

Genealogical Technical Report
Cowlitz Indian Tribe

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*"Among strangers, they would be asked, as Coyote was,
'Why are you here?' and 'Where are you from' (Jacobs 1934, 112).
As Joycie Eyle said, the next question might be,
'How are we related?'" (Irwin 1995, 12-13).*

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

COWLITZ INDIAN TRIBE

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

Governing documents and Enrollment Criteria. The petitioner, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe (hereafter cited as CIT), submitted copies of the current (1993) constitution, the 1974 constitution, and the 1950 constitution. Records indicated that the group had a written constitution between 1912 and 1950, but if so, the CIT has no copy in its records and none was located by BAR researchers.

The petitioner submitted a current (1994) membership list that contained all data requested for evaluation under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations, and copies of all extant prior membership lists. These were dated to 1915/17 (partial), 1921 (Yakima Cowlitz only), 1952/53, 1966/69, and 1978. The CIT also provided a typed list of "Yakima Cowlitz Signers" attributed to approximately 1921, and an attendance list for the 1954 annual meeting. Then-current membership rolls with ancestry charts also accompanied the 1983 and 1987 CIT petitions for Federal acknowledgment. It is known that one important prior list, a ledger containing a record of dues-paying members from the formation of the Cowlitz tribal organization in 1912 through the 1960's, was destroyed in a fire at the home of a former secretary of the tribal organization. The minutes of the CIT annual meetings since 1950 were of some assistance in filling the gaps, as it was customary each year to name and keep a moment of silence in remembrance of those members who had died within the previous twelve months.

Descent from the Historical Tribe. Based on data in Federal censuses, BIA censuses, BIA reservation rolls, Washington state vital records, and church records, all of the petitioner's members are of Indian descent. The question of descent from the historical Cowlitz Indians is somewhat more complex.

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Historically, the Cowlitz Indians were essentially those Indians living in the Cowlitz River Valley in the areas which are now Lewis County and Cowlitz County, Washington. These included primarily two separate groups, the Lower Cowlitz (Salish) and the Upper Cowlitz (Sahaptin), which combined during the second half of the 19th century.

Since 1974, the petitioner's constitutional requirement for voting membership has been 1/16 Cowlitz descent, with no dual enrollment permitted. For practical purposes, the petitioner uses identification of an ancestor as Cowlitz on the 1919 Schedule of Unenrolled Indians in Western Washington compiled by BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin (Roblin 1919a, hereafter referred to as the Roblin Roll) as the fundamental membership standard. Known, documented, Cowlitz families who were enrolled on reservations in 1919, and therefore not included on the Roblin Roll, are eligible for CIT membership if not now enrolled elsewhere. The petition included a map of Cowlitz membership distribution in 1919 based entirely on the Roblin Roll (CIT Pet. Narr., 182).

Most of the enrolled CIT members (64 percent) are documented to be of either Lower Cowlitz or Upper Cowlitz descent on the basis of 19th-century BIA records (pre-Roblin Roll), and meet the constitutional 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum on the basis of the petitioner's own computational standards. These standards are necessarily somewhat arbitrary in the context of the history of Indian population in the Pacific Northwest.

In accordance with Pacific Northwest cultural patterns, considerable documented intermarriage took place among the various tribal groupings in southwestern Washington State throughout the 19th century. Identification of an individual as "Cowlitz" by explorers, neighbors, and/or Bureau of Indian Affairs officials was more a matter of his/her residential location and primary social ties than of his/her bilateral genealogical origin. Therefore, an individual who was counted as "4/4 Cowlitz" by Charles Roblin in 1919, and is consequently counted as "full blood" by the CIT in determining the blood quantum of current membership applicants, may well, in fact, have had a Yakima or Chinook grandmother or grandfather, or a Haida or

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Nisqually great-grandmother or great-grandfather.¹ Many of the historical Cowlitz families identified by Roblin do not have descendants in the current membership of the CIT, but do have descendants on Federal reservations or in the wider society, tribally unaffiliated.

A portion of the CIT's members (35 percent) descend from non-Cowlitz ancestresses from other Indian tribes who were brought to Cowlitz Prairie by fur trader husbands prior to the 1855 Chehalis River Treaty Council negotiations. These women, along with their children, became associated with the Cowlitz Indians during the first half of the 19th century. Many of their children and grandchildren intermarried with Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz families. These "associated" families have functioned as Cowlitz Indians since before the date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment (1855) used for this proposed finding. BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin categorized them as Cowlitz in 1919. At least one of these extended families has been legally defined as Cowlitz for purposes of allotment by a Federal District Court decision.

A few CIT members (approximately 1 percent) have not shown Cowlitz ancestry, and appear to be descended from other tribes not historically associated with the Cowlitz. At least one of these families, which had been enrolled by the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians in 1964, was rejected by the CIT membership committee during the 1970's on the basis of inquiries to the BIA (Van Risswick to Cloquet, March 7, 1974), but has been re-accepted within the last five years (see United States. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Area Office, Portland, Oregon. Folder Cowlitz Tribe (Family Research Info.).

¹ For example, in 1917, Lucy Petewaw deposed that she was born about 1843. Her father, Ched-dalth-che, was a "full blood of the Cowletz and Chehalis tribes" and died at Muck in Pierce County, Washington, about 1852, aged about 50. Her mother, See-yahl-klas, who died at Muck, Pierce county, Washington, about 1862, had a Yakima father and a Skagit mother. Lucy Petewaw's first husband was a "Cowletz and Yakima." Then she went on to say that his mother was an "Upper Dalls" Indian and his mother's father was a Yakima (Roblin Enrollment Applications, NARS M-1343).

INTRODUCTION

Current Membership. The 1994 membership list of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe (CIT) contains 1,410 "green card holders" who meet the constitutional requirement for voting membership. This list includes both adult members and children under 18 years of age. The current membership of the CIT resides primarily in southwestern Washington State, with the majority of the remaining members living in the Pacific Northwest. For a more detailed analysis of the petitioner's contemporary geographical distribution, see the Anthropological Technical Report to this proposed finding.

Impact of Section 83.8 on coverage in the Genealogical Technical Report. This report has been completed under the provisions of 25 CFR 83.8. Section 83.8 modifies some of the provisions of 25 CFR 83.7 in the cases of those petitioners who can demonstrate the existence of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment. In 1855, the Federal government negotiated a treaty with the historical Cowlitz tribe of Indians as it existed at that date. Some of the Cowlitz who participated in those treaty negotiations can be demonstrated to have represented structural predecessor groups of the petitioning organization (see the Historical Technical Report for further information) and to have been genealogical ancestors of some of the petitioner's membership.

While Section 83.8 does not directly modify the requirements of either criterion 83.7(d) or 83.7(e), which are the criteria primarily addressed by the Genealogical Technical Report, its general provisions have been taken into account where applicable.

THE COWLITZ HISTORICAL POPULATION

A discussion of the historical Cowlitz population has been placed at this point in the report because much of the material on enrollment and membership criteria cannot be understood without some perspective on the petitioner's development. The historical Cowlitz Indians had, traditionally, a dispersed residential pattern. From the earliest descriptions of explorers, the historical Cowlitz Indians lived mainly along the length of the Cowlitz River, from slightly above its mouth, or juncture with the Columbia

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River, as far upriver as the area of Randle, Washington.² This was a distance of some 80 miles. There were also villages and/or hunting camp sites along other nearby rivers such as the Toutle and the Lewis. The historic population was dispersed in comparatively small groups, which rarely contained more than ten households (see the more detailed demographic estimates contained in the Historical Technical Report). A few such residential groups can be clearly identified as late as the 1880 Federal census.

Omission of the "Mountain Cowlitz" or "Kwalhiokwa" from Genealogical Consideration. One supposed ancestral group, the "Mountain Cowlitz" or Kwalhiokwa, discussed by Dr. Verne F. Ray in his work for the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) (Ray 1966, Ray 1974) has been omitted from the genealogical discussion in this technical report because no genealogical information on it was submitted by the petitioner or located by BIA researchers. The "Mountain Cow-lists" were mentioned as trading at Fort Nisqually in the 1836-1838 time period (Carpenter 1986, 93), but it could not be determined by the BIA researcher whether this reference was to the Kwalhiokwa or to the Taitnapam. The Kwalhiokwa had essentially ceased to have an independent existence prior to 1855, the date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment used for this proposed finding. It had no separate representation at the 1855 Chehalis River Council. Rather, the Kwalhiokwa were already associated with the Chehalis and the Cowlitz (CIT Pet. Ex. A-931).³

² "In 1820 the Lower Cowlitz occupied the drainage of the Cowlitz river from approximately where Mossy Rock stands today to within a few miles of its juncture with the Columbia. In the period between 1820 and 1850, the Cowlitz moved onto the Columbia itself in the region immediately north and immediately south of the mouth of the Cowlitz-- they there intermarried with the remnants of the Chinookan people who had previously occupied the region. The Taidnapam occupied the drainage of the upper Cowlitz from the area about Mossy Rock to the various headwaters of the Lewis River on the other side of the watershed. The Taidnapam ranged as far north westward as the drainage of the Newaukam and as far north as the watershed between the Cowlitz River and the Nisqually River" (Taylor n.d., 2 cont.).

³ March 1, 1855. Yowannug [identified as head chief of the Upper Chihalis on A-914]. "Last night we came to this conclusion and now only ask for a small piece of land. We are glad to have united. We are afraid of being driven among different people whose languages we did not understand. We have finally settled on a place for these five bands, the Cowlitz, Upper Cowlitz, Upper Chihalis, Satsop, and Mountain Indians (a remnant of the Kwalkwi o quas.). We have heard all our Father has said patiently. It is all good except the place he proposes as our reserve. We don't like the idea of going among other people speaking a

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The Historical Lewis River Band. The Lower Cowlitz were described in 19th century documents as having had a close, if not always amicable, relationship with the Lewis River Klickitats to the east. It has not been possible for BIA researchers to determine clearly from extant documentation whether or not the mid-19th century Lewis River chief Umtux and his band were actually Taitnapam Cowlitz, as claimed by Verne F. Ray (Ray 1966, 37). No original source material was located that supported his contention. Most of the original documents indicated that the Lewis River band was probably Klickitat, or, according to the 1915 statement of one of Umtux' daughters, "Cathlapoodle" Chinook (see extensive discussion of the issue of his identity in the Historical Technical Report). Several families that originated in this band were still residing in Clark County, Washington, at the time of the 1880 Federal census: some were still there as late as 1910.

The petitioner's membership contains very few descendants of the Lewis River band, whether it consisted of Lewis River Cowlitz or Lewis River Klickitats or Lewis River Chinook. The majority of the identifiable Lewis River area families were allotted on the Yakima Indian Reservation during the 1890's and are currently enrolled at Yakima.

The Historical Lower Cowlitz. The historical Lower Cowlitz,⁴ who were of Salish language and culture,⁵ were

different language" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-931).

In 1853-54, George Gibbs stated that, "The Willopahs, or, as called by Capt. Wilkes, Qualioquas, may be considered as extinct, a few women only remaining, and those intermarried with the Chinooks and Chihalis" (Gibbs p. 428; cited in Ray 1974, 305). In 1856, Gibbs stated: "Of the Willopah (Kwalhiokwa), or, as they call themselves, Owillapsh, there are yet, it appears, three or four families living..." (Gibbs p. 171; cited in Ray 1974, 305). About 1910, Curtis stated that, "Only two descendants of the Willapa survived in 1910--Tonamahl, a woman on Nisqualli reservation, and her aunt Saishimulyut, residing near Rochester, Washington" (Page 154; cited in Ray 1974, 306).

⁴ According to Taylor and Hoaglin, the historical "Cowlitz" discussed in their article were:

A Salishan-speaking group now known as the Lower Cowlitz, who around 1820 lived on the Cowlitz River, from about the present town of Mossy Rock, Lewis County, Washington, to a few miles above the juncture of the Cowlitz and Columbia Rivers. The term specifically does not include the Sahaptin-speaking Taidnapam, now known as Upper Cowlitz, who live on the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River, nor does it include the Chinookan-speaking Skillout (Kreluit) who lived

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greatly reduced in population by an epidemic of "intermittent fever" which began in 1829 and continued endemically through the early 1840's (Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 9). On October 11, 1830, Dr. John McLaughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, wrote that the intermitting fever had appeared and carried off 3/4 of the Indian population in the vicinity (Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 11-12). The Lower Cowlitz component of the modern petitioner can be documented to descend from this greatly reduced tribal stock,⁶ as it existed when Roman Catholic missionary activity began among the tribe in 1838.

The Historical Upper Cowlitz (Cowlitz Klickitatz or Taitnapam). In the course of the 19th century, the Lower Cowlitz moved from a relationship of antagonism to one of

at the mouth of the Cowlitz River. The Skillout are subsumed under the term Chinook (Taylor and Hoaglin 1962, 161; quoted in 21 Ind. Cl. Comm. 143, 164; reproduced Cowlitz Pet. 1975, 50).

⁵ Paul Kane, Canadian artist and explorer, was speaking only of the Lower Cowlitz when he wrote in 1847. "We landed at the Cowlitz farm, which belongs to the Hudson's Bay Company . . . Here I remained until the 5th of April, and took the likeness of Kiscox, the chief of the Cowlitz Indians, a small tribe of about 200. They flatten their heads and speak a language very similar to the Chinooks" (Cowlitz Pet. Narr. 1987, 6). See also Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 9-10.

⁶ April 24, 1840. Sir James Douglas, under marginal notation Cowelitz Statisticks, in Private Papers, Second Series (Bancroft Collection):

"The inhabitants of the Cowelitz River were at one time numerous; but are now reduced to something less than 60 men principally occupied in fishing: few of them evincing a desire to become hunters by courting the noble elevating and more arduous exercises of the chase.

The decrease of population cannot be clearly traced to any one cause in particular -- it with more probability proceeds from a union of evils. The whites best acquainted with the former and present state of the River, and the Natives themselves, however ascribe it with one voice to the Ague. as it is only since the appearance of that incredibly destructive visitation among them that they have wasted away to a shadow of their former numbers.

Plomondo says that in 1830 the first ague summer, the living sufficed not to bury the dead. but fled in terror to the sea coast abandoning the dead and dying to the birds and beasts of prey" (quoted in Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 9). "Douglas' estimate of 60 'men' in 1840 would suggest a total Cowlitz population of 200 or so at that time" (Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 9).

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alliance and intermarriage⁷ with a band of Sahaptin-speaking Klickitats (or Taitnapam)⁸ who had settled on the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River after 1829 (Fitzpatrick 1986, 144; citing Teit 1928:99). These Taitnapam also had a continuing close relationship with the Yakima on the east side of the Cascade Mountains. Oral tradition indicates it was, in fact, the Yakima Ow-hi's son or grandson Wi-an-ash-et,⁹ known as "Captain Peter," who was recommended to the OIA as chief of the Taitnapam on the upper reaches of the Cowlitz River in 1878 (Iyall 1995). During the second half of the 19th century, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials moved from describing the Taitnapam group as "Klickitat," to "Cowlitz Klickitat," and finally to "Upper Cowlitz."

⁷ "Their Chief At-win (preferably Antoine) (See Report Coms. Ind. Affs. for 1870, p. 18), is considered a reliable and trustworthy man. His people and said band of Klickitats made peace some ten years ago and are intermarried and bands of them live with At-wain on Mr. Huntington's land" (Milroy to Hayt, 1/7/1878, NARS M-234 Roll 219, 92).

⁸ "The Cowlitz, as they are currently known, were not in aboriginal times one tribe but two. These tribes were different in language, linguistic family, linguistic stock and culture. The Indians occupying the Lower Cowlitz drainage were Cowlitz proper who spoke a coast Salishan language of the Salishan linguistic stock. They had a typical riverine, lower Northwest coast culture depending primarily upon fishing and secondly upon hunting and gathering for their subsistence. They were not normally politically united although occasionally for purposes of war and negotiation they banded together under one of their more powerful chiefs or head men. In normal times the lower Cowlitz villages were quasi-autonomous, however, they were an identifiable ethnic unit. Hudson's Bay Company officials, missionaries and early historians all refer to them as the Cowlitz or Lower Cowlitz Indians. They all spoke the same language and had a collective name for themselves--the Stlpulimuhkl.

The Indians inhabiting the upper reaches of the Cowlitz were Plateau in cultural tradition and Sahaptin in linguistic stock . . . These Indians were called 'Taidnapam'. They were recent immigrants into the region from the headwaters of the Lewis River across the Cascades" and there is no proof they had moved in before 1820 (Taylor n.d., 2; included in Cowlitz Pet. 1975).

⁹ A man with a very similar name, Weyanoshat or Wayanoshat, had a daughter baptized at Vancouver in 1839: he was described as "Tlikatat infidel" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 24:B7).

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Historical Relationship between Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz. After the epidemic period, the Cowlitz population seems to have stabilized. Throughout the later 1840's, the 1850's, and 1860's, official population estimates of the Cowlitz consistently remained at between 150 and 350 for the Lower Cowlitz, and between 75 [men] and 250 [total] for the Upper Cowlitz. From 1840 to 1880, there was an excess of births over deaths among the Cowlitz. However, spin-offs (the movement of Cowlitz families onto established reservations at Yakima, Nisqually, Puyallup, Chehalis, and Quinault, where they became socially identified as part of the reservation tribes) counterbalanced the natural population increase (see Historical Technical Report to this proposed findings for details of the demographic development).

Though the Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz were identified by non-Indian neighbors and BIA officials as separate bands with separate chiefs as late as 1878 (NARS, RG 75, M-234, Roll 918, get cite for pages), by 1919 BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin categorized families descended from both bands simply as "Cowlitz." Because of intermarriage since 1870, 20th-century members of the petitioner have been able to show both Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz ancestry. An excellent example was Mary (Yoke) Kiona. Members of the petitioner tend to classify her as having been Taitnapam because of the language she spoke (Beckham 1991, 34-35), but her mother, Lucy (Quil-a-nut), was a Lower Cowlitz woman from near Kelso at the mouth of the Cowlitz River.

The merger of the linguistically and culturally distinct bands of the Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz that took place during the second half of the 19th century was not in any way contrary to Federal Indian policy in the Pacific Northwest during the period in which it was occurring. In most ways, it was a product of that policy. Many Federal reservations established in the region (Yakima, Tulalip, etc.) combined several distinct bands into what are now federally recognized Indian tribes. Had the Cowlitz Indians obtained the treaty provisions they proposed at one point during the 1855 Chehalis River Treaty Council, they would have agreed to become part of a combined reservation including the Cowlitz, Upper Cowlitz, Upper Chehalis, Satsop, and Mountain Indians (CIT Pet. Ex. A-930 - A-931, A-936), though they still drew the line at being amalgamated with the Quinault. As Governor Isaac Stevens, in encouraging the delegates to accept any reservation placement determined by the Federal Government, said to the

delegates in response to the desire of each tribe to remain within its own traditional territory:

I want you to agree to a paper which will be good for you, and that the Great Father shall select this Country where twice as many used to live and where all of you now shall. You say you speak different languages. We know it but I have told you how many children the Great Father has, and Indians speaking different languages are often placed together (CIT Pet. A-934).

Stevens referenced both Federal policy towards the Puget Sound Indians (CIT Pet. A-934, A-936) and that which had been pursued with the California Indians, according to which unrelated groups were involuntarily moved on to reserves (CIT Pet. A-935, A-938).

Impact of the Fur Trade: Development of Metis Families.

Yes, I am basically saying that those who descended from the Cowlitz/French-Canadian marriages, make up, for the most part, the present-day Cowlitz Tribe" (Byrnes Affidavit 1989, CIT Pet. Ex. A-2366).

Definition. For the purposes of this report, the word "metis" is defined as those descendants of French Canadian fur traders and American Indian women who existed in sufficient numbers at a given time and place to form a society that was, to some extent, distinct from both parent societies--formally Roman Catholic in religion, and speaking both French and Indian languages. In the context of the Cowlitz, this metis society was centered at Cowlitz Prairie in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The majority of the male ancestors were former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Development of Cowlitz Metis Families. In addition to the distinction between the Salish-speaking Lower Cowlitz and the Sahaptin-speaking Upper Cowlitz, the 19th century development of the historical Cowlitz tribe was affected to a very significant degree by the presence of fur traders, who arrived in the region between 1800 and 1820. About 1820, Simon Plamondon, Sr., a French-Canadian employee of the North West Company, married Thas-e-muth, a daughter of the Lower Cowlitz chief Scanewa (Plamondon 1953, 41), who was known according to family tradition by the Europeanized name Veronica (Roblin Enrollment Applications, Statement of

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John Baptiste Plamondon, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1663; Statement of Daniel A. Plamondon, CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-3309). Veronica died relatively young, about 1827/1833. Scanewa was killed in a conflict with the Clallam in 1828. However, Simon Plamondon remained in the Cowlitz Valley. His four children by Scanewa's daughter were baptized by the Catholic missionaries at various times between 1838 and 1843 (Warner and Munnick 1972, 19:B201, 20:B203, 71:B859, 74:B881), but the church records referred to the mother only as a "woman of the country, infidel" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 19:B201) and as a "Cowlitz woman, now dead" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 71:B859).

Non-Cowlitz Metis Families at Cowlitz Prairie. The Hudson's Bay Company established a depot and farm at Cowlitz Landing in 1839 (Hajda 1990, 514). Numbers of HBC French-Canadian servants retired there, in due time becoming naturalized American citizens and receiving Washington Territory donation land claims (NARS M-815, Oregon and Washington Donation Land Files 1851-1903. Rolls 93-108, Washington Territory). Several of these men married Cowlitz women and established families.¹⁰ Others of the fur trade employees brought with them, when they settled along the Cowlitz River, Indian wives from a wide variety of Canadian, eastern Washington, other western Washington, and Oregon tribes (Pollard 1982, 121, 128) (see the more detailed discussion below in this report).

By the time that BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin completed his 1919 listing of unenrolled Indians (Roblin 1919a), the Roblin Roll, he categorized numerous persons from this Cowlitz Prairie settlement as "Cowlitz Indians," even when they themselves, in their affidavits (Roblin Enrollment Applications), specifically described their actual, non-Cowlitz, tribal ancestry (Roblin 1919b). The petitioner, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, contains some member families which trace ancestry only into these "associated" families. The impact of this association on the petitioner's membership structure is analyzed below.

Metis Society. During the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, the Cowlitz metis and Cowlitz-

¹⁰ For example, Louis Leclerc m. 1843, Susanne Cowlitz (Warner and Munnick 1972, 76:M5); Louis Ledoux m. 1843, Marguerite Cowlitz (Warner and Munnick 1972, 76:M6).

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associated metis families married mainly among one another¹¹ or with pioneer families of non-French-Canadian European ancestry,¹² but some married back into full-blood Cowlitz families. An excellent example of "all of the above" marriage practices among the metis families is found in the 1918 Roblin Enrollment applications filed by the daughters of Angelique (Plamondon) Gill. Annie Gill-Sullivan-Julius stated that she was 1/8 Indian; her mother, Angelique Plamondon was 1/4 Indian [Cree, associated metis], a daughter of Simon Plamondon and Emilie Finlay. Annie Gill's father, Simon Gill, was white [French-Canadian]; her first husband, Mike Sullivan, was white [Irish]; her second husband, James Julius, was 1/2 Chinook [and, though she did not say so, he was the widower of Susan Quatanna, a full-blood Cowlitz woman whose first husband had been French-Canadian] (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3277). Lucy Gill-Lozier-McKinney stated that her first husband, Adolph Lozier, was a mixed-blood Indian allotted on Yakima; her second husband was white (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3294).

The metis families maintained a certain continuing level of identification as Cowlitz. Of the 23 "undersigned citizens residing in the Valley of the Cowlitz River" who in January 1878 signed one petition to the BIA because they had heard:

that their is Some Talk of the Government Removing
the Indians residing in Said Valley to Some
reservation and knowing Said Indians to be
Peaceable and well disposed and Generally usefull
to the whites Settlers as Laborers Respecfully
Petition and ask that they be Permitted to Remain

¹¹ This sometimes involved extensive cousin marriage. Jane Gill, granddaughter of Simon Plamondon Sr. and Emilie Finlay, was married first to her 1/2 first cousin Peter St. Germain, and second to another 1/2 first cousin, Simon A. Plamondon. Her two husbands were full first cousins (Roblin Enrollment Applications, CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3325).

Similarly, John St. Germain, son of Joseph St. Germain and Marie Anne Plamondon (a daughter of Simon Plamondon and Veronica), married in 1882, Cowlitz Prairie, WA, Louise "Laloot" Plamondon, daughter of Daniel Moise/Mose Plamondon (a son of Simon Plamondon, Sr. and Emilie Finlay) and of Elizabeth Jarvis, Umatilla.

¹² Since the records of the St. Francois Xavier mission at Cowlitz Prairie for the period 1844-1902 burned, it is necessary to rely upon public vital records and BIA records for the marriages, and census records for the births. While these are useful, they do not give the extensive insight into interaction that is provided by the sacramental records that include sponsors and witnesses.

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where they are undisturbed (NARS M-234 Roll 919, 105),

at least 11 were either married to Cowlitz women or were themselves metis.¹³ Cowlitz metis children were often sent to BIA schools such as Chemawa (NARS Seattle. RG 75. Records of Chemawa Indian School).

Another aspect of the "metis" issue in analyzing the petitioner's membership through time is that until the constitutional changes in 1974, many Cowlitz metis families that had continued to live in Lewis and Cowlitz Counties, Washington, remained consistently active in the Cowlitz tribal organization, even when their genealogical tie to the tribe came through a remote ancestress and all subsequent marriages in their family lines had been to non-Indians. When the requirement for 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum was adopted in 1974 and subsequently enforced in practice, the structure of Cowlitz membership changed significantly (see discussion below). Several locally resident Lewis County, Washington, and Cowlitz County, Washington, family lines that had heretofore been active in the affairs of the Cowlitz organization were no longer eligible for voting membership. The post-1974 Cowlitz membership lists differ dramatically from the 1968 and prior lists not only because of the exclusion of the "Yakima Cowlitz" families by forbidding dual enrollment, but also because of the removal of many metis family lines from voting membership.

Ties to the Yakima Indian Reservation. It was mainly through the Lewis River Klickitats and the "Cowlitz Klickitats," that the historical Cowlitz tribe maintained close genealogical ties to many persons who received allotments on the Yakima Indian Reservation, east of the Cascade mountain range, during the period 1892-1914.¹⁴

¹³ The signers were William Pumphrey, Gas Clookie [Auguste Cloquet], Robert Stead, James Lorma, Edward Cottinoir, David Cottinoir, Basil Bercier, Simon Gill, John H. Pumphrey, Frank M. Pumphrey, B. S. Plamondon, James Wilson, L. D. Dubeau, J. B. Plomondon, James McDonald, William Griffin, Christian Reitzig, J. Barton, Chas. L. Reed, S. W. Parsons, Jim Julious, John C. Cantwell, and William Whittle (NARS M-234 Roll 919, 105-106).

¹⁴ These ties, in fact, existed much earlier, and may have included the Lower Cowlitz families as well as the Taidnapam. In the pre-treaty period, the high-status families of the southwestern Washington area established intermarriage networks equivalent to those of European royal families.

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However, Lower Cowlitz families such as the Iyalls and Wannassays also, through intermarriage with Klickitat and Yakima women, qualified for and received allotments on Yakima: numerous members of such families enrolled there.

In 1946, eligibility for enrollment in the Yakima Nation was determined by Federal statute (60 Stat. 933, pp. 968-969, August 9, 1946). By virtue of this act, a number of Cowlitz families that had been allotted on Yakima were no longer eligible for enrollment there, as they did not descend from the 14 bands originally combined on the Yakima Reservation (the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation which was a party to the Yakima treaty of 1855, 12 Stat. 951).¹⁵ Other Cowlitz families, such as Iyall and Wannassay, ended up split, with the older members enrolled at Yakima under a grandfather clause, but younger siblings born after the date of approval of the Act no longer eligible for enrollment there.

Since the ICC judgment award and the resulting membership eligibility changes instituted by the Cowlitz Indian Tribe in its 1974 constitutional revision, a complex and often antagonistic relationship has developed between the petitioner and the "Yakima Cowlitz" descended from the Lewis River Cowlitz and Upper and Lower Cowlitz families allotted on Yakima. For additional details on these developments, see the constitutional discussion below and the Historical

The family tree submitted by the Iyall family showed Iyall Wahawa as the descendant of Scanewa, the Cowlitz chief who died in 1828, by a Yakima wife. (Scanewa is said to have had seven wives, another of whom has been identified as Haida.) Iyall Wahawa, in turn, married Margaret Powety, who was identified as "Nisqually." Margaret's mother, however, was shown on the Iyall family tree as the daughter of a Nisqually father and of a Yakima mother: through her mother, Margaret (Powety) Iyall was described as a first cousin of the Yakima war chief, Kamiakin.

¹⁵ The treaty listed: Yakima [Yakama], Palouse, Pisuouse, Wenatshapam, Klickitat, Kinkuit [Klinquit], Kow-was-say-ee [Know Was-say-ee], Li-ay-was, Wish-ham [or Wishram], Skyuks [Shyiks], Oche-chotes, Kah-milt-pay [Kah-milt-pah], Se-op-cat [Se-ap-cat], and Skin-pah. The U.S. v. Washington report identified these by modern names as: (1) Salish-speaking, Chelan, Entiat, Wenatchee, and Columbia; (2) Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, Yakima, Klickitat, Wanapam, Palus/Palouse, and Skeen; (3) Chinookan-speaking, Wishram, totalling approximately 5,000 Indians (BAR Files).

In 1950, Darrell Fleming of the Yakima Indian Agency stated that in the course of the enrollment work resulting from the 1946 Act, none of the applicants claimed to be descended from the Pisuouse, Klinquit, Kaw-was-say-ee, Ki-ay-was, Shyiks, Ochi-chotes, Kah-milt-pah, or Se-ap-cat bands (Fleming to COIA, February 28, 1950, 1).

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Technical Report to this proposed finding. The "Yakima Cowlitz" are not part of the CIT membership evaluated for purposes of this petition.

Ties to the Quinault Indian Reservation. During the 19th century, the Lower Cowlitz also interacted extensively with several of the Salish tribes to the west (Chehalis, Nisqually, Puyallup, etc.). In the early 20th century, several peripheral Lower Cowlitz families received allotments on the Quinault Reservation (Roblin 1919c). In the 1930's, as the result of an eligibility decision rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 1, 1931, in Halbert et al v. The United States,¹⁶ several current CIT families were allotted on Quinault (Roblin to COIA, 6/16/1932; CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2289), although they were not eligible for enrollment with the Quinault Tribe (see the Historical Technical Report and Anthropological Technical report to this proposed finding for details). Consequently, several current members of the CIT have been active in the Quinault Allottees Association, although they are not enrolled in the Quinault Tribe. Some Cowlitz descendants did enroll at Quinault (1932 Annual Statistical Report Quinault Reservation, CIT Pet. Ex. A-467; Quinault Legal Voters, 1935 Census; CIT Pet. A-1459 - A-1473), but these families are not now CIT members.

GOVERNING DOCUMENTS

Current governing document. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe is currently governed by a constitution revised in 1993 (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-2662 - A-2669). The General Council¹⁷ adopted the revisions on June 5, 1993, at the Annual Meeting. A copy of the constitution as revised in 1993 was submitted to the BIA as part of the supplement to the Cowlitz petition for Federal acknowledgment. The current constitution is supplemented by the "By-Laws of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe." A copy of these by-laws, with revisions enacted by the General Council on June 5, 1993, was submitted to the BIA as part of the supplement to the

¹⁶ See the Historical Technical Report to this proposed finding for a detailed discussion of this case.

¹⁷ The General Council consists of all duly enrolled members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, Article III, Section 2 (A-2664). Voting membership consists of "all enrolled members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe at least eighteen (18) years of age who are of one-sixteenth (1/16) or more blood degree and who hold a green membership card," Article V, Section 1 (A-2664).

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Cowlitz petition for Federal acknowledgment (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2670-2676).

Adoption of the 1993 Constitution. In 1993, the CIT proposed revisions to the 1974 constitution, particularly as they applied to the "1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum" membership requirement, but after extensive discussion, no changes were made to the 1/16 requirement (see extensive discussion below in the section on current membership criteria). This issue had been under consideration for quite some time. At the October 19, 1991, meeting of the Tribal Council,¹⁸ there was extensive discussion of the situation at the time the 1/16 requirement was originally adopted: it was moved and carried that a "proposed amendment to change blood quantum requirement be presented to the General Council" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2593).

This motion was extended at the Tribal Council meeting of January 11, 1992, to "clarification of the tribal Constitution" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2613). It was moved and carried that a committee of seven persons be established "to propose changes or amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2613). The Tribal Council elected this committee from among its own members (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2614-2615). At the Tribal Council meeting on August 15, 1992, it was mentioned that, "the finalized draft with suggested revisions will be completed to present to the General Council in November" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2639). On October 24, 1992,

General Council Chairperson [sic, actually Vice-Chairman] Marsha Williams next gave her report. In relation to the Cowlitz Constitution revisions that were proposed in June, she expects General Council action to implement the changes at the November meeting. She requested that any other changes be brought to her attention prior to that time for inclusion in the final draft. She asked for and obtained input as to how to best present the changes to the general body (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2642).

The petitioner submitted, together with the 1994 supplement, copies of the minutes of most Tribal Council and General Council meetings from 1987 through August 7, 1993 (CIT Pet.

¹⁸ See below for a discussion of the functions of the Tribal Council vis-a-vis the General Council.

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Suppl. A-2501-2660). Specifically, these included the minutes of the June 5, 1993, General Council meeting at which the constitutional revisions were adopted (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2651-2654). According to the minutes of the June 5, 1993, General Council meeting, the 1974 constitution and 1974 by-laws and the proposed changes had been presented to the membership at the June 1992 General Council meeting (minutes not contained in the supplement), at a November 1992 meeting (minutes not contained in the supplement), and had been reviewed in the tribal newsletter. They were reviewed orally at the June 5, 1993, General Council meeting. Although "some of those in attendance expressed concern at having so little time to study the document," a motion to take the ballot passed by a vote of 55 aye, 12 nay. The revisions themselves were adopted by a hand vote of 55 aye, 8 nay (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2653). A description of the current constitution, as revised in 1993, follows.

Contents of the 1993 Constitution. The 1993 constitution and by-laws describe how CIT governs its affairs and its members. They contain primarily conventional constitutional provisions, in that they specify the constitutional offices, qualifications for office, terms of office holding, election procedures, etc.

Article I: Name and Jurisdiction defines the name of the petitioner as the Cowlitz Indian Tribe (it has previously been, on legal documents, the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians). It generally claims "maximum jurisdiction possible under tribal and Federal law" over their aboriginal lands and natural resources therein, fishing rights, etc. Specifically, it states that the Cowlitz Indian Tribe "shall have jurisdiction over land designated by the Indian Claims Commission as the Cowlitz aboriginal lands in claims docket 218" (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-2263).

For Article II. Membership, see the detailed discussion of provisions below in the section on membership criteria.

Article III establishes the General Council; Article IV the Tribal Council. Electoral qualifications and election procedure are defined by Article V. Article VI covers vacancies and recall; Article VII establishes a referendum procedure.

Article VIII: Powers of the Cowlitz Tribal Council specifies that, "subject to all applicable laws of the United States and this constitution," the Cowlitz Tribal Council shall conduct the business of the tribe; purchase,

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buy and accept any land or other property for the tribe with final approval of the general membership; take and accept land in trust; negotiate and communicate with the Federal, state, or local governments and their agencies; administer funds or property held by the tribe and make expenditures for public purposes; administer charity; manage all economic affairs of the tribe consistent with the constitution and articles of incorporation; charter or authorize tribal corporations, etc; employ or appoint legal counsel, etc. It may also exercise powers delegated to it by the General Council; any powers not expressly referred to are reserved by the Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

Article IX is a Bill of Rights; Article X covers amendment procedure (see detailed discussion below); Article XI reserves inherent powers to the Cowlitz Indian people; Article XII provides for the enactment and revision of by-laws. According to Article XII, Section 3, proposed by-law revisions must be submitted to the General council at a regularly scheduled meeting and voted on at the following regularly scheduled meeting. These also require approval by a 2/3 majority vote of the voters casting ballots, with at least 50 eligible voting members participating in the election (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2669).

Current amendment procedure. The revised 1993 constitution, Article X, provides for an amendment procedure:

- (a) The Tribal Council may by a majority vote submit a proposed constitutional amendment or revision to the General Council for approval.
- (b) Any proposed constitutional amendments or revisions must be submitted to the General Council at a regularly scheduled meeting and voted on at the following regularly scheduled meeting.
- (c) The eligible voters of the Tribe must approve the constitutional amendment by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the voters casting ballots. At least fifty (50) eligible voting members of the Tribe must participate in the election (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2669).

Former Governing Documents. The 1993 CIT constitution was an outgrowth of several prior constitutional documents. These are discussed below in reverse chronological order, beginning with the most recent.

1974 Constitution. The 1993 revised Cowlitz Indian Tribe constitution is based on the constitution which was adopted

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on November 2, 1974 (CIT Pet. 1030; CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2669). The 1974 constitution was passed at a general membership meeting by a vote of 47 yes and 3 no votes (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2662 - A-2669), and was accompanied by a set of by-laws (CIT Pet. A-1031 - A-1036). Copies of the 1974 constitution and bylaws were submitted to the BIA as part of the Cowlitz petition for Federal acknowledgment in 1983 and 1987 (CIT Pet. A-1023 - A-1036).

The 1974 constitution (CIT Pet. A-1023 - A-1030) established an 18-person Tribal Council as the governing body, headed by the Chairman. It contained a preamble, the section on membership, a section defining the Tribal Council and officers, and sections on elections, vacancies and recall, referendum, powers of the tribal council, and "ordinances, resolutions, and rules." There was a Bill of Rights (Article VIII), followed by sections on amendments, inherent powers, and by-laws.

1950 Constitution. The 1974 constitution, in turn, was a revision of a prior constitution that had been adopted in 1950. On May 13, 1950, the "Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" held a "reorganization meeting" at the Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall. On one called vote, there were 34 aye and 39 nay votes, giving a minimum number of 73 persons for adult attendees (CIT Pet. A-1146).

According to the minutes of the May 13, 1950, meeting, in addition to setting up a dues schedule and requesting that in order to bring the enrollment up to date, all names, ages, and ancestors were to be sent to the tribal secretary, "a motion was made and seconded that the officers be authorized to draw up the constitution and a meeting later to pass on constitution. Seconded by Brooling. Motion carried" (CIT Pet. A-1147). The petition contains copies of the minutes of both meetings at which the 1950 constitution was discussed and approved (CIT Pet. A-1146 - A-1149).

On July 1, 1950, the Cowlitz met again at the Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall. The constitution and by-laws were read by Manuel L. Forrest, President. Provisions included that the officers were to be the President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer; these, together with a member chosen by the tribe, would constitute an Executive Committee. It prescribed the date and place of annual meetings, set a quorum for the transaction of business, and provided for election and amendment procedures (CIT Pet. A-1018 - A-1022).

Minutes of the July 1 meeting at which the 1950 constitution was adopted indicate that several amendments were offered from the floor, including one to combine the offices of secretary and treasurer (carried) and another to elect a member from the floor to fill the vacancy on the Executive Committee that would be left by the combination (carried). An "Obituary Committee" was added to the list of committees. The amended constitution and by-laws were adopted unanimously (CIT Pet. A-1148).

In 1973, a BIA officer wrote:

There is also a tribal Council [sic] with 14 members not provided for in the constitution. The council shares the responsibility with the Executive committee [sic] in handling tribal business and making various proposals for consideration. It is possible that the constitution may have been amended to provide for these changes in the governing body but there is no record of it (Irene I. Day, Western Washington Agency Acting Superintendent, to the Area Director, Portland Area Office, 10/2/1973).

Pre-1950 constitution. The 1950 stated that, "This Constitution and By Laws shall supersede and replace the Constitution and By Laws heretofore governing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" (CIT Pet. A-1022). This statement indicates that there were prior written governing documents. However, none were submitted with the petition.

Membership Criteria

Former membership criteria. Specific membership requirements were not spelled out in written documents prior to the adoption of the 1974 constitution. However, from the beginning of the formal tribal organization with elected officers, the Cowlitz realized the importance of determining membership and appointed "recognition" committees to oversee enrollment. For example, in 1915, Sam Williams of The Dalles, Oregon; Charles Pete of Castle Rock, Washington, Mrs. Mary Longfred of Roy, Washington, Mrs. Annie Hiten of Tenino, Washington; and Mrs. Frances Northover of Wapato, Washington, were named as "a committee whose business it will be to make up a certified and absolutely accurate roll of all of the surviving members of the Cowlitz tribe

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(Chehalis Bee-Nugget, Chehalis, Washington, September 17, 1915; CIT Pet. A-847).¹⁹

In 1915, there was not unanimous agreement as to the identity of "all surviving members of the Cowlitz tribe." Evelyn Byrnes, a member of the petitioning group who formerly served as tribal secretary, stated that about that year she had attended a Cowlitz meeting in Olequa, Washington, with her parents. She stated that it had been held in George Bertrand's store. In an interview with an anthropologist during the 1980's, she recalled:

The first meeting I ever went to I was about six years old and that was the first meeting they had on the Cowlitz Tribe. It was a knock-down-and-drag-out I will tell you. They fought about who was Cowlitz and who wasn't. They were all Cowlitz that were there. Some didn't want the others in there. That's because they all lived in that area: Cottonwares, Bouchards, Petersons, Plamondons, Charlie Plamondon, Catlins, Petes, St. Germaine, Bertrand (quoted in: Fitzpatrick 1986, 68, without source citation).

In her 1986 doctoral dissertation, Darlene Fitzpatrick commented that Byrnes had:

¹⁹ To the honorable Cato Seills, commissioner of Indian affairs Washington. Dear Sir. We are Members of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians and committee of the Low Cowlitz Indian our delegate is Frank Iyall is in Washington D.C. again for our Claim. Executive Committee Charlie Peter, Sam Wallison, Mrs. Joe Northover, Mrs. Annie Hayton, Mrs. Mary Longfred. We are the Committee of the low Cowlitz of Indians. We are the oldest full blood Indian and we are only received the membership of the Cowlitz Indian we Take in only this People we know there farther and Grand farther and there morthor Grandmorthor. The silver Creek Indian up the Cowlitz River the taltse Ineffrene [?] and low Cowlitz Indian. Just inform you that we has received the member of the Cowlitz Indians the father or morthor or Grand morthor belong to the low Cowlitz Indian. Hoping to hear soon I am your friend
Mary Longfred (Mary Longfred to COIA, received January 25, 1917; 8387, 1917, Cushman, File No. 260; Nisqually Response to Steilacoom Petition).

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mentioned, in her remarks, only Lower Cowlitz families of mixed blood. No mention is made of families such as Iyall, Kalama, Kiona, Ike or Wannassee who are Upper Cowlitz and except for Kalama and Ike are Yakima enrolled. These are rivals or opposed groups in the matter of being Cowlitz as will be shown to be the case throughout this dissertation (Fitzpatrick 1986, 68).

Fitzpatrick's commentary was not strictly accurate. The Iyall and Wannassee families were, in part, enrolled at Yakima. However, their lineage was Lower Cowlitz. The Kiona family was mixed Upper Cowlitz and Lower Cowlitz. The Kalama family was not Cowlitz at all, but Nisqually with some Cowlitz in-laws and step-relations.

Every family line listed by Byrnes in the above recollection still is represented in the petitioner's current membership. All represented Cowlitz metis families. By contrast, most of the members appointed to the 1915 "recognition committee" were Cowlitz Indian descendants who were enrolled on Federal reservations (usually by virtue of having married Indians who were members of those reservations). Williams was at Warm Springs,²⁰ Hiten at Puyallup (BIA Census Rolls, NARS M-595, Roll 407, 1888, No. 334 [Hyton]),²¹ Longfred at Nisqually (BIA Census Rolls, NARS M-595, Roll 93, 1912, No. 28),²² and Northover at Yakima (BIA Census Rolls, NARS M-595, Roll 672, 1898, No. 1042-1047).²³ Of the 1915 "recognition committee" members, only Charles Pete was ordinarily identified as a "Cowlitz Indian," and only

²⁰ #73. SW-NW & Lot 4, Sec 4, Twp 3N, Range 10E, 79 30/100 A. Samuel Williams for minor Georgia Williams, age 11. Cowlitz. Allotted 16 May 1900; patent 14 December 1908 (NARS Regional, Seattle, WA, RG 75, Box 113: Box 113. RG75. BIA Yakima. Vancouver Allotments 1893 - 6/19/10 (unboxed). List of allottees of lands outside Yakima Res. but under Yakima jurisdiction. Washington Territory, Vancouver Land Office).

²¹ Her Quinault affidavit indicated that her parents were Cowlitz and she was born on Cowlitz Prairie in 1838; her husband was Puyallup, although described as a "relative" of the Cowlitz chief Scanewa's son Tyee Dick.

²² A descendant of a sister of the Cowlitz chief Scanewa, who prior to 1836 had married a Nisqually chief.

²³ See discussion below of the ancestry of the major "Yakima Cowlitz" families. Family tradition said that Northover's daughter Annie Guyette was a "cousin" of Sam Williams.

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Charles Pete has descendants among the petitioner's current membership. This is in conformity with other data that the membership of the modern CIT descends from those Cowlitz Indians who refused to go to reservations which had been set apart for other tribes.

On February 20, 1922, Frank Iyall, the delegate representing the Cowlitz attempt to get claims legislation in Washington, D.C. wrote to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs that:

the identity of the members of the Cowlitz tribe is so definitely fixed that I feel justified in saying to you that our tribal council has a record which will give the names of at least 20_ [?] of the living Cowlitz Indians who are descendants of the members of the Cowlitz tribe with which Governor Isaac Stevens negotiated about the year 1855 . . . at the present time there are, all told, probably from 800 to 1,000 members (Wilson Papers, BAR Files).

1950 constitution. According to the 1950 constitution: "Article 2. 1. The membership shall consist solely of Cowlitz Indians and their descendants" (CIT Pet., A-1018). Neither the 1950 constitution nor the 1950 by-laws specified how "Cowlitz Indians and their descendants" were to be determined. On May 13, 1950, at a Cowlitz "reorganizational meeting" at the Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall, a representative of the BIA's Hoquiam Agency talked about claims procedures: "In order to bring the enrollment up to date - all names are to be sent to the Secretary. Also send name of ancestors. Also ages" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1146, Minutes 13 May 1950).

It is clear from Cowlitz records that some formal enrollment procedures were followed. The minutes of the annual meeting held on May 13, 1952, read:

Nominated from the floor to be a member of the recognition committee: Mr. C. C. Eynard,²⁴ Frank Thomas,²⁵ Mrs. Mary King,²⁶ James McAllister, and

²⁴ Ladue/Cloquet family line.

²⁵ Thomas family line.

²⁶ Plamondon/Farron family line.

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Agnes Dobbs.²⁷ Mrs. Mary King is to be the member from the floor. Mrs. Mary Eyle²⁸ was the member appointed by the president (Tribal Minutes, May 13, 1950; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1148-1149).

The minutes of Cowlitz Meeting, Saturday, June 5, 1954, at Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall, listed the Recognition Committee as: Mary King, Vader, Washington; Joe Peter,²⁹ Wapato, Washington; and Frank Thomas, Oakville, Washington (BIA Portland, Meeting Minutes). Minutes of the June 2, 1962, annual meeting listed the Recognition Committee as: John Eyle,³⁰ Norbert Bouchard,³¹ Mayme Peterson,³² and Delia Scarborough³³ (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1189, Tribal Minutes).

1974 constitution. The 1974 constitution, adopted after the ICC claims judgment award, was much more specific on the topic of membership qualifications:

ARTICLE II - MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe shall be open to the following persons provided they do not denounce [*sic*] such membership or hold membership in another tribe except as provided for under the provision for honorary membership:

(1) All children born to any member of the tribe and who are one-sixteenth (1/16) degree or more of Cowlitz Indian blood.

(b) Corrections may be made in the tribal membership roll by the tribal council.

²⁷ Plamondon/St. Germain family line.

²⁸ Nee Thomas family line; married Eyle family line. Newspaper coverage of the meeting stated, "The oldest living member of the tribe, Mrs. Mary Eyle, of Oakville who is 100 years old, was honored as 'tribe mother' at the meeting. She is a member of the group's recognition committee" (Wannassay Papers 1950).

²⁹ "Captain Peter" family line.

³⁰ Eyle and Thomas family lines.

³¹ Plamondon/Farron family line.

³² Plamondon/Finlay family line.

³³ Plamondon/St. Germain family line.

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(c) Only spouses of tribal members shall be eligible for honorary membership but honorary members cannot hold tribal office or vote (CIT Pet. A-1024).³⁴

The implementing by-laws for the membership provisions in the 1974 constitution were quite elaborate:

TITLE I - MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. The Cowlitz Tribal Council shall set up a tribal membership committee to review and evaluate applications for membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

(a) The tribal chairman shall appoint, with the approval of the tribal council, a chairman of the tribal membership committee.

(b) The Chairman of the tribal membership committee shall appoint twenty-one (21) tribal members to the tribal membership committee.

(c) The tribal membership committee shall need a quorum of ten (10) members to conduct committee business.

SECTION 2. All determinations and decisions of the tribal membership committee shall be made by a majority vote of committee members voting.

SECTION 3. All determinations and decisions of the tribal membership committee are subject to review by the tribal council.

SECTION 4. The Cowlitz Tribal Council shall have the sole power to vest tribal membership by a majority vote of tribal council [capitalization sic] members voting.

SECTION 5. The Cowlitz Tribal Council may deprive any person of tribal membership if they fail to meet the constitutional requirements.

³⁴ On January 23, 1993, the Tribal Council discussed the possibility of bestowing honorary membership on Dr. Mike Roe to express "appreciation for his numerous voluntary hours of service to the Tribe" (Cowlitz Pet. Suppl. A-2649). The minutes gave no indication that this limitation on honorary membership in the then-effective constitution was taken into consideration during the discussion.

TITLE II - HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. The tribal membership committee shall receive all applications for honorary membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

SECTION 2. Only the tribal council may vest honorary membership in a person by a majority vote of the tribal council members voting (CIT Pet., A-1031).

The mention of "complimentary membership" in the tribal minutes of June 2, 1984, was apparently equivalent to the "honorary" membership described in the constitution, although the term "complimentary" could be interpreted to mean non-dues-paying membership (Tribal Minutes, June 2, 1984: CIT Pet. Ex. A-1941).

The minutes of the "Cowlitz Tribal Council & Cowlitz Enrollment Committee" of March 23, 1974 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1880 - A-1890) showed that at that juncture, the CTI was paying close attention to membership eligibility. Mary Cloquet reported that 532 enrollment applications has been sent out; 33 had been returned as undeliverable, and 250 were awaiting action (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1884). Action was taken as follows: Accepted, 112; Accepted, but More Information Needed, 4; Rejected, 15; More Information Needed, 56; No Answer on Tape, 2. However, the majority of the council minutes for the 1970's contained no votes on accepting members. A vote was taken on February 2, 1980, accepting six persons (Tribal Council Minutes, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1930); on February 8, 1981, nine applicants were accepted (Tribal Council Minutes, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1933). The minutes for the General Council meeting of June 5, 1982, noted that 28 new members had been enrolled since the last general meeting (General Council Minutes, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1934). The Tribal Council Minutes of June 2, 1984, accepted eight new members and 14 "complimentary" members: one person was to be contacted for more information (Tribal Council Minutes, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1941). Among the committees of the tribal council listed on August 10, 1984, were "Membership Application Committee," which consisted of Jim Holycross and Lenore Monohon (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1939).

Current Membership Criteria.

Constitutional provisions. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe's current formal membership criteria, as stated in Article II of the 1974 revised constitution, comprise the following requirements:

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SECTION 1. Membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe shall be open to the following persons provided they do not denounce [sic] such membership or hold membership in another tribe except as provided for under the provision for honorary membership.

(a) Individuals who can verify that they are one-sixteenth (1/16) degree or more of Cowlitz Indian blood shall be granted a green card with full voting privileges and the right to share in the land claim judgement [sic] fund under Docket 218.

(b) Individuals who can verify that they have some degree of Cowlitz Blood, but who are less than one-sixteenth (1/16) degree of Cowlitz blood shall be granted a red card³⁵ designating non-voting privileges. They shall not share directly in the land claim judgement fund distribution under Docket 218.

(c) Corrections may be made in the tribal membership roll by the Tribal Council. Individuals who are found to be enrolled in another tribe as well as the Cowlitz Tribe will be given the opportunity to choose between the two memberships.

(d) Honorary membership in the Cowlitz Tribe may be granted by the General Council, but honorary members cannot hold tribal office, vote or receive land claim judgement [sic] funds except through inheritance or probate.

(e) The holding of any elected position with the Cowlitz Indian Tribe shall be reserved to those members of one-sixteenth (1/16) or more degree of Cowlitz blood (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2663 - A-2664).

Implementing by-laws. Implementation procedures for the membership criteria in the 1993 Cowlitz Indian Tribe constitution are contained in TITLE I, Membership (CIT Pet.

³⁵ The petition provided no count of red card holders as of 1994. However, tribal minutes from 1987 through 1993 indicated the following breakdown of persons whose names were submitted by the membership committee:

1/8 or more	36	} 79 applicants qualified for voting membership
3/32	3	
1/16	40	
3/64	6	} 67 applicants not qualified for voting membership
1/32	47	
1/64	15	

Suppl. A-2670). For a discussion of these provisions, see below in the section on enrollment procedures.

Adoption. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe's current constitution makes no provision for the adoption of members, whether adults or children. Analysis of the 1994 membership list indicates that the petitioner does not currently have any adopted members. Therefore, the issue of adoption of members into the tribe is not a concern in the analysis of this petition.

Enrollment process.

Application forms. Since the late 1960's, at least, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe has required that applicants for membership complete a formal application. This form is normally completed by the applicant, or parent in the case of minor children. Some of the earlier applications still on file (which were completed in the 1960's and 1970's) indicate that in some cases, one family member completed most of the forms for an entire extended family.

Each application form is accompanied by an ancestry chart (see below for a more detailed discussion). The application form must be completed and submitted before the potential member is considered by the enrollment committee and acted upon by the tribal council. According to the tribal genealogist, the applications are usually filled out at home and mailed in. Sometimes applicants come to the tribal office and fill the form out on the spot.

Copies of the application forms and ancestry charts for nearly all of the petitioner's members were submitted to the BIA as exhibits to the petition for Federal acknowledgment. The missing forms were identified by the BIA researcher while preparing the historical membership data base. The Cowlitz tribal office then supplied copies of these in July 1995 in order to complete the documentation.

Application of formal membership criteria in practice.

During the field visit by the BIA researcher to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's office in Longview, Washington, there was extensive consultation with the tribal genealogist and the office manager about the procedures in use for applying the petitioner's official membership criteria in the case of new applicants for membership. The membership requirements contained in the constitution are, in fact, enforced. The procedures used for enforcing them are simultaneously (1) usually and ordinarily very informal, and (2) usually

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effective in spite of their informality. The BIA researcher found that the conclusions reached by the enrollment committee were usually accurate and matched the BIA review of sample cases.

In the case of applications that cannot be evaluated informally, the Cowlitz Indian Tribe does use more formal procedures, which include inquiries sent to federally recognized tribes and to the BIA, and requests sent to the applicant for complete documentation through vital statistics records. During field work undertaken in July 1995, the BIA researcher saw examples of such inquiries from the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians to the BIA concerning the genealogy of applicants, dating as early as the 1960's, in the records of the BIA Area Office in Portland, Oregon (BAR Files).

Tribal membership records. At the Cowlitz tribal office in Longview, Washington, the tribe maintains full membership records. Folders are maintained in three categories: active members, deceased members, and "other tribes." The folders for active members are coded as to whether or not they are "green card holders" or "red card holders" (persons with less than 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum, not eligible to vote or hold office). The "other tribes" folder contains the records of persons who are of Cowlitz descent, but ineligible for membership because of the prohibition on dual enrollment.

The folders in the "other tribes" and "deceased members" categories are originals, many of which were set up in the mid-1960's and early 1970's. The folders for active members were stolen from the tribal office in 1992 (Newsletter cite). These folders have been reconstituted by the tribal genealogist and office manager, as far as possible, from the genealogical records collected in connection with Docket 218. Copies of these had been submitted with the petition for Federal acknowledgment in 1987. The stolen folders are apparently held by someone who is aware that the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's petition is currently under active consideration. The BIA received, anonymously, during August 1995, copies of the contents of the original membership folders for current members of the tribal council. In many cases, these contained correspondence and notations going back to the 1960's and 1970's in addition to the genealogical records (Cowlitz Folders, BAR Files).

In addition to the system of folders, the petitioner now also maintains computerized membership and genealogical

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records. The genealogical records are as full as possible, including many known Cowlitz descendants who are not eligible for tribal membership, and eligible persons who have never completed applications for membership.

Verification procedures. The enrollment committee and tribal council's review of applications has not ordinarily required the submission of birth certificates, marriage certificates, and other legal documents verifying the applicant's genealogy back to the qualifying Cowlitz ancestor--in most cases, to someone listed on the Roblin Roll (see discussion of the Roblin Roll elsewhere in this report). Rather, as the tribal genealogist put it, "someone" on the Tribal Council is "bound to be related" to any qualified applicant and know him/her. If there's any question about an application or problem in understanding it, the committee just, "calls his grandfather, or his uncle, or somebody else who lives right around here" (DeMarce, Field Notes on CIT office genealogical files, July 19, 1995). In fact, the folders containing recent new applications were peppered with small, yellow post-it notes indicating that so-and-so had called so-and-so on a given date.

The BIA researcher pointed out to the tribal genealogist that it would be desirable that the petitioner require the submission of formal genealogical documentation with applications. He indicated that he had previously suggested this procedure to the Tribal Council, and that implementation was beginning for new applications (DeMarce, Field Notes on CIT office genealogical files, July 19, 1995). The BIA researcher also suggested to the chairman during the field visit in July 1995 that formal documentation of ancestry would be desirable. The petitioner was very responsive when BAR pointed out this deficiency. As a beginning for the documentation project, the petitioner agreed to obtain promptly and submit to the BIA prior to the publication of the proposed finding, such documentation for all current members of the Tribal Council (who represent most of the major Cowlitz ancestral lines) and for a limited sample of the membership to be generated by the BIA researcher (DeMarce, Field Notes, July 22, 1995). Full documentation for eighteen council members to the Roblin Roll was submitted to the BIA on March 29, 1996, representing the major descent lines of Skloutwout/Gerrand, Wahawa/LaDue, Kinswa, Cottonware/Lozier, Scanewa/Plamondon, Wahawa/Iyall, and Iusemuch/Sherlafoo.

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Procedures for applying membership criteria. The By-laws of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, Title I, Membership, provide that the Cowlitz Tribal Council "shall set up an enrollment committee to review and evaluate applications for membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2670). The Tribal Council chair appoints the enrollment committee with the approval of the Tribal Council: it shall have a minimum of three members (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2670). Section 2 provides that, "All determinations and decisions of the enrollment committee shall be made by a majority vote of committee members voting" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2670).

Beyond the work of the enrollment committee, the By-laws also provide for the active participation of the Tribal Council:

SECTION 3. All recommendations of the tribal enrollment committee are subject to ratification by the Tribal Council.

SECTION 4. The Cowlitz Tribal Council shall have the sole power to vest tribal membership by a majority vote of tribal council members voting.

SECTION 5. The Cowlitz Tribal Council may deny any person tribal membership if he/she fails to meet the constitutional requirements (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2670).

Computation of Cowlitz blood quantum. The Federal acknowledgment regulations under 25 CFR Part 83 do not include a blood degree requirement. The BIA evaluates the application of such a requirement only in the light of a petitioner's own enrollment criteria.

The constitution of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe does require a 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum as a qualification for voting membership. Tribal Council minutes indicate that when the enrollment committee presents names to the Tribal Council for approval, these names are accompanied by computation of the individual's blood quantum by fraction (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2516, A-2540, A-2541, A-2553). The validity of the computations are, upon occasion, subject to council discussion (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2502, A-2647). Membership applications have been denied by the council if the genealogy could not be confirmed (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2523), and upon occasion the council directs that further investigation be undertaken (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2541). One questionable line, which had been denied during the 1970's, has since been accepted by the Council (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2657).

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The computation of Cowlitz blood quantum by the enrollment committee and tribal genealogist is based primarily on the 1919 Roblin Roll. The majority of the ancestry charts that accompany membership applications trace the applicant back to an individual listed on the Roblin Roll, with notation of the blood quantum of the qualifying ancestor as given by Roblin. For families which were listed on the Roblin Roll in 1917, Roblin's attribution of blood quantum is ordinarily accepted. The majority of the members trace their ancestry to families on the Roblin Roll.

In the case of applicants descended from historical members of the Cowlitz tribe who were not listed at all on Roblin's list of unenrolled Indians in Western Washington, or who were not listed as "Cowlitz" on Roblin's list of unenrolled Indians in Western Washington, the petitioner uses other sources of documentation. The value of these varies. Cowlitz membership applications from the Wannassay family, which was not included on the Roblin Roll because the ancestors alive in 1919 were Yakima-enrolled through their maternal line, were accompanied by a 1935 letter from the Washington State Department of Fisheries that identified Frank Wannassay as a Cowlitz Indian (CIT Pet. 1983, Ex.). By itself, this would be evaluated by the BIA as a very weak form of documentation: however, the identification of Frank Wannassay's father as Cowlitz was easily verifiable by the BIA researcher back to the 1878 BIA census of the Lower Cowlitz (NARS RG75, M-234, Roll 1919, 454-455) and the 1900 Federal census special schedules for Indian population in Cowlitz County, Washington (U.S. Census 1900b, 121A, #309).

A few applicants have submitted as verification of Cowlitz ancestry only affidavits made during the 1950's. The enrollment committee during the 1970's investigated these families through the BIA Area Office in Portland, and refused membership in most cases. Recently, however, some individuals have been accepted on the basis of these family lines, even though they have submitted no adequate documentation of Cowlitz ancestry. In some cases, BIA records indicate that the actual Indian ancestry of these families, none of which has been historically associated with the Cowlitz River valley, was from Oregon, from Puget Sound, etc. This line accounts for 8 of 1,400 members, or less than 1 per cent of the CIT membership.

Dual Enrollment. The issue of affiliation with other federally recognized tribes and unrecognized groups is addressed in the petitioner's governing documents: it is

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prohibited by the constitution. There is substantial evidence that the policy is applied.

Dual (i.e., concurrent) enrollment is not permitted, nor does the petitioner enroll persons who are enrolled in another tribe. This issue is investigated at the time a membership application is received. The application contains a question asking whether the applicant is enrolled elsewhere; also where the applicant's parents are enrolled. If the application indicates that the applicant or family members are enrolled elsewhere, the office manager or tribal genealogist calls the other tribe to confirm the information.

If enrollment elsewhere is confirmed, the applicant is given the option of choosing which tribe he/she wishes to affiliate with, as exemplified by the Tribal Council minutes of July 15, 1989. When the Tribal Council considered enrollments proposed by the enrollment committee, it was mentioned that, "The last five individuals named are former members of the Steilacoom Tribe and have supplied proof in the form of a letter from that tribe that they have relinquished membership" (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2541).

Membership Lists

Current (1994) membership list. The current membership list of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe being used for purposes of this Genealogical Technical Report is dated 1994. It was submitted to the BIA as part of the supplement to the group's petition. It has been certified by the petitioner's governing body.

The 1994 list contains 1,410 persons. This includes all persons whom the group recognizes as voting members, plus all persons under age 18 who will be qualified as voting members when they reach age 18. It was prepared by the petitioner with technical assistance from STOWW. It provides the full name of each member. For the great majority of members, it includes the maiden name of women; the mailing address, and the date of birth. The petitioner is attempting to complete the missing items.

At the request of the BIA, the petitioner undertook, during the summer of 1995, a survey to ensure that the mailing addresses of a selected group of members validly reflected their mailing addresses. This was done in those cases where several mature adults were listed at the address of a parent

or a sibling. The corrections were provided to the BIA by the petitioner in 1995.

The petitioner's current membership list goes through a constant process of updating. The petitioner maintains computerized membership records. In addition to submissions from members, the office manager watches the local newspaper for daily birth announcements, obituaries, etc.

Former membership lists. The past membership records of the petitioner are comparatively extensive, but not complete. In both 1983 and 1987, the petitioner submitted complete membership lists, current as of those dates, with versions of the petition for Federal acknowledgment. The petition also included a map showing geographical distribution of the membership in 1984 (CIT Pet. Narr., 183).

Additionally, during the field visit in July 1995, the BIA researchers obtained several earlier membership lists, which are discussed in detail below. BAR staff combined the current and all prior membership lists into a single data base for purposes of correlation. The BAR researchers believe that they obtained copies of all former membership lists known to the CIT council and officers. It is possible that some pertinent membership records might still exist in the personal papers of James E. Sareault, who served as tribal attorney until his death in 1963 (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3446), but these were not made available either to the CIT or to the BAR researchers.

In 1919, BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin wrote in his report:

The present representatives of this tribe are active in the work of the Northwestern Federation of American Indians, and they have prepared lists of members, one of which was forwarded to your Office, I am informed, by the late Dr. McChesney, Supervisor.³⁶ I know from my own knowledge of the Yakima allotment schedules that this list contains the names of many Yakima allottees. It is very difficult to get accurate or dependable information about the membership of this tribe. The prospect of a fat payment has brought forth a horde or claimants, many of whom have been

³⁶ This list may have been compiled in connection with McChesney's investigation in 1910 (see the Historical Technical Report).

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allotted or are enrolled at some of the Washington agencies, but who can probably establish the possession of some Cowlitz blood. I have tried to eliminate all those from the schedule submitted, as well as I could (CIT Pet. Ex. A-959).

The petitioner did not submit and the BIA researcher did not locate this list which McChesney had sent to the COIA.

The official membership records, maintained in a "ledger" which recorded the receipt of dues from at least the 1930's through the 1960's (possibly from ca. 1912-ca. 1973), were apparently destroyed in a fire at the house of one of the secretaries of the tribal organization, although she maintained that she had transferred the ledger properly to her successor (Hill 1986). In 1956, the tribal organization issued membership cards to all members, signed by tribal secretary (Tribal Minutes, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1183 - A-1184); see also statement of Emma Mesplie, 24 June 1986; BIA Claims File, Docket 218, #2).³⁷ There is no extant list of the individuals to whom these cards were issued, but some people still have their originals.

Enumeration and purpose of extant former membership lists. Some of the prior membership lists were dated; the remainder could be dated within a few months by internal evidence.

Spencer list, 1915/1917. The BAR researchers were provided, during field work, by former secretary of the CIT, with a copy of a 1915/17 list "Descendants of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" (Spencer 1917), which represented a list of persons paying dues to the organization founded to pursue Cowlitz claims (possibly inspired by Bishop's Northwestern Indian Federation). This list, which was apparently a partial list, was maintained by J.F. Spencer, Secretary of the Cowlitz organization and seems to consist mainly of Cowlitz descendants enrolled at Yakima (Spencer 1917, BAR Files). The Spencer list was to some extent confirmed by the submission by the Wannassay family of copies of the 1916 dues receipts issued to Frank and Annie Wannassay (Wannassay Papers 1916). The Wannassay family also submitted receipts for 1920 and 1921, signed by Mrs. Henry Senn.

³⁷ "In 1956, they gave us enrollment cards and all the Northover family received their cards. My enrollment card No. is 783, and I received it on May 3, 1956. It is signed by Jackie Hill, the secretary and treasurer" (Statement of Emma Mesplie, 24 June 1986; BIA Claims File, Docket 218, #2).

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Yakima Cowlitz Signers list, ca. 1921. The petitioner submitted an undated typed list, said to be dated approximately 1921, of "Yakima Cowlitz signers" (CIT Pet. Enrollment Forms and Ancestry Charts).³⁸ The petition supplied no provenance for this list or indication of a basis for the ascribed date. It was not a precise duplicate, in content, of the 1915/17 list of "Descendants of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" (Spencer 1917). Ms. Judith Irwin, a local historian who has done extensive research on the Cowlitz, provided the BIA with a photocopy of the original of the "about 1921" list, which contained 162 individual names, of which eight were identified as minors (Yakima Cowlitz Signers n.d.). Some individuals paid for additional unnamed persons, as "Sam Ashue Paid for seven 3.50" (Yakima Cowlitz signers n.d., 4). The heading mentioned:

the undersigned members of the CoWlitz [sic] Tribe of Indians, residing on the Yakima Indian Reservation . . . do hereby appoint as our Special Delegate, Mr. Lancaster Spencer, to accompany our regular Delegate Mr. Frank [sic] Iyall and other Delegates to Tacoma for the Purpose of securing legislation in the interest of the Cowlitz Tribe (Yakima Cowlitz Signers n.d, 1).

Roblin Roll. The 1919 Roblin Roll, discussed elsewhere in this report, was neither a list of Cowlitz descendants nor a list of members of the Cowlitz tribal organization. It was a list compiled by a BIA special agent of unenrolled Indians in western Washington. It is discussed extensively elsewhere in this report. In talking with CIT members and CIT consultants working on the Federal acknowledgment petition, it appeared that there was considerable confusion

³⁸ List of Cowlitz-Yakima signers (no date "about 1921," no gen. data), "only 74 or 85 applicants [for membership in the CIT] declared an ancestral [sic] link to the signers of that petition" (Cowlitz Acknowledgement Petition, Enrollment Forms and Ancestry Charts . . . as of January 1, 1987).

The surnames contained on the 1921 list were: Abraham, Andy, Appeson, Ashue, Arquette, Aylie, Billie, Bob, Boone, Butler, Carlson, Chelems, Colfax, Charlie, Cree, Cleparty, Dick, Dixon, Farron, Franklin, Foster, French, Guyette, Gilbert, Harrison, Hashneth, Henry, Howart, Iyall, Jackson, John, Johnson, Klickatat, Lee, Lewis, Lumley, McGinn, Mesple, Miller, Northover, Olney, Peter, Peters, Pollon, Rueben, Richards, Riddle, Sam, Shike, Sohappy, Spencer, Smith, Stamill, Tannawasher, Tohigh, Tom, Tow-yash-noon, Umtuch, Vivian, Wachano, Wapannowya, Wasseegum, Wesley, White, Whitefoot, Wa-pan-nan Ya, and Yoke.

about function of the Roblin Roll in relation to determining the modern CIT membership.

Fishing Rights petition, 1934. The CIT petition for Federal acknowledgment contained one document which was not a membership list, but which nonetheless provided information about individuals who considered themselves to be "members of the Upper Cowlitz and the Lower Cowlitz Indian Tribes": a 1934 petition defending Indian fishing rights (CIT Pet. Ex. A-551 - A-552). It contained 64 signatures, 28 of which were from full-blood Cowlitz Indian families (Eyle, Cheholtz, Castama, Phillips, Kiona, Yoke, Suterlick, Ike, Iyall, Wannassay, Lewis) and the remaining 36 from Lower Cowlitz metis families, indicating a fairly even membership distribution at that date. However, all of the metis signers appeared to be from the various Plamondon descendancy lines, there being none from the Ladue/Cloquet or Skloutwout/Garrand/Weaser lines which are prominent in the membership of the current petitioner.³⁹ There were no major "Yakima Cowlitz" families on this list, although the Cowlitz Wannassay extended family, allotted on Yakima, was represented with 6 members.

1942 letters. The CIT petition contained two letters dated August 13, 1942, from "Jas. E. Sareault, Pres., Cowlitz Tribe of Indians," one to Otis Cottonware of Castle Rock, Washington, and the other to Jesse Pete of Ryderwood, Washington. Each stated that "an examination of the records of this tribe show that you are a member but you are not, as far as the records show, a ward of the government" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-979, A-980). This indicates that the group was, in fact, maintaining informative membership records as of 1942.

1952/53 mailing list. In 1987, the petitioner submitted a "Cowlitz Tribe of Indians - Mailing List" which was believed at that time to date to about 1945 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1961 - A-1985). Investigation by the BIA researcher on the basis of internal evidence, with cooperation of the CIT office manager, was able to date the list more precisely to

³⁹ The fact that these families did not sign the petition does not necessarily indicate that they were not active in the Cowlitz tribal organization in 1934. Newspaper coverage of the October 13, 1934, meeting of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians at Chehalis, Washington, named the following members of the Skloutwout/Gerrand descent line who were present: Mrs. Lucy Duprey, age 67; Mrs. Celeste Nelson and Mrs. Lucy Purcell, as well as Miss Laura Purcell, and a sister of Mrs. Duprey, Mrs. Louise West, all of Onalaska and all described as "relatives" of Frank Wannassay of Kelso (Wannassay Papers 1934).

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1952/53. The purpose is unknown: it was perhaps a mailing list put together in connection with Docket 218, ICC Claims activity. The preparer is also unknown. One of the documents which assisted in dating the above list was a list of attendees at the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians annual meeting on June 5, 1954 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1177 - A-1179).

1966/69 list. Also included in the 1987 petition was a typed, undated list (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1986 - A-2116). The list was roughly alphabetical, with children listed under the name of the parent as well as, sometimes, independently. For the surnames beginning with "A" and "B", this list contained handwritten notes sorting out persons who were no longer qualified for membership after the 1974 constitutional changes. During the field work conducted by the BIA researcher in July 1995, with assistance of the CIT office manager, it was determined that this list was from records maintained by Mary Cloquet when she served as business manager for the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians. Internal evidence indicated that it must be dated between late 1966 and early 1969 (CIT Membership List 1966/69, BAR Files). On the basis of comparison of data, it appears that this 1966/69 list had been compiled from the individual information forms and ancestry charts submitted to the CIT in the late 1960's for persons who wished to participate in the pending ICC judgment award to the Cowlitz Indians (see CIT Pet. 1983 and CIT Pet. 1987).

1978 membership list. Additionally, during the field work undertaken in July 1995, former CIT chairman Roy I. Wilson furnished the BIA researcher with a typed list of "Cowlitz Enrollment" dated July 1978. This alphabetical list contained names and addresses, with numerous handwritten corrections, but no genealogical information. Numerous addresses were missing (CIT Membership List 1978, BAR Files).

Summary of former membership lists prior to 1983. The purposes for which these former membership lists were prepared varied. The 1915/17 was a list of those persons who had paid dues to support a claims suit: it may or may not be the same as the full membership of the Cowlitz tribal organization that existed at the same date, but it appears to be partial. The "about 1921" list was specifically of Cowlitz descendants on the Yakima reservation who had paid 50 cents each to support the sending of delegates to obtain enabling legislation. The 1952/53 list seems to have been essentially a mailing list, but may also have been associated with ICC claims activity. There is no indication

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that either of these two lists had been reviewed and accepted by the group's governing body. The 1966/69 list and the 1978 list were obtained from the records of former officers of the tribal organization (duplicate copies which had been kept by a former business manager, Mary Cloquet, and a former Tribal Chairman, Roy I. Wilson).

Lists associated with the Federal acknowledgment petition. Both the 1983 Federal Acknowledgment petition submitted by the CIT and the 1987 Federal acknowledgment petition submitted by the CIT contained properly certified membership lists which were backed up by multiple volumes of personal family information sheets and ancestral charts for members. The list in the 1987 petition represented the CIT membership as of 1986. Most of these had been filled out during the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Judgment rolls. There are no BIA-approved judgment rolls applicable to the case of this petition. The 1973 ICC judgment award was never distributed. However, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, Cowlitz filled out applications in anticipation of an upcoming judgment award: these forms still apparently serve as the starting point and fundamental basis of the modern enrollment system.

There is no evidence of confusion on the part of the CIT as to the difference between these judgment award applications and the CIT's actual membership list. If the 1973 judgment funds are eventually awarded per capita, recipients will not automatically qualify for membership in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Membership is determined by the enrollment eligibility provisions in the CIT constitution.

Comparison of current and former membership. For the approach used by the BIA researcher in handling the various membership lists, see the discussion below under "Methodology" in the section on Genealogical Selection/Documentation. Analysis indicates that each available list from 1915/17 to the present contains some individuals from each subgroup that contributed the ancestry of the modern petitioner. However, the proportions varied widely from list to list. Since some of the surviving lists may represent only an incomplete enumeration of the membership at that date, no conclusions could be reached on this basis.

The major fluctuation in the size and composition of the petitioner is the contrast between the CIT's pre-1973 and post-1974 membership rolls. At the June 2, 1973, annual

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meeting, the CTI membership voted to exclude from receipt of judgment fund awards those persons who had up to that time been CTT members, but who fell into the following categories: (1) persons previously allotted land or receiving funds from other tribes; (2) persons currently enrolled elsewhere (these applied primarily to the "Yakima Cowlitz"); and (3) Cowlitz descendants with less than 1/16 blood quantum (because of provisions of Public Law 9358). These provisions were incorporated into the 1974 constitution, as discussed above, resulting in a significant change in the enrolled membership.

A special meeting of the Cowlitz Executive Board and the Cowlitz Enrollment Committee was held on October 13, 1973, with Chester J. Higman, BIA Tribal Operations Officer, Western Washington Office, Everett, Washington (Minutes October 13, 1973; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1877 - A-1879) to clarify the meaning of the resolution passed on June 2. These issues were further discussed with Higman and with BIA Portland Office representative Paul Weston at the March 23, 1974, meeting (Minutes March 23, 1974; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1880 - A-1883).

GENEALOGICAL SELECTION/DOCUMENTATION

The basic question to be answered for evaluation of a petitioner under criterion 83.7(e) is: Do the petitioner's members descend from the historic tribe, or from tribes which amalgamated historically? In the case of this petitioner, the answer is affirmative in the context of Cowlitz history. Over 98% of the petitioner's members have at least 1/16 documented "Cowlitz" ancestry. The definition of "Cowlitz" is that an individual (an ancestor of the contemporary person on the petitioner's membership list) was socially/politically identified as Cowlitz in historic times and was so recorded on historical documents and records. Under this definition, a qualifying ancestor officially defined as 4/4 Cowlitz for the purpose of calculating the blood quantum of his or her descendants may well have had non-Cowlitz Indian ancestry dating to the pre-treaty period. In fact, given the marriage customs of the tribes of the Pacific Northwest, such persons almost certainly had non-Cowlitz ancestry. All of the petitioner's members have documented North American Indian ancestry from the Pacific Northwest, and have been associated with the Cowlitz Indians since prior to the 1855 date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment used in this finding. There is supposedly only one living "Cowlitz fullblood," but many members are

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4/4, 3/4, or 1/2 American Indian, counting other neighboring tribes.

Methodology. In preparation for making the following analysis, the BIA researcher took a two-pronged approach.

First, one procedure worked from the present to the past. The BIA researcher used the petitioner's 1994 list of "green card" holders as the foundation of a data base, which was expanded into a "historical membership data base" to which were added all persons who had appeared on the 1986, 1983, 1978, 1966/69, 1952/53, and 1915/17 lists, which allowed a comparison of the membership structure over time. The BIA researcher found that it was not possible to use the "ancestral family" category as it existed on the 1994 membership list for analytical purposes, as these family names had been entered inconsistently: sometimes using the original ancestral family name, but sometimes using the name of a more recent ancestor with a different surname. Therefore, this category was revised and made consistent on the "historical membership data base." This allowed analysis of the structure of the petitioning group by ancestral line(s).

Second, using other documentation, the BIA researcher produced a descendancy file (Cowlitz GTKY, BAR Files) which began with the earliest individuals mentioned as members of the historical Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz tribes in the historical records, tracing the descendants of these historical Cowlitz families from the past to the present. Included in this procedure was an attempt to identify the family antecedents of all persons who were ever, at any time, identified as "Cowlitz" in BIA records, Federal census records, state vital statistics, newspaper articles, local history books, and other documentation included in the petition and obtained by the research of BAR staff members-- even if these persons did not now have descendants on the petitioner's membership list. The purpose of this was to define the structure of the historical tribe over time.

Records Utilized. One major function of the Genealogical Technical Report is to analyze how the ancestors of the petitioning group were identified in the records. The first question is whether they were identified as North American Indians; if so, secondly, whether they were identified as members of the historic tribe claimed as the predecessor of the petitioning group; and if so, thirdly, whether they were identified as members of earlier tribal organizations which served as predecessors to the petitioning organization. In

the current case, the following major record groups were used.

Roman Catholic missionary and church records. In April, 1839, missionary priests Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers formally established the St. Francis Xavier mission on Cowlitz Prairie (Cowlitz Pet. Narr. 1987, 130). The sacramental records of this mission (baptisms, marriages, and burials) survive in the church registers of St. James at Vancouver, Washington, for the period 1839-1844 and have twice been published in abstracts (Nichols 1941; Warner and Munnick 1972). The later 19th-century records of the mission, prior to 1902, were unfortunately destroyed by fire, but some of the later registers from Vancouver, Washington, and St. Paul, Oregon, contained material pertaining to CIT ancestors (Warner and Munnick 1972; Munnick and Warner 1979). The relevant material is utilized below.

Federal Census Records, 1850-1920.⁴⁰ The petition included a limited number of copies and abstracts of Federal census records as exhibits (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1292 - A-1322). The BIA researcher expanded this material by consultation of microfilmed copies of all available relevant Federal census records.

Concerning the 1880 Federal census of Washington Territory, BIA Superintendent R.H. Milroy wrote to the COIA that:

The enumerators of the census of 1880 of the whites in this Territory were instructed to include in such census all Indians who were taxed. Many Indians belonging to tribes on reservations live off the reservations, around among the whites. Some of these have taken homesteads; some have purchased a few acres from white men. In both cases they pay taxes. Others have leased lands from the whites and own a few horses and cattle for which they are taxed. Others, again being simple and ignorant often pay taxes when called on by the tax collector, when not legally liable. The enumerators of the white census, being paid per head, were anxious to swell the numbers enumerated, and therefore included every Indian, old and young, male and female, on the

⁴⁰ Almost all population schedules of the 1890 Federal census were destroyed by fire.

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slightest pretext . . . The Indians belonging to said seven bands being all surrounded and mixed up with the whites, were of course gobbled up to a much greater extent in proportion to their numbers by the census enumerators of the whites than were the reservation tribes (Milroy 1881:165-165; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1352 - A-1353).

While General Milroy found this distressing, the inclusion of the Cowlitz fullbloods on the 1880 Federal census proved useful. When the names on the census were correlated with the 1878 census of the Cowlitz bands taken by Milroy, the BIA researcher could determine the residential locations of the Cowlitz fullbloods. This enabled the BIA to determine their geographical relationship to the Cowlitz metis families that Milroy had omitted from the 1878 census of the bands.

The overwhelming majority of the Upper Cowlitz, Lower Cowlitz, and Cowlitz metis families were in Lewis County, Washington, in the Cowlitz River valley. This county included over 80 per cent of the Cowlitz population in the 1880 and 1900 Federal censuses (refer to the map supplement).

Lewis County, Washington

Lewis County, formed in 1845, was one of the original administrative counties of the Oregon Territory. Its existence actually preceded that of Oregon Territory, which was organized in 1848. Washington Territory was separated from Oregon Territory in 1853. Washington became a state in 1889.

Lewis County, Oregon Territory. 1850 Federal census. Moyer included the 1850 Federal census for Lewis County and Clark County, Oregon Territory, including the ethnic designations, in her typed version of the 1860 census of Washington Territory (Moyer 1931-1932). A surname-indexed typed version of this census, which omitted almost all ethnic designations, is available (Index, First Federal Census of Oregon n.d.).

The CIT petition narrative stated that in the 1850 Federal decennial census of Lewis County, Oregon Territory (U.S. Census 1850a), a number of the Cowlitz metis families were enumerated as "mulatto," including Bercier, Bernier, St.

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Martin, Laramie, Latour,⁴¹ Cottonoire, Pumphrey, Bastian, Provoe, Riel, Gill, St. Germain, and Ferron (CIT Pet. Narr. 1987, 75; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1292 - A-1298). Moyer indicated that on this census, "M" designated not "mulatto," but "mixed-blood" (Moyer 1931-1932, 14). Cowlitz families headed by Indian men or women were not included on this census.

Lewis County, Washington Territory. 1860 Federal census. Washington Territory was separated from Oregon Territory in 1853. A typed version of the Lewis County census is available (Moyer 1931-1932), as well as two general indexes for Washington Territory (Stucki 1972; Jackson 1979a). Several Cowlitz metis families were listed (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1299 - A-1302). Ordinarily, the husband was enumerated as white and the wife as Indian (U.S. Census 1860a, 234, #466, #467, 471). In instances where the head of household was himself metis, he was listed as Indian (U.S. Census 1860a,

⁴¹ For example, consider the following testimony in a Quinault Adoption case (Quinault Adoptions, NARS M-1344, No. 38), in which Cowlitz descendants had become identified as Nisqually. The deponent, Rose Andrews, born May 14, 1864, wife of Henry Andrews (a white man), stated that:

Louis Latour, a French-Canadian, had married Betsy (Yalulitza, daughter of Hotassa, a Cowlitz woman, and a Nisqually father). Betsy was a "full blood Cowlitz-Nisqually." This marriage to "Betsey Nesqually" is elsewhere recorded as having taken place on September 10, 1839, during a mission to Fort Nisqually (Warner and Munnick 1972, 51:M69). Betsey Nesqually was baptized the same day, age 17, "born of infidel parents of Nesqually" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 51:B205). An Indian woman named Hotassa was mentioned in the early missionary records as the wife of "Stomeloh" or "Stomelouh" at Vancouver, but was identified as Klickitat (Warner and Munnick 1972, 52:B113, 57:B178).

According to the deposition, Ellen Latour, daughter of Louis and Betsey, was born at Latour Place in Pierce County, Washington, and died November 20, 1870 (Quinault Adoptions, NARS M-1344, No. 38). However, on December 16, 1838, "at the Cowlitz," Father Blanchet had baptized "Helene, aged 3 years, natural child of Louis Latour, engage, and of a woman of the country" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 19:B199), while Louis' marriage to Betsy recognized "as his legitimate child, issue of another woman, Helene aged 3 years" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 51:M69).

Returning to the deposition, Rose Andrews stated that Ellen had married (1) Kaidadolght [Kaidedolgha], a full-blood Nisqually, who died May 20, 1864: these were Rose's parents; Ellen had married (2) Asa Sears, a white man.

Additionally, said Rose, Mrs. Mary Longfred was a first cousin of her mother's, Mrs. D[aniel] Mounts was related to her through her grandmother [both of these women appear in later records pertaining to the petitioner and the Mounts family has descendants in the current CIT membership], Chief Mason at Quinault was a first cousin of her great-grandmother Hotassa, and Mrs. Lucy Hall at Quinault was related to Rose through Lucy's father, Jack Skamink.

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230, #426/426; 233, #455, #456, #458, #459, #462; 234, #469, for examples).

Lewis County, Washington Territory. 1870 Federal census. A general all-name index of the 1870 Federal decennial census is available (Jackson 1979b). No Lower Cowlitz or Upper Cowlitz fullblood families were included on the 1870 Federal census of Lewis County. In Cowlitz Prairie Precinct, Lewis County, Washington Territory, enumerators identified some Cowlitz metis, particularly women, as "I" or Indian, while their children were listed as 1/2, often written over as white (CIT Pet. Narr., 75; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1303 - A-1310). Several metis family heads were either originally counted as white, or written over from 1/2 to white (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1303, #843/777, #844/778). The majority of the metis families were in Cowlitz Prairie Precinct (U.S. Census 1870a, 149-151), while a few were in Newaukum Precinct (U.S. Census 1870a, 151r-153r).

Lewis County, Washington Territory. 1880 Federal census. The petition presented very limited excerpts from the 1880 Federal census of Lewis County, Washington (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1311 - A-1315). The petition narrative stated that enumerators used both "M" and "I" designations and frequently identified children as 1/2 (CIT Pet. Narr., 75). As it was almost impossible to identify whether the limited number of partial-page photocopies submitted represented Cowlitz County or Lewis County records, the BIA researcher did not use these copies, but consulted the microfilmed census directly. This census has a published index (Smeltzer 1973).

The majority of the metis families such as Bernier were identified as white (U.S. Census 1880a, #99/98, #100/99, #107/106, #166/165, #167/166, #220/219, #223/222, #233/232, #244/243). Among these was the family of August Clucky [Cloquet] (U.S. Census 1880a, #257), which in 1885 would be counted on the Puyallup Reservation roll. At least one family which had been shown as metis in 1870 was counted as white in 1880 (U.S. Census 1880a, #231/230).

Indian households, such as that of Marcel Thomas (listed with the names reversed) and Gilles LaQuass, were listed as Indian (U.S. Census 1880a, #96/95, #117/116). Indian settlements were listed together (U.S. Census 1880a, #132/131 - #145/144, #178/177 - #178-177, #186/185 - #188/187). The family of Jack Wannassay was identified as Indian (U.S. Census 1880a, #206/205). Several individuals identified as Indian on this census could not be connected

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to the petitioner's ancestors (U.S. Census 1880a, #253 - #255). Some were apparently working as laborers (U.S. Census 1880a, #70, #106, #110, #117). Other names appeared to be Chehalis (U.S. Census 1880a, #148 - #152).

Lewis County, Washington. 1900 Federal census. The 1900 Federal census of Lewis County, Washington, copies that were submitted by the petitioner listed some Cowlitz on the special schedules of the "Indian Population" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1316 - A-1322). The petitioner stated that in Lewis County, the Cowlitz so listed resided in Randle, Agate, and Tilton precincts (CIT Pet. Narr., 75). As the material was again very incomplete (CIT Pet. Narr., 173), the BIA researcher consulted the microfilmed census directly. It proved to have much useful additional information.

Two families were on the "Special Census, Indian Population" schedules for Salmon Creek Precinct (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 133, 13 #277, #278). These were headed by Atwin Stalkum (Chief Atwin Stockum) and by Shehot Slick Waukum. Both families were enumerated as "B", with no further information on tribal affiliation, etc. filled out.

The "Special Census, Indian Population" schedules for Harmony Precinct were much more complete (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 135, 1 #1, #2, #3), on which the Laquash, Ike, and Seanigan families were identified as Klickitat (not as Upper Cowlitz, or as Cowlitz Klickitat). For Agate Precinct (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 123, 13, #1, #2, #3), they showed Sam "Ivley" [Eyle] as Yakima, with a Yakima father and a Klickitat mother; his wife Mary and her parents were Newaukum. Jack Castamia and his wife Sarah were Cowlitz (with no distinction as to Upper Cowlitz or Lower Cowlitz), with Cowlitz parents. Joseph "Ivley" [Eyle] was Yakima, with a Yakima father and a Newaukum mother; his wife Susie was Yakima, with Yakima parents.

In Randle Precinct (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 125, 10 #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #8, #9), the families on the "Special Schedule, Indian Population" sheets were identified either as Cowlitz or as Cowlitz Klickitat. These included Satanans, Tumwater aka Satanans, Kiona, Phillips [aka Sulwa], and York [Yoke].

In Alpha, Little Falls, Cowlitz, Toledo, and Drews Precincts, Lewis County, Washington, in 1900, the Cowlitz metis families were enumerated as white (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 123, 10 #163; ED 124, 3 #47, #50, #76; ED 132, 1 #9, #10; 2, #41, #42, #55; ED 133, 4 #86, #88). However, in Salmon

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Creek Precinct, they were enumerated as "B" (U.S. Census 1900a, ED 133, 9 #189, #190, #191, #192), as were the Cowlitz Indian families on the special schedules for Indian population (see above).

Lewis County, Washington. 1910 Federal census. The petitioner submitted no 1910 Federal census records. The microfilmed records contained extensive relevant data. In most precincts, the Cowlitz metis families were enumerated as white, for example the households of Augustus Cloquet in Stillwater Precinct (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 126, 10A, #46) and John B. Sareault in Cowlitz Precinct (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 142, 1A, #3). However, in Salmon Creek Precinct, where both Indian and metis families had been classified as "B" in 1900, both categories were now included on the "Special Schedule - Indian Population" and identified as Cowlitz (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 145, 9A-9B, #23, #63, #64, #65, #66, #67). These included the household of Atwin Stakum [Stockum], plus the metis households of Eugene Cottonoire, Simon A. Plamondon, Simon B. Plamondon, Mary L. Bouchard, John B. St. Germain, and Daniel Catlin.

In Agate Precinct, the Indian Population schedules included the Eyle and Satanas families, identified as various combinations of Cowlitz, Yakima, and Tumwater, with the notation that two elderly women spoke "Chinook" (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 123, X8, #1). In Randle Precinct, the Indian Population schedules for the Kiona, Pete, and Suterlick families provided identification of individuals and their parentage as Cowlitz, Cowlitz Klickitat, Warm Springs, and Klickitat (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 128, 1A, #168, #169, #170, #171). In Vorndale Precinct, the "Special Schedule - Indian Population" listed the Silweh [Phillips, Sulwa] and Satanas families as Chehalis/Cowlitz, Yakima/Cowlitz, and Klickitat, with parents as Cowlitz, Chehalis, Yakima, and Klickitat: in one instance, "Siwash" was crossed out (U.S. Census 1910A, ED 128, 18B, #172, #173).⁴² The Kemphouse [Kimpus] household in Cowlitz Precinct was listed as both 87-year-old

⁴² The frustrated enumerator, James A. Ulch, added on May 18, 1910:

It was impossible to get correct answers as to tribe of Indian or Father or Mother. I have lived among them here for 25 years and never could find out anything except what I have written on the Schedules. I had to make three visits before I could find them at home (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 128, 18B).

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John and his 67-year-old wife Mary being Cowlitz full-bloods (U.S. Census 1910a, ED 142, 6A, #1).

Lewis County, Washington. 1920 Federal census. The petitioner submitted no 1920 Federal census records. This is the most recent Federal census open to the public for research. The majority of the Cowlitz metis families were enumerated as white, such as that of John B. Sareault in Cowlitz Precinct (U.S. Census 1920a, ED 134, 1B #20). However, in Little Falls Precinct, the households of John St. Germain and Simon Plamondon were classified as "Mu" (U.S. Census 1920a, ED 09, 21 #37/39; 41 #93/95). In Alpha Precinct, the household of Frank Ladue was "In" (U.S. Census 1920a, ED 110, 1B, #21), while in Cinibar Precinct, Lucy [nee Bernier], the wife of Vital Duprey, and her brother Peter, were also classified as "In" (U.S. Census 1920a, ED 110, 2B #44).

Of the Upper Cowlitz families, all were classified as "In" in all the precincts where they appeared: Randle, Cowlitz, Eden, Ethel, Sulphur Creek, Klickitat Prairie, and Verndale (U.S. Census 1920a, ED 111, 1b #19/20, #20/21; ED 135, 7a #52/52; ED 140, 13A, #55/56, #57/57; ED 145, 1A #5, #6; ED 147, 2B #31, #32; ED 147, 9A, #53; ED 147 Supplement; ED 148, 7a #134/135).

Cowlitz County, Washington

Cowlitz County had not yet been separated from Lewis County, Oregon Territory, in the 1850 Federal census. It was established in 1854.

Cowlitz County, Washington Territory. 1860 Federal Census. Although "Indian" was not a prescribed ethnic category in 1860, this record included the family of William Pumphrey, whose wife was Cowlitz. He was identified as white, and she as Indian (U.S. Census 1860b, 145, #513/495). No other families antecedent to the petitioning group appeared on this census.

Cowlitz County, Washington. 1870 Federal Census. A large number of Cowlitz metis appeared on the 1870 census of Cowlitz County, Washington (U.S. Census 1870b), adjacent to the households of William Pumphrey and Simon Plamondon Sr. At that time, the post office address was at Vancouver,

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Washington.⁴³ Apparently this constituted some type of employment cluster rather than a permanent residential location.

Cowlitz County, Washington Territory. 1880 Federal Census. The 1880 Federal census of Cowlitz County, Washington, showed numerous families identified as Indian, but not identified by tribe (U.S. Census 1880b, 175, 178r, 179, 180-180r, 183-183r, 184r, 185-185r, 187, 193r, #244/253 - #252/262). Several of the Cowlitz metis families were identified as "I" for Indian on this census (U.S. Census 1880b, 183, #31/33; 183r, #39/41; 184r, #71/74; 185, #83/86; 187r, #131/137; 189, #166/179), but the majority of the metis families and the Indian or metis wives of white men were counted as white.

Cowlitz County, Washington. 1900 Federal Census. The petition presented no information from this census. When consulted, it showed the highest concentration of Cowlitz families in Olequa Precinct. Many of the metis families, such as Bertrand, Gill, St. Germain, and Rabie, were enumerated as white (U.S. Census 1900b, 80A, #109, #110, #111; 80B, #119; 82A, #150). However, in Olequa Precinct, several of the other metis families were counted on the "Special Schedule - Indian Population" sheets along with the full-bloods: for example, the household of John and Matilda (Provost) Plamondon was noted as 3/4 white on the special Indian Population schedule (U.S. Census 1900b, 84A #2). Along with a French/Klickitat Lozier (U.S. Census 1900b, 84A #6) and two white/Cowlitz Cottonnoire families (U.S. Census 1900b, 84A-84B #7, #8), Plamondon was enumerated together with Kittie Clover aka Yizeting (Cowlitz/Klickitat), Captain Peter aka Wyanashutt (Klickitat with a Cowlitz wife), and

⁴³ 1870 U.S. Census, Cowlitz Co., P.O. Vancouver, WA, p. ???, #58/68: Pumphrey, W, 29, m, W, farmer, 11,000/3,700, b. VA; Cecil, 27, f, W, b. WA; Louise, 9, f, W, b. WA; Virginia, 1, f, W, b. WA; Lozier, Julia, 17, f, W, domestic servant, b. WA; Plamondon, A, 16, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Cottonnoir, F, 16, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Reed, C.L., 39, m, W, saloon keeper, \$100, b. MA; Stevens, E.A., 30, m, W, telegraph Operator, \$200/100, b. MA; Plamondon, Simon, 65, m, W, laborer, \$300, b. Canada; McDonald, Terence, 40, m, W, Laborer, b. Ireland; Cottenwire, D, 40, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Cottonwire, Edward, 42, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Plamondon, M, 39, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Plamondon, John, 25, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Plamondon, Bonaparte, 40, m, W, laborer, b. WA; Pratt, John, 40, m, W, carpenter, b. MD; Scott, Frederick, ??, m, W, laborer, \$100, b. OH; Shostz, Robert, 25, m, I, laborer, b. WA.
#59/59: Plamondon, Mary, 30, f, B 1/2 W, keeping house, b. WA; Daniel, 12, m, B, 1/2 W, b. WA; Leonidas, 6/12, m, B 1/2 W, b. WA.
#60/60: Cottonnoire, Louise, 30, f, B 1/2 W, keeping house, b. WA; Louise, 4, f, W, b. WA.

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Charley Pete (white/Cowlitz). The ethnic complexity was demonstrated by the entry for Mary Tom aka Wilylely, born about 1815, who was Kittie Clover's aunt. Mary was recorded as Cowlitz, her father was Cowlitz and Klickitat; her mother was Cowlitz and Nisqually (U.S. Census 1900b, 84A, #3, #4, #5).

Henry Cheholtz was on the Indian Population Schedule for Arkansaw Precinct. He was age 69, his father Cowlitz and Toutle, his mother Cowlitz (U.S. Census 1900b, 83A #1). Several Cowlitz families were counted on the Indian population schedules of Monticello Precinct: Mary Pete (father Cowlitz, mother Warm Spring); Frank Wannassay (father Puget Sound [*sic*, cf. entry for Jack Wannassy, below], mother Cowlitz) and his wife Anne (Cowlitz); Paddy and Susan White (both Cowlitz), and Andrew Lewis (Cascade) and his wife Susan (Cowlitz) (U.S. Census 1900b, 160A, #1, #2, #3, #4). Frank Wannassay's father Jack Wannassay (Cowlitz) and his wife Sallie (Klickitat) were on the Special Schedule - Indian Population for Kelso Precinct (U.S. Census 1900b, 121A #309), as were the non-Cowlitz Indian Henry Cluchie family (U.S. Census 1900b, 121A, #308).⁴⁴ There were also several non-Cowlitz Indian families in St. Helen's Precinct (U.S. Census 1900b, 142A, #1, #2, #3, #4).

Cowlitz County, Washington. 1910 Federal Census. On the Indian Population census schedules for Olequa Precinct, Charles Pete was shown as Cowlitz; his mother Mary was Cowlitz with a Cowlitz father and a Quinault mother; his wife Mary [nee Cottonware] was Quinault, with a Yakima father and Quinault mother (U.S. Census 1910b, #1), although in their own record (see below) these identifications were reversed. Edward Romeo, born in Oregon, was Clackamas; his Cowlitz wife Sallie A. spoke Klickitat (U.S. Census 1910b, #2). Included on the same schedule were the families of Frank Rabie (Yakima), Captain Peter (Cowlitz), David and Delia Cottonware (he Quinault and she Yakima), and John and Isabell Plamondon (he Yakima with a white father and Yakima mother; she with a Yakima father and Quinault mother) (U.S. Census 1910b, #3, #4, #5).

⁴⁴ Upon occasion in later years, it was mistakenly assumed that the Cluchie family was Cowlitz because it had resided at Kelso for many years. However, a letter from E. A. Towner, Attorney, Portland, Oregon, to the Superintendent of the Taholah Agency on November 7, 1948, indicated specifically that Henry Cluchie's wife, Sophie Wilson, was a full-blood Cascade (Towner to Taholah Agency 11/17/1948).

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In Monticello Precinct in 1910, Frank Wannasse was identified as Quinault, with a Quinault father and a Yakima mother; his wife Anna was identified as Klickitat, while the household included a nephew identified as Chinook (U.S. Census 1910b, #88/91).

Cowlitz County, Washington. 1920 Federal Census. In Olequa Precinct, the following families were listed as "In": Charley Pete, Daniel A. Plamondon, David Rabbie, John Plamondon, and David Cottonwire (U.S. Census 1920b, ED 43, 1A #8; 1B, #17/16, #21, #25/21; 1B-2A, #29/24). In Monticello Precinct, the Frank Wannassay family was also identified as Indian (U.S. Census 1920b, ED 52, 2B #41).

Clark County, Washington

Clark County, one of the original administrative counties of the Oregon Territory, was organized in 1844. Originally called Vancouver County, the name was changed to Clark County in 1849.

Clark County, Oregon Territory. 1850 Federal Census. Of the metis families later identified as Cowlitz on the Roblin Roll, only that of Antoine Gobar [Gobin] was enumerated in Clark County in 1850 (Moyer 1931-1932, 1).

Clark County, Washington Territory. 1860 Federal Census. No families antecedent to the petitioner could be identified on this census.

Clark County, Washington Territory. 1870 Federal Census. A typed copy of this census is available (Porter 1983). This census includes the important Cowlitz lineal family of Lucy (Skloutwout) Garrand Weaser (spelled Weser) (Porter 1983, 28-29 #284/264), shown living among exclusively white neighbors. Of non-Cowlitz Indian families ancestral to the petitioner's membership, it shows that of Abraham and Julie Robie [Rabbie], with Abraham "white," Julie "Indian," and the children as "1/2B" (Porter 1983, 11 #106/101). None of the other numerous metis and Indian families shown on this census could be connected with the petitioning group with the exception of Simon Gill, who was working as a laborer in an unrelated household (Porter 1983, 57 #582/550).

Clark County, Washington Territory. 1880 Federal Census. The 1880 Federal census of Yackalt Precinct, Clark County, Washington, enumerated nine Indian families totalling 35 individuals (U.S. Census 1880c, 31, #50-53 - #57/62), several of whom can be identified as "Lewis River"

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ancestors. Other Indian families were enumerated in Cathlapoodle Precinct (U.S. Census 1880c, 36, #162/171-175 - #163/176; 36r, #170/184 - #175/188); in Enumeration District #23 (U.S. Census 1880c, 41r, 46), and in Enumeration District #3 (U.S. Census 1880c, 55). The Indian families enumerated in Vancouver City had no names pertinent to Cowlitz research (U.S. Census 1880c, 57r). Simon Plamondon, Sr. and his third wife were enumerated in Vancouver City, District No. 3 (U.S. Census 1880c, 56r, #26/41).

Clark County, Washington. 1900 Federal Census. The families of James Charley and Catherine Kasiker [Cosike] were listed on Indian Population Schedules for Eaton Precinct. The three Charley men were identified as Klickitat; the tribe of the daughter-in-law was unknown (U.S. Census 1900e, 127 #154/154). Catherine Kasiker was identified as Klickitat, her husband Sam Jackson as Cowlitz. A boarder and one grandson were Cowlitz; another grandson and a granddaughter were Klickitat (U.S. Census 1900e, 127 #155/155).

Clark County, Washington. 1910 Federal Census. The 1910 Federal census of Eaton Precinct, Clark County, Washington, on the Indian Population Schedules, identified the families of both George Charlie, an Umtux descendent, and John Eyle, who had married into the Pete family, as Klickitat (U.S. Census 1910e).

Because the 1920 census provided for no tribal identifications and few families associated with the Cowlitz Indians resided in Clark County, the BIA researcher did not check the 1920 census for Clark County, Washington.

Chehalis County, Washington

Federal census records are available for Chehalis County, Washington, from 1860 through 1880. However, they did not appear to contain information pertinent to Cowlitz ancestry.

Chehalis County, Washington. 1900 Federal Census. The 1900 Federal census of Chehalis County, Washington, did not show any persons identified as Cowlitz Indians, or as having parents who were identified as Cowlitz Indians, on the Indian population schedules of any precinct. These Indian Population Schedules included the residents of the Chehalis Reservation and the Quinault Reservation (U.S. Census 1900f).

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Chehalis County, Washington. 1910 Federal Census. The 1910 Federal census of Chehalis County, Washington, showed three families containing Cowlitz Indians in Oakville Precinct, those of David Provoe (U.S. Census 1910d, #7/8), James Julius and his wife Susan [Quatanna] (U.S. Census 1910d, #9/10), and Edward and Anna (Reed) Farron, who were listed as "Ned Fern" and family (U.S. Census 1910d, #12/13). David Provoe was identified as a white man born in Canada, but his wife was shown as Indian; Susan Julius was shown as having a Cowlitz father and a Chehalis mother; Edward and Anna Farron were both shown as "Chehalis," with their fathers both white and their mothers both Cowlitz.

Chehalis County, Washington. 1920 Federal Census. Because the 1920 census provided for no tribal identifications and few families associated with the Cowlitz Indians resided in Chehalis County, the BIA researcher did not check the 1920 census for Clark County, Washington.

Yakima County, Washington

Yakima County, Washington, was established in 1865. Federal census records prior to 1900 did not indicate the presence of a significant number of Cowlitz families. None appeared on the 1870 or 1880 census, the latter of which has been indexed (Roberts 1971). Unusually, a copy of the 1890 Federal census of the Yakima Indian Reservation survives in the records of the Yakima Indian Agency at the Regional Archives in Seattle (NARS Seattle, RG 75 BIA, Yakima Indian Agency, Box 260). It was headed, "Census 1890. Indians. Yakama Klickitat and Wasco Tribes. Capt. Chas. Wannassay the Great." Some pages were enumerated by other persons. The census included whites who lived on the reservation. Very few persons were identified as Cowlitz by tribe: Chas. Wannassay, 29, can speak & write English; Jacon Wannassay, 5; Otis Wannassay, 1; Ida Wannassay, Klickitat, 40; farther down on same page, Cowlitz John, Cowlitz, 40, can't speak English/can't read or write English; Sarah, Klickitat, 49, can't speak English/can't read or write English.

Yakima County, Washington. 1900 Federal Census. This census is available in a published, indexed transcription (Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1980). The Yakima Indian Reservation was enumerated separately, and indicated the tribe of the individual and the individual's parents (Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1980, 208-241). It indicated at least partial Cowlitz ancestry for some families who elsewhere are identified with other tribes. In the case of the Northover family, for example, Joseph

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Northover was shown on this census as having an English father and Cowlitz mother.⁴⁵ His wife Frances was shown as having a Snohomish father and a Cowlitz mother (Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1980, 211 #45).

In order to determine the origins of many Yakima Cowlitz families, it would be necessary to concatenate this census with all other available late 19th and early 20th century evidence, including the Yakima realty records discussed elsewhere in this report and the reservation rolls discussed elsewhere in this report.

Yakima County, Washington. 1910 Federal Census. Like 1900, the 1910 Federal census of Yakima County included the Yakima reservations, and identified individuals and their parents by tribe, although the great majority of entries had all three filled out as "Yakima" with a stamp. Louis La Clair was Puyallup, with a white father and a Puyallup mother; his wife was Puyallup (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 302 #8/9). Joseph Northover was Yakima, with a white father and Yakima mother (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 303, #9/10). Albert Mesplie was shown as Walla Walla (U.S. Census 1910c, #183/207). There was no necessary consistency, Frank Iyall was listed as Yakima with Yakima parents (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 302, #32/36), but his sister Louise, wife of Frank Ross, was listed as Cowlitz with Cowlitz parents (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 302, #61/68), while sisters Susan, wife of Philip Olney,⁴⁶ and Margaret, wife of Frederick Walkechaw (aka Fred Sam),⁴⁷ were again identified as Yakima (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 302, #79/88, #83/92). The family of Lincoln White, shown as Cowlitz in almost every other document, was

⁴⁵ By contrast, the Washington Donation Land Claim for William Northover indicated that he was born in Dorsetshire Co., England, arrived in Oregon Territory on May 25, 1851, and married his wife Kitty on June 4, 1854, in Pierce County, Washington Territory (NARS M-815, Roll 99, 904-930).

Katie (Stolib) Northover was Nisqually, according to Roblin (Roblin Roll 1919, 59).

⁴⁶ Susan Iyall's marriage license identified her as Nisqually (NARS Seattle, RG 75, Yakima Indian Agency 1901-1917, Box 282).

⁴⁷ Margaret was also the widow of Andrew Richards, the son of Tyee Dick.

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here listed with his father white, his mother "Takelman," and his wife Yakima (U.S. Census 1910c, #172/195).⁴⁸

Lancaster Spencer, whose son would be secretary of the Cowlitz claims organization in 1917, was shown as having a Klickitat father and a Wasco mother (U.S. Census 1910c, ED 302, #12/13). The George Waters family, to which numerous Yakima Cowlitz families trace, was shown with the husband's parents Klickitat and the wife's parents Yakima (U.S. Census 1910c, 132/149); similarly the George Cleparty family was shown with the husband Klickitat and the wife "Toppenish" (U.S. Census 1910c, #160/183).

Yakima County, Washington. 1920 Federal Census. This census (U.S. Census 1920c) provided no information on tribal affiliation. It would be of genealogical value for determining ancestry and relationships among identified Yakima Cowlitz families, but not for determining enrollment and tribal ancestry.

Pierce County, Washington

Pierce County was established in 1852. Basically, Pierce and Thurston Counties, Washington, lay outside the Cowlitz occupancy area. The majority of their territory was included in the cessions made by the 1855 Treaty of Medicine Creek (Taylor 1974b, 409). Many of the Cowlitz metis families that settled in Pierce County had close ties to the HBC through the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's two settlements at Cowlitz Prairie and at Fort Nisqually, and were related to Nisqually metis families. The BIA genealogical researcher assigned to the Steilacoom petition for Federal acknowledgment has pointed out that many these Cowlitz who settled in Pierce County, Washington, are also claimed as ancestors by the Steilacoom petitioner for Federal acknowledgment.

Pierce County, Washington Territory. 1860 Federal Census. No families associated with the Cowlitz Indians were identified on this census.

Pierce County, Washington Territory. 1870 Federal Census. For families known to descend from Cowlitz Indians, the index showed John D. Chalafon [*sic*, Chalifoux, later Sherlafoo] (Jackson 1969b, 46), and the children of Louis

⁴⁸ In 1947, a Yakima enrollment application counted Wilson White, son of Lincoln and Mary White, as 4/4 Yakima (BAR Files).

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and Betsy Latour (Jackson 1969b, 151), who were categorized as "Half breeds not otherwise counted (U.S. Census 1870d, 184r). The family of Mary Cottonoire, wife of Joseph LeGard, showed Joseph Legard, a white man, in one household (U.S. Census 1870d, 190 #31/28), while his wife and children were listed separately in the category "Half breeds not otherwise counted (U.S. Census 1870d, 185). The six living children of Philomene Boscillet, three by J.B. Lapotrie and three by Esdras St. Cyr, were also in this category (U.S. Census 1870d, 184r). "Mrs. McCloude" was listed as an Indian, while Katie McCloude was counted as a half-breed (Jackson 1979b, 174). Daniel M. Mounts was listed as white, but "Christian" Mounts as a half-breed (Jackson 1979b, 193).

Pierce County, Washington Territory. 1880 Federal Census. Several families classified as Cowlitz by Roblin in 1919 appeared on this census. Isaac Bastian was listed as "HB" [half-breed] (U.S. Census 1880d, 469, #100/105). For Dominick Corcoran, the enumerator listed the husband as white and his wife as "HB" (U.S. Census 1880d, 470, #112/117). E[sdras] St. Cyr was listed as white, with his wife Philomene [nee Boscillet], "I" (U.S. Census 1880d, 470r, #127/133). Daniel M. Mounts, born in Illinois and employed by the OIA, was listed as white: so was his half-Cowlitz wife [nee Catherine McLeod] and their children (U.S. Census 1880d, 468-468r, #79/84). The great majority of the metis families listed in Pierce County in 1880 had no known Cowlitz connection and were not ancestors of CIT members.

Summary, Pierce County, Washington. Generally speaking, those families of Cowlitz descent which moved to Pierce County, Washington, did so early, by the mid-1860's, and remained there consistently. The census showed no evidence of a pattern of moving back and forth between Pierce County and the Lewis County and Cowlitz County area. Only one of the Cowlitz women whose husbands settled in Pierce County has significant numbers of descendants in the CIT membership.

Thurston County, Washington

Thurston County, Washington, was established in 1852. No families associated with the Cowlitz Indians were identified on the 1860 Federal census of Thurston County. The index to the 1870 Federal census showed the family of Augustus and Cecelia Cluckey [Cloquet] (Jackson 1979b, 52), and also that of Isidore Bernier (Jackson 1979b, 20). This Bernier line has no descendants in the modern membership, and had returned to Lewis County by 1880. The Cloquet family, which

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has many descendants on the petitioner's membership list, had also returned to Lewis County by the 1880 census and remained there in 1900.

More problematic for the modern petitioner's membership are the descendants of Martha (Williams) Simmons (see discussion below).

Island/San Juan County, Washington

Island (San Juan) County, on the Puget Sound, was established in 1853. One issue for CIT membership, not from the perspective of Cowlitz lineal descent, but from the perspective of tribal coherence and continuity, is the presence on the current membership roll of several families descended from three Cowlitz women whose non-Indian husbands had removed to the San Juan Islands by the mid-1870's. These San Juan Island families apparently did not maintain close contact with the Cowlitz River valley after the death of the original ancestresses, but were identified as Cowlitz when the children enrolled at Chemawa (Chemawa Registers) and identified themselves as Cowlitz in affidavits submitted to the Northwestern Federation of American Indians in 1913 (Roblin Enrollment Applications, M-1343) and subsequently. They were identified as Cowlitz on the Roblin Roll and have descendants in the petitioner's current membership. Descendants of these families account for many of the CIT members who today live scattered in the urban areas of Washington State. No descendants of the San Juan Island families now live in the Cowlitz River valley.

The original migration to Island County is apparently explained by the fact that the French-Canadian heads of these ancestral families were associated with, or worked for, Edward D. Warbass, who had lived on Cowlitz Prairie in Lewis County at the time of the 1856 Indian War (see the Historical Technical Report to this proposed finding), and who later, together with his Indian wife, removed to Island County.

San Juan (Island) County, Washington Territory. 1880 Federal Census. The 1880 census of San Juan County showed the descendants of Catherine (Delaunais) LaPlante Verrier in a number of households on several different islands. Catherine Verrier herself was on San Juan Island (U.S. Census 1880f, 8, #197/205), as were the families of J.C. Archambault (U.S. Census 1880f, 5r, #135/140) and Charles McKay (U.S. Census 1880f, 6, #141/141). Peter LaPlant [Jr.] was on Orcas Island (U.S. Census 1880f, 2, #41/42); Charles

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Wiggins was on Waldron Island (U.S. Census 1880f, 11, #260/276). The enumerator meticulously recorded individuals as "I" for Indian, "1/2 I," and "1/4 I," with mathematical consistency.

As will be seen elsewhere in this report, children of these families attended Chemawa in the 1890's and early 1900's. No families in this county were identified as Cowlitz on the Indian Population Schedules of the 1900 Federal census (U.S. Census 1900d). Their descendants were identified as Cowlitz on the Roblin Roll. However, there is little evidence of continued social contacts between this extended family and the main body of the petitioner prior to the 1970's. The Lozier/Wiggins line has 71 descendants on the current CIT membership list. There are 40 Quatanna/Archambault descendants; 19 Quatanna/Smith descendants, 8 Quatanna/Delaunais descendants, and 7 Delaunais/LaPlante descendants, for a total of 145 persons, or just over 10 per cent of the current CIT membership.

Territorial and State Census Records. Because of the ample documentation provided by Federal and BIA census materials, the BIA researcher determined that a line-by-line search of all the territorial and state censuses of Washington was not necessary for this technical report.

The 1871 territorial census for Lewis County, Washington Territory, has been published (Patton and Stone 1979). Given names were abbreviated to initials. The Cowlitz metis families included in this listing were, with one exception, identified as white. Indian families were not included. The territorial censuses of Yakima County for 1871, 1883, 1885, and 1887 had also been published, but contained no significant data (Lines 1983b).

Oregon Territory and Washington Territory Donation Land Claims. None of the material available in the General Land Office Records pertaining to Donation Land Claims was presented by the petitioner. Abstracts of the Oregon Territory Donation Land Claims have been published (Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon 1957-1975), as have abstracts of the Washington Territory Donation Land Claims (Seattle Genealogical Society 1980). A limited filming of the records was done by the National Archives in 1951 (NARS RG 49, Records of the General Land Office, M-203), and a full filming in 1970 (NARS RG 49, Oregon and Washington Donation Land Files 1851-1903, M-815). All of the above material was consulted by the BIA researcher.

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The basic condition was that:

An Act of Sept. 27, 1850 . . . contained provisions for the donations of public lands to settlers. Every male settler over 18 years of age who was a citizen or had declared intention to become one, who had become a resident of the Territory before December 1 1850 and who had lived on the land for four years could be granted 320 acres of land. If he was married, his wife could also receive 320 acres in her name (NARS M-815, Introduction).

Included in the definition of "settlers" were "every white settler or occupant of the public lands, American half-breed Indians included" (Johansen 1957, vi). The Act provided smaller donations of 160 acres to settlers who entered the Territory between December 1, 1850, and December 1, 1853, and to settlers who became 21 or married after entering. The provisions were later extended until December 1, 1855 (NARS M-815, Introduction).

While the claims were all entered prior to 1855, the date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment for the Cowlitz Indians being utilized for this finding, the Donation Land Claim material is useful not only for determining the actual settlement pattern of the metis families, but also, through the affidavit material, for showing the continued interaction among the various retired Hudson's Bay Company employees who settled in the area of Cowlitz Prairie. Because many claims were not finalized immediately, there is sometimes data extending into the 1870's and 1880's. Frequently, but not uniformly, the information includes the place and date of the applicant's birth, the place and date of the applicant's marriage, the maiden name of the applicant's wife, and the names of the heirs-at-law if the applicant had died before the claim was finalized. The tribal affiliation of an Indian wife was rarely given: in fact, the fact that the wife was Indian was rarely mentioned in these records. They do provide the dates of some "lost" marriages that took place at the St. Francois Xavier mission.

Material is available under the following certificate numbers pertaining to the metis families of Pierre LaPlante 0-78, Joseph St. Germain 0-79, Simon Plamondon 0-80 [papers missing from file], Oliver Bouchard 0-82, Ignace Lozier 0-85, Andre St. Martin 0-138, Marcel and Julien Bernier 0-161 and 0-162, Pierre Bercier 0-379, Michel Cottonnoire 0-380,

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Antoine Gobar 0-393, John Baptist Reille [Riel] 0-462, Lewis Latour 0-513, William Northover 0-518, Joseph Legard 0-523, Michel Cottonnoire, Jr. 0-530, Isaac Bastian 0-541, Dominick Corcoran 0-588, John B. Bouchard 0-596, Louis LaDue 0-643, Pierre Charles 0-659, John B. Provost 0-686, and many other former HBC employees who interacted with the above men in the records, but who did not become so closely associated with the Cowlitz Indians (Seattle Genealogical Society 1980).

It is necessary to read through the records of the entire group to derive the maximum information concerning any one individual, since occasionally a man would give information about his background in an affidavit on someone else's behalf that he had not included in his own affidavit, and upon occasion one claimant's papers have become mixed in another man's file. Most of the men indicated that they were born in Quebec Province between 1790 and 1810, had entered the Oregon Territory in the 1820's or 1830's, and had married during the late 1820's through the mid-1840's.

The birthplaces of some of the younger "French-Canadian" men, such as Joseph St. Germain (1828 on McKinzie's Run on the Red River in the British Provinces) (NARS M-815 Roll 93, 403, 834), give credence to later assertions that they were themselves metis. Emilie (Finlay) Bercier Plamondon's son Pierre Bercier stated that he had arrived in Oregon on March 14, 1823, by being born at Fort Spokane, and was thus a native-born citizen (NARS M-815, Roll 97, 936). Marcel Bernier also stated that he was native-born in Oregon Territory, near Spokane Village Clear Lake in 1820 (NARS M-815, Roll 95, 329-341). On the declaration of John B. Bouchard, who said he was born in Oregon Territory on January 4, 1829, the words "white settler" were crossed out (NARS M-815, Roll 101, 62-76).

BIA Census Records and Rolls. The Bureau of Indian Affairs compiled several sets of statistics pertinent to the Cowlitz Indians in the decade 1870-1880.

1870 Tabulation. On September 1, 1870, the report of Superintendent Ross included a tabular "Census of Indians in Washington Territory." His table included "Parties to no treaties--west of Cascade Mountains." Among the eight tribes enumerated were:

Tribe: Cowlitz and Klickatat

Chief: At-waine

Numbers: 90 men, 105 women, 122 children: total 317

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(CIT Pet. Narr., 18; Ross 1870, 18 in COIA Report 1870;
CIT Pet. Ex. A-1356).

It was not specified what groups or bands were comprised in this count, but presumably it referred to both the Lower Cowlitz and Upper Cowlitz. BIA records indicate clearly that the 1870 "At-waine" was, in fact, Atwin Stockum (Milroy to Hayt 1/7/1878, NARS M-234 Roll 919, 92). Officially, Atwin Stockum did not replace Kiskox as chief of the Lower Cowlitz until after the latter's death in 1875. He was already functioning as chief in 1877, prior to the date of the BIA certificate appointing him (Milroy to Hayt 1/7/1878, NARS M-234 Roll 919, 91).

1878 Milroy Census, Lower Cowlitz. This BIA listing omitted all the Cowlitz metis families. For a full picture of the petitioner's ancestral community at this time period, the BIA enumerations must be correlated with the Federal and territorial censuses. The full enumeration by head of household was submitted as part of the petition supplement (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-3414 - A-3415). See Appendix I for the full contents. Three years later, Milroy wrote that, "The census of 1878, having been mostly taken or obtained from chiefs and head men, was perhaps somewhat exaggerated and not very reliable" (Milroy in COIA 1881; CIT Pet. Ex. A-76). However, this may have been a generalization. For the Cowlitz, it is consistent with all other available documentation. Several of the names appear in later BIA records pertaining to the Cowlitz Indians.

1878 Milroy Census, Upper Cowlitz. This document (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-3417 - A-4319) was parallel in form to the Lower Cowlitz census taken the same year. See Appendix II for the full text. The majority of the names can be tied to Upper Cowlitz families that appear in later BIA records of other types.

On June 7, 1878, Milroy explained to the COIA that:

I have not yet succeeded in obtaining the census of the Louis River Klickitat band of Indians, residing in Clark & Skamania Counties about 130 miles from this office, over a difficult & expensive rout[e]. Said band numbers somewhere between 70 & 150. So it is safe to say I have written several letters and delayed for some time in hope of obtaining the census of the Louis River Klickitat Bands. Will forward it as soon as

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obtained (Milroy to Hayt 6/7/1878, NARS M-234 Roll 919; CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3421).

1879 Milroy Census Summary, Cowlitz. In 1879, Superintendent R.H. Milroy prepared a detailed report on "Reservations, Tribes, and Bands" in western Washington Territory. Among those he identified were the following:

Cowlitz Band, consisting of 66 Indians, men, women, and children, and situated on the Cowlitz river near its mouth, 65 miles south of Olympia. "The Lower Cowlitz band is the remnant of a once powerful tribe and talks a language different from all others."

Cowlitz Klickitat Band, consisting of 105 Indians, men, women, and children, and situated on the Upper Cowlitz River and tributaries, about 40 miles southeast of Olympia. "The Upper Cowlitz Klickitat and Louis River bands talk one language, the Klickitat spoken by most of the Yakamas."

Louis [Lewis] River Band, consisting of 104 Indians, men, women, and children, and situated on the Louis River and tributaries, about 90 miles southeast of Olympia (CIT Pet. Narr., 20-21; citing Milroy 1879:148-149; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1348-1349; CIT Pet. Narr., 21; citing Milroy 1881:164; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1352).

Milroy indicated that the Cowlitz were under the supervision of the Nisqually Agency (CIT Pet. Ex. A-113).

1880 Milroy Census Summary, Cowlitz. For the 1880 census of Indians belonging to his agency, R.H. Milroy reported the following count: Lower Cowlitz Band, 56; Upper Cowlitz Band, 71; Lewis River Band -- [enumerated on Federal schedule] (CIT Pet. Narr., 21; citing Milroy 1881:164, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1352).

In the "Reports of Agents, Washington Territory, 1881," R.H. Milroy wrote to COIA H. Price, on August 31, 1881, explaining the difference between the 1878 census and the 1880 census. By directive of September 27, 1880, he had been ordered to take "a careful and complete census of the Indians belonging to this agency and not taxed." He explained that taxed Indians were included on the Federal census. He then added:

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"2nd. It will be seen that not one of the Lewis River band, which, by the census of 1878, numbered 104, was included in the Indian census of this agency which was occasioned by the following facts: I was informed that the greater part of them had been taken by the enumerator of the white census, and those not taken were scattered over a region of country fully as large as the State of Delaware--out of the way, very broken, heavily timbered, and difficult of access--and to have hunted up these scattered Indians, probably not to exceed twenty-five or thirty in all, would have required the time and expense of an enumerator for perhaps three weeks, which I considered would not pay. The enumerator whom I employed to take the census of Upper and Lower Cowlitz and the Lewis River bands after completing the census of the two first named bands declined to take that of the latter, and it being late, I did not engage another enumerator" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-76).

1880 was apparently the last BIA enumeration which included the Upper Cowlitz Band and Lower Cowlitz Band.

Reservation Rolls. The BIA Census Rolls for Federal Indian reservations from 1885 through 1940 have been microfilmed by the National Archives (NARS M-595). They throw a considerable amount of light on the relationship of Cowlitz Indians to federally acknowledged tribes during the chronological period they cover. The following discussion does not exhaust the information that was located, but rather indicates the type of information obtainable from this record series.

Yakima. The earliest available Yakima census roll, that of 1885, did not include any identifiable historical Cowlitz families. Lancaster Spencer, who would later be involved in the 1915 Cowlitz claims organization, was listed (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 671, 1885, No. 27), but he was not classified as Cowlitz. Two other families were listed as Cowlitz (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 671, 1885, No. 115, No. 119), but neither could be connected with either the 1878 BIA census of the Upper and Lower Cowlitz or with the 1919 Roblin Roll.

The earliest Yakima census indicating a significant number of historical Cowlitz families and families ancestral to modern CTI members as enrolled was that of 1898 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672). It included the families of John and Nancy Dick (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 340-347),

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Edward and Annie (Reed) Farron (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 424-430), Iyall Wahawa (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 609-613), Louis Leclair (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 851-858), Joseph and Frances Northern [Northover] (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 1042-1047), Frank Wannassay (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 2197-2200), and Lincoln White (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 2243-2250). The John Guyette family, to which many Yakima Cowlitz families trace, also appeared on the Yakima roll in 1898 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1898, No. 467-471), although it was still also carried on the Nisqually reservation census at that date.

The 1899 Yakima roll included the family of Andrew and Susan (White) Lewis (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1899, No. 855-859), and that of Abraham Arquette and several of his sons (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1899, No. 35[?-page torn]). In 1902, Mary Stooquin was enrolled with her daughter Abbie L. [Gerrand/Weaser], through whom a large group of modern CIT members trace their Cowlitz lineage (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 672, 1902, #167.2-167.3).

By 1917, members of many more historical Cowlitz families were enrolled on Yakima: George Cheholtz, Samuel and John Eyle, James Satanas, James Suterlick, and Alexander Yoke; while the Iyall, Northover, Guyette, Mesplie, Dick, Leclair, Edward Farron, Stooquin [Gerrand/Weaser], Wannassay, and White families continued to be listed (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 674, 1917, Nos. 466, 606, 612, 622, 717, 923, 1409, 1434, 1746, 2129, 2145, 2559, 2668, 2675). On the 1921 Yakima census, which distinguished between resident and non-resident enrollees, several of the historical Cowlitz and CIT ancestral families were noted as non-resident. These included Cheholtz, Eyle, Abbie Stooquin [Gerrand/Weaser], Phillips, William R. Wilson, and Wannassay (BIA Census, Rolls, Roll 674, 1921, No. 446/439, No. 1604/1603, No. 1715/1998), as well as that of Morris Charles (husband of Caroline Brendale), which had previously been listed on Nisqually (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 674, 1921, No. 297/292). In 1923, Mary Kiona [Mrs. Charl. Kiona] was listed as a non-resident enrollee (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 675, 1923, #349/333), as were Mary Kiona's daughter Ora Smith (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 675, 1923, No. 510/475). and Eugene Cloquette (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 675, 1923, #104/98). The Iyall, Mesplie, Guyette, Northern [Northover], and Frank Wannassay families, among others, continued to be listed as residents at Yakima in the 1934/39 rolls, although it was specified that the Wannassay family resided at Kelso,

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Washington (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 679, 1934/39, Nos. 963, 1934, 1513, 2584).

Quinault. Numerous families that were historically identified as Cowlitz, but which do not have descendants on the CIT membership lists, appeared at various times on the Quinault Reservation census rolls. These included the family of Isaac Bastian in 1912 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, 1912, No. 19) and 1915 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 564, 1915, No. 28/28). The Quinault census are also useful for identifying persons of historical interest in the CIT petition exhibits, such as Emma (Millett) Luscier (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 595, 1912, No. 233; Roll 564, 1915, No. 413/409) and Jack and Catherine Skamink (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, 1910, No. 168). Other families which were counted on Quinault in the early 19th century are now enrolled with CIT, such as descendants of the McLeod/Mounts family (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 564, 1915, No. 496/463-476/470).

Chehalis. The BIA researcher read the Chehalis Reservation censuses from 1885 through 1936. (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, Roll 302, Roll 564). Generally speaking, the Chehalis Reservation censuses show, for Cowlitz, only specific individuals who had married Chehalis enrollees, and whose descendants are not today in the CIT membership (some of the Thomas family, for example). They are useful for framing the total genealogies of some historical Cowlitz families (e.g., Captain Peter's stepdaughter Julia Kayger; Lucy Youckton), for identifying Chehalis individuals who interacted socially with Cowlitz Indians (e.g., Silas Heck), for identifying some persons who were mistakenly called "Cowlitz" in BIA correspondence of the 1920's and 1930's included in the CIT petition exhibits (e.g., Jack Skamink), and in accounting for some of individuals of "Cowlitz" ancestry who were listed in the Quinault allotment records (e.g., the non-Cowlitz Pete family, Wesley-Bobb). However, they did not prove to be directly relevant to issues of CIT ancestry and membership.

Nisqually. It was impossible to determine whether the "Antoine Sta gum" listed in 1885 on the Nisqually census (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 302, 1885, No. 166) was the same person as the Cowlitz chief Atwin Stockum. Peter Kalama, chosen as one of the delegates to go to Washington, D.C. by the Cowlitz claims organization in 1915, was enrolled at

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Nisqually in 1912 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, 1912, No. 18).⁴⁹ He was later prominent as a Nisqually leader. The Arquette family, classified as Cowlitz by Roblin in 1919, was on Nisqually in 1885 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 302, #135); the family of Morris and Carrie (Brendale) Charley was on Nisqually in 1903 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 409, 1903, #119) before later transferring to Yakima. Several persons mentioned in Quinault records as associated with the Cowlitz Indians were also enrolled at Nisqually, such as Mary Longfred (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, 1910, No. 3; 1912, No. 28; Roll 564, 1921, No. 34/33), Emma Luciers Millet [sic] (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 93, 1912, No. 283), and Jack and Catherine Skamink (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 407, 1892, No. 8; Roll 93, 1910, No. 26; 1912, No. 53; Roll 564, 1921, No. 61/59).

Puyallup. In 1885, the Puyallup census showed a one-time-only appearance of the Augustus Clucky [Cloquette] family (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 302, 1885, #142). A large number of CIT members trace their lineage through his wife Cecile Ledoux. The 1885 and 1886 censuses of Puyallup verified the presence of Dick Richards [Tyee Dick], a son of the Cowlitz Chief Scanewa, and his family (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 302, 1885, No. 32; 1886, No. 30). He continued to be listed at Puyallup until his death. The McLeod/Mounts family descends from a sister of Tyee Dick and now has descendants on the CIT rolls.⁵⁰ It was also listed at Nisqually as early as 1890 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 407, 1890) before being allotted on Quinault. The Guyette family mentioned by many Yakima Cowlitz as ancestral was enrolled at Puyallup (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 407, 1890, No. 243; Roll 407, 1891, No. 305; Roll 595, 1901, No. 213) was later allotted on Yakima.

The Louis Leclair family was also on Puyallup in 1885 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 302, 1885, No. 313), and continued to be enrolled on Puyallup until it moved to Yakima. Katie, wife of George Yanakish, was also listed with her husband on Puyallup in 1888 (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 407, 1888, #359) and subsequent years.

⁴⁹ The Peter Kalama name appeared on earlier BIA census rolls at Warm Springs, Oregon, but it could not be determined if these records pertained to the same person.

⁵⁰ See also, Washington Territory Donation Land Claim 0-22 (Seattle Genealogical Society 1980, 5), 0-149 (Seattle Genealogical Society 1980, 33), and 0-463 (Seattle Genealogical Society 1980, 103).

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Warm Springs. The Gerrand/Weaser family, through whom many CIT members trace their lineage, had several members listed as absentee allottees at Warm Springs, Oregon, in 1904 (BIA Census, Rolls, Roll 635, Nos. 9, 10, 25, 26, 70, 74). Louis Gerrand, the father of Abbie L. Stooquin/Gerrand/Weaser (see Yakima), was carried on the Warm Springs census in 1900 under "Piutes" (BIA Census Rolls, Roll 635, 1900, #228), and also listed with his wife Eliza in 1902, 1904, and 1908 (BIA Census Rolls Roll 635, 1908, #138).⁵¹ Sam Williams of Celilo Falls, on the Cowlitz recognition committee in 1915, was enrolled at Warm Springs.

Quinault Adoption Files. In April 1912, the Indians on the Quinault Reservation adopted a considerable number of non-Quinault families, making them eligible for allotment on the reservation under an Act of Congress of March 4, 1911 (35 Stats.L. 1958 1345), which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make allotments to all members of the "Hoh, Quileyute, Ozette or other tribes of Indians in Washington who are affiliated with the Quinaielt and Quileyute tribes in the treaty of July 1, 1855, and January 23, 1856" (Roblin 1919c, 1). Because of widespread doubts that these adoptions were valid, the BIA sent Special Agent Charles Roblin to conduct an inquiry. His files have been microfilmed by the National Archives and Records Service as Microfilm Series M-1344, and include not only his 1919 report on the "Council of Indians of Quinaielt Reservation, December 18, 19 and 20, 1918, Taholah, Washington" (Roblin 1919c), but also copies of the applications, affidavits, and other backup documentation (United States. National Archives and Records Service, Record Group 75, Microfilm Series M-1344; hereafter cited as Quinault Adoptions). The microfilmed affidavits and associated documentation pertain to the families listed in the following paragraph.

Roblin's report on Quinault adoptions (Roblin 1919c) included summary information on the historical Cowlitz Indian descendant families and Cowlitz Indian associated families of: [First Series, Quinault Actions] St. Cyr/Ockfen (No. 7), McLeod (No. 16), Byrd (No. 30), Spencer (No. 32), Bertrand (No. 33), Arquette (No. 59), Lussier (No.

⁵¹ The genealogical basis for this enrollment is not known. Mary Stooquin, who bore a daughter to Louis Garrand, was eligible at Warm Springs by virtue of being a Cascade Indian. Warm Springs represented a combination of the Cascade, Hood River, and The Dalles bands of Wasco Indians, and the nino, Wyam, Tygh, and John Day River bands of Wayampam [Wyumpam] Indians (Quinn to Holtz, January 6, 1964).

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84), Arquette (No. 96), Eidemiller (No. 112), Sanders (No. 125); [Second Series, Roblin's Recommendations] Provoe (No. 1), Potter/Nix (No. 5), Simmons (No. 6), St.Cyr/Ochfen [sic] (No. 7), Peterson/McLeod (No. 16), Spencer (No. 28 and No. 32), Lyons (No. 29), Byrd (No. 30), Bertrand (No. 33), Northover (No. 36), Andrews [Latour descendants] (No. 38), Smith/Carroll (No. 41), Arquette (No. 59), and Sanders (No. 125).

BIA School Records: Chemawa, Tulalip, and Listings of Cowlitz Indians in Public School.

For the Cowlitz enrollments at Chemawa, see Appendix V. In 1924, the Tulalip Reservation school reported that two of its 62 students were Cowlitz, but they were not identified by name (CIT Pet. Ex. A-448).⁵² Also in 1924, the Taholah Agency listed by name 22 "Cowlitz Indian Reservation" school children under its jurisdiction. Of these, one was at Chemawa and three were at Tulalip. One 17-year-old girl was not in school. The remainder were attending local public schools. The number of Cowlitz students reported by Taholah that year exceeded the number of students classified as Nisqually, or as Squaxin (CIT Pet. Ex. A-449). The Taholah Agency also corresponded with the parents concerning their children (CIT Pet. Ex. A-227, A-238). In 1927, Mrs. Eugene Cottonware, "who claims to be of Indian blood, belonging to the Cowlitz Tribe" appealed from Winlock, Washington, to have her children enter Chemawa (CIT Pet. Ex. A-282). In connection with her appeal, the agent commented that "[t]he Cowlitz Tribe is under this jurisdiction" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-282). Leo E. Cottonoir graduated from Chemawa in May 1933 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-283). In 1948, the Lewis County Welfare Department investigated the eligibility of three Cowlitz Indian children for enrollment at Chemawa (CIT Pet. Ex. A-287).

Roblin Roll, 1919. The portions of the 1919 schedule of unenrolled Indians in Western Washington that were designated by BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin as pertaining to the Cowlitz Tribe were submitted by the CIT as part of

⁵² Apparently, they would have been Daniel and Adam Satanas, who according to a 1925 Taholah letter were at Tulalip "last year" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-221). A 1926 letter from the Taholah Agency identified one Cowlitz student at Tulalip as Pete Satanas (CIT Pet. Ex. A-205) and another as Joseph Suterlick (CIT Pet. Ex. A-206). A November 5, 1925, letter from Taholah to George Satanas informed him that there was no room for his sons at Tulalip, recommending that he enroll them at Chemawa (CIT Pet. Ex. A-220).

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the group's petition for Federal acknowledgment (Roblin 1919a; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1629 - A-1655. Additionally, the petition contained typed copies of some of the affidavits and other documentation that accompanied the Roblin Enrollment Applications (Roblin 1919b; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1656 - A-1672).

The full 1919 Roblin Enrollment Applications, for the "Schedule of Unenrolled Indians," with backup documentation, have been microfilmed by the National Archives (United States National Archives and Records Service, RG 75, Microfilm Series M-1343). Since Roblin's assignment of families to particular tribal groups has, in the case of multiple tribal ancestry, been analyzed by the BAR researchers in other western Washington cases to have sometimes been arbitrary, the actual statements of the applicants concerning their tribal background were used by the BIA researcher. During field work undertaken by BAR in July 1995, Dr. Stephen Dow Beckham, ethnohistorian for the CIT, submitted photocopies of much of this documentation as a petition supplement (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3261 - A-3370).

Other BIA reports on Cowlitz population. In 1920, the Report, Cushman Trades School, Tacoma, Washington, identified the Cowlitz Tribe as "unattached" with a population of 490 (CIT Pet. Narr., 137; CIT Pet. Ex. A-624).

On May 3, 1922, the Taholah Indian Agency, BIA, sent a request to John Ike, head of the Cowlitz organization, for a census of the Cowlitz Indians. "I have a list of the Indians as prepared by Mr. Roblin, but he has included the Chehalis Indians and other Indians who are on other rolls, and I want a roll of just the Cowlitz Indians who live in that section of the country or who are not on any other roll, or allotted anywhere else" (CIT Pet. Narr., 191; CIT Pet. Ex. A-431, A-316).

On May 23, 1929, the Taholah Agency Report estimated the Cowlitz population at 600 Indians "widely scattered in Southwestern Washington" in "seven or eight counties" (CIT Pet. Narr., 84; CIT Pet. Ex. A-3).

A certain amount of confusion resulted within BIA record-keeping procedures as a result of Halbert et al. v. The United States (283 U. S. 753). On January 23, 1933, the BIA instructed the Taholah Agency that as a result of Halbert,

certain Chinook, Chehalis and Cowlitz Indians were entitled to allotments at Quinaielt, not as

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Quinaielt Indians, but as of the tribes first above mentioned. Therefore, you should continue to carry Chehalis allottees on the Chehalis census rolls; the Chinook allottees on the Chinook census rolls, and the Cowlitz on the census rolls of that tribe (Taholah to COIA, November 28, 1934; CIT Pet. Ex. A-2135).

On January 28, 1933, the Taholah Indian Agency replied to the COIA, "with further reference to my letter of December 28, 1932; office reply of January 23, 1933; my letter of January 26, 1933":

There has never been, as the Office is aware, a census roll of the Chinook Tribe nor of the Cowlitz Tribe, and this agency never reported them on any census roll up until the time they were granted allotments on the Quinaielt Reservation. To gather the necessary information for a complete census roll of these tribes would require the entire time of one employee and much traveling over a period of many weeks, due to the fact that these Indians do not live on any reservation but are scattered over the entire Northwest. We do not have a complete list of Indians of either of these tribes" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-400).

On April 5, 1933, the BIA central office replied that in fact, the rolls should be kept as reservation rolls, with the Chehalis and Cowlitz who were allotted on Quinaielt entered there (CIT Pet. Ex. A-2136). However, on April 4, 1934, the BIA central office instructed Taholah that under Halbert:

Chinook, Chehalis, and Cowlitz Indians born within a certain territory were entitled to allotments of land on the Quinaielt Reservation. These persons were not made Quinaielt Indians by the decree of the court, and they should be enrolled, if under your jurisdiction, as Chinook, Chehalis, and Cowlitz Indians. The rolls should be maintained separate and distinct from those of the Quinaielt Indians [emphasis in original] (CIT pet. Ex. A-2136 - A-2137).

Apparently, Taholah compromised by listing the known tribal background of allottees on the 1934 Quinaielt reservation census.

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The 1937 Annual Report of the Taholah Agency included the statement, "This jurisdiction further includes, approximately, 500 unattached Indians, largely of the Cowlitz Tribe, residing throughout Southwest Washington" (Cowlitz Pet. Narr. 1987, 139; CIT Pet. Ex. A-642, A-408). The statement was repeated in the 1938 report (CIT Pet. Ex. A-643).

Realty records: Yakima Allotments. The petition presented no information pertaining to Cowlitz allotments on the Yakima Reservation. In 1950, writing to the COIA, Darrell Fleming of the Yakima Indian Agency provided a succinct summary of the allotment procedure on the Yakima Reservation:

Those allottees who received allotments before the year 1910 were for the most part descendants of the 14 Original Tribes,⁵³ but those who received allotments after 1910 and their descendants presented a real problem to the enrollment committee in determining their degree of blood and the tribes and bands from which they were descended.

After those Yakima Indians, who did accept them, were given allotments upon the Yakima Reservation, there remained a great deal of agriculture land which had not been allotted. At that time there was a 14 member allotting committee composed of leaders of the Yakima Tribes whose duty it was to pass upon a persons eligibility for an allotment. The committee was of the opinion that if the remaining land classed as agricultural was not allotted, the reservation might be thrown open for white settlement as had been done in past on other reservations. In order to protect themselves from such an eventuality, they sent delegates to the neighboring tribes, especially on the west side of the Cascade Mountains, who invited their relatives and friends to come upon the Yakima Reservation to obtain allotments. Indians from other tribes who had no established reservation and who could not obtain allotments on their own reservation because

⁵³ With the exception of the Cascade Indians from along the Columbia River, who in 1892 were classed as part of the Yakima Tribes and given allotments on the basis of a claims action (Fleming to COIA, February 28, 1950, 2).

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there was no longer any land remaining to be allotted, came upon the Yakima Reservation and made application for allotments. Each applicant was required to file an affidavit stating that he was descended from a person who was a member of the 14 Original Yakima Tribes or Bands. The affidavits were supported by the statements of two disinterested parties who claimed that they knew the applicant and his family history. Many of the applicants, their parents or grandparents had never lived upon the Yakima Reservation or the ceded area. These people could not have been descended from members of the 14 Original Yakima Tribes, parties to the Treaty of June 9, 1855, as their ancestors were born outside of the ceded area prior to 1855 [grammar, spelling, and punctuation sic] (Fleming to COIA, February 28, 1950, 2).

Yakima Agency Records. During field work, on July 26, 1995, the BIA researcher visited the Yakima Agency and used the microfiched allotment case records pertinent to the historical Cowlitz. Time did not permit an exhaustive search for data pertaining to all Cowlitz families allotted on Yakima. Rather, the researcher took a sampling of the allotment and probate records for the portion of the historical Cowlitz population that was allotted on Yakima. These included families now identified as members of the petitioning group and of families now identified as Yakima Cowlitz. Extensive data was available for the Wannassay/White and Iyall lines (BAR Files).

BLM Tract Books. The BIA researcher examined the tract books pertaining to the Yakima Indian reservation at the offices of the Bureau of Land Management in Portland, Oregon on July 27, 1995, extracting those names which pertained to families in the historical Cowlitz population. These records provide a good overview of which families were allotted under which specific Acts and their provisions. However, the same material is available, with much additional detail, from the realty records at the Yakima Agency.

Realty Records: Quinault Allotments. The petition presented extensive information pertaining to Cowlitz allotments on the Quinault Reservation (CIT Pet. Ex.).

BLM Tract Books. The ethnohistorian for the CIT, Dr. Stephen Dow Beckham, brought this material to the attention

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of the BIA researcher in July 1995. The tract books for allotments on the Quinalt Reservation are available at the offices of the Bureau of Land Management in Portland, Oregon. Because the petitioner had not submitted this information as part of the petition or response to the OD letter, and as a result of limited field visit time in July 1995, the BIA researcher did not utilize these records.

Realty Records: Public Domain Allotments and Homesteads. The petition presented a listing of the Cowlitz Public Domain allotments and homesteads which were administered by the Taholah Agency from 1914 to 1950 (CIT Pet. Ex. A1231 - A-1232), copies of the documents (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1233 - A-1291), and a map (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1233). See Appendix III for a list of these. The allotment to James Satanus in 1892 described him explicitly as "an Indian of the Cowlitz Klickitat tribe or band" (Patent No. 2 Vancouver, CIT Pet. Ex. A-191), as did that to George Spearchachen in 1893 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1242 - A-1243). The 1919 Lewis County, Washington, deed by which John Kimpus and his wife sold their homestead described them as "noncompetent Cowlitz Indians" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1267). The public domain homesteads and allotments apparently do not provide a complete listing of the landholdings of Cowlitz Indians in the Cowlitz River valley. In 1878, BIA agent R.H. Milroy, referring to Atwin Stockum, said that he "had bought 40 acres from the Government some years ago about 20 miles up the Cowlitz, upon which he expected to make his home" (Milroy to Hayt, 1/7/1878, NARS M-234 Roll 919, 94).

Agency Records. The BIA Western Washington Agency now located at Hoquiam, Washington, holds extensive additional records pertaining to the estate settlements and heirship determinations, etc. for these public domain allotments and Indian homesteads. Of these documents created by the Taholah Agency, nonsystematic samples were submitted with the petition (CIT Pet. Ex. A-190 - A-203, A-208 - A-219, A-224, A-239, A-243, A-248 - A-250, A-253, A-313 - A-325, A-326 - A-344). The holdings were viewed by the BIA anthropologist in July, 1995. One full case file, that pertaining to Kitty Tillakish, was taken as a sample of the contents (BAR Files).

Additionally, a listing of the "Vancouver Allotments" administered by the Yakima Agency in 1893, which included some allottees identified as Cowlitz, was located by the BIA historian at the Regional Archives in Seattle (NARS Seattle, RG 75 BIA, Yakima Indian Agency, Box 773).

Public Vital Records. For the purposes of determining enrollment eligibility, the petitioner relies primarily on the 1919 Roblin Roll. In the great majority of cases, applicants are traced to that roll for purposes of verification. Because of the comparatively late date of the roll, the petition contained comparatively little genealogical information from public vital statistics records prior to 1919. The BIA researcher located an index of Washington's First Marriages of the 39 Counties (Carter 1987) which provided some information on pertinent family names. However, as it just listed the first 100 marriages in each county, the dates covered varied widely depending on the beginning date of county records and the density of county population. Cowlitz County, Washington, was apparently omitted from this compilation. For Clark County, Washington, a more extensive marriage index was checked, but provided no additional data (Clark County Genealogical Society 1982), nor did abstracts of early Clark County land records (Zimmerman 1980).

Lewis County, Washington. The petition included some typed abstracts from the Lewis County, Washington, marriage certificate and probate record indexes. The earliest date was 1854 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1688 - A-1695). These were roughly alphabetical by first letter of surname. An index of Lewis County, Washington, Territorial Marriages, 1847-1889 has also been published (Gage 1978). These were of use in indicating the type of records that might be available pertaining to historical Cowlitz families. In particular, these records indicated that frequently not only the metis families, but also the Cowlitz full-blood families, often formally recorded marriages and births with the county clerk. To some extent, these records may be used to compensate for the destruction of the St. Francois Xavier mission records during the second half of the 19th century. The data also provided confirmation for many statements made in the Roblin Enrollment Applications.

The BIA researcher also located published abstracts of Lewis County death records from 1891-1906 (McNeill 1978). These were supplemented with published abstracts of Lewis County mortuary records (private) from 1895 through 1910 (Lewis County Genealogical Society 1990).

Cowlitz County, Washington. No original public vital records from Cowlitz County, Washington, were submitted for use in this evaluation. A published probate index covering the period 1861-1907 was checked (Hagle 1988). An index to

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cemetery records through 1983 was also consulted (Lower Columbia Genealogical Society 1989).

Yakima County, Washington, and Yakima Indian Reservation. Several volumes of abstracts of Yakima County records have been published (Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1975a, Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1975b, Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1975c, Yakima Valley Genealogical Society 1975d, Lines 1983a, Lines 1986). These were of most use in identifying Yakima Cowlitz families and Cowlitz families ancestral to the petitioner's membership who were enrolled at Yakima in the 1869-1917 time period. The vital records of the Yakima Tribe at the National Archives Regional Archives in Seattle, Washington (NARS Seattle, RG 75 BIA, Yakima Indian Agency 1901-1917, Box 282), contained many additional marriage, birth, and death records which were apparently never filed with the county clerk.

Taholah Agency Vital Records. For those Cowlitz families that held either Quinault allotments or public domain trust allotments or homesteads, the BIA maintained files of birth and death records. The petitioner presented extracts from these (CIT Ex. A-447; A-455 - A-460, A-471 - A-492, A-524 - A-537). In 1927, Superintendent W.B. Sams of the Taholah Indian Agency wrote to the Registrar, State Board of Health, requesting a plan by which he could receive copies of all birth and death certificates of Indians under the jurisdiction of the agency, including the Cowlitz tribe (Sams to Registrar, August 19, 1927, CIT Pet. Ex. A-543).

Newspaper records. A series entitled Lewis County Washington Newspaper Abstracts covering the period 1883-1899 was published in five volumes in 1978 (McNeill and Lyden 1978). Three newspapers were covered: the Lewis County Bee, the Chehalis Nugget, and the Peoples Advocate. The compilers described the series as an effort "to abstract all genealogical data from local newspapers, a.e. [sic] death notices, birth notices, marriage notices, homestead filings, divorces and items of a genealogical nature" (McNeill and Lyden 1978, 1:Foreword). The BIA researcher utilized this series and incorporated all identifiable references to families of Cowlitz descent into the data base. To some extent, this material compensated for the destruction of the

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St. Francois Xavier mission records for the later 19th century.⁵⁴

Some individual newspaper items of genealogical interest, such as obituaries, from other dates and from newspapers published in other counties, were included in the petition exhibits. Beyond these, the BAR researchers did not attempt an exhaustive reading of southwestern Washington's early newspapers, though it is probable that additional information on Cowlitz families could be located from this source.

Records of the Cowlitz Tribal Organization. The petition included a handwritten document, "Cowlitz Tribe of Indians-- Names of Deceased.--" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1166 - A-1169). While undated, it may have been compiled about 1952 (based on analysis of internal evidence). By comparing the handwriting to that of other documents in the petition, the BIA researcher concluded that it might have been compiled by Joe Peter. It was arranged in geographical categories: "Mouth of Cowlitz, Lower Cowlitz, Kathlemt [Cathlamet] Way, Around Monteslo [Monticello] and up, Midway Castle Rock and up, Uper Cowliz [sic]." The BIA researcher used this list extensively in preparing the historical Cowlitz population data base. It was particularly useful for identifying historical Cowlitz families not listed on the Roblin Roll because they were enrolled on Federal reservations.

Problem lines. Certain categories of ancestral family lines present problems in the analysis of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's current membership. Discussions of these follow.

Families with non-Cowlitz Indian Ancestry that have Entered into the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's Membership by Association. Not recently, but in the course of the 19th century, several

⁵⁴ For example:

Chehalis Bee-Nugget - Fri. Nov. 3, 1893. MARRIAGE LICENSE: Atwin Stockhurn & "Sulsan", an Indian maiden. Bee - Nov. 3, 1893 reports - an Indian named Atwin Stockhurn secured a marriage license. He didn't know his bride's given name but it is assumed she is the d/o Pete Sulsan of near Toledo (McNeill and Lyden 1978, 3:163). Bee - Fri. Nov. 24, 1893. MARRIED: tues last, Chief Atwin Stouckhum grand sachem of the siwashes & Miss Lannie Cosmopolis, a siwash belle, the pride & beauty of the tribe were united in wedlock by the J.P. (McNeill and Lyden 1978, 3:164). Bee - Oct. 23, 1896. DIVORCE: Atwin S. Stockum vs Lena Stockum (McNeill and Lyden 1978, 4:153).

families that cannot document actual Cowlitz Indian ancestry merged into the historical Cowlitz tribe. By 1919, when BIA Special Agent Charles Roblin compiled his Roll, he classified at least some individuals from these families as "Cowlitz."

As an example, on June 16, 1932, Roblin wrote to the COIA referring to his "report of unattached Indians of western Washington, submitted under date of January 31, 1919" (Roblin 1919a, hereinafter referred to as the Roblin Roll) (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2289). Roblin continued:

I listed as Cowlitz Indians David Provoe and his children and grandchildren, and the children and grandchildren of Harriet Provoe-Farron-Bouchard, then deceased. Harriet Provoe was a sister of David Provoe, both being children of John B. Provoe, a French Canadian, and a full-blood Stikine woman who had come "from the North", had been adopted by the Cowlitz Indians of Washington and was recognized by them as a member of the Cowlitz tribe, and who lived and died among the Cowlitz Indians.⁵⁵

The United States District Court for the Western District of Washington, Southern Division, in an exhaustive memorandum opinion filed in deciding a large number of cases, held, on pages 50 to 57, in specific discussion of the Provoe Case, No. 309E, that David Provoe was born into tribal membership with the Cowlitz Indians and decreed allotments on the Quinalt Reservation to those of his descendants who were litigants in that case (Roblin to COIA 6/16/1932; CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2289).

Ancestresses of the "associated" family lines. All of the ancestresses of these "associated" are known to have lived

⁵⁵ No evidence of formal adoption is likely to be found. In 1918, Emma Plamondon Peterson stated on her Roblin Enrollment Application that her mother was Matilda-Provoe Plamondon, "an Indian of the half-blood, who has been recognized and considered as a member of the Cowlitz tribe of Indians" (Roblin Enrollment Applications, CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3302). John Baptiste Plamondon stated that his mother-in-law "was an Indian of full-blood from the Stikeen tribe, Alaska, who was born in 1809, came to the Cowlitz country, Washington in 1829, and lived among the Cowlitz Indians till her death, in 1854" (Roblin Enrollment Applications, CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3319).

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in the Cowlitz Prairie area at some time during the mid-19th century. Most of them, or their children, acquired Cowlitz relatives or Cowlitz in-laws. Some came to Cowlitz Landing from a considerable distance because of marriage to Hudson's Bay Company employees. Others were apparently members of nearby tribes, but came to Cowlitz Prairie only because of the employment of their husbands by the Hudson's Bay company. These "associated" ancestresses of metis families at Cowlitz Prairie prior to the 1855 date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment used for the purposes of this proposed finding were:

Emilie Finlay [1/2 Canadian Cree, 1/2 Scottish],⁵⁶ m. (1) Pierre Bercier; m. (2) Simon Plamondon;
Josephte [Makah/Clallam], m. Dominique Farron;
Contoe aka Isabelle [Stikeen] m. John Baptiste Provoe;
Marie Cathier [Ketse or Quinault] m. Michel Cottonnoire. At the baptism of their son Edouard Coutenoire at the St. Francois Xavier mission on December 16, 1838, she was described as "woman of the country, infidel" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 20:B202);
Hosquah aka Julie [Snake] m. Ignace Lozier (Warner and Munnick 1972, 76:M4);⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Dr. Verne F. Ray, Consulting Anthropologist to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, in prepared testimony presented to a U.S. Senate hearing on December 7, 1982 (Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, 97th Congress 2nd Session on S.2931, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983) stated that "Emelie Marie," born in 1796, was the daughter of a "Chief Cowlitz" (Ray 1983, 62) No "Chief Cowlitz" was referred to in early historical documents.

Her son, John Baptiste Plamondon, stated in his Roblin affidavit that his mother,

was an Indian of the half-blood, named Amelia, belonging to the Cowlitz tribe of Indians. Her father was a white man, name unknown to me. Her mother was an Indian of full-blood, belonging to the "Turtle" sub-tribe, a part of the Lower Cowlitz tribe of Indians. The mother of Amelia Plamondon died in 1845, in the Cowlitz country (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1663).

The Catholic record of her marriage indicated that her father was Francis Finlay and her mother was Josephte, Cree (Warner and Munnick 1972, 37:B-102).

⁵⁷ The "Special Schedule - Indian Population" of Olequa Precinct, Cowlitz County, Washington, in 1900 counted Julia Lozier as Klickitat, with both of her parents as Klickitat (U.S. Census 1900b, 84B #8). Her daughter Delia (Lozier) Cottonnoire's Roblin

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Shaldow aka Kasina/Harriet Katel [Lower Chehalis or Montesano/Wynoochee].⁵⁸ Her daughter was Philomene Boscillet, who m. (1) John Baptiste Lapotrie and (2) Esdras St. Cyr. J.B. Lapotrie's first marriage in 1843 had been to Marguerite Cowlitz, who had been baptized the same day with Sophie Plamondon serving as her godmother (Warner and Munnick 1972, 76:B895, 76:M3); Martha Warbuss [Puyallup/white] m. Louis Leclair; Clockomolt [Chehalis/Black River - Snohomish] m. Charles Forrest; Martha Williams [South Bay/Cascade] m. Andrew Jackson Simmons; Margaret/Marguerite Kukakum or Waponte [Chinook/Chehalis] m. Abraham Arquette; and Washcanoe/Washkuma aka Julie [Chinook] m. Abraham Rabbie.

Documented connections between these non-Cowlitz Indian ancestresses and documented members of the historical Cowlitz tribe. The majority of the persons technically of "non-Cowlitz" ancestry who are on the petitioner's membership list descend, clearly, from persons who were in some way closely connected to the historic Cowlitz tribe prior to the 1855 date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment being used for this report. They were part of the metis society that had developed on Cowlitz Prairie, and many were close relatives of Cowlitz metis. Simon Plamondon's second marriage in 1839 was to Emilie Finlay, widow of Pierre Bercier, and daughter of Francois Finlay and a Canadian Cree woman (Warner and Munnick 1972, 37). His children from the second marriage came to be regarded as just as much "Cowlitz" as their older half-siblings from his first marriage to a Cowlitz wife. However, Emilie Finlay's Bercier children by her first marriage rarely became

affidavit stated that,

my mother was Julia Lozier, a full-blood Indian belonging to the Cowlitz tribe of Indians. That she died at Olegua [sic], Cowlitz county, Wash, in October, 1910. That she was a member of the Cowlitz tribe of Indians all her life and was recognized by the tribe as a member, and lived among them all her life (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1657).

⁵⁸ According to testimony of Frances (Katell) Northover and her daughter Emma (Northover) Mesplie, they were related to this woman through the Katell line. This may indicate that George Katell, the unidentifiable "Cowlitz" ancestor of the Northovers, was actually Lower Chehalis Montesano/Wynoochie.

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identified as "Cowlitz" by association, although they grew up in the same household.⁵⁹ Only two of the petitioner's current members descend from Emilie Finlay's first marriage to Pierre Bercier: 58 descend from her second marriage to Simon Plamondon of Cowlitz Landing, widower of Chief Scanewa's daughter Veronica.

Similarly, Louis DeLaunais married Marie Cowlitz in 1844 (Warner and Munnick 1972, 77:M7). Delaunais had earlier married, in 1841 at the St. Francis Xavier mission, Elizabeth "Kwoith by nation" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 67:M5). The descendants of the first marriage came to be identified as Cowlitz.

Descendants of several other non-Cowlitz metis families at Cowlitz Prairie, particularly descendants of families in which the father's background was French Canadian, associated in many ways with the local Lower Cowlitz Indians and the Cowlitz metis families in Cowlitz County and Lewis County, Washington. For example, Sophie Plamondon, daughter of Simon Plamondon and a Cowlitz mother, was baptized at the St. Francois Xavier mission on Cowlitz Prairie on June 7, 1842, the same day that she married Michel Cotnoir, who was described as the son of Michel Cotnoir and a "Tchinouk woman now dead" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 71:M4). The children of Dominique Farron and "Josephte, Tlalam by nation" were baptized at the St. Francois Xavier mission in 1842 and 1843 (Warner and Munnick 1972, 72:B869, 73:B872).

Dominique Farron's second wife, Susan Quatanna, was Cowlitz (Roblin Enrollment Applications, Edward Farron, NARS M-1343, Roll 1). Therefore, the children of Farron's first marriage, like the children of Simon Plamondon's second marriage, had Cowlitz half-siblings. Some of the children of Farron's first marriage also married into Cowlitz metis families. Daniel A. Plamondon, head of the Cowlitz tribal organization in 1917-1921, was the son of Simon Plamondon

⁵⁹ Basile Bercier, son of Pierre Bercier and of Finlay, "infidel woman," age 5 years, was baptized on December 16, 1838, the same day as Marie Anne, daughter of Simon Plamondon by his deceased Cowlitz wife (Warner and Munnick 1972, 19:B200, 19:B201). They shared as godfather Francois Faillant [Piette dit Faignant], whose wife was Felicite Sassette [a Shasta Indian]. On the same day, Faillant was godfather to Daniel Plamondon, born of the common-law marriage of Simon Plamondon and "a metisse woman, infidel" [Emilie Finlay] (Warner and Munnick 1972, 20:B204) and to Edouard Coutenoir, son of Michel Coutenoir and a "woman of the country, infidel" (Warner and Munnick 1972, 20:B202).

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Jr. and Mary Farron. In 1918, he said that his maternal grandmother "was from some Indian tribe in British Columbia, but lived with the Cowlitz Indians and was recognized as a member of the Cowlitz tribe" (Roblin Enrollment Applications, CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3309).

On other occasions, Cowlitz Indians filling out Roblin Enrollment Applications sometimes clearly misidentified the ethnicity of their ancestresses. Emilie Finlay was clearly identified as 1/2 Cree in her 1839 marriage record to Simon Plamondon: in 1918, her son John Baptiste Plamondon stated that his mother:

was an Indian of the half-blood, named Amelia, belonging to the Cowlitz tribe of Indians. Her father was a white man, name unknown to me. Her mother was an Indian of full-blood, belonging to the "Turtle" sub-tribe, a part of the Lower Cowlitz tribe of Indians. The mother of Amelia Plamondon died in 1845, in the Cowlitz country (Roblin Enrollment Applications; CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3319).

Of his wife's maternal grandmother Julia, wife of Ignace Lucier, who was clearly identified as a Snake Indian in her marriage record, Daniel A. Plamondon stated in 1918 that "she was a full-blood Cowlitz Indian, who died at Olequa, Cowlitz Co., Wash., about 1914" (Roblin Enrollment Applications, CIT Pet. Suppl. A-3309).

In time, several non-Cowlitz metis families associated to the point that they became identified, both by themselves and by external observers, as Cowlitz Indians, even though in some cases no actual intermarriage with Cowlitz families had taken place. This report has used the term "association" for this process in preference to "adoption," because there is no indication that there was ever a formal adoption process. French-Canadian men, their Catholic Indian wives from various tribes, and their older metis children served regularly as witnesses to one another's marriages and sponsors for one another's children throughout the 1839-1844 period for which records exist.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ For example, on January 29, 1843, the priest baptized 16 persons at the St. Francois Xavier mission. The fathers were mostly French-Canadian, though one was Chehalis, one was Maskegon, and one was Snake. The mothers were Clallam, Flathead, Chehalis, Walla Walla, Semas, Kwaitlan, Kwoith, Cowlitz, a Cree metisse, and Snake. One adult baptized was identified as Maskegon. The

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Additionally, French-Canadian men, Catholic Indian wives, and older metis children served as baptismal sponsors, marriage witnesses, and burial witnesses for numerous persons identified as Cowlitz Indians (Warner and Munnick 1972, 75:B889, B890, B891, B893; 75:M2; 75:S25; Warner and Munnick 1972, 75:B894, B895, B896; 77:B902; 77:S31, 78:S33 for examples).

The Washington Donation Land Claim entered by John B. Lapotrie [LaPartree] was contested in 1887, long after his death, when his widow, nee Philomene Boscillet, had remarried to Esdras St. Cyr. The testimony on behalf of Philomene, "a full-blooded Indian," was provided by three "half-breeds," all of whom were Cowlitz or associated as Cowlitz: Bonaparte [Simon B.] Plamondon, Edward Cottonoire, and Mrs. Jonas Pike [nee Julia Gobin] (NARS M-815 Roll 108, 453). Their testimony specified that Philomene had been "brought up at the Mission" (NARS M-815, Roll 108, 471), and that Lapotrie after his marriage had left Lewis County and gone to Pierce County, "on the Sound at Nisqually," from which neither he nor any of his family had returned (NARS M-815, Roll 108, 540-541).

In other cases, it is simply not clear from the historical record what reason Roblin had for identifying a family as Cowlitz. This is particularly the case in the instance of the descendants of Margaret, wife of Abraham Arquette. The early Catholic missionary records indicate that she was Chinook (Warner and Munnick 1972, 32; Munnick 1979, 39-40). On the 1860 and 1870 Federal censuses, the family was in Marion County, Oregon (Marion County Oregon [1970], 4, 64), but Isaac Arquette and his nuclear family were on the 1880 census of Lewis County, Washington (U.S. Census 1880a, #68), as was the family of his brother Thomas (U.S. Census 1880a, #145). On his Roblin Enrollment Application, Isaac Arquette mis-stated his father's name, but said:

My mother belonged to a wandering band of Indians on the Columbia River near the Pacific Coast. She was stolen from this band by some other Indians and by them sold to Mitchell [sic] Arquet then of the Hudson Bay Company's Post at Ft. Steilacoom. Mitchell Arquet was a French Canadian and they

godparents were French-Canadian (including Charles Forrest, the HBC clerk), a Cowlitz metisse, two Cree metisses, a Walla Walla, and a Shasta.

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lived together until my mother's death. They kept up tribal relations until death (NARS M-1343).

The BIA researcher did not locate any documentation indicating that the Arquette or Rabbie ancestral families were ever classified as Cowlitz prior to their inclusion on the Roblin Roll in 1919, which indicates one of the hazards that exists when a tribal enrollment committee relies excessively on a single document for verification purposes.

Proportion of the current Cowlitz Indian Tribe membership descended from each of these non-Cowlitz ancestresses. The following proportion of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's 1994 membership descends, on the basis of information provided to BAR by the petitioner and verified by additional research undertaken by BAR staff, from each of the above non-Cowlitz Indian ancestresses:

Contoe/Isabelle Stikeen Provoe	145 ⁶¹
Hosquah/Julie Serpent/Snake Lozier	94
Washcanoe/Julie Chinook Rabbie	58
[possibly 4 more]	
Emilie (Finlay) Bercier Plamondon	60
Shaldow/Philomene Boscillet	43
Martha (Williams) Simmons	31
Marie Cathier/Ketse Cottonnoire	29
Martha (Warbuss) Leclair	13
Josephte Makah Farron	11
Clockomalt Forrest	7
TOTAL:	491

This amounts to 35% of the petitioner's membership, or just over one-third (1/3) of the total membership. Subtracting the 145 Provoe descendants gives 346, or 25 percent of the total CIT membership falling in this category. All of these families had family associations with the Cowlitz by the time of the Roblin Roll (Roblin 1919a), and most much earlier, by the mid-19th century. Some of their descendants have been allotted on the Quinault Reservation as "Cowlitz."

The Provoe, Lozier, Bercier/Plamondon, Boscillet, Cottonnoire, Farron, and Forrest ancestresses were on Cowlitz Prairie prior to 1855, the date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment being utilized for this report. At least

⁶¹ Note the discussion above indicating that in 1932, a Federal court declared this family legally Cowlitz for allotment purposes.

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five of these ancestresses were already living at Cowlitz Prairie when the first Catholic missionaries arrived in 1839: their marriages and the baptisms of their children were listed in the early Catholic records of the church at Cowlitz Landing. Two others, Philomene Boscillet and Martha Williams, were supposedly born at Cowlitz Prairie, although they did not rear their families there. Only in the case of Julie Rabbie and Clockmalt Forrest were the primary ties of the ancestress elsewhere than along the Cowlitz River.

Ordinarily, the BAR would not have analyzed the pre-1855 ancestry in such detail in a situation where the determination will be made under the "prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment" provisions of the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations, according to which consideration of the petitioner's historical development is beginning with 1855, the date of the treaty negotiations. On the basis of the existing evidence, it is clear that the descendants of all of these ancestresses except the Leclair family functioned as part of the Cowlitz social community throughout the later 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the actual genealogical configuration of the lineage of the petitioner's members may have a significant impact on several areas in this case. These include:

- (1) understanding the structure of the Cowlitz tribe as it existed in 1855 at the date being used for previous unambiguous Federal acknowledgment for this proposed finding;
- (2) clarifying the issue of "descendancy" from the Cowlitz tribe as it may impact the distribution of ICC judgment award funds to persons descended from the Cowlitz Tribe "as it was constituted in 1863"; and
- (3) defining the effective meaning of the petitioner's own constitutional requirement of 1/16 "Cowlitz" ancestry to qualify for voting membership.

To resolve each of these three issues, it will be necessary to reach a clear definition of the meaning of "Cowlitz" at that particular time and for that particular purpose.

Cowlitz metis families who remained very active in membership and leadership until 1973, but were then excluded under the blood quantum rule. When the "1/16 Cowlitz" blood quantum rule was adopted in the 1974 constitution and subsequently enforced, many locally resident families who had heretofore been active in the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians organization no longer qualified for voting membership. This included many of the descendants of Theresa (Plamondon)

Sareault--including, specifically, many of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of James E. Sareault, a former tribal president and the attorney who had represented the Cowlitz before the ICC.

Influential Cowlitz families with demonstrable Cowlitz ancestry and strong Cowlitz social ties that are enrolled elsewhere. See the Anthropological Technical Report to this proposed finding for a discussion of this phenomenon in such Cowlitz families as Iyall.

Cowlitz Marriage Patterns, 1855-1920. The following information has been extrapolated as conservatively as possible. This analysis does not overstate patterns of Cowlitz marriage within the Indian communities of the State of Washington: it may possibly understate them.⁶² It was not developed for the purposes of analyzing historical community under 83.7(b), as this is not required for petitioners proceeding under the provisions of 83.8. Rather, it was developed to demonstrate the complexity of marriage patterns in the Pacific Northwest, which cannot be reduced to simple endogamy vs. exogamy. A meaningful analysis required ten separate categories.⁶³

⁶² In the absence for formal tribal rolls, the BIA researcher followed the following presumptions:

- (1) include all marriages of direct ancestors of current CIT members;
- (2) include all marriages of persons on the 1919 Roblin Roll, but do not continue to subsequent generations if the known descendents were not members of the Cowlitz Tribal Organization, the CTI, or the CIT;
- (3) do not include the descendants of Cowlitz who married into federally acknowledged tribes (primarily Chehalis, Yakima, Puyallup, and Nisqually) and whose children enrolled with those tribes;
- (4) assume that the spouse was non-Indian in all cases where the ethnicity was not specified;
- (5) if no specific date was supplied for the marriage, extrapolate to one year prior to the birth of the oldest child;
- (5) if the birth of the oldest child was not given, but the birth date of the individual was available, assume that women were married by age 20 and men by age 22.

⁶³ For Cowlitz marriages, the possible categories by subgroup were: Cowlitz (Upper Cowlitz or Lower Cowlitz)/non-Indian; Cowlitz metis/non-Indian; Lower Cowlitz/Lower Cowlitz; Lower Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz; Upper Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz; Lower Cowlitz/Cowlitz metis; Upper Cowlitz/Cowlitz metis; Cowlitz metis/Cowlitz metis; Cowlitz/other Pacific Northwest Indian; Cowlitz metis/other Pacific Northwest Indian.

1855-1880. The identification of specific Cowlitz marriages prior to the 1880 census is incomplete. The 1878 band censuses indicated 15 married Lower Cowlitz men who were heads of household, and 24 married Upper Cowlitz men who were heads of household. All wives were Indian, but the band censuses give no data on when these marriages took place, the specific tribal origins of the wives, or information as to how many of the unmarried heads of Cowlitz households in these 1878 band censuses were widows or widowers.

Genealogical data on individual Cowlitz families provided the following specific information on some of the Cowlitz marriages which took place during the period 1855-1880. There may be, in the categories of the Cowlitz Indian/Cowlitz Indian marriages, some overlap with the marriages that were listed in the 1878 band censuses.

Identified Cowlitz New Marriages, 1855-1880

Cowlitz/non-Indian	3 ⁶⁴
Cowlitz metis/non-Indian	26
Lower Cowlitz/Lower Cowlitz	5*
Upper Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	5*
Lower Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	3*
Cowlitz metis/Cowlitz metis	10*
Cowlitz/other I	5
Metis/other I	6

* Marriages: double-count to ascertain number of individuals.

During the period 1855-1880, of all the specific known marriages, 46 Cowlitz persons married within the greater Cowlitz community; 11 Cowlitz individuals married to other Pacific Northwest Indians; and 29 Cowlitz individuals married non-Indians.

1881-1900. For the period 1881-1900, there were no unknown marriages such as were represented by the 1878 band censuses. During this period, 66 Cowlitz individuals married within the Cowlitz community; 27 Cowlitz individuals married other Pacific Northwest Indians, and 65 Cowlitz individuals (all metis) married non-Indians.

⁶⁴ All three of these marriages took place in the mid-1850's to French Canadians, representing a continuation of the pre-treaty metissage pattern.

Cowlitz New Marriages, 1881-1900

Cowlitz/non-Indian	0	
Cowlitz metis/non-Indian	65	
Lower Cowlitz/Lower Cowlitz	3*	
Upper Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	8*	
Lower Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	3*	
Upper Cowlitz/Cowlitz metis		1*
Cowlitz metis/Cowlitz metis	18*	
Cowlitz/other Indian	15	
Cowlitz metis/other Indian	12	

* Marriages: double-count to ascertain number of individuals.

1901-1910. The two decades following 1900 were of particular interest since the marriages which took place established the basic pattern which would be pictured in the 1919 Roblin Roll. The BIA researcher separated the two decades in order to see if there were significant changes taking place at this time.

Cowlitz New Marriages, 1901-1910

Cowlitz/non-Indian	0
Cowlitz metis/non-Indian	58
Lower Cowlitz/Lower Cowlitz	0
Upper Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	7*
Lower Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	0
Lower Cowlitz/Cowlitz Metis	2*
Cowlitz/other Indian	5
Cowlitz metis/other Indian	5

* Marriages: double-count to ascertain individuals.

In the decade 1901-1910, 18 persons married within the Cowlitz community, 10 persons married other Pacific Northwest Indians, while 58 persons, all metis, married non-Indians.

1911-1920. The pattern that had been established by the period 1901-1910 did not change significantly in the next decade. Between 1911 and 1920, 12 individuals married within the Cowlitz community, 12 individuals married other Pacific Northwest Indians, while 71 individuals married non-Indians.

Cowlitz New Marriages 1911-1920

Cowlitz/non-Indian	2
Cowlitz metis/non-Indian	69
Lower Cowlitz/Lower Cowlitz	0
Upper Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	2*
Lower Cowlitz/Upper Cowlitz	0
Upper Cowlitz/Cowlitz Metis	1*
Cowlitz Metis/Cowlitz Metis	3*
Cowlitz/other Indian	5
Cowlitz metis/other Indian	7

1855-1920 Overall. A broader interpretation of the pattern of Cowlitz new marriages in the period 1855-1920 is as follows:

Summary of Cowlitz New Marriages, 1855-1920

Time Period	Cowlitz/ Cowlitz	Cowlitz/ Indian	Cowlitz/ non-Indian
1855-1880	46	11	29
1881-1900	66	27	65
1901-1910	18	10	58
1911-1920	12	15	71
Total:	142	63	223

1920-1995. Since 1920, the overwhelming majority of the persons enrolled with the Cowlitz Tribal Organization, the CTI, and the CIT, have married non-Indians. This has been the case for Upper Cowlitz fullbloods, Lower Cowlitz fullbloods, and Cowlitz metis. Since 1920, there have been only three marriages of Cowlitz fullbloods to one another (all in the decade 1931/1940) and 12 marriages of Cowlitz to other Pacific Northwest Indians, while 63 Cowlitz have married non-Indians. Since 1920, there have been only six marriages of Cowlitz metis to one another (between 1921 and 1950) and 11 marriages of Cowlitz metis to other Pacific Northwest Indians (eight of these between 1921-1940).

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The reporting of the marriages of Cowlitz metis since 1920 was skewed, statistically, by the constitutional requirement of a 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum for membership. As this takes effect and children are no longer eligible for enrollment, persons ceased to report their marriages at all. The reported marriage of Cowlitz metis to non-Indians by decade were:

1921-1930	66
1931-1940	92
1941-1950	89
1951-1960	89
1961-1970	60
1971-1980	20
1981-1990	<u>11</u>
Total:	427

Between 1920 and 1980, 12 Cowlitz fullbloods married other Indians in the State of Washington. None of the children of these marriages are currently enrolled with the CIT, but rather are enrolled with the federally acknowledged tribes of the other parents. Since 1920, 11 Cowlitz metis have married other northwest coast Indians. Most of the children of these marriages are not enrolled with the CIT, but with the federally acknowledged tribes of the other parents.

Summary. A large proportion of Cowlitz metis married non-Indians throughout the period 1855-1920, but the proportion of Cowlitz marriages within the Cowlitz community and to other Pacific Northwest Indians remained at a significant level through 1920. The pattern is important in understanding the modern membership. This survey, unfortunately, does not give a totally accurate view of the direct ancestors of the modern membership of the CIT, because of the inclusion in the analysis of all persons included on the 1919 Roblin Roll. Many of the families counted as Cowlitz by Roblin in 1919 were in the process of assimilating into the dominant society, and have not subsequently maintained social ties with other persons of Cowlitz descent nor membership in the Cowlitz Tribal Organization, the CTI, or the CIT. Consequently, this survey understates the percentage of endogamy among the ancestors of the current CIT members.

The "Yakima Cowlitz." The "Yakima Cowlitz" have not been included in the membership of the CIT since the 1974 constitutional revision which prohibited dual enrollment. The BIA researcher did not have the membership roll, or the

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ancestry charts, of the members of the "Yakima Cowlitz" organization to use in preparation of this report. Consequently, the BIA has not evaluated the "Yakima Cowlitz" in the process of evaluating the CIT petition for Federal acknowledgment.

During field work under taken in July 1995, the BIA researcher spoke with three representatives of the Yakima Cowlitz organization at the enrollment office of the Yakima Agency (Nina Elwell, William and Rose Charley). These representatives indicated that the group has a formal membership list and genealogical documentation showing lineal descent of its members from the Cowlitz Tribe as it existed in 1863, the date established by the 1973 ICC award (DeMarce Field Notes 1995, BAR Files).⁶⁵

On May 29, 1974, many of the Yakima Cowlitz group signed a petition from "The Tribe of Cowlitz Indians of the State of Washington" as representing the "Lineal Descendants on the Yakima Reservation in part of the 1863 Cowlitz Indians" to the BIA in connection with the ICC award (BAR Files). From the BIA Area Office in Portland, Oregon, the BIA researcher obtained a copy of a handwritten list entitled "Applics. for membership Cowlitz Tribe to W. Wash 12/11/74." The main list contained 565 names; a supplementary page contained 24 additional names (United States. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Portland Area Office 1974); BAR Files). Neither of these lists included addresses or genealogical data.

For discussion of the background and consequences of the ICC award, see the Historical Technical Report and Anthropological Technical Report to this proposed finding. It should be noted that the terms of the ICC award are not, under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations, in any way determinative in establishing the petitioner's membership criteria.

The petitioner submitted an undated typed list, said to be approximately 1921, of "Yakima Cowlitz signers" (CIT Pet.

⁶⁵ Such membership lists and ancestry charts exist. In a letter to Senator Inouye, dated July 7, 1992, from the "Cowlitz Descendants, Yakima Indian Nation, P.O. Box 151, WA 98948," the Yakima Cowlitz stated that, "We, the people of Cowlitz Descendence, have completed a roll book containing 3,942 individuals. We have proof of lineal descent by requiring the name of the Cowlitz person of whom the individuals are a descendant of, as well as providing a family tree" (Yakima Cowlitz to Inouye 7/7/1991; BIA Claims File, Docket 218, #2).

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Enrollment Forms and Ancestry Charts; see discussion above under "Prior Membership Lists"). The petition supplied no provenance for this list or indication of a basis for the ascribed date. It was not a precise duplicate, in content, of the 1915/17 list of "Descendants of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" (Spencer 1917; see discussion above under "Prior Membership Lists"). From the CIT tribal office, the BIA researcher obtained copies of those CIT applications that had been rejected because the applicant was enrolled at Yakima. However, the BIA had no way of determining if such rejected CIT applicants were current (1995) members of the "Yakima Cowlitz" organization. The following analysis is based upon the above information in the historical record and information submitted to the ICC in connection with Docket 218.

The Major "Yakima Cowlitz" families. In 1986, Emma Mesplie stated:

In 1974, Cowlitz people from Western Washington threw us out. They formed their own organization. They elected officers and eliminated all the people from Yakima. From this point on, we had the two organizations. They refused to attend our meetings.

At the meeting of the Western Washington Cowlitz' in 1974, Joe Cloquet made a resolution to make myself, Kathryne Northover Merritt, Lucy Northover James, and Aleathea Northover Carlsen honorary members of the Cowlitz Tribe. I thought this to be rather odd that someone would propose to make me, a patriarch of the Cowlitz people, an 'honorary' Cowlitz, but I guess it does show that some of them know a little history of the families [sic] of the once great Cowlitz people" (Statement of Emma Mesplie, 24 June 1986; BIA Claims File, Docket 218, #2).

Ancestry of the Yakima Cowlitz. Within the limits of the material available to the BIA researcher, it appears that some persons whose names appeared on the 1974 Yakima Cowlitz petition descended from families which in the 19th and early 20th centuries were clearly among the historical Cowlitz population, but which are now enrolled at Yakima (Iyall, Castama, Satanias, Eyle, etc.).

The majority, however, appear to belong to two other family lines: Katell descendants and Umtuchs descendants. The Katell descendants are found primarily in the Northover,

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Mesplie, and related family lines. As the Indian ancestry of Joseph Northover was Puyallup, and the Indian ancestry of August and Albert Mesplie was from Oregon, the claim to Cowlitz ancestry for this extended family must be sought in the line of Frances (Katell) Northover, daughter of George and Mary Katell. Testimony given by Frances Northover and her daughter Emma Mesplie contained internal inconsistencies. The origins of Mary Katell are not given. According to oral tradition, George Katell did apparently run a boat line from Kelso to Toledo on the Cowlitz River in the late 19th century (Notes, Application of Alma Frances Armstrong, CIT Pet. Ancestry Charts; Irwin 1995, 165). However, most indications are that he was a combination of Lower Chehalis and Snohomish. The BIA researcher could not identify his name on any 19th-century document listing Cowlitz individuals.

Another large component of the "Yakima Cowlitz" consists of families claiming descent from Chief Umtux of the Lewis River band. These individuals, descended through the Umtuchs and Charley families, have been enrolled at Yakima for many years. Some information on these families was located in Clark County Pioneers: A Centennial Salute (Clark County Genealogical Society 1989). According to George Umtuchs' 1973 recollections, the families that had been with Umtux before the war included Charley, Williams, St. Martin, Eyle, and Iyall; that after the war, the families that remained on the Lewis river were some of the Petes, Eyles, Jacksons, Siplayanns, and Charleys, "concentrated at Daybreak Bridge, five miles southeast of LaCenter" (Irwin 1995, 169).

Of other families that appeared on the 1915/17 and ca. 1921 lists of Yakima contributors to the Cowlitz claims organization, many did not appear to have documentable Cowlitz ancestry on the basis of statements made in the Yakima Agency heirship determinations. Several, such as Cleparty and Waters, were identified as Klickitat in Yakima Agency records, but never as Cowlitz Klickitat.

Yakima Cowlitz involvement in Cowlitz Tribe of Indians Activities. Individuals from the Yakima reservation were involved in the Cowlitz claims organization as early as 1915/17 (see discussion of the 1915/17 membership list above). Prominent among these were some families, such as Spencer, which had no known Cowlitz lineage.

Members of "Yakima Cowlitz" families, particularly Frances Northover and Emma Mesplie, presented testimony concerning

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Cowlitz claims before the ICC in the 1940's and 1950's, and made affidavits of Cowlitz ancestry for applicants for membership in the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians.

Unquestionably, many of the persons in the "Yakima Cowlitz" group were enrolled in the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians during the period 1950-1973, holding membership cards (Legal Services Office of the Colville Confederated Tribes to Schlick, June 13, 1974) and participating actively. On March 2, 1962, when the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians elected delegates to renew the claims attorneys' contract with Sareault and McLeod, the alternates included a "Yakima Cowlitz" (Tony Umtuch) (CIT Pet. Ex.).

Representatives of the "Yakima Cowlitz" have expressed skepticism concerning the Cowlitz descent of the petitioner's members. In 1986, William D. Northover, a Yakima Cowlitz leader, stated at a Congressional hearing:

I also attended a meeting/hearing in 1974 after the Indian Claims Commission had rendered its finding and was amazed to see a room filled with 200 or more people all claiming to be members of the tribe, most of who did not appear to be even remotely Indian (i.e. blue eyes, blond hair) not to mention of Cowlitz descent. I think this committee should ask the BIA to share with you any material supplied by the 'Cowlitz Tribe' showing how their present membership was determined and from which Cowlitz Indian they descend" (Statement of William D. Northover, 24 June 1986; BIA Claims File, Docket 218, #2).

This skepticism is not justified, based upon the genealogical documentation submitted to the BIA by the CIT.

Relationship of CIT and Yakima Cowlitz since 1974. Since 1974, the relationship between the petitioner and the "Yakima Cowlitz" organization has been acrimonious. For discussion, see the Historical Technical Report and Anthropological Technical Report to this proposed finding.

Other Impact of the 1974 Constitution: Steilacoom Disenrollment. At various dates in June 1974, the Steilacoom organization received letters from several persons requesting disenrollment from the Steilacoom tribe in order to meet the new Cowlitz membership provisions: these letters covered 16 adults and 19 children (Steilacoom Resp. 1994, 15) (BAR Files).

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Genealogical analysis of the past leadership of the historical Cowlitz tribe and the Cowlitz tribal organizations.

Kiskox, Cowlitz chief from before 1847 until his death in 1875. BAR researchers have concluded, on the basis of the evidence, that Kiskox was alternatively known as "Kah-hotz" (Irwin 1995, 165) and as Cheholtz.⁶⁶ Cheholtz currently has descendants in the petitioner's membership.

In 1847, Paul Kane, Canadian artist and explorer, wrote: "We landed at the Cowlitz farm, which belongs to the Hudson's Bay Company . . . Here I remained until the 5th of April, and took the likeness of Kiscox, the chief of the Cowlitz Indians, a small tribe of about 200. They flatten their heads and speak a language very similar to the Chinooks" (CIT Pet. Narr., 6; see also Taylor and Hoaglin 1960, 9-10).

Kiskox was one of the chiefs who represented the Cowlitz at the March 1855 treaty negotiations with Isaac I. Stephens at the Chehalis River Treaty Council held at Cosmopolis, Washington (CIT Pet. Narr., 8-10; Fitzpatrick 1986, 146). Kish-cok was one of three Cowlitz leaders present, designated as head chief (CIT Pet. Narr., 167; A-909-946). A discussion of the Chehalis River Treaty Council negotiations and the obituary of Simon Kisskaxe [Kiskox], described as the oldest Indian on Cowlitz Prairie, published in the Sentinel on December 20, 1875, (Schoenberg 1987, 245), are to be found in the Historical Technical Report to this proposed finding.

1878 BIA-appointed/recognized chiefs.

Lower Cowlitz: Atwin Stockum (son of Scanewa) to 1912. In 1878, BIA Agent R.H. Milroy, "late Superintendent of Indian Affairs," in Washington Territory, issued a certificate on behalf of the United States to Antoine Stockum citing him as chief of the Cowlitz tribe (CIT Pet. Narr., 20: citing Milroy 1878; A-78). Atwin (or Antoine) Stockum, who lived and retained this office until his death on December 1, 1912, was a son of the Cowlitz Chief Scanewa, who had died in 1828. He was a sister of Veronica who had married Simon

⁶⁶ Statement of Joe Peter, June 2, 1951: The 1855 delegation was divided into "3 groups, three parties, I've forgot names I only remember one - Cheholtz - This Cheholtz great grandfather of all Cheholtz now living That from middle part of Cowlitz near Toledo" (Peter 1951; CIT Pet. Ex. A-1159).

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Plamondon, Sr., and thus an uncle to four of the Plamondon metis family lines located around Cowlitz Prairie.

In 1904, "Atwain" Stockum and his nephew, Simon Plamondon, Jr., started an inquiry through the local superintendent, H.H. Johnson, at the Cushman Indian School in Tacoma (CIT Pet. Narr., 187). This initiation of claims by the Cowlitz preceded Bishop's Northwest Indian federation (founded 1910). For further relevant information, see the Historical Technical Report. No information is available concerning the leaders who assisted him until June 6, 1912, when the Chehalis Bee-Nugget reported that since the "aged chief, Atwin Stockum of Toledo, is infirm," a meeting of the Cowlitz Indians had appointed a committee of eight to assist in prosecution of the tribe's claims: John Plamondon of Castle Rock, T.F. Eynard of Castle Rock, W.G. Meyers of Winlock, Jim Suterlick of Nesika, Bat Kiona of Randle, Jim Iyall of Wapato, Peter Kalama of Roy,⁶⁷ and J.B. Sareault of Cowlitz (The Chehalis Bee, June 6, 1912; CIT Pet., Ex. A-841).

Upper Cowlitz/Taitnapam: Captain Peter, d. 1910, Olequa, WA. Local residents urged the BIA to appoint Captain Peter as chief of the Upper Cowlitz band in Lewis County, Washington, in 1878, at the same time that Antoine Stockum was appointed chief of the Lower Cowlitz Band. No formal record of the appointment survived, but in subsequent years, Captain Peter was the Upper Cowlitz chief. He lived to 1910, almost as long as his counterpart. His Indian name was Wyanashet: probably he was either Wi-en-ash-ut, son of Ow-hi, or a son of "Old Wyaneschet" and grandson of Owbye. His son, Joe Peter, was on the recognition committee of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians 1950-52 (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1157-1163).

Formation of a tribal organization with elected officers, 1912-present. For details of the purpose and proceedings of the 1912 founding meeting of the Cowlitz tribal organization, see the Historical Technical Report to this proposed finding.

1913-1917: Baptiste Kiona, d. 24 January 1922. age 80.. Baptiste Kiona, an Upper Cowlitz, was elected as chief of the "Cowlitz Tribe" at a meeting of the tribal organization on June 29, 1913. On this date, it was reported that the Cowlitz Central Committee under "Chief Bat Kiona" opposed the BIA proposal to allot Cowlitz on Quinault Reservation

⁶⁷ In 1934, Kalama was Secretary of the Nisqually Tribe.

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(CIT Pet. Narr., 59, 157; A-843-844). However, Kiona did not function as presiding officer of the Cowlitz tribal organization. The March 2, 1915, meeting, which selected a delegation to go to Washington, DC, to pursue Cowlitz claims, was convened by Daniel Plamondon (Fitzpatrick 1986, 65-66). The delegates were Frank Eyell [Iyall] and Peter Kalama (CIT Pet. Narr., 157; The Tacoma Tribune, March 2, 1915, 8:5, CIT Pet. Ex. A-844 - A-845). Kalama, as noted above, was a "stepson-in-law" of Captain Peter. Frank Iyall was son of Iyall Wahawa and a nephew of Antoine Stockum.

The September 17, 1915, Chehalis Bee-Budget, reported that the general Cowlitz membership had met in Chehalis with about 150 "representatives of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe" present and approved of the decision to send delegates to Washington, DC (CIT Pet. Narr., 189; A-847). For unspecified reasons, "Lancaster Spencer of Toppenish, WA, presided as chairman; George Jack of Gate City was secretary" (CTI Pet. Ex. A-847). Neither of these latter men was a Cowlitz: Lancaster Spencer and his family were from the Yakima reservation, while George Jack, married to a Cowlitz woman from the Thomas family, was a Chehalis (BIA Census Rolls 1921, Roll 564, #37/29) who was allotted on Yakima. This aspect of the leadership of the second 1915 Cowlitz meeting would appear to be associated with the compilation of the 1915/1917 list of persons who paid dues to prosecute Cowlitz claims (see detailed discussion of that list elsewhere in this report). That list was compiled by J. F. Spencer of Toppenish, Washington, who was serving as secretary of the Cowlitz tribal organization.⁶⁸ He was a son of Lancaster Spencer. None of the families mentioned in the report of the September 17, 1915, meeting now has descendants in the CIT.

1917-1921: Daniel A. Plamondon, son of Simon Plamondon, Jr., and Mary Farron. A letter written on February 1, 1917, from J. F. Spencer to Frank Wannassay of Kelso, Washington, on "Cowlitz Tribe of Indians" letterhead, showed the following leadership. The officers were: President, D. A. Plomondon, Castle Rock, Washington; Vice president, C. C. Eynard, Castle Rock, Washington; Secretary, J. F. Spencer, Toppenish, Washington; Treasurer and delegate, Frank Iyall,

⁶⁸ February 20, 1918. Mr. J. F. Spencer, treasurer of the Cowlitz organization, who is also the secretary (Letter from F. A. Iyall, Delegate of The Cowlitz Tribe of Indians, New Capitol Hotel, Washington, D.C. to the members of the Executive Committee of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians, c/o Mr. Joe Northover, Harrah, WA (BIA Portland).

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Toppenish, Washington. The Executive Committee consisted of: Charles Pete, Castle Rock, Washington; John Ike, Silver Creek, Washington; Tenas Pete, Oakville, Washington; and Mary Longfred, Nisqually, Washington. Of these persons, J. F. Spencer and Frank Iyall were enrolled at Yakima; Tenas Pete was enrolled at Chehalis; and Mary Longfred was enrolled at Nisqually. Plamondon and Eynard were from metis families; Iyall and Charles Pete were Lower Cowlitz; Ike was Upper Cowlitz.

1922-ca. 1930: John Ike Kinswa. John Ike Kinswa, an Upper Cowlitz full-blood, was elected the next leader of the Cowlitz tribal organization in 1922 (CIT Pet. Narr., 190). He was a son of Isaac Ike Kinswa and his wife Atele. The Taholah Agency of the BIA remained in contact with him throughout the 1920's on issues pertaining to welfare, school attendance, etc. of individual Cowlitz. He served as a deponent on heirship determinations as late as 1941.

According to statements made by two "Yakima Cowlitz" members, August Mesplie was secretary of the "Cowlitz organization on the Yakima Reservation" until 1952 (Emma Mesplie statement, 24 June 1986; BIA Claims File, Docket 218; Vera Mesplie statement, Public Hearing, 1 June 1974; BIA Claims File, Docket 218). This may have been a claims organization of Cowlitz descendants enrolled at Yakima. Available documents indicate that Mary Senn, a Plamondon descendant, served as secretary of the CIT predecessor, the Cowlitz tribal organization, during much of this period. On February 15, 1932, Frank Iyall, J.B. Sareault, Mrs. Henry Senn, and Henry St. Germain signed contracts on behalf of the "Cowlitz Tribe" (CIT Pet. Narr., 48). In an affidavit, Evelyn Byrnes stated:

I think I have a membership list from the 1920's and '30's or when Mary Senn was secretary, that shows how much everyone paid in dues and how many there were in the family and so on. I can remember her, a heavy-set woman sitting there, from when the Tribe first held tribal meetings on the Prairie. She was quite a woman. Those papers must be in the tribal office because I gave Mary and Joe Cloquet everything that I had to copy (Byrnes Affidavit 1989, A-2367).

It is not clear from the documents the precise date between 1928 and 1931 that John Ike ceased to function as head of the Cowlitz tribal organization. A BIA report of the 1932 Cowlitz meeting had two handwritten pages appended including

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the notation, "John Ike 2 yrs ago," followed by the name "Sam Eyle," with no explanation (CIT Pet. Ex. A-398).

1931?-1936, John B. Sareault, son of Elie Sareault and Therese Plamondon; 1937-1949, James E. Sareault, son of John B. Sareault. By 1931, John B. Sareault, a Plamondon descendant, had succeeded John Ike as president of the tribe (CIT Pet. Narr., 192). He died in 1936, and was succeeded by his son James E. Sareault, an attorney who resided in Chehalis, Washington (CIT Pet. Narr., 192-193; CIT Pet. Ex. A-618, A-1146). The Sareault family has not made the papers of these two leaders available to the petitioner or to BIA researchers. Attention was still apparently paid to having a leadership balance between the metis and full-blood families. In 1937, an Upper Cowlitz, Louis Castama of Silver Creek, Washington, served as vice president under Sareault; in 1938 Castama was succeeded as vice president by Maude Wannassay of Kelso. In both years, Mrs. Margaret Ray of Oakville was secretary-treasurer (Wannassay Papers 1937, Wannassay Papers 1938). In 1949, the Cowlitz organization's secretary was Maude (Wannassay) Snyder, and then from 1953, her daughter Jacqueline Cassity Hill (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1171, Minutes, June 6, 1953).

1950-1960: Manuel L. Forrest. On May 13, 1950, the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians held a "reorganization meeting" at the Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall. A motion to retain the same officers (James E. Sareault, president; M.L. Forrest, VP; Mrs. Maude Snyder, Secretary-Treasurer) failed by a vote of 34 aye/39 nay. Then the two top officers were reversed, with Manuel L. Forrest as president, James E. Sareault as vice-president, and, Maude (Wannassay) Snyder continuing as secretary-treasurer (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1146).

Manuel L. Forrest was a son of Charles and Mary Lucy (Plamondon) Forrest. His paternal grandparents were HBC clerk Charles Forrest and an Indian woman who may or may not have been Clockomalt,⁶⁹ and who, on the basis of conflicting testimony in the documents, was probably

⁶⁹ "John Smith, Capt. Carson and William Choke of the Chehalis tribe of Indians were cousins of Clockomolt" (NARS M-1344, Quinaielt Adoption Case No. 5, affidavit of Millie Powell).

"The father of Clockomolt the elder was one named Walktie, a hyas tyee, who was part Cowlitz and part Black river with some Snohomish relation" (NARS M-1344, Quinaielt Adoption Case No. 5).

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Cowlitz;⁷⁰ his maternal grandparents were John Baptiste and Matilda (Provoe) Plamondon. Born in 1903, he worked and resided in California. His vice-president, James E. Sareault, lived in Chehalis, Washington; the secretary, Maude Snyder, in Kelso, Washington (Tribal Minutes, June 2, 1951, CIT Pet. Ex. A-1156). Each person on the "Recognition Committee" represented an additional family line or sub-line. Mary King, of Vader, Washington (daughter of Simon B. Plamondon and Mary Farron);⁷¹ Frank Thomas of Raymond, Washington, a Lower Cowlitz full-blood whose family lived on the Chehalis Reservation⁷² (son of Marcel Thomas and Sophia Galla); and Joseph Peters, Upper Cowlitz, of Wapato, Washington (son of Captain Peter) (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1156).

1961-1963: Joseph Cloquet, General Council Chairman. 1973-1985, Tribal Council Chairman. Joseph Cloquet replaced Manuel L. Forrest as president of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians on June 2, 1962 (the other officers remained the same). He would serve for only two terms in this office, but later would serve for many years as chairman of the tribal council after the 1973 reorganization. He was of the Cowlitz metis Ladue/Cloquet family line descended from Marguerite Cowlitz, wife of Louis Ladue, and Cecile Ladue, wife of Auguste Cloquette. The other officers continued in office.

I think Joe Cloquet was chairman for only a year or two in the early 1960's. He was living in Yakima at the time. In those days we had no tribal council, just an executive committee: Archie Iyall, Norb Bouchard, and my brother Mike

⁷⁰ Statement No. 66. State of Oregon, Multnomah County, ss: Mrs. Annie T. Hunter of 335 Ivy street, Albino, East Portland, Oreg., . . . says she is 66 years of age . . . a Lower Chinook Indian and was alive in 1851 in August of that year . . . my father was Charles Forrest, a white man, who died in 1852. My mother's name I do not remember, but she was a Lower Chinook woman. My maiden name was Annie T. Forrest. I have no sisters and never had any. I have a half-brother, but by a different mother, and he is not an heir, being a Cowlitz descendant" . . . Note--"Annie T. Hunter's mother was Wiltamst, a lower Chinook woman, who died before 1851, say Bay Center people" (McChesney 1906, 55).

⁷¹ See CIT Pet. Ex. A-345 - A-349.

⁷² In 1917, the Cushman Indian School Superintendent listed as among the "Indians under my jurisdiction" who were in the military and naval service of the United States were Frank Thomas, Chehalis, and Eugene Cloquette, Cowlitz (CIT Pet. Ex. A-427).

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St. Germain. They were the "watchdogs," watching over me (Secretary-Treasurer), Clifford Wilson, and whoever was vice-president. If we wanted anything done, we had to go to them to get it done. I remember when we got rid of Malcolm McLeod as lawyer . . . (Byrnes Affidavit 1989, A-2368).

1963-1964: *J. Phillip Simmons*. Joseph Cloquet was succeeded in 1963 by J. Phillip Simmons. During his second term, at the 1964 election, Evelyn Byrnes, daughter of John and Louise (Plamondon) St. Germain, became secretary-treasurer. She was a "double-barrelled" Plamondon descendant, through both the first and second marriages of Simon Plamondon, Sr.

When I first was elected secretary-treasurer, the tribal chairman was a man by the name of Phillip Simmons, from Port Angeles. So they re-elected him, as I remember, and elected me as secretary. When I got home that night, Clifford called and said, "Well, I'm your new chairman." I said, "What?" He said that Phillip Simmons didn't want the chairmanship, so McLeod [a lawyer] told Clifford to take it. But how Clifford got in there, I don't know. I thought you had to have the vote of the Tribe to get elected as chairman or president . . . When I became secretary-treasurer about 1963, after Jackie Wannassay Hill . . ." (Byrnes Affidavit 1989, A-2368).

1964-1972: *Clifford Wilson*. Clifford Wilson, who accepted the presidency in 1964, continuing until his death in September 1972, was a son of William and Mary L. (Plamondon) Wilson; grandson of Simon B. and Mary (Farron) Plamondon. In 1965, his vice-chairman, Norbert I. Bouchard, was also his half-brother, the son of Oliver David and Mary L. (Plamondon) Bouchard. Bouchard descended not only from the Plamondon family, but also from the Bouchard/Provoe line. Evelyn (St. Germain) Bashor Byrnes continued as secretary-treasurer. This was the first time that all the officers were from metis family lines.

1972-1981: *Roy I. Wilson*. Clifford Wilson died during his last term in office, in September 1972. At the Cowlitz Indian Tribe annual meeting, Cowlitz Grange Hall, on June 2, 1973, Roy I. Wilson presided as Chairman. In spite of the shared surname, he was not related to his predecessor, being

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part of the Skloutwout/Garrand line with strong family ties to the Yakima Reservation.

According to a "Cowlitz Info Sheet" prepared by BIA Western Washington Agency, Everett, Washington, at some time in the 1970's, the structure of the officers was [genealogical annotations added in brackets]: Chairman, Roy I. Wilson [Skloutwout/Garrand line]; Vice-Chairman, John Barnett [Ladue/Cloquet line]; Secretary, Esther Scott [Lozier line]; Treasurer, Evelyn Byrnes [double Plamondon line]; Business Manager, Mary Cloquet [non-Indian wife of Joseph Cloquet]. The full council included: Joseph Cloquet [Ladue/Cloquet], Lenore Monohan [Plamondon], Archie Iyall [Iyall Wahawa], Vera Andrews [Plamondon/Bertrand], Gene Wiggins [Lozier], JoAnne Swanson [Bouchard/Simmons],⁷³ Ted Cottonware [Lozier/Cottonnoire], Clyde Edwards [Plamondon], Helen Burke [Plamondon], Mike Iyall [Iyall Wahawa], Norb Bouchard [Plamondon/Bouchard/Provoe], Roy King [Farron/Provoe]; Joan Beals [Iyall Wahawa], Claudia Bacon [Forrest], Werner Barnett [Ladue/Cloquet], Alvie Bouchard [Plamondon/Bouchard/Provoe], and Keith Wiggins [Lozier].

At this time, thus, shortly after the 1974 reorganization, the entire council represented Lower Cowlitz ancestry and, with the exception of the Iyalls, Lower Cowlitz metis families, several of which had been enrolled on Yakima prior to the 1946 Yakima Act, but had been disenrolled at Yakima under the provisions of that Act. For the remainder of the 1970's, the leadership pool remained essentially drawn from the same family lines.⁷⁴

⁷³ Birth recorded 1939, Taholah Indian Agency, as 1/4 Chinook-Cowlitz, residence Tumwater, WA (CIT Pet. Ex. A-524).

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1974 March 23. Cowlitz Tribal Council Minutes. Joe Cloquet, Chairman. Executive Board Evelyn Basher, John Barnett, Tana BeBee, John Swanson. Members: Vera Andrews, Lorraine Allen, Otis bouchard, Norbard Bouchard, Helen Burke, Joe Cloquet, Ted Cottenware, Leona Champion, Agnes Dobbs, Al Staffman, Teresa Saureault, Clyde Edwards, Holly Lewis, Roy King (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1880).

1975 September 13. Minutes of the meeting of the Cowlitz Indian Tribal Council. Officers: Chairman, Joe Cloquet; Vice chairman, Mike Iyall; Secretary, Claudia Bacon. Others mentioned: Tribal Chairman Roy Wilson; John Barnett, Mary Cloquet, Leo LaClair, Norb Bouchard, Werner Barnett, Keith Wiggins (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1891).

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Splinter Group Leadership. In 1973, in a protest against CIT acceptance of the ICC award, a splinter group developed which termed itself the Sovereign Cowlitz Nation (Fitzpatrick 1986, 101). It continued in existence until at least 1979, when, according to a "Cowlitz Tribal Faction"

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- 1975 December 6. Cowlitz Tribal Council Minutes. Replacement for Pearl Tull (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1895).
- 1976 September 11. Cowlitz Indian Tribal Council Minutes - Quarterly Meeting. Absent Clyde Edwards, Roy King, Roy Wilson. Present: Vera Andrews, Claudia Bacon, John Barnett, Werner Barnett, Norbert Bouchard, Helen Burke, Evelyn Byrnes, Joe Cloquet, Ted Cottonware, Archie Iyall, Mike Iyall, Lenore Monohon, Olive Moran, Carolee Morris, Laurine Newberg, Tom Ragan, JoAnn Swanson, Gene Wiggins, Keith Wiggins. Also, Mary Cloquet, Business Manager; Frank LaFoutaine, STOWW Atty (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1897).
- 1979 May 5. Cowlitz Indian Tribe, Special General Council Meeting. Chairman Roy Wilson. Re: Yakima Cowlitz, Sovereign Cowlitz Tribe. Tribal council members present: Roy I. Wilson, Evelyn Byrnes, Gina Kling, Joe Cloquet, Mike Iyall, Werner Barnett, Don Cottenware, Carolee Green, Rodger Nelson, Laurine Newburg, Gene Thayer, John Barnett, Marsha Williams, Margaret Edwards. Roll of deceased members; Edna Taylor, Raymond Brooling, Ruby Berry, James Smith, Irene Sareault. Others: Robin LaDue, Al Ockfen, Bernice Cornett (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1907).
- 1979 June 19. General Council Meeting, Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Cowlitz Prairie Grange Hall, Toledo, WA. Roy Wilson, Chairman. Tribal Council present: in addition to above: Gloria MacIsaac, Gene Wiggins, Olive Moran. Roy King resigned from Tribal Council (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1918). Roy Wilson, John Barnett, Mike Iyall nominated for Tribal Chairman, Roy Wilson reelected. Gene Wiggins, John Barnett, and Mike Iyall nominated for Vice Chairman, Gene Wiggins re-elected. Evelyn Burns and Gina Kling nominated for Tribal Secretary, Gina Kling re-elected. Evelyn Byrnes re-elected treasurer. Elections to Trivbal Council: Norbert Bouchard, Archie Iyall, Sue Sander, Lenore Monohon, Carolee Green, Vera Andrews (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1919).
- 1980 February 2. Cowlitz Tribal Council Minutes. Joe Cloquet, Chairman. Members present: Joe Cloquet, Roy Wilson, Gene Wiggins, Evelyn Byrnes, John Barnett, mike Iyall, Marshal Williams, Gene Thayer, Werner Barnett Norbert Bouchard, Helen Burke, Margaret Edwards, Gloria Mac Isaac, Laurine Newburg, Rodger Nelson, Carolee Green, Jim Holycross, Lee Rhodes, Gina Kling (CTI Pet. Ex. A-1927).

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newspaper clipping, its Chairman was Don Cloquet of Lakewood [Ladue/Cloquet line]. He stated that the group was headquartered in Tacoma, with about 200 members. No documentation was submitted to the BIA to support the claim of this large a membership, nor was the BIA provided with governing documents or a membership list for this group. It has since ceased to exist. At the time, current CIT chairman John Barnett was a participant in the Sovereign Cowlitz Nation organization.

Genealogical Analysis of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's Current Leadership. The petition supplement contained lists of Cowlitz tribal officers and tribal council members from June 1985 through June 1993 (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2492-2500). For purposes of the following analysis, it was determined to use the list dated June, 1993, the latest submitted as part of the official petition supplement (CIT Pet. Suppl. A-2500). As of June 1993, there were 18 members of the Cowlitz Tribal Council (6 with terms expiring 1994; 6 with terms expiring 1995; 6 with terms expiring 1996). The four General Council officers, the Tribal Council officers, and two others made up an Executive Council of 8 members (CIT Pet. Ex. A-2500). The petitioner has submitted the lists resulting from the 1994 and 1995 elections to the BIA.

General Council Officers. The chairperson of the General Council descended from Marguerite Cowlitz' marriage to Louis Ledoux (LaDue family, Cloquet sub-line). The vice-chair and secretary of the General Council both descended from Lucy Skloutwout through the Gerrand subline. The treasurer of the General Council descended from Lucy Skloutwout through the Bernier subline.

Tribal Council Officers. The chairperson of the Tribal Council descended from Lucy Skoutwout through the Gerrand subline; the vice-chair of the Tribal Council descended from Chief Scanewa through the Iyall Wahawa family. The secretary of the General Council also served as secretary of the Tribal Council.

Tribal Council Members. The members of the Cowlitz Tribal Council in June, 1993, traced their lineage to the following historical Cowlitz: Kitty Tillakish (1); to Chief Scanewa through the Iyall [Wahawa] family (2); to Chief Scanewa through the Mounts family (2); to Chief Scanewa through the

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Plamondon family, Chappelier subline (1);⁷⁵ to Chief Scanewa through the Plamondon family, subline of the marriage of Simon Plamondon, Jr. to Mary Farron and to Josephite Makah/Clallam⁷⁶ through the Farron family (4); to Marguerite Cowlitz [Wahawa] through the LaDue family, Cloquet subline (1); to Chief Scanewa through the Plamondon family, St. Germain subline (1); to the Kinswa family (3); to Lucy Skloutwout through the Wilson subline (1); to Harriet Iusemuch through the Sherlafoo family, Smith subline (1).

Major Subgroups within the Petitioner's Membership.

Lower Cowlitz Ancestry in the Petitioning Group. Many of the petitioner's members trace to more than one Cowlitz ancestor. These current members were not double-counted in the following computation. Each was traced to the historical Cowlitz individual listed as the first qualifying ancestor on the membership application. Distribution is as follows:

1. Scanewa/Plamondon descendants	230
By Sophie:	
Plamondon/Cottonnoire:	25
Plamondon/Cottonnoire/Senn:	30
Plamondon/Chappelier:	1
By Simon Jr.:	
Plamondon/Farron:	62
Plamondon/Catlin:	22
Plamondon/Bouchard:	26
By Therese:	
Plamondon/Sareault:	20
By Marie Anne:	
Plamondon/St. Germain:	35
Plamondon/Pete:	9
2. Lucy Skloutwout:	173
Divided since the 19th century into several sublines: Bernier, Brandle, Gerrand, LeGard, Weaser, Wilson	

⁷⁵ Apparently, this person is not on the 1994 membership list: it is probable that he did not meet the 1/16 Cowlitz qualification for voting membership and officeholding as prescribed by the Cowlitz constitution.

⁷⁶ See the discussion of amalgamated/assimilated but originally non-Cowlitz Indian family lines.

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3. Quatanna:		109
	One subline of this family had moved to San Juan County, Washington, prior to 1880.	
4. Marguerite Cowlitz/WooA [Wahawa]		94
	LaDue:	38
	LaDue/Cloquet:	56
5. Iyall Wahawa:		51
6. Wannassay:		50
7. Harriet Iusemuch:		41
	Divided since the 19th century into sublines: Sherlafoo, Smith/Carroll, Corcoran.	
8. Scanewa/Mounts and Scanewa/Mounts/Marcus:		26
9. Thomas:		16
10. Cheholtz:		10
11. White:		7
12. Tillakish:		6
13. St. Andre:		5

Upper Cowlitz ancestry in the petitioning group.

Comparatively few of the Upper Cowlitz families whose activities were monitored by the BIA in the period 1900-1950 (Kiona, Satanas, Eyle) have descendants on the petitioner's current membership list. While many descendants of these families maintain social ties with members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, the majority of the Upper Cowlitz descendants are currently enrolled members of other federally recognized tribes. The CIT includes the following descendants:

1. Kinswa/Ike:	43
2. Pete:	17
3. Yanakish:	6

Geographic dispersion. With the exception of the early move of part of the Quatanna descendants to the San Juan Islands, there does not appear to be any distinct pattern of dispersion by family line. For those Cowlitz still residing in the Cowlitz River valley, it does appear still to be true that Upper Cowlitz prefer to live upriver and Lower Cowlitz prefer to live further downriver. Consult the Anthropological Technical Report for further geographical analysis of the residential pattern of the petitioner's membership.

Political factions. Political factions seem to cross family lines within the petitioning group. Again, consult the Anthropological Technical Report for analysis.

Potential for Membership Growth

Potential enrollees not on the current membership list. There are numerous Cowlitz descendants who are enrolled with other federally recognized tribes because of non-Cowlitz ancestry in other family lines. Some of these have strong Cowlitz social and kinship ties and might be inclined to transfer enrollment if the Cowlitz were federally acknowledged. It is impossible to estimate how large this group might be. There are also some qualified near relatives of current CIT members who "just haven't bothered to fill out their papers" (DeMarce Field Data 1995). As long as the current membership criteria remain in effect, that group will be comparatively small. The CIT is encouraging qualified relatives to complete the enrollment process, mainly by word of mouth (DeMarce Field Data 1995).

Persons referred to in the petition and in related documentation appear on the current and former membership rolls. Persons listed on former rolls, who do not appear on the current roll, do not, by and large, represent families that have died out. Some nuclear families have died out, but the larger familial descendancy groups by and large all continue to have representatives. Historical Cowlitz family lines no longer represented on the current membership have, by and large, been prohibited from enrollment either because of the dual enrollment prohibition in the constitution (Castama, Kiona) or because of the 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum requirement in the constitution (Sareault, Meyer, Senn). Additionally, numerous persons appeared on the 1915/17 Claims organization list who never appeared again and whose descendants never appear on later membership lists.

"Red Card" Holders. The major immediate potential for membership expansion among the Cowlitz lies in two groups. The first is Cowlitz "red card" holders who have provided proof of Cowlitz descent to the petitioner, but who are of less than 1/16 Cowlitz ancestry. The other is persons of Cowlitz descent who are now enrolled with other federally acknowledged tribes, but who might decide to transfer their membership if the Cowlitz became federally acknowledged, because their strongest social ties are Cowlitz.

No count of current Cowlitz "red card" holders was provided to the BIA with the petition. It was not required that the petitioner provide such a count, as such persons are not on the membership list under the 1974 and 1993 constitutions. The Cowlitz Indian Tribe's new membership applications since

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1987 indicate that there are still a significant number of 1/8 Cowlitz blood quantum children being born. However, within the past ten years, only one new applicant showed a 1/4 blood quantum. A survey of the blood quanta computed by the tribe for its current green card holders shows that if the 1/16 requirement remains in force, the size of the tribe's voting membership will diminish rapidly over the course of the next two generations.

Transfers from Other Federally Recognized Tribes. Transfers from other federally acknowledged tribes might expand the Cowlitz membership. Such transfers would not change the character of the group other than by somewhat expanding the proportion of members with Upper Cowlitz ancestry as compared to the proportion with Lower Cowlitz ancestry. The potential for expansion among Cowlitz descendants who have less than a 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum and who are not currently enrolled in other federally acknowledged tribes cannot be determined. It would depend on how the Cowlitz Indian Tribe might in the future choose to modify its constitutional membership requirements.

Possible "Descendancy" Rule. During the past ten years, Cowlitz tribal minutes contain evidence of extensive discussion about moving from a 1/16 rule to a simple "descendancy" rule. If such a change should be made in the Cowlitz constitution, applying a "descendancy" qualification only to children and grandchildren of persons on the current roll, the official membership would expand significantly-- perhaps double.

One proposal which has been advocated by some CIT members is a "descendancy" qualification written in such a way as to define as eligible for membership "all persons who descend from individuals whose names have appeared on the Cowlitz membership lists since the 1950 constitution was adopted and who are not currently enrolled in other federally acknowledged Indian tribes." If this proposal were adopted, the potential expansion would be much greater. It would include not only current "red card" holders, but also many Cowlitz metis family lines that have been excluded from voting membership since 1974 and whose members have not bothered to obtain the non-voting "red cards." If such persons again became eligible for full membership, it is probable that many would apply.

Another proposal discussed by the petitioner was a "descendancy" qualification which would provide for accepting as Cowlitz Indian Tribe members "all persons who

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can document Cowlitz ancestry from the period of mid-19th century records until the present, and who are not currently enrolled in another federally acknowledged Indian tribe." If such a proposal were adopted, the CIT membership would expand exponentially. This would change the entire nature of the petitioning entity.

In the 1993 constitutional revision, none of the above proposed revisions was adopted. The CIT retained the 1/16 Cowlitz blood quantum requirement for membership.

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APPENDIX I
1878 BIA MILROY CENSUS, LOWER COWLITZ

"List of heads of families and no. of each and of individual Indians belonging to the remnant of the Cowlitz Tribe, residing on the Lower Cowlitz River in Cowlitz County Washington Territory. M-234, Roll 1919, Frames 454-455. 66 persons (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-3414 - A-3415).

Atwin Stokum	1 wife	1 boy	1 girl		Total 4
Henry Chaholtz	1 wife	1 boy			Total 4
Joe Chaholtz	1 wife			1 mother	Total 2
Robert Shorty ⁷⁷	1 wife				Total 2
Sam Chefwamsh	1 wife	1 boy			Total 3
Billey Joe	1 wife	1 boy	2 girls		Total 5
Jack Limish	1 wife	1 boy			Total 3
Dick Chilcan					Total 1
Catharina					Total 1
Chehamish					Total 1
Henry Chaloth	1 wife	1 boy			Total 3
Joe Chaloth	1 wife	2 boys	3 girls		Total 7
Tomsnoa	1 wife				Total 2
Mrs. Stokum		1 boy			Total 2
George Billese	1 wife	1 boy	1 girl		Total 4
Jack Wenesice	1 wife	2 boys	2 girls		Total 6
Capt. Slickwauken	1 wife	3 boys	2 girls		Total 7
Edward Kekin	1 wife				Total 2
Kitty		1 boy			Total 2
Charley Dick	1 wife	1 boy	1 girls		Total 3
					Total 66

⁷⁷ Name "Shorty," of a woman, mentioned in Irwin 1995.

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APPENDIX II

1878 BIA MILROY CENSUS, UPPER COWLITZ

"List of heads of families and number of each, and of individual Indians belonging to the Cowlitz Klickitat band of Indians residing in Louis County, Wash. Tery. M-234, Roll 919, Frames 456-458 (CIT Pet. Suppl. Ex. A-3417 - A-4319).

Pallechupet	1 wife	2 boys			Total 4
Henry Williams	1 wife		1 girl		Total 3
Olman Samityar		1 boy		1 sister	Total 3
Sam	1 wife		1 girl	1 father	Total 4
Mrs Wankahas			1 girl		Total 2
Anwork	1 wife	1 boy			Total 3
Winch-neer	1 wife				Total 2
Aspetux	1 wife		1 girl		Total 3
Mary Cotlano					Total 1
Quabay	1 wife	1 boy	1 girl		Total 4
Kimsha					Total 1
Tepust					Total 1
Nekehune	1 wife	1 boy		1 mother	Total 4
Sataniss	1 wife	2 boys	3 girls		Total 7
Jim Yowankish	1 wife	1 boy			Total 3
Ike Ohutscher	1 wife	1 boy	2 girls		Total 5
[illegible on copy]					
John Skinshirt	1 wife		2 girls		Total 4
Mintorn Tallonce	1 wife	3 boys	1 girl		Total 6
Harvy Castomy	1 wife			1 mother	Total 3
Lewy Castomey	1 wife		1 girl		Total 3
Jimmy Keeple	1 wife	1 boy	2 girls		Total 5
Jack Waxnute	1 wife				Total 2
Phillip Sulowah	1 wife		1 girl	1 sister	Total 4
Columbus Kiewana	1 wife	2 boys			Total 4
Batteses Kiewana	1 wife				Total 2
Oleman Stanican	1 wife	2 boys	2 girls		Total 6
Oleman Castamu	1 wife		1 girl		Total 3
Oleman Tollonu	1 wife	1 boy	1 girl		Total 4
Oleman Pissars	1 wife	1 boy	1 girl		Total 5
					Total: 105

APPENDIX III

COWLITZ PUBLIC DOMAIN ALLOTMENTS AND HOMESTEADS

Cowlitz Indians' public domain homesteads and allotments, 1888-1945 (Taholah Agency Records):

Charley Petawa, 1888, T12N, R2W, 160 acres;
Lewis Castoma, 1889 [1890], T12N, R2E, 82 acres;
Batiste Kiowania [Kiona], 1889, T12N, R3E, 49 acres (fee title);
Isaac Kinswa, 1890, T12N, R2E, 76 acres;
William Yowok [Yoke], 1890, T11N, R4E, 80 acres;
James Yowok [Yoke], 1890, T11N, R4E, 80 acres;
John Kimpus, 1891, T12N, 41E, 76 acres;
Ayell Wa-Ha-Wa, 1891, T11N, R2W, 160 acres;
Sam Eyely, 1892, T11N, R4E, 80 acres;
George Spearchachen, 1892, T12N, R6E, 160 acres;
James Satanus, 1893, T11N, R6E, 153 acres;
Columbus Ky-way-ah [Kiona], 1894, T12N, R6E, 160 acres (extended 1947);
Doctor She-An-Un-Custom, 1897, T13N, R2E, 80 acres;
Thomas Satanus, 1900, T12N, R6E;
D. Jim, 1902, T12N, R6E, 44 acres;
Katie Talikish, 1911, T12N, R3E, 31 acres;
Maggie Eyley, 1924, T13N, R3E, 3 acres (transferred from fee to trust title);
Lucy Castama, 1926, T13N, R3E, 40 acres (transferred from fee to trust title);
Mary Pete St. Germaine, 1942, T11N, R2W, 5 acres (transferred from fee to trust title);
Sally (Purcell) Ike, 1945, T12N, R1E, 2.5 acres (transferred from fee to trust title);
(Cowlitz Pet. Narr. 1987, 31-32).
King Phillip, T11N, R5E, Sec. 6, lots 1.-4, W.M.
(Cowlitz Pet. Narr. 1987, 33).

Public domain allotments mentioned in Cowlitz petition, but not mapped:

Ho Ho

Mary LaQuash Satanas: See Yakima Agency public domain allotments.

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Yakima public domain allotments for Cowlitz (NARS Regional, Seattle, WA):

Box 113. RG75. BIA Yakima. Vancouver Allotments 1893 - 6/19/10 (unboxed). List of allottees of lands outside the Yakima Reservation but under Yakima jurisdiction. Washington Territory, Vancouver Land Office. There were many more assignments to non-Cowlitz Klickitats not abstracted here.

p. 3

#22. N2-NW-(lots 3 & 4) Sec 3 Twp 4 Range 16#, 78 63/100 A. Levi Sampson. Cowlitz. Allotted 28 June 1892. Patent 7 August 1893.

p. 7

#65. SW-SW Sec 28 Twp 12 Range 6#, 40 A. Frank Peter, P.O. Cora, WA. Age 10. Cowlitz Klickitat. Allotted 29 December 1899. Patent 1 October 1907.

#67 SE-SE 24/4/13 and Lot 4 & E2-SW 19/4/14. 160 64/100 A, Dick Son e wah, Wishum, allotted 13 February 1900; patent 5 June 1906. #68 Eddie, age 19; #69, Mattie; #70, Minnie.

#71. Lots 5 & 6. Sec. 8, Twp. 12N, Range 3 E, 58 92/100. Mary LaQuash. Klickitat. 7 March 1900. Patent 5 June 1906.

#73. SW-NW & Lot 4, Sec 4, Twp 3N, Range 10E, 79 30/100 A. Samuel Williams for minor Georgia Williams, age 11. Cowlitz. Allotted 16 May 1900; patent 14 December 1908.

p. 8

#79. NW 4 Sec 10 Twp 3 N Range 19 S. 160 A. Kiamtus, age 21. Klickitat. Allotted 29 August 1900; patent 1 October 1907.

p. 10

#107. NE 4 Sec 19 Twp 5 Range 19E. 160 A. Cutemas, age 35, Klickitat. Allotted 15 November 1901; patent issued 19 May 1910.

p. 13: Imtook, age 60, Klickitat; Walkti, age 60, Klickitat.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF DECEASED COWLITZ

"Cowlitz Tribe of Indians, Names of Deceased" (CIT Pet. Ex. A-1166 - A-1169). [Probably dating to about 1952, possibly compiled by Joe Peter.]

Mouth of Cowlitz: Wakty, Zeekean, Williams, Marry, Wamaka, Celes
Romeo, Teepee, Jim Johns, Bill Plush, Tomy Push Pum, Talee Kiush
Lower Cowlitz = Deceased: Chuch-Pat, Sweytitat, Stups, Lewyer,
Sumyanie, Charlie, Sam Jakson, Alphen Lewis, Chouhemtk, Yiystanie = Kity Clover,
Teeyelshen, Timens, Clark (Skalero, Romeo, Steve, Johnie Patnon = Kathlemt Way)
Around Monteslo [Monticello, Cowlitz Co., WA] and up: Patty, Z-A-K-E,
Wansay, Tumar, Stakum, Shakel, Lincoln White, Jim White, Thomas White, Wilson
White, Joseph ZAKE, William ZAKE, To qusar, Jim Whites sister
Midway Castle Rock and up: Iyall, Northover, Henry Cheholtz, Topnoon,
John Kimhus, Kach Kap, Quayous, Ho Ho, Hoot, Slowtian, Y??lwak, ??shall, ??len-
chi, Maryan, Ashlick, Nad Fern, Howard, Ladue, Swayal, Forst, Lagard
= Deceased: Frank Rabbie, Comayemor, Charlie Pete, Carl Olson, Jim
Rabbie, Dave Lowuzer, Ed Louwuzer [Lozier], John Plumondon, Panapat, Dave
Cottenware, John Sanjerma (St. Germain), Frank Sanjerma, Captian Peter =
Wiyanshet, Mary Peter, Lucy Satans, Lucy Youckton
Upper Cowlitz. Desesd: Laques, Tales = or Tillie (= Joe Peter granPa, " "
Granma, " " Gran Pa), Old Wiyanshet, Old Umtuch, Tom Satans, Dick Satans,
Phillips, Sam Eyle, Mary Eyle, William Yoke, Jim Yoke, Pee Saw = Indian Pete, Frank
Pete, Old Man Kiona, Bat Kiona, Charlie Kiona, Deaf Annie Howard, James Suttlick,
Willie Sam
= Decesd: Johns, Captain George, old Ike, Sheankin, Chaltee Sheankin,
Sister Sheankin, Lewis Kustumie, Jack Kustumie, Willie Kustumie, Sallian, Old
Satans, Joseph Sutulick.

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APPENDIX V

SELECTED ENROLLEES AT CHEMAWA INDIAN SCHOOL

NARS Regional Archives, Seattle, Washington. RG 75 BIA.
Chemawa Indian School, Oregon. Register of Students 1880-
1928. ["Box 181 A" is crossed out.]

1. Ashue, Charles	Puyallup
2. Ashue, Samuel	"
487. Archambault, Anastatia	San Juan Is 1889 age 10
488. Archambault, Lewis	" 1889 age 14
489. Archambault, Lizzie	" 1889 age 17
491. Archambault, Matilda	" 1889 age 12
520. Archambault, Alice	" 1889 age 19
521. Archambault, Blanche	" 1889 age 9
634. Archambault, Lucretia	"
603. Barnes, Freddie	Orcas Is
604. " , Amy	"
605. " , Minnie	"
2646. Bateman, Louise	Cowlitz
6291. Burr, Alfred	Cowlitz
915. Cottonware, Belle	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 7
916. Cottonware, Louise	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 10
917. Cottonware, Mary	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 11
1112. Carlson, Etta	Cowlitz 1/4 1895 age 12
1410. Crook (Carrew), Julia Ethel	Kelso [Carran?] 1/4 1898 age 8
1411. " (Carrew), Lillie Opal Louise	Kelso [Carran?] 1/4 1898 age 5
2843. Carru, Geo. Rupert	Cowlitz [Carrau] 3/4 1907 age 12
4235. Cottonware, Edward	Cowlitz 1/2 1914 age 19
471. De Jaunney, Joseph	San Juan Is 1888 age 17
579. Duke, Albert	Cowlitz 1/4 1891 age 15
1175. Duke, Victor	Cowlitz 1/4 Rainier 1896 age 5
1577. David, Lizzie	Yakima full Kelso 1899 age 15
1578. Dixon, William	Klickitat
1770. David, Earnest	Puyallup? full Kelso 1901 age 13
	Also recorded as 2480. David, Ernest Cowlitz
599. Esterbrook, Mary Alice	Cascade
4265. Estabrook, Virgil	Cascade
6106. Eyle, Lena	Cowlitz
6162. Eyle, Margaret	Cowlitz
6629. Eyle, Helen	Cowlitz
484. Girard, Lewis	Cowlitz 1888 age 11
485. " , Maggie	" 1888 age 13
486. " , Frances	" 1888 age 7
557. Guthrie, Minnie	San Juan Is
558. " , Rosa	"
899. Girard, Georgia	Cowlitz 1/4 1893 age 10
900. " , Mattie	" 1/4 1893 age 10
918. Gill, Annie	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 14

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919. " , Frank	" 1/2 1893 age 12
6983. Hatfield, Andrew	Cowlitz
6984. " , Walter	"
6985. " , Nomah	"
7427. Iyall, Evelyn	Yakima
7. Kalama, Peter	Nisqually
622. LePlante, Blanche	San Juan Is
523. LePlante, Frank	"
524. " , Louise	"
525. " , Willie	"
610. LePlante, Peter	Orcas Is
637. " , Odell	"
638. " , James	"
1771. Logan, Geo 1/2	Puyallup? Kelso, WA 1901 age 9
895. Lyon, John	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 18
1055. Lyons, Lawrence	Roy, WA
1056. " , Mary Hannah	"
4472. Lewis, Grant	Cowlitz
580. Miller, Frederick	Cowlitz 1/4 1893 age 18
617. Mesplie, Albert	Cascade 1/2 1890 age 14
2397. McKay, Hazel	Cowlitz
2402. McKay, Lawrence	"
3522. Miller, Frederic	Cascade
7193. Mesplie, Floyd	Grand Ronde
7436. Mesplie, Eddie	Yakima
7527. Northover, Aleatha	Yakima
907. Plomondon, Celia	Olequa 1/2 1893 age 11
908. " , Lucy	" 1/2 1893 age 17
909. " , Norbet	" 1/2 1893 age 15
920. Patton, Linna	" 1/2 1893 age 14
929. Patton, William	" 1/4 1893 age 6
930. " , Annie	" 1/4 1893 age 9
4155. Piel, Joseph	Cowlitz
3338. Reed, Bennett	Cowlitz
3339. Reed, Charles	"
3340. " , Blanche	"
6167. Reed, George	Cowlitz
600. St. Martin, Aurelia	Cascade
601. " , Katie	"
602. " , Maggie	"
618. " , Amos D.	"
619. " , Isadore	"
620. " , Olivia	"
645. St. Martin, David E.	Cascade
646. " , Joseph	"
647. " , Ida Bell	"
7537. Satanos, Daniel	Cowlitz
848. Teabo, Henry	Cowlitz
849. " , Joseph	"
731. Underville, Amelia	Snoqualmie or Cowlitz [Snoqualmie Sound]
7869. Umtuch, George	Yakima
541. Verrier, Tillie	San Juan Is 1/2 1889 age 15

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542. " . Joseph	" 1/2 1889 age 16
222. Waters, Nora	Klickitat Yakima Agency 1884 age 7
223. Waters, Ella	" Yakima Agency 1884 age 7
224. Waters, Mrs.	" Yakima Agency 1884
546. Wiggins, August	San Juan Is 1/2 1889 age 6
547. " , Charles	" 1/2 1889 age 13
548. " , Chase	" 1/2 1889 age 12
549. " , Dollie	" 1/2 1889 age 11
550. " . Henry	" 1/2 1889 age 8
556. Whitley, Minnie	Cowlitz 1/4 1889 age 12
1586. Wannassy, Jason	Cowlitz 3/4 Spalding Agcy 1899 age 14
1630. Whitley, Ada	Yakima
2742. Wannassy, Otis	Yakima [wrong index number]
5771. White, Lillian	Cowlitz
6139. White, Lillian	Cowlitz

There were far more students labeled Yakima and Klickitat, and from the various San Juan islands. The BIA researcher did not extract these because the family names did not seem to have a connection with the modern CIT membership list nor to the names on the 1974 Yakima Cowlitz presentation to the ICC.

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Appendix VI.

Roblin Roll Map.

CIT Pet. Narr., 182.

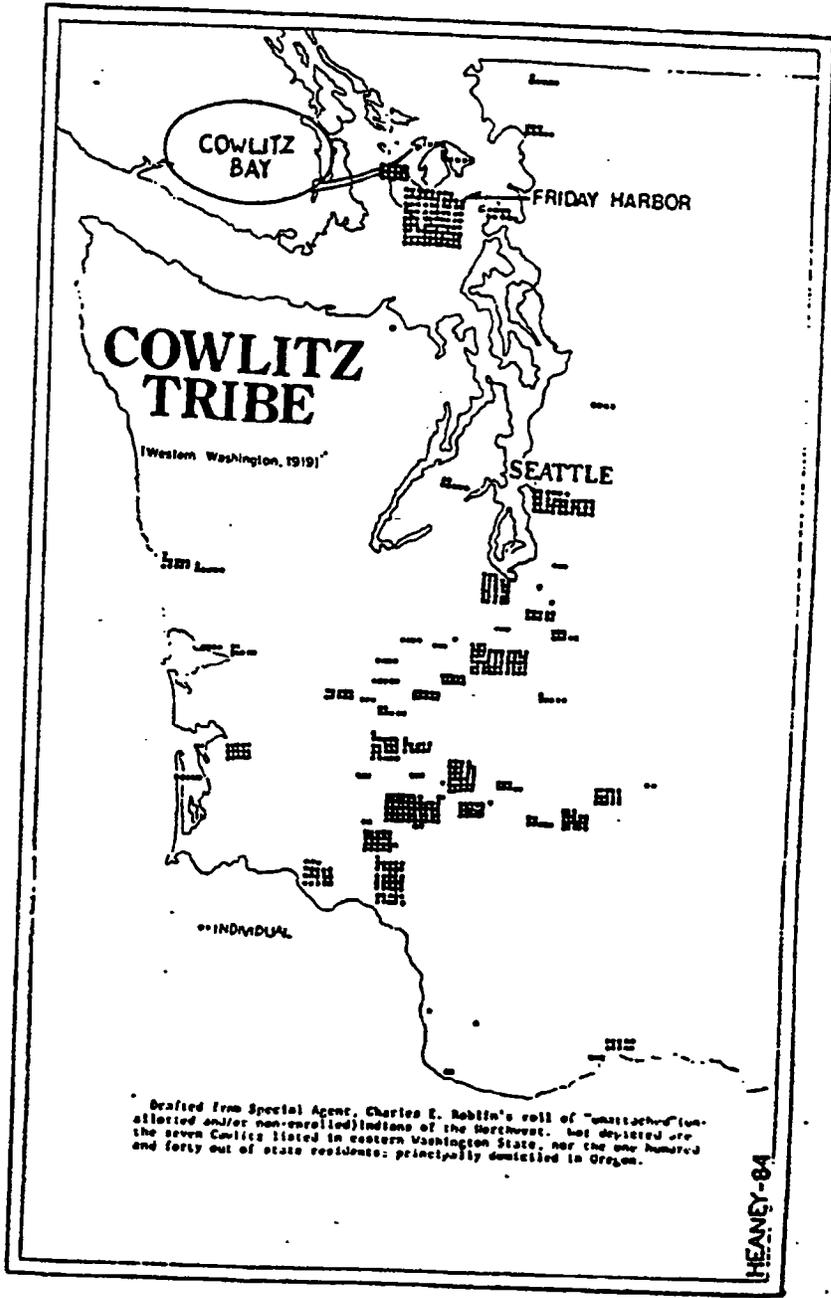


Figure B5 Compiled from Special Agent Charles E. Roblin's 1919 roll of unattached Indians of the Northwest (Preface to Genealogy portion of this petition).