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48 **Abstract**

49 Lasting effects of a Cascadia earthquake in 1700 were documented during surveys of
50 Chinookan tidelands near the mouth of the Columbia River between 1805 and 1868. The effects
51 resemble estuarine consequences, near Anchorage, of the 1964 Alaska earthquake: fatal
52 drowning of subsided meadows and forests by post-earthquake tides, rebirth of marshes and
53 forests through post-earthquake sedimentation and uplift. Chinookan remains of killed forests
54 were recorded by James Graham Cooper, John J. Lowell, and Cleveland Rockwell. Cooper,
55 attached to a railroad survey and the Smithsonian Institution, wrote of redcedar stumps and
56 trunks standing dead in tidal marshes of Shoalwater (now Willapa) Bay. Two such snags served
57 as bearing trees for Lowell as he platted a Shoalwater Bay township under contract with the
58 General Land Office. Rockwell, of the U. S. Coast Survey, flecked landward edges of tidal flats
59 west of Astoria with symbols that evoke remains of a bygone spruce forest. The Lewis and Clark
60 Expedition, while in that area in 1805–1806, mapped and puzzled over tideland vegetation that
61 post-1700 succession helps explain.

62

63 Keywords: earthquake, western redcedar, Sitka spruce, historical ecology

64 **Introduction**

65 The plate-tectonics revolution of the 1960s fostered modern views of Northwest
66 earthquake and tsunami hazards. The Cascadia Subduction Zone, where an oceanic plate
67 descends beneath the continental margin from southern British Columbia to northern California
68 (Figure 1), is recognized today as a source of very large earthquakes and attending tsunamis
69 (Thompson 2011, Doughton 2013, Henderson 2014, Walton et al. 2021). Their geological traces
70 correspond to accounts of shaking and flooding that Native peoples experienced a few centuries
71 ago (Ludwin et al. 2005, Thrush and Ludwin 2007). In that era, a Cascadia tsunami encountered
72 remains of a Manila galleon that had been wrecked on the Oregon coast in 1693 or 1694 (La
73 Follette et al. 2018), and a Pacific Ocean tsunami of remote origin caused documented flooding
74 in Japan that dates a parent earthquake in Cascadia to 26 January 1700 (Satake et al. 1996, 2003,
75 Atwater et al. 2015).

76 From this modern perspective, ecological effects of a 1700 Cascadia earthquake can be
77 spotted in field notes, reports, and maps from nineteenth-century surveys of Chinookan tidelands
78 of the Columbia River and Shoalwater Bay. The surveys encountered subfossil trees and
79 vegetated wetlands that resemble Anchorage-area effects of the 1964 Alaska earthquake, and
80 which can be ascribed today to land-level change and ecological succession (Figure 2).

81 **Earthquake cycles and their ecological effects**

82 Subduction can change land levels in cycles (Plafker 1969:64–66, Thatcher 1984). Two
83 tectonic plates, one descending beneath the other, are stuck together on a shallow part of the
84 plate-boundary fault, toward which the two plates are moving slowly (Figure 2f). The overriding
85 plate bulges behind this part of the fault. During an earthquake, the bulge collapses as fault
86 rupture allows the leading edge of the plate to lurch seaward. The bulge forms anew in a
87 deformation cycle that repeats. The cycle follows the elastic rebound theory, originally proposed
88 to explain horizontal displacement in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake (Reid 1910:17–26).

89 Lowland trees may record subduction ups and downs. In general terms, a forest may

90 colonize emerging tidelands between earthquakes, and the trees may die from tidal submergence
91 soon after the land falls during an earthquake (Figures 2a–2e). In detail these effects vary with
92 salinity, tree species, and sedimentation rate. Raising tidelands between earthquakes helps forests
93 spread downstream along salinity gradients. Conversely, lowering land during an earthquake
94 raises salinity in a tidal stream by enlarging the tidal prism that the stream dilutes. Differential
95 decay allows growth-position remains of one tree species to outlast those of another. Stumps and
96 roots persist most reliably where soon buried by tidal deposits. Tidal deposition, by rebuilding
97 land, hastens the establishment of new trees among or above the remains of drowned ones—first
98 in freshwater tidelands, later downstream where brackish marshes emerge through gradual
99 tectonic uplift.

100 The examples reviewed below include two new findings about tree death from tidal
101 submergence after the 1964 Alaska earthquake. New radiocarbon ages confirm that a victim-
102 spruce root put on its final complete ring during the last of the pre-earthquake growing seasons,
103 while earlywood outside that ring shows that the root briefly lived on.

104 1964 Alaska earthquake

105 Subduction warped south-central Alaska during an earthquake of magnitude 9.2 on 27
106 March 1964. Plafker (1969) mapped a mainly offshore zone of uplift flanked by a mostly
107 onshore downwarp, each more than 700 km long (Figure 1a). He concluded that tens of meters of
108 regional displacement on a gently landward-dipping fault had raised areas above the fault rupture
109 while stretching areas behind it—extension that downwarped land by as much as 2.3 m (Figure
110 2f). Low-angle faulting on this grand scale, like plate tectonics itself, had yet to be named in
111 1964. But “subduction” would soon denote the descent of one tectonic plate beneath another
112 (White et al. 1970, Dickinson 1971).

113 Lowlands at Portage, outside of Anchorage, displayed estuarine effects of the 1964
114 downwarp. There the much of the land dropped 2 m in all—1.5 m by tectonic deformation, and
115 another 0.5 m by local settlement from shaking-induced compaction. Ensuing tides drowned a
116 town, nearby meadows, and stands of spruce (*Picea*) and cottonwood (*Populus*), while also
117 bringing in sand and silt that built up around the decaying remains of buildings, shrubs, and trees
118 (McCulloch and Bonilla 1970:81–85, Ovenshine et al. 1976). Since the middle 1980s, this
119 Alaskan example of tidal death and burial from coseismic subsidence has served as a modern
120 analog for identifying prehistoric earthquakes in Cascadia and for dating them with uncommon
121 geological precision (Atwater et al. 2015:14–17, 24–25, 96–97, Nelson et al. 2021).

122 With Cascadia dating in mind, we sampled bark-bearing roots of a 1964 spruce victim
123 near Portage (Figure 3). Its roots were exposed in 1991 in an eroding bank of the tidal
124 Twentymile River (Figures 3a, 3b). Sanded cross-sections revealed wide growth rings and an
125 outermost ring limited to thin-walled earlywood cells (Figures 3c, 3d). Radiocarbon ages were
126 measured on earlywood of the last seven of the complete rings (A–G, Figures 3c, 3f). The ages
127 track a doubling in atmospheric radiocarbon activity that took place during the decade before
128 1964 (Figure 3g). This doubling results from nuclear-bomb tests (Higuchi 2020), and it
129 registered as a radiocarbon spike in annual growth rings of North American trees (Quarta et al.
130 2005, Lardie Gaylord et al. 2019). The graphical fit of the Portage spruce ages in Figure 3g is
131 confirmed numerically in Table 1. The results uniquely assign the outermost complete ring (A)
132 to 1963, while its fringe of earlywood implies post-earthquake survival into the first months of
133 the 1964 growing season (Figures 3d and 3e).

134 Effects of the 1964 earthquake continued at Portage through natural ecological
135 restoration. Tidal flats were succeeded by tidal marshes on which new spruce and cottonwood
136 became established beside the decaying above-ground trunks of pre-earthquake trees (Bartsch-
137 Winkler and Garrow 1982, Atwater et al. 2001). (Figure 2a). The succession was driven by
138 initially rapid sedimentation in the 1960s and early 1970s (Ovenshine et al. 1976), and
139 secondarily by slow uplift that has been ascribed primarily to glacial unloading (Huang et
140 al. 2020).

141 1700 Cascadia earthquake

142 Much as at Portage, earthquake geology in Cascadia includes remains of tidally drowned
143 marshes and forests. Roots of Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis* (Bong) Carrière) and trunks of
144 western redcedar (*Thuja plicata* Donn. ex D. Don) are particularly abundant at Copalis River,
145 Grays Harbor, and Willapa Bay in Washington, and along the lower Columbia River in
146 Washington and Oregon (Figures 4a–4c). Both species live today in tidal wetlands of the mainly
147 freshwater reaches of these estuaries (Franklin and Dyrness 1973:295, Benson et al. 2001,
148 Johnson and Simenstad 2015). There, tidal forests are dominated by spruce but locally contain
149 redcedar—on fallen logs and natural levees, and at transitions to floodplains.

150 Trees dead and living contributed to dating of the most recent great Cascadia earthquake
151 along the southern Washington coast. Radiocarbon analyses of subfossil spruce roots bracket this
152 earthquake between 1680 and 1720 C.E. (Atwater et al. 1991, Nelson et al. 1995). Among eight
153 of the subfossil redcedar dated by ring-width pattern matching in southern coastal Washington,
154 roots of seven died in the dormant months of 1699–1700; in a discrepant eighth, a root draped on
155 a log lived into 1708 (Figures 2b, 4b; Yamaguchi et al. 1997). Narrow rings attest to stress
156 during the first decade after 1700 in living tideland old-growth—in spruce with heavy limbs and
157 wind-broken tops at three of the estuaries, and in one redcedar along the Columbia River at Blind
158 Slough, (Figures 2e, 4d; Jacoby et al. 1997). Tidal forests of all four estuaries were almost
159 entirely reborn after 1700, as judged from ring counts in 146 additional living spruce (Figure 2d;
160 Benson et al. 2001, Atwater 2020: table 15). All this evidence is consistent with 26 January 1700
161 as the date when the Cascadia plate boundary ruptured along its entire 1,100-km length in one
162 giant earthquake or in part of a swift series of lesser shocks (Satake et al. 2003, Melgar 2021).

163 Although trees died effects of dormant-season subsidence in Cascadia, many likely
164 managed to continue growing at first, much like the Portage tree in Figure 3. An incomplete
165 outermost ring fringes roots of six out of ten subfossil spruce stumps sampled from tidal banks of
166 the Copalis River and Willapa Bay (Atwater and Yamaguchi 1991: example in their Fig. 3B),
167 and spruce-root death from post-earthquake tides at Humboldt Bay, California, ranged across
168 four years (Jacoby et al. 1995). Already tolerant of brackish water, Sitka spruce may at first resist
169 saltwater poisoning because, in winter, Northwest conifers are at maximum water storage and are
170 taking up little soil water (Waring and Franklin 1979: their Figures 3 and 5). Although saltwater
171 can kill Sitka spruce (Wang et al. 2019), a tree may initially respond to saltwater stress much as
172 it would to drought (Tucker and Pearl 2021), and physiological responses to drought include
173 resource allocation to roots (Gessler et al. 2017). There is a remote possibility that earlywood
174 instead records a wet autumn after months of summer drought—a growth pattern that has been
175 observed in coastal pines (Vieira et al. 2015: their Fig. 2).

176 Indigenous science of Willapa Bay and the lower Columbia River surely would have
177 mentioned, during the 1700s, landscape changes from post-earthquake tides. Travel by canoe

178 among persistent ghost forests, such as the dead redcedar grove in **Figure 5**, would have
179 reinforced Chinookan counterparts to a Yurok (northern California) story in which Earthquake,
180 having lowered prairie into the sea, exclaims “Yaha! The brush sticks out” (Kroeber 1976:460,
181 Carver 1998:18). In addition, oral history may have identified pre-earthquake landmarks that
182 post-earthquake tides drowned, such as riparian camps and fish weirs at Willapa Bay (Cole et al.
183 1996, Atwater and Hemphill-Haley 1997:32, 76, Losey 2010). Although no 1700 earthquake or
184 tsunami is evident among published Chinookan stories, nearly all those stories were collected in
185 1890 or later (Boas 1894, Ray 1938, Gibbs [1865] 1955, [1865] 1956, Jacobs 1959, 1962:94–95,
186 Hymes and Seaburg 2013)—after epidemics that reduced Native populations along the lower
187 Columbia River to roughly 10 percent of their pre-1774 numbers (Boyd 1999: Tables 3, 15–17).

188 **Nineteenth-century surveys**

189 This epidemic era overlapped with early documentation of earthquake evidence as
190 attributes of Chinookan tidelands. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, in 1805–1806, noted
191 vegetation patterns that can be tied today to post-earthquake succession; later surveys, in 1854–
192 1868, recorded upright remains of killed trees in tidal marshes and tidal flats. In each instance,
193 mandates unrelated to earthquakes led to observations that can now be tied to seismology.

194 Presidential directives and national claims

195 A well-known letter from Thomas Jefferson (1803) set scientific objectives for the Lewis
196 and Clark Expedition. These aligned with the President’s personal scientific interests (Cutright
197 [1969] 2003:2–9) and, more fundamentally, with a drive to expand the United States westward
198 (Goetzmann 1966:3–6). The young nation was then vying with Spain, Russia, and Great Britain
199 over territorial rights to the Pacific Northwest. Under legal traditions deeply rooted in Europe
200 (Williams 1990), the American claim rested on Robert Gray’s 1792 nominal discovery of the
201 mouth of the Columbia River.

202 The Lewis and Clark Expedition went beyond Gray’s discovery through acts of
203 possession—not just by building and occupying Fort Clatsop (**Figure 6**), but also by making
204 scientific observations in its vicinity (Miller 2006:3, 111–112), and by recording them thoroughly
205 in maps (Clark 1806) and journals (Lewis et al. [1803–1806] 2005). Cited below, in relation to
206 Cascadia earthquake history, are Expedition findings about tidal wetlands and Sitka spruce.

207 Transcontinental rails and museum collections

208 The United States Congress, in 1853, funded assessments of four competing swaths for
209 the nation’s first transcontinental railroad. The competition was to hinge in part on natural
210 resources the four surveys encountered (Goetzmann 1959:262–275). A northern survey, from
211 Minnesota to Puget Sound, was led enthusiastically by Issac Ingalls Stevens (1818–1862),
212 Washington’s first territorial governor (Richards 2016:102).

213 Western surveys were then providing specimens of plants, animals, and rocks to the
214 National Museum in the Smithsonian Institution. The museum curator, Spencer Fullerton Baird
215 (1823–1887), in 1852–1854 “was receiving materials and information from twenty-six separate
216 expeditions” (Rivinus and Youssef 1992:85). As a naturalist for the Stevens survey, Baird
217 recommended a young physician, James Graham Cooper (1830–1902) (Coan 1981:21).

218 Stevens assigned Cooper to the survey’s western division, under George McClellan.

219 George Gibbs, prominent in “some of the leading intellectual concerns of nineteenth century
220 America” (Beckham 1969:viii), joined as ethnologist and geologist. The McClellan party ranged
221 mainly east of the Cascade Range in summer and autumn of 1853, then disbanded (Overmeyer
222 1941).

223 Cooper remained in Washington Territory as a mostly self-funded naturalist into October
224 of 1855. He based himself at Shoalwater Bay, making ends meet as a physician and storekeeper,
225 and residing mainly in the cabin of an oysterman, Charles Russell (Figure 5c). Journals (Cooper
226 1853–1854, 1855–1856) and a manuscript (Cooper 1856) provide unpublished records his stay.

227 Published monographs from the four railroad surveys assembled encyclopedic
228 descriptions of the American West (Goetzmann 1959: 336). Among them were natural-history
229 reports that Cooper finalized in 1857–1860, largely while in Washington, D. C. (Coan 1981:10,
230 11, 86). There he participated in a naturalist’s club under Baird’s tutelage (Rivinus and Youssef
231 1992:94). The 1856 manuscript and a railroad-survey report (Cooper 1860) both tout western
232 redcedar as a natural resource. In a quote below, as proof that its wood resists decay, Cooper
233 cites redcedar trunks standing dead in tidal marshes of Shoalwater Bay.

234 Gridded townships and Indian lands

235 Westward expansion of the United States required land grids to which settlers’ claims
236 and purchases could be tied. The grids established in Washington Territory were surveyed by
237 contractors to the General Land Office (White 1983, Riddle 2010). The GLO instructed
238 contractors to monument corners of sections and quarter-sections, to measure bearings and
239 distances from corner monuments to scribed trees, and to document major changes in vegetation
240 along section lines (Moore 1851).

241 John J. Lowell (1823–1856) headed contract surveys of two Shoalwater Bay townships in
242 autumn of 1855. This was Chinookan land the United States had not purchased; treaties of 1854–
243 1855 had recently extinguished Indian title to much of Washington Territory but not around
244 Shoalwater Bay (Ruby and Brown 1976:224–231, Fisher and Jetté 2013). Another surveyor
245 submitted the notes and plats (Lowell 1856a, 1856b) after Lowell, during Indian resistance,
246 drowned as a military messenger (Olson 2018:238).

247 Transcribed Lowell notes cited below locate a quarter-section corner with respect to a
248 pair of redcedar trunks in a tidal marsh. Also cited is a vegetation change by which these bearing
249 trees lacked foliage.

250 Career topographer along a Northwest artery

251 The U. S. Coast Survey achieved eminence under Alexander Dalles Bache, its director
252 between 1843 and 1867 (Odgers 1947). Bache himself identified a Japanese source for an 1854
253 tsunami recorded by California tide gauges (Bache 1856, Kusumoto et al. 2022). The agency’s
254 early Northwest work (Vouri 2016), begun while I. I. Stevens was Bache’s deputy, included
255 charting of Shoalwater Bay in 1852 and 1855 under James Alden (Hydrographic party under
256 command of Lieut James Alden 1852, Hydrographic party under the command of Cmdr James
257 Alden 1855).

258 Cleveland Rockwell joined the Coast Survey as a teenager in 1856. A biography tells of
259 his mentoring by Bache, his topographic service with the Union Army, and his eventual acclaim
260 as a landscape painter (Stenzel 1972). Rockwell embarked in 1868 upon topographic mapping
261 along the tidal Columbia River. Across most of two decades he surveyed—at a map scale of 1

262 mm to 10 m—shorelines, wetland vegetation, and riparian land use of this Northwest artery
263 (Thomas 1983, Graves et al. 1995). Available today as sharp color scans are the three 1:10,000-
264 scale topographic sheets used below—T-1112 (Rockwell and Sengteller 1868a), T-1123
265 (Rockwell and Sengteller 1868b), and T-1138 (Rockwell 1869).

266 Coast Survey standards of Rockwell’s time called for "features of peculiar character" on
267 tidal flats to be represented by imitation (Whiting 1861:222). Of particular concern were
268 obstacles in the water (Shalowitz 1964:188). Cited below are Rockwell symbols that likely
269 represent a discontinuous fringe of subfossil spruce on tidal flats west of Astoria. Also noted, as
270 an indicator of post-earthquake succession, are conifers he depicted in tidal wetlands.

271 **Ecological anomalies**

272 **Drowned redcedar**

273 Redcedar standing in Shoalwater Bay tidal marshes provided Cooper with a natural
274 example of resistance to decay:

275 On the salt meadows about Shoalwater Bay dead trees of this species are standing sometimes in
276 groves, whose age it would almost impossible to tell. They must have grown when the surface
277 was above salt water mark, as they are still abundant along the fresh borders of the meadows,
278 together with other trees. But a gradual sinking of the land, still going on, has caused the tide to
279 overflow and then killed the forests of which these Cedars are the only remains. Their wood is
280 perfectly sound and so well seasoned as to be the very best of the kind. It is intensively used in
281 that vicinity (Cooper 1856:27, 1860:22 contains similar text).

282 Cooper’s Shoalwater journals identify but one instance in which he observed a redcedar
283 ghost forest firsthand. Coming upon the bay for the first time, Cooper (1853–1854:76) noted that
284 “stumps of Cedar stand on the meadows.” These stumps likely stood in a tidal marsh near
285 historical Tarlatt (location, Figure 4b). Cooper had just crossed over from the Columbia by way
286 of an upland portage described as an adventure (Swan 1857:239–241) and plotted on a GLO plat
287 (Gile 1859). Cooper’s 1854 notes identify this portage with a “Mr. M—” (March 14) and with
288 “Martin” (August 28)—evidently Thomas Martin, who operated a Tarlatt post office in 1854–
289 1855 (Secretary of State 1855:395, Weathers [1989] 2018). Tidal marshes bordered Tarlatt
290 Slough into the 1870s (Baker’s Slough of Gilbert 1873) but have since been diked and plowed
291 (Allen 2003).

292 Shoalwater Bay companions may have told Cooper of additional ghost forests to which
293 his 1856 manuscript and 1860 report allude. Russell, his primary host, was regarded by Alden
294 (1856), of the Coast Survey, as “a pioneer in these quarters.” An Alden party that mapped a
295 Tarlatt portage (Hydrographic party under the command of Cmdr James Alden 1855) hosted
296 Cooper aboard their survey steamer from Shoalwater Bay to San Francisco Bay (Cooper 1856:47
297 1/2). James Gilchrist Swan (1857:77, 323), residing at the mouth of the Querquelin (now Bone)
298 River, paddled upstream past places where dead redcedar still stand in tidal marshes (Figure 5c).

299 Lowell, the GLO contractor, pinpointed two redcedar trunks along another tidal creek.
300 Between 12 September and 2 November 1855—with a crew of four chainmen, two axemen, and
301 a compassman—Lowell subdivided terrestrial parts of T. 13 N., R. 10 W. into mile-square
302 sections (location, Figure 4a; Lowell 1856a). Chaining northward in forest along the line
303 between sections 34 and 35 (line, Figure 5c), the crew emerged onto “marsh land” traversed by a
304 tidal slough—today’s South Fork Palix River, a serpentine arm of Willapa Bay (Figure 5c). On

305 this line the quarter-section corner coincided with the slough. The crew set a witness post on the
306 south bank, from which they measured bearings and chained distances to two trees identified as
307 “Cedar.” One of these bearing trees was described as 76 cm in diameter, 17 m distant at N 70°
308 W; the other, 91 cm across, 22.7 m away at S 43° E (dimensions converted here from inches,
309 chains, and links). The crew continued chaining the section line northward across additional
310 marsh to a forest edge where trees changed from dead to living: “Leave bottom land and enter
311 green timber” (Figure 5d).

312 A modern surveyor, R.E. Zenkner (2004), recovered the site of Lowell’s witness post and
313 identified remains of both its bearing trees. Zenkner described the northwest tree as reduced to a
314 “root collar” and the southeast one as a “cedar stump (no visible scribe) badly decayed.” In 2020
315 we could not relocate the collar, but we did find a moss-covered, waist-high mound of rotten
316 redcedar 22.7 m S 43° E from a Zenkner monument.

317 Drowned spruce

318 Four nineteenth-century records locate stumps, probably all Sitka spruce, in tidelands of
319 the Columbia River estuary. First is a Cooper journal entry about ascending the tidal Wallcut
320 River (location, Figure 4a): “In the banks of the creek are frequently seen stumps ‘in situ’
321 showing that it was once thickly timbered” (Cooper 1853–1854:75).

322 The next two documents are the Rockwell topographic sheets T-1112 and T-1123,
323 surveyed in summer and autumn (Rockwell and Sengteller 1868b, 1868a, Stenzel 1972:27).
324 These maps delineate a high-water shoreline where sparsely wooded tidal marshes adjoin tidal
325 flats of Youngs Bay (Figure 6). Beside parts of this shoreline, Rockwell flecked the tidal flat
326 with unexplained, radiating symbols. Figure 6b, on a base map from 1805–1806, summarizes the
327 extent of these symbols, and Figure 6c reproduces examples. The symbols imitate, in plan view,
328 modern examples of exhumed spruce stumps that retain horizontal roots meters long, and which
329 have fallen from banks eroded by waves of Youngs Bay. Viewed at ground level, some of these
330 stumps retain roots anchored in a buried forest soil exposed near the mouth of the Lewis and
331 Clark River (Figure 6d). Northeast of there, along the nearest 0.5 km of Youngs Bay shore,
332 Rockwell’s radiating symbols coincide with spruce stumps that sprawl in July 2014 imagery on
333 Google Earth. The symbols also coincide with shores where erosion later carried away
334 triangulation stations of 1868 (Stenzel 1972:46–50). Sprawl typifies root systems of Sitka spruce
335 where drainage is poor (Fraser and Gardiner 1967: plates 5–7, 18).

336 The fourth and latest document is a feature article about diking and farming of tidal
337 wetlands west of Astoria (The Pacific Farmer 1888). Its unnamed author asserts “indisputable
338 evidence that an old forest of spruce ages ago grew where this tide land now is, along the west
339 side of Young’s bay”—the floor of this bygone forest having dropped four feet “through some
340 convulsion of nature.”

341 Spruce decay probably explains why none of these Columbia River stumps were
342 described or drawn as tall. Cooper (1860:22) described Shoalwater Bay ghost forests as redcedar
343 “only.” Today along the Bone River, subfossil spruce roots jut out from tidal-creek bank (Figure
344 5a) below a brackish marsh above which only redcedar extend (Figure 5b).

345 The Lewis and Clark Expedition, though attuned to submerged forests upstream along the
346 Columbia River (O’Connor 2004:402–405, Reynolds et al. 2022), recorded no subfossil trees at
347 Youngs Bay during the winter of 1805–1806. The Expedition had no mandate to map tidal flats
348 and “peculiar features” upon them, nor opportunities to observe tidal flats during low daylight

349 tides of summer and autumn (tides hindcast at NOAA/NOS/CO-OPS (2023)). But the Expedition
350 did record hints that a successional clock in the Columbia River estuary had recently been reset.

351 “Marsey prairie”

352 One such hint can be seen in descriptions of vegetation south of Youngs Bay.
353 Reconnoitering by canoe on November 30, 1805, Lewis found a plain “marshey and untimbered
354 for three miles back” (Lewis et al. [1803–1806] 2005:codex Ia)—a “Marsey prairie” stippled on
355 an accompanying map (Figure 6a). Clark extended such a stipple southward past Fort Clatsop
356 (Figure 6b). Neither captain recorded any counterpart to Rockwell’s radiating symbols. But both
357 captains recorded evidence that post-earthquake succession had reached a tidal-marsh stage
358 within the first 100 years after 1700 (Figure 2c).

359 Observations in later Chinookan surveys compare pre-earthquake vegetation with post-
360 earthquake vegetation. Cooper (1853–1854:75), along the tidal Wallacut River, contrasted lands
361 “once thickly timbered” with adjacent tidal meadows having “scattered spruce trees of perhaps
362 20 years growth” (Figure 2d). Rockwell plotted asterisks—a standard Coast Survey symbol for
363 conifers (Thomas 1983:4)—not just along the Wallacut (Rockwell 1869) but also in some of the
364 tidal wetlands south of Youngs Bay that adjoin his radiating symbols.

365 “A distinct species”

366 A 1700 Cascadia earthquake may have occasioned Lewis’s ([1803–1806] 2005) two-fold
367 division of Sitka spruce near Fort Clatsop—into upland old growth (his tree “No. 1”) and a
368 bottomland species (“No. 7”).

369 Tree No. 1 enters Lewis’s journal for February 4, 1806 as the first of “sveral species of fir
370 in this neighbourhood which I shall discribe as well as my slender botanicall skil will enable
371 me.”

372 [It] grows to immense size; very commonly 27 feet in the girth six feet above the surface of the
373 earth, and in several instances we have found them as much as 36 feet in the girth or 12 feet
374 diameter perfectly solid and entire. they frequently rise to the hight of 230 feet, and one hundred
375 and twenty or 30 of that hight without a limb.

376 Tree No. 7, recorded two weeks later, is “a species of pine peculiar to the swamps and
377 marshes frequently overflown by the tide.” It resembles No. 1 in most respects and its cone, as
378 sketched by Lewis, is unmistakably Sitka spruce. But it “seldome rises to a greater hight than 35
379 feet and is from 2½ to 4 feet in diameter.” And “as this is a distinct species I shall call it No. 7.”

380 Environment alone, irrespective of earthquake history, produces spruce variants. Where
381 tidal, Sitka spruce has gangly limbs (Figure 6d) that give the tree a distinctively “sprawling,
382 open-growth” look (Franklin and Dyrness 1973). Still, a 1700 Cascadia earthquake may have set
383 No. 7 apart—whether through survival of pre-earthquake spruce, youth of post-earthquake
384 spruce, or both.

385 Where already “2½ to 4 feet in diameter” in 1806, No. 7 may have included pre-
386 earthquake Sitka spruce that post-1700 tides had yet to kill. Such trees would have been siblings
387 of the few earthquake survivors in some of those same remnant tidal forests to the north and east
388 (Figures 2e, 4d). Most may have adventitious roots, as judged by survivors’ root systems
389 exposed in the 1990s by bank erosion along the Columbia River at Price Island (Atwater et al.
390 2015:97). These showed dead roots nearly 1 m deep near a buried 1700 ground surface, as well

391 as live roots near the modern ground surface (Atwater 1994:10, 48). The live roots had evidently
392 sprouted into post-earthquake deposits. *Picea* elsewhere has produced adventitious roots from
393 trunks surrounded by debris-flow deposits (Strunk 1997) and from cuttings planted commercially
394 (Ragonezi et al. 2010).

395 Young spruce of in freshwater tidal forests undoubtedly adjoined upland old growth
396 upstream of Fort Clatsop, before logging. Freshwater tidelands of the Copalis River, Grays
397 Harbor, Willapa Bay, and the Columbia River estuary all display post-earthquake spruce that had
398 become established before the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (Figures 2d, 4d; Benson et
399 al. 2001).

400 Raised shell beds

401 Did Cooper know of land-level changes that happened suddenly? Coastal uplift that
402 accompanied Chilean earthquakes in 1822 (Graham and Greenough 1835, Kölbl-Ebert 1999,
403 Thompson 2012) and 1835 (Darwin 1839:379, FitzRoy 1839:412–414). Did Baird’s naturalist’s
404 club discuss those findings while Cooper was on hand in 1857–1860?

405 Whatever he knew of land-level changes in Chile, Cooper invoked nothing sudden to
406 explain the redcedar submergence at Shoalwater Bay. To the contrary, in the railroad report
407 (much as in the 1856 manuscript) he proposed “a gradual, slow sinking of the land (which seems
408 in places to be still progressing, and is perhaps caused by the undermining of quicksands)”
409 (Cooper 1860:22). But he also anticipated that “continued and careful examination of [the
410 submerged redcedar] may afford important information as to the changes of level in these
411 shores.”

412 Here the railroad report turns to an apparent contradiction: “beds of marine shells”
413 exposed in bluffs overlooking Shoalwater Bay. Gibbs ([1854] 1855:466), on a geological
414 reconnaissance for Stevens, had noticed these beds and had interpreted them as uplifted. In
415 Gibbs’s footprints, Cooper (1853–1854:87) reexamined shell beds near the site of modern Bay
416 Center (location, Figure 5c). He found that the shells were “mostly of existing species,” and he
417 estimated that they had been “elevated about 10 ft. above the present high tides.”

418 Today, the emergent shells near Bay Center can be seen as fully compatible with
419 submerged redcedar forests nearby, for two reasons. First, the shells underwent little if any net
420 change in elevation if deposited when sea levels were about as high as they are today. Twentieth-
421 century geologists assigned these fossils to Pleistocene ancestors of Willapa Bay (Clifton
422 1983:367). The shells contain mixes of right-handed and left-handed amino acids consistent with
423 ages in the range 90,000–170,000 years (Kvenvolden et al. 1979:1517, 1519) or close to 80,000
424 years (Kennedy et al. 1982: their locality 7). These ages are consistent with net uplift in the
425 approximate range 0–40 m. Second, to end up near present sea level, the shells could follow a
426 sawtooth trajectory through repetitions of the subduction cycle in Figure 2f—falling during
427 earthquakes but rising in between (Atwater and Hemphill-Haley 1997:8–11). Subsidence during
428 subduction earthquakes may then negate, in the long run, most of the gradual uplift that takes
429 place between them.

430 Conclusions

431 Nineteenth-century explorers and immigrants recorded subfossil trees today interpreted
432 as victims of a 1700 Cascadia earthquake. Western redcedar standing in tidal marshes of
433 Shoalwater Bay struck a naturalist as incongruous and provided a land surveyor with bearing

434 trees. Sitka spruce, more prone to decay, had already been reduced to short stumps when
435 observed along the Columbia River. These various remains of tidally drowned forests record
436 lowering of land during a great subduction earthquake in 1700—a modern interpretation partly
437 founded on analogy with estuarine effects of an Alaskan earthquake in 1964.

438 In Cascadia as in Alaska, drowning by post-earthquake tides helped rebuild land on
439 which new trees became established. Along the Columbia River, a plain described in 1805 as
440 “untimbered” had become lightly wooded another half-century later.

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451

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839

840 **Table**

841 TABLE 1. Radiocarbon ages of rings of a dead spruce root collected in 1991 from a receding
842 bank of Twentymile River near Portage, Alaska (Figure 3).

Ring (Figure 3c)	Lab number (OS-)	Fraction modern (FM)	FM error	Year if ring A formed in 1963 C.E.	Age on rising limb of bomb-carbon curve (Figures 3f and 3g)	Age on falling limb of bomb-carbon curve (Figure 3g)
A	159632	1.8272	0.0043	1963	1963.47–1965.53 (age range crosses curve crest, partly on each limb)	
B	159633	1.3914	0.0041	1962	1962.41–1962.86	1973.94–1975.95
C	159634	1.2362	0.0025	1961	1959.26–1961.98	1982.14–1984.99
D	159635	1.2324	0.0025	1960	1959.25–1961.97	1982.17–1984.88
E	159636	1.2879	0.0026	1959	1959.43–1962.18	1979.12–1980.81
F	159637	1.1449	0.0024	1958	1957.79–1958.41	1990.32–1993.07
G	159638	1.0774	0.0021	1957	1956.92–1957.35	2001.11–2004.97

843

844 Notes

845 Age ranges in the two columns at right are at two standard deviations and were computed at
846 <http://calib.org/CALIBomb/> with calibration data of Hua et al. (2013: Table S3a, NH zone 1) and
847 Hammer and Levin (2017). Rings A–G, as annual increments of growth (Figure 3c), increase in
848 tree-ring age in successive one-year steps, in which case their corresponding radiocarbon ages
849 plot uniquely on the rising limb of the bomb-carbon curve in Figure 3f; the collection year (1991;
850 Figure 3b) excludes the falling-limb ages for rings F and G. The tabulated rising-limb age ranges
851 for rings B, E, and F then require that ring A represent the 1963 growing season. All the ages
852 were measured in 2021 and are previously unreported.

853

854 **Figure captions**

855 Figure 1. Land-level changes during (a) the 1964 Alaska earthquake and (b) during
856 earthquakes of the past few thousand years along the Cascadia subduction zone. Alaskan points
857 digitized from Plafker (1969: plate 3). Cascadia compilation after Leonard et al. (2010).

858
859 Figure 2. Schematic views: (a–e) Forest death by coastal subsidence during an
860 earthquake and subsequent forest renewal. (f) Land-level changes between and during
861 earthquakes at a subduction zone.

862
863 Figure 3. Dated spruce along Twentymile River near Portage, Alaska. (a) Setting on
864 airphoto taken 1966. (b) Tree sampled dead in 1991. (c) Sanded cross-section of root subsampled
865 for radiocarbon analysis (rings A–G). (d, e) Fringe of earlywood cells outside ring A. (f)
866 Radiocarbon results plotted on graph of atmospheric radiocarbon activity excerpted from (g).
867 Radiocarbon activity in (f) and (g) is expressed as fraction of modern, pre-bomb levels ($F^{14}C$ of
868 Reimer et al. 2004). Root ^{14}C data in (f), for rings A–G, from Table 1; ^{14}C curve in (f) and (g)
869 from Hua et al. (2013: Table S3a, NH zone 1) and Hammer and Levin (2017); bomb yield in (g)
870 from Yang and others (2003). Airphoto in (a) from collection of A.T. Ovenshine; other photos by
871 the authors.

872
873 Figure 4. Maps of southwest Washington estuaries, locating (a) places cited in the
874 text; (b) individual dead western redcedar whose death likely resulted from lowering of land
875 during the 1700 Cascadia earthquake; (c) areas of multiple spruce stumps submerged at high
876 tide; and (d) live Sitka spruce that either survived the 1700 earthquake or became established in
877 the first century thereafter. Tree locations from compilations in Atwater (2020). Tree ages in (d)
878 from Jacoby et al. (1997) and Benson et al. (2001).

879
880 Figure 5. Dead trunks and stumps of western redcedar east of Willapa Bay.
881 Examples in (a) and (b) from a salt marsh along the Bone River. Oblique airphoto in (b) from
882 Washington Department of Ecology (2016). (c) Mapped distribution along Bone River and South
883 Fork Palix River. (d) Bearing trees near South Fork Palix River surveyed 1855 (Lowell 1856a).

884
885 Figure 6. Wetlands beside Youngs Bay. (a, b) Maps by Meriwether Lewis (Lewis et
886 al. [1803–1806] 2005: codex Ia) and William Clark (1806: images 1008620 and 1008624),
887 respectively; typed labels and stump symbols added. (c) Map by Rockwell and Sengteller
888 (1868a), illustrating radiating symbols on tidal flat that probably represent spruce stumps. (d)
889 Modern exposure of stumps on and beside tidal flat near mouth of Lewis and Clark River. Index
890 map in Figure 4c.

Figure 1

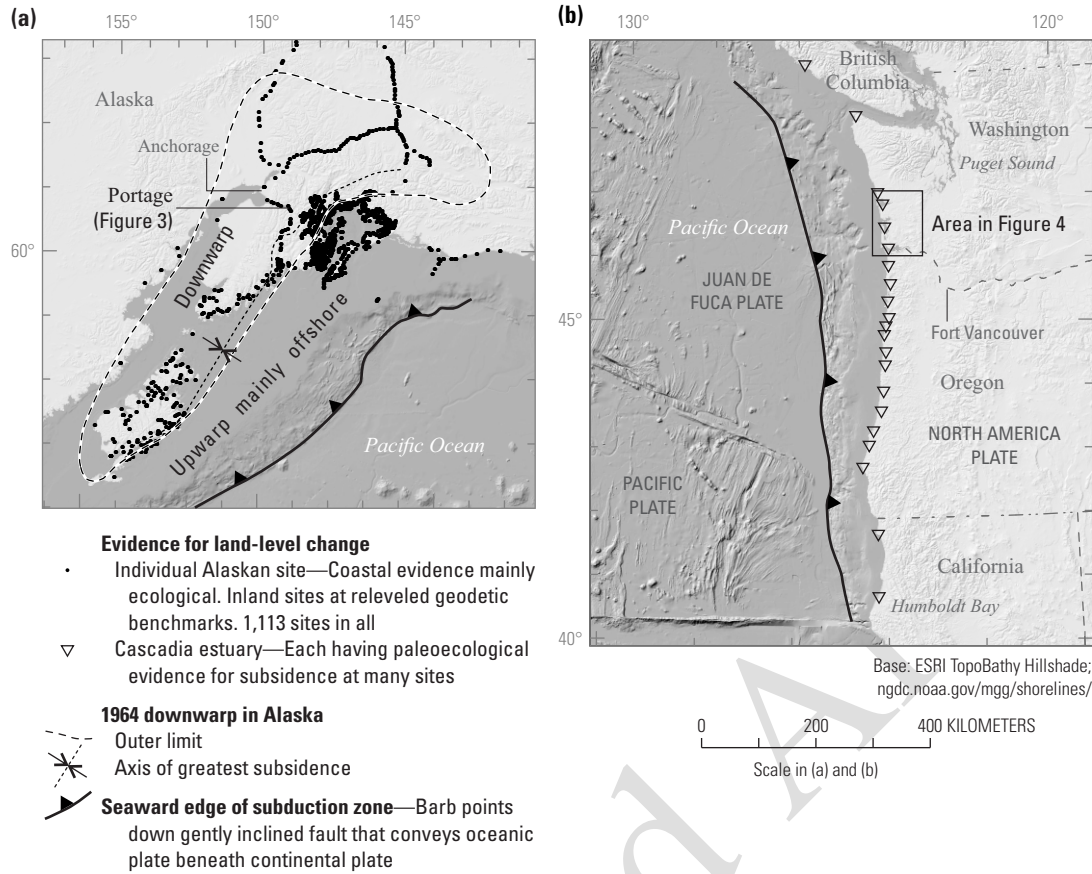
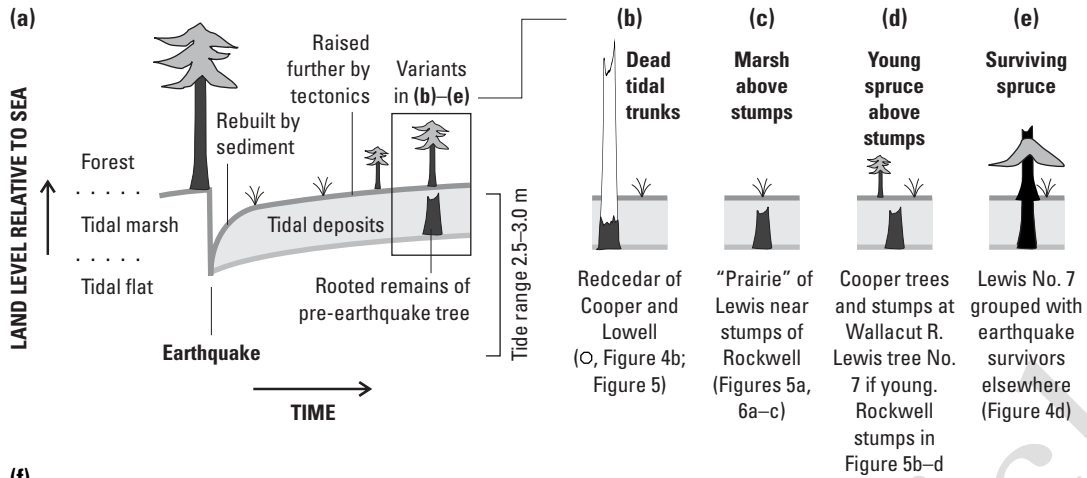


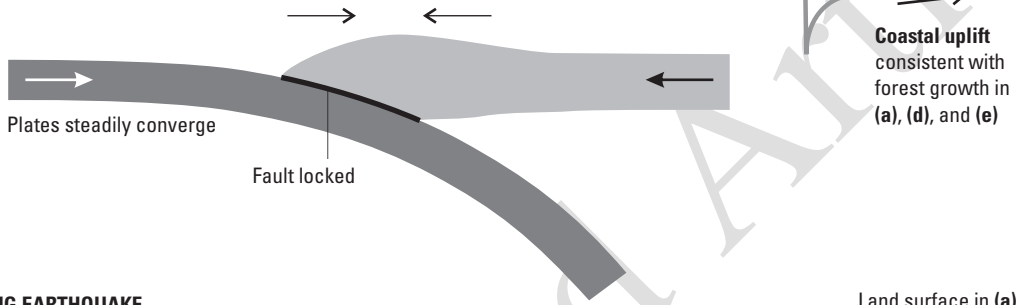
Figure 2



(f)

BETWEEN EARTHQUAKES

Leading edge of overriding plate dragged down. Area behind contracts, bulges upward



DURING EARTHQUAKE

Leading edge of overriding plate lurches seaward, rises. Area behind stretches, subsides

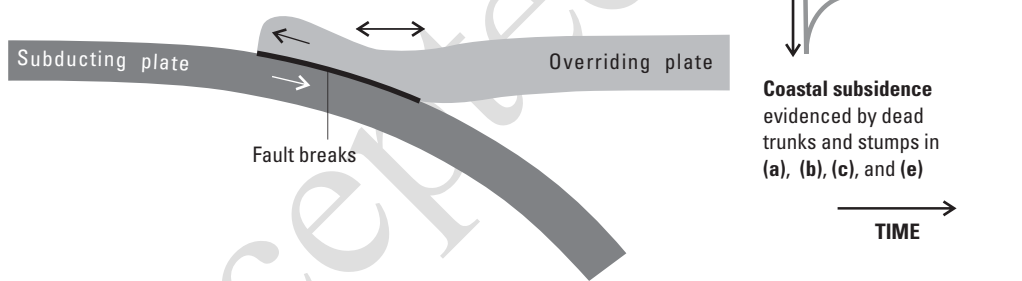


Figure 3

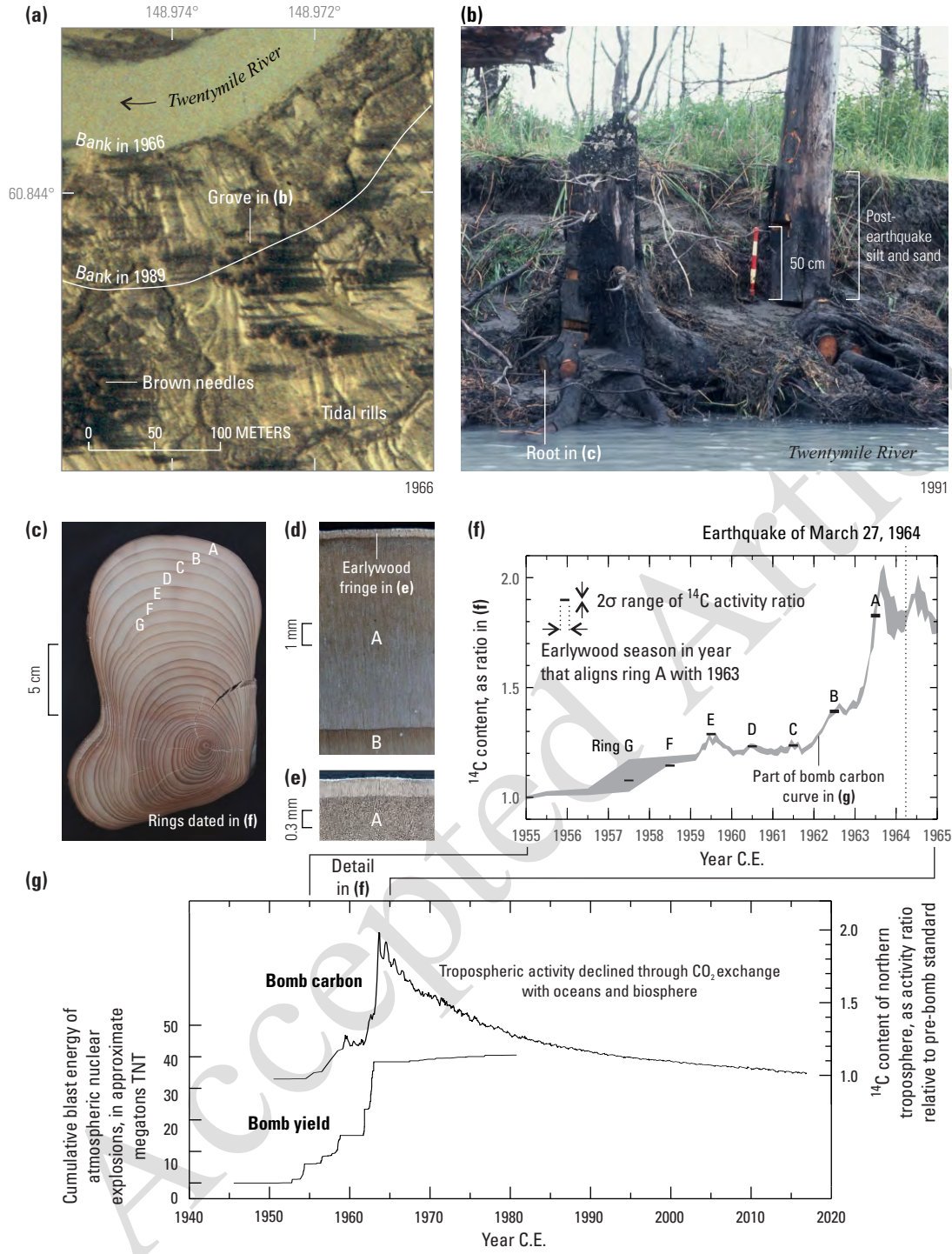


Figure 4

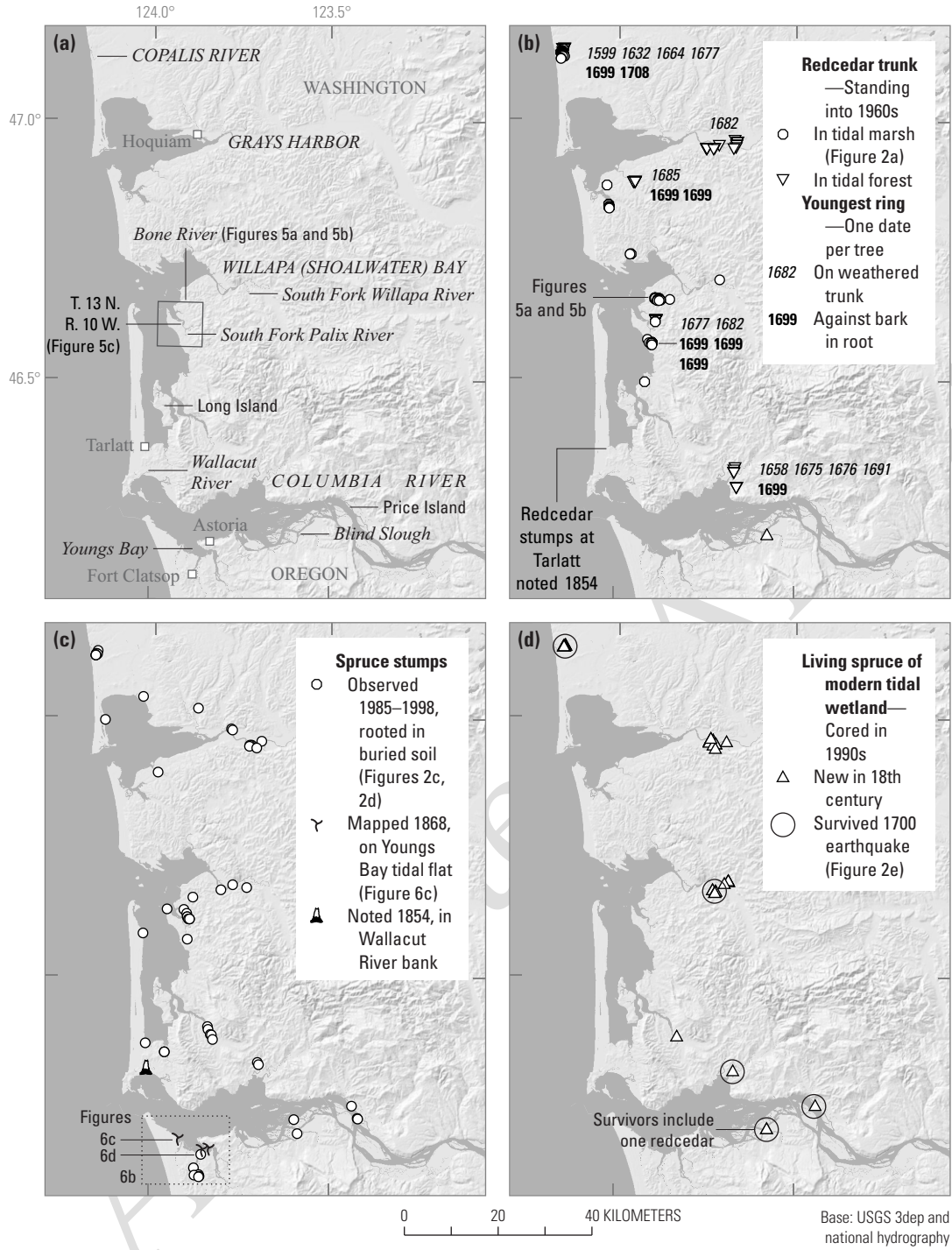
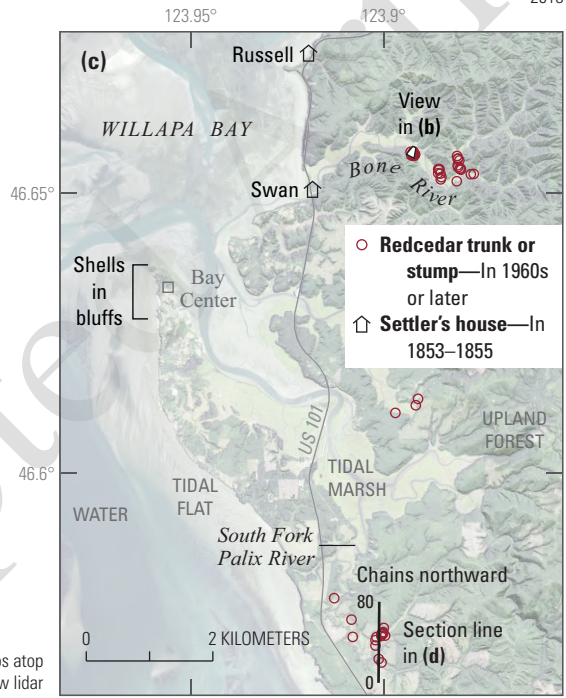
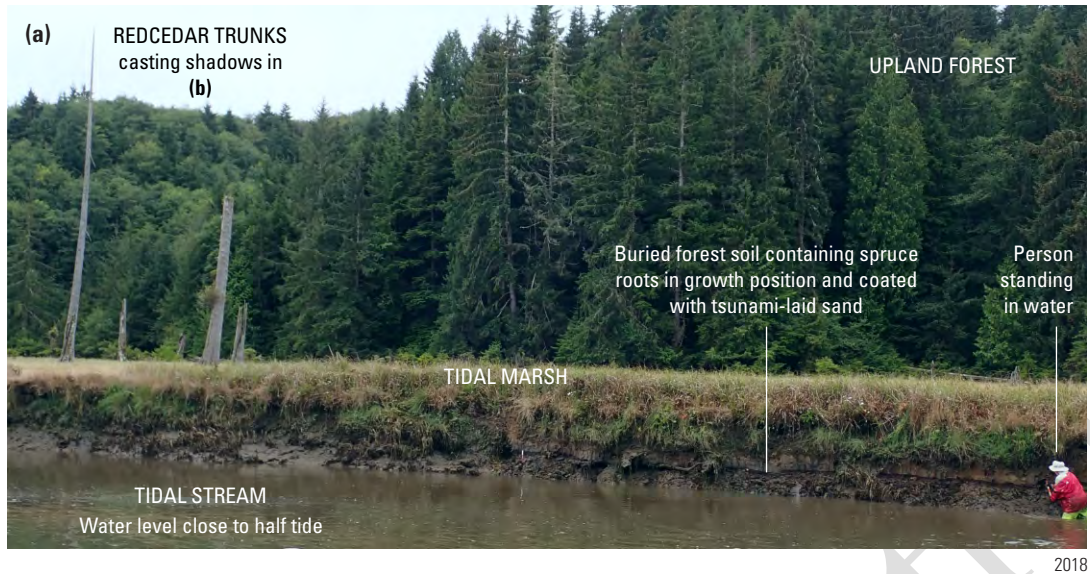
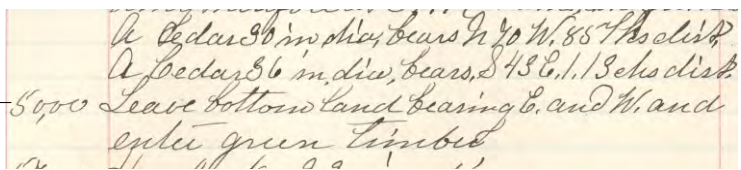


Figure 5

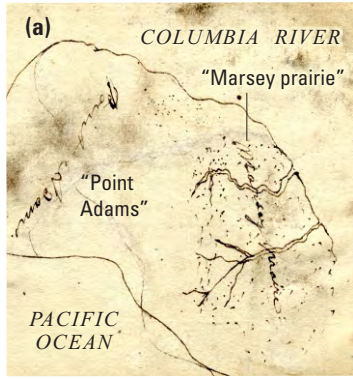


- (d) **Bearing trees** for witness post at 39.8 chains (880 m)
- Vegetation change** at 50 chains (1,100 m)



Undated transcription of 1855 field notes

Figure 6

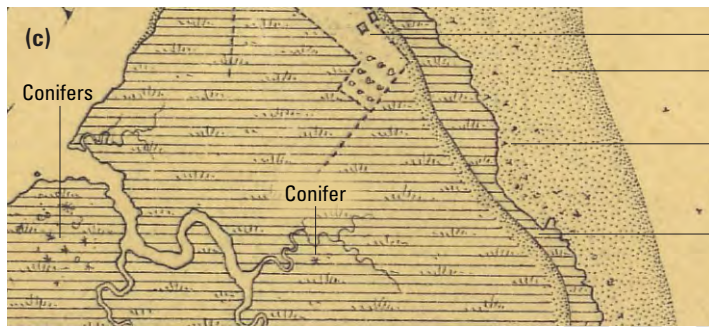


December 1, 1805

8 km straight from Fort Astoria to Fort Clatsop



Winter 1805-1806



T-1112, surveyed autumn 1868

Fenced farm
 Tidal flat stippled
 Symbols (redrawn here, enlarged)
 on marginal tidal flat that evoke
 spruce stumps like those in (d)
 Tidal marsh—Contains beach (linear
 stipple) and few live spruce (asterisks)

N
 0 100 METERS



Tide out in summer 2006

Small live spruce of modern tideland
 Large dead spruce (s) in cross section.
 Its horizontal roots (h), where jutting from
 the bank, mark the level of a former
 forest floor
 Arms of this stump, and of others in view,
 have dropped onto a tidal flat after being
 undercut by waves at high tide