship between government and Native Americans. Additionally, it provided a detailed explanation of the negotiation proceedings. We used a photograph of settlement negotiations from this source in our documentary.

Fredlund, Diana. "The Corps of Engineers and Celilo Falls: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 4 (2007): 688-97.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615813>. This paper chronicles major milestones for Celilo Village in the decades after inundation, specifically Public Law 100-581, which guaranteed in-lieu fishing sites, and the housing redevelopment in 2007. It takes these federal actions as evidence of an optimistic future of Celilo, arguing that the United States is finally living up to responsibilities stemming from the treaty of 1855. In our documentary, we used this paper to support this optimistic stance, while also examining other events, like the Dakota Access Pipeline, as a sign of caution.

Fifer, Barbara. "Native Life in the Columbia Gorge." *Discovering Lewis & Clark*, Oct. 2006, [www.lewis-clark.org/article/2729](http://www.lewis-clark.org/article/2729). This article describes the history of indigenous settlement around the Columbia River. It provided us with insight about trading in the Dalles and Long Narrows region before white settlement, helping us better understand what life was like on the Columbia. We used this source to identify unique cultural characteristics of the inhabitants of the region, including first food ceremonies and the importance of fishing.

Harbarger, Molly. "Celilo Village through the Years (Historical Photos)." *Oregonlive.com*, 28 May 2016, [www.oregonlive.com/politics/2016/05/celilo\\_through\\_the\\_years.html](http://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2016/05/celilo_through_the_years.html). This collection of photos depicts the way that Celilo Village has changed over the years. It exposes the poor living conditions the village had following inundation, and includes photos we used in the documentary.

Lang, William L. "The Meaning of Falling Water: Celilo Falls and the Dalles in Historical Literature." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 4 (2007): 566-85.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615797>. This essay puts Celilo Falls in a historical context, explaining its history before the 20th century. It illustrated Celilo's larger relevance in histories of the Pacific Northwest, from the journals of Lewis and Clark to *The Oregonian*. We used this source to examine the majority voice at different stages of American history.

Parman, Donald L. "Inconstant Advocacy: The Erosion of Indian Fishing Rights in the Pacific Northwest, 1933-1956." *Pacific Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (1984): 163-89.  
[doi:10.2307/3639185](https://doi.org/10.2307/3639185). This paper gave us information on various fishing rights violations during the post-Depression era. It discusses the lawsuits and court decisions that laid the groundwork for evaluating Indian fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest. Furthermore, it helped us understand Celilo Falls through the lens of a dilemma it describes as "fish vs. power," which we examine in our documentary.

Larson, Samantha. "How the Elwha Dam Removals Changed the River's Mouth." University of Washington , Washington Sea Grant, January 18, 2018, [washington.edu/news/2018/01/18/how-the-elwha-dam-removals-changed-the-rivers-mouth/](http://washington.edu/news/2018/01/18/how-the-elwha-dam-removals-changed-the-rivers-mouth/). This article describes new scientific findings on the Elwha from 2017. It gave us information on the removal's effects on the local ecosystem and the Elwha Dam's role as a pioneer in dam removal processes. We discuss this event near the end of our documentary as evidence of a new era in hydropower.

"Navigation." Northwest Power and Conservation Council. Accessed April 15, 2019. [nwcouncil.org/reports/columbia-river-history/navigation](http://nwcouncil.org/reports/columbia-river-history/navigation). This article discusses how the hydropower movement allowed for easier boat travel through the Columbia. We used this source to understand the Dalles Dam's effect on Columbia River travel.

Oregon Department of Energy. "Energy in Oregon." State of Oregon: Energy in Oregon - Hydropower. [oregon.gov/energy/energy-oregon/Pages/Hydropower.aspx](http://oregon.gov/energy/energy-oregon/Pages/Hydropower.aspx). We used this resource to look at the lasting effects of hydropower on Pacific Northwest energy production, and also the process of electricity generation. It also touches upon the roles different departments of government have in managing the dams.

Reinhardt, Bob H. "Drowned Towns in the Cold War West: Small Communities and Federal Water Projects." *Wovestern Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2011): 149-72. doi:10.2307/westhistquar.42.2.0149. This paper looks at the towns of Hover, Washington and Detroit, Oregon - two towns that were inundated by dam construction in 1953 - as evidence of the nation's unity in the face of the Cold War. It added nuance to our understanding of the inundation of Celilo Falls, demonstrating that the event was not purely motivated by racism, but also by a larger American need for national security and economic development. We used this source to explain the motivations behind the Dalles Dam and Celilo Falls' larger relevance to the era. This paper's examination of America's sense of unity became the basis of our analysis of the hydropower movement at the beginning of the documentary.

"Significant Events in the History of Celilo Falls." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 4 (2007): 720-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615818>. This timeline chronicles the most important events in the history of Celilo Falls, from 25 million B.C.E to 2007. It gave a very wide view of the event, and served as a guide for all of our research.

U.S. Energy Information Administration.. "Oregon State Energy Profile Overview ." [eia.gov/state/?sid=OR#tabs-1](http://eia.gov/state/?sid=OR#tabs-1). This resource was key to our understanding of the importance of hydropower to the Pacific Northwest region. Hydropower continues to be the largest source of electricity production in Oregon, proving just how important dams are to the region.

Willingham, William F. "The Dalles Dam." The Oregon Encyclopedia. March 17, 2018. [oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/the\\_dalles\\_dam/#.W2OWkNJKiUk](http://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/the_dalles_dam/#.W2OWkNJKiUk). William Willingham, Ph.D served as a historian for the Corps of Engineers for fifteen years and has published numerous books on Dams on the Columbia. The article is very comprehensive in its description of the construction process, and the accompanying images were very relevant to the topic. We used the photographs to support our descriptions of the Dalles Dam in our documentary

## Music

Buffett, Peter. *Five Hundred Nations; a Musical Journey*. April 11, 1995. Epic Soundtrax , 1994, MP3. This album by Peter Buffett was composed for a CBS miniseries detailing the “exploitation of Native Americans and their land and property”. The track includes vocals by famous Native American singers and songwriters. Since the soundtrack has a dark, driving theme, we used it as background music when discussing the struggles that opponents of the Dalles Dam worked to overcome.

Guthrie, Woody. *The Columbia River Collection*. Moses Asch, 1941, MP3. This album is a compilation of songs by famous folk singer Woody Guthrie written during travels across Oregon and Washington in 1941. It captures the era’s sentiment towards hydropower and river development with songs such as “Roll On, Columbia” and “Grand Coulee”. We used Guthrie’s songs in our documentary when describing dam construction and the Columbia River.

Littleleaf, Charles. *Ancient Reflections*. 2002. Littleleaf Music. MP3. This album is by Native American flute player Charles Littleleaf, an enrolled member of the Warm Springs tribe. His music is inspired by memories of growing up on the reservation and echoes the Native American experience. We used his songs in our documentary when talking about Celilo Falls.

Miller, Glenn. *In the Mood*. September 1939. Bluebird Records, MP3. This hit record is by Glenn Miller, bandleader and trombonist from the big band era of the early 1940s. Its uplifting and driving feel made it perfect to use when describing the national atmosphere at the time.