1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Society: Cowlitz (Name for themselves is Stl'pumsh),
Language: Lower Cowlitz Language (Stl'pulimuhkl),
Language Family: Salishan Language Family. *The original Cowlitz language has been lost* (2, "Lower Cowlitz Language")

The Upper Cowlitz took on a different (Sahaptin) language from their "Lower" counterparts.
"Lower Cowlitz was a Salishan language of Washington state, related to Chehalis. The people called themselves Stl'pulmsh-- Cowlitz was the name of the river whose banks they lived on. The Upper Cowlitz, who used to live further up the same river, is a Sahaptin tribe who spoke a dialect of the unrelated Yakama language. Forced together onto the same reservation, the two tribes rapidly lost their languages, and today neither Cowlitz Salish nor Cowlitz Sahaptian is spoken any longer." (2, "Lower Cowlitz Language)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

ISO 639: cow

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Southwestern Washington, Kelso (the seat of Cowlitz County and an original Cowlitz village) is located at Latitude: N 46° 8' 48.4044" Longitude: W 122° 54' 30.4002" (7)

1.4 Brief history:

"The Cowlitz Indians were originally considered to be "a large and powerful Salishan tribe." Because they were an interior tribe (that is, their territory did not open onto a large body of water), they were more cohesive than other Salish groups on the coast and Columbia River, said anthropologist Verne Ray, who has intensively studied the tribe. One of the earliest accounts describes their swoop downriver to attack a Chinookan village at the mouth of the Cowlitz. Another account describes the unsuccessful effort of war chief Wieno and others to take slaves from a village on Vancouver Island.

Although ethnically unified as a tribal unit by geography, intermarriage and customs, the Cowlitz people are divided into two main groups-the Taidnapam, or Upper Cowlitz, and the Lower Cowlitz. Speaking Salishan like many of their neighbors in the 1800s the more populous Lower Cowlitz occupied 30 villages dotting the Cowlitz River from present-day Mossyrock southward to within a mile or two of the Columbia River.

Gradually, through intermarriage, the Upper Cowlitz/Taidnapam adopted the Sahaptin language from plateau peoples east of the Cascades. Known for their hunting prowess, the Taidnapam occupied villages east of Mossyrock, camping, as weather permitted, at higher elevations of the Cascade Crest and then a few miles east of the divide on the Tieton River. In addition, the Taidnapam people used trails from the Cascade Crest and Mount Adams to connect with relatives who lived along the Lewis River.

The earliest historical accounts of the Lower Cowlitz, whose villages began a short distance up the Cowlitz River from the Chinookan villages on the Columbia River, do not begin with Lewis and Clark, but rather with the Astorians of the Pacific Fur Company, who arrived in 1811. One of their first excursions up the Columbia River from Fort Astoria brought them to the 150-foot-high Mount Coffin, the Chinook burial rock studded with canoes outfitted with funeral offerings of clothing and baskets of food. As Alexander McKay, Ovid Montigny and three Indian paddlers headed up the Cowlitz River, they were confronted with 20 canoes of Cowlitz Indians intent on war with the village of Chinookan Skilloots at the mouth of the river. The battle was averted by negotiations.

The second engagement between the Cowlitz and non-Indians took place after the North West Company, which had bought out the Pacific Fur Company in 1813, sent trappers and hunters, including Iroquois Indians, up the Cowlitz River. Problems began in 1818 after the Iroquois forced themselves on Cowlitz women. In the ensuing conflict one Iroquois died and two others were wounded. Not realizing that his men were the aggressors, James Keith, the chief trader, sent Peter Skene Ogden to punish the Cowlitz.

Only with some persuasion did Ogden convince his Cowlitz guide, Chief How How, to lead him to the right village. Once there, the Iroquois, acting against orders, massacred 13 men, women and children, scalping three before they could be stopped. The incident temporarily halted the company's hunting and trapping on the Cowlitz River.

Simon Plamondon, a young French Canadian whose boyhood friends had been Indians, was working for the North West Company. He traveled up the Cowlitz River and was captured by the influential Chief Schanewa, whose village was on Cowlitz Prairie. Plamondon married the chief's daughter Veronica, who gave birth to four children. It is from this family that many Cowlitz today trace their lineage.

This opening into Cowlitz country provided the Hudson’s Bay Company, once merged with the North West Company, an opportunity to trade with Chief Schanewa, who controlled fur traffic through the Cowlitz Corridor.

The epidemic of 1829-30, called the "gray" or "intermittent" fever and thought to be a virulent Asian flu, was brought in by the American ship Owyhee under Captain John Domines. The traditional native treatment for illnesses - the sweat bath followed by a plunge into a cold stream - doomed most Indians. Hudson’s Bay Company Governor George Simpson said three-fourths of those in the Fort Vancouver vicinity died. Dr. John McLaughlin of the HBC thought the number to be more like seven-eighths after several summers of the fever’s recurrence. Many of the Cowlitz fled toward the coast, according to Simon Plamondon, "abandoning the dead and dying to the birds and beasts of prey." Villages had become a harrowing sight. Joseph Meek estimated that 500 Indians remained on the Cowlitz River. These were "warlike, but friendly to whites," he said.

In 1832-33 the HBC laid out the Nisqually Farm, where the Cowlitz came to trade. The company gave Simon Plamondon permission to develop a farm on Cowlitz Prairie and in

1838 initiated a company farm nearby, which employed many Cowlitz Indians in production and river transportation. The inauguration of the Catholic Mission was in small part stimulated by the Cowlitz people's interest. Although soon disillusioned, Father Blanchet was at first impressed by these "poor people [who] showed him a great desire to be enlightened."

Ethnographic and anthropological studies on the Cowlitz in the 1800s are in short supply. Beyond the casual accounts of travelers and observers, John Dunn's history, published in 1844, offers some observations of their habits and customs. Usually reliable in his studies of Northwest tribes, pioneer ethnographer George Gibbs limited his 1855 ethnographic report on the Cowlitz to very misleading second- and third-hand opinions.

In the 20th century Edward Curtis interviewed Ka' ktsama' (Esther Millet), who provided useful detail about Cowlitz villages on the lower Cowlitz River, while Melville Jacobs and Thelma Adamson (1934) separately recorded Cowlitz myths. Jacobs also included detailed information from William Yoke and others on how the Upper Cowlitz utilized their river habitat-fishing, hunting, root digging and berrying.

As more Euro-American families arrived looking for productive land, the settlers asked Congress to authorize a territorial government. During the treaty session with territorial governor Isaac Stevens in 1855, the Cowlitz declined to sign away their rights to their village sites, prairies, fishing places and burial grounds, only to be shunted over to the inhospitable Quinault reservation on the coast. The Cowlitz remained on their land but had no reservation of their own.

When war erupted in 1855 between the Indians and the whites, Chief Atwin Stockam, son of Chief Schanewa, was given to understand that the Cowlitz tribe would be given a reservation if the restive Cowlitz warriors remained peaceful. So, instead of joining the militant Yakimas and Klickitats, 300 Cowlitz people were held in a detention camp on the Cowlitz Prairie under Indian agent Simon Plamondon's care. Their men were conscripted into building blockhouses and roads, transporting supplies and scouting, all of which they did with honor.

Despite the settlers' fears, there was not a single depredation or death in the Cowlitz Corridor due to the war. If these Cowlitz-excellent horsemen and riflemen, "intimately acquainted with all the roads, trails and fastnesses of the country"-had become militant, they could have closed the Cowlitz Corridor. This passage between the Coast Range and the Cascades proved to be the only viable supply and information route connecting military headquarters at Olympia and Fort Steilacoom with troops up the Columbia in eastern Washington.

After the fighting was over the roads, bridges and ferries built during the war to expedite communication and supply transportation through the corridor began to replace Cowlitz boatmen. Upon returning to their homes the Cowlitz people found that their possessions had been destroyed. Some were reduced to trading with the "worst possible class of whites that can infest any country," commented historians Ruby and Brown. The promise

made to Chief Atwin Stockam of a Cowlitz reservation in return for cooperation was apparently forgotten.

Settlers assumed that at the war's end all Indians lost their rights, particularly title to the land. One settler wrote: [at] the successful culmination of the Indian Wars. . The question of land titles was settled in this area and the government was recognized as legally owning the land.

Actually, the Cowlitz had not lost their rights to the land, nor had they treatied their land away or been subdued. After the war they returned to feeding themselves and making a living. Families once again returned to the mountains to hunt, pick berries and socialize with relatives and friends before winter. In the decades following the war the Cowlitz were pressured by settlers to be monogamous in their marriages; to forego using sweat houses and flattening their newborns' heads; and to quit relying on medicine men, going on spirit quests, holding pow-wows and speaking their own language. Some married and moved to reservations: Quinault, Steilacoom, Skokomish, Snohomish and Warm Springs, among others. Many, however, remained in Cowlitz country. They were described in 1870 by the Secretary of Interior as "the most thrifty and industrious" of the tribes he reported on. Yet, that very success was the reason given by the government to deny them recognition and compensation for lands taken.

In the early 1870s, about the time the railroad was being completed through Cowlitz Corridor, many Cowlitz converted to the Indian Shaker church as a way to retain Indian values. When the Indian Homestead Act passed in 1884 a number of Upper and Lower Cowlitz took out papers for homesteads-Willie Youckton, John Kimpus, Katie Tillikish, Chief Cheholtz and John Ike Kinswa, for example. Many found jobs: the women doing housecleaning and laundry, the men working on farms and log drives, and in the woods and sawmills. Most continued using traditional skills-making baskets, picking berries, hunting, trapping and fishing.

When the hop fields opened near Olequa, whole families worked and played in that country-fair atmosphere on the Cowlitz River. As in the past, they intermarried with members of other tribes and with whites. Around the turn of the century special incentives of land and tribal membership on the Yakima reservation enticed many Cowlitz to join kin and friends there.

Those who remained in Cowlitz country maintained tribal ties under their aging Chief Atwin Stockam. Before he died in 1912 at more than 100 years of age, he looked across Cowlitz Prairie and boomed out his frustration to a settler friend:

Long ago all this land belonged to Indians- salmon in the chuck [river], mowich [deer] and moollok [elk] in the hills. Then white men come. Atwin their friend. Now all this land belong to white man.

The tribe reorganized in 1912 and selected a chairman, instead of a chief, to head an elected tribal council. At that time they began patiently and systematically seeking

compensation and recognition. They collected money and sent Frank Iyall to Washington, D.C. to lobby for them. When their bill finally passed both houses of Congress in 1928, it was vetoed by President Coolidge because they had become successful farmers and formed no distinct class as they lived among the non-Indians, were voting citizens and were "industrious, self-supporting and reasonably intelligent." It was as if the officials thought the Cowlitz were asking for a handout instead of the right to be justly acknowledged as an enduring tribal entity and compensated for lands taken.

They have persisted in their efforts by helping to organize the Small Tribes of Western Washington. After World War II they presented a land compensation claim. The Indian Claims Commission offered a sum that was a fraction of the land's worth: $1,550,000 for 1,790,000 acres, or about 90 cents an acre. Tribal members knew the timberland alone was worth about $30,000 an acre. Despite their anger and frustration the majority agreed to accept the settlement, which earns interest until a plan for distribution and use of the award can be developed.

Today the 2,700 enrolled members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe continue Indian observances related to child-rearing, religion and food, especially salmon. Many still fish and hunt. Some follow Indian practices in rituals, weddings and burials. They maintain kinship networks and meet semiannually on Cowlitz Prairie to learn more about their own heritage and decide how to promote their case for an initial reservation before the federal government. As a tribe they look forward to owning a place on which to build their own tribal center and become more visible as descendants of the original people of the Cowlitz River.

Once recognized, the Cowlitz tribe, now largely absorbed in trying to meet ever-shifting federal acknowledgment guidelines, can turn its energies to the no-less-arduous business of retrieving their culture and displaying their pride in being what they are-a modem Indian tribe successfully integrated with the white culture but still very Cowlitz Indian in heart and tribal life. When the Cowlitz Indians gain that federal recognition, southwest Washington will regain a part of its heritage." (8, "The Dispossessed")

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

First Noted by the Lewis and Clark Expedition when the Corps of Discovery wintered at Fort Clatsop from November 1805 until March 1806 (5, "Lewis and Clark Journey") (there is some dispute about this)

The Cowlitz had some run-ins with various Fur Trading Companies and their trappers, some of these run-ins were non-violent and some were not. (8, "the Dispossessed")

The United States Government forced them onto a reservation with the Upper Cowlitz and both groups lost their language. (2, "Lower Cowlitz Language")

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1.6 Ecology:

"Focal Landscapes and Species

Estuary:

The estuary contains the rich zone where riverine nutrients slow and concentrate near the ocean. Floodplain habitats grow wapato, tule and cattail. Fish resources include salmon, eulachon and sturgeon. Water levels in the backwater sloughs, shallows and side channels fluctuate with the tides. This area includes the entire lower Columbia River below Bonneville Dam and the tidally-affected lower portions of tributaries like the Cowlitz, Lewis and Kalama rivers.

Rivers:

The rich rivers of the region include larger rivers like the Cowlitz, Lewis and Kalama, as well as all of the smaller creeks emptying into them. River resources include the life-giving water itself, and principle fish species of salmon, steelhead and eulachon, but also including lamprey. Important sites of traditional fisheries are found at bedrock pinch points on rivers where runs of returning fish concentrate and are easier to catch. River cobbles and well-shaped rocks were a key component of traditional material culture. They were shaped into many tools such as net weights, choppers, wedges, hammers and pestles. The Cowlitz People relied on a unique style of shallow-draft, shovel-nosed canoe in these rivers and were renowned for their expertise manoeuvring these crafts through

rapids and shoals, using both paddles and poles.

Freshwater Wetlands and Lakes:
The fringes of wetlands and lakes were important hunting areas because a rich suite of food resources were available there. Ducks, geese, and swans are seasonally available as are their eggs. Turtles were an important food and their shells were used as bowls or expertly carved into many other useful objects, such as spoons or combs.

Prairies:
Given the climate of the last 2000 years, prairie habitats should have already been conifer forests. However, regular and purposeful use of fire as a land management tool by the Cowlitz People maintained open prairie habitats. Fires were principally set to maximize the abundance of important root resources such as camas and bracken fern roots. Other prairie-associated resources include sunflower seeds and grasshoppers. Elk grazed in these open habitats and grew to enormous sizes. When horses became available, the Cowlitz People were readily able to adopt a horse-focused culture, because of the rich grassy openings of prairie in the landscape, where horses could graze.

Broadleaf Woodlands:
Oak woodlands, also maintained by a purposeful fire regime, are one of the richest habitat types. The herbaceous understory often includes the same root resources found in prairie habitats, but produces rich and nutritious crops of acorns, which were soaked to leach tannins, then pounded into flour. The flour was used to bake simple flatbread cakes, which were usually augmented and sweetened with baked camas roots, dried berries or roasted hazelnuts. Acorn flour was also used as a thickener to enrich soups and stews. Both black-tailed and white-tailed deer frequented these park-like woodlands and were hunted for meat as well as their bones, antlers and sinew. Oak wood is dense and made firewood that would burn long and hot. It was excellent fuel for use in earth ovens. Other important food species found in oak woodlands include serviceberry and crab-apple.
Ash woodlands grow along sloughs and wetlands where water levels rise high in winter but there are no scouring flows. The wood of ash trees is strong and light, and is suitable for paddles and tool handles. Food-bearing species frequently found in ash woodlands are hawthorn and bitter cherry. Nettles are common in low-elevations ash forests. Fibers from the central stalk of the plant are long and strong and can be woven into nets and rope to catch fish, deer, and birds.

Cottonwood woodland exists along rivers and streams large enough to exhibit scour and gravel bar substrates. The wood of the Cottonwood tree is light and easily worked. Most food storage bowls and trays were made out of cottonwood because it did not impart flavor to the stored food, whereas the wood of pines and firs do. Cottonwood was sometimes used for grilling and fire cooking meat because it burns hot and fast with little smoke.

Red alder woodlands typically grow alongside smaller streams with steep gradients. The bark of red alder makes a red dye that can be used to colour clothing or other items. The wood of red alder burns poorly and coolly and creates a smoky fire. This is an extremely useful property for preserving meats and venison jerky, as smoke has antibacterial properties. Most smoked salmon, steelhead, and eulachon, as well as elk and deer meat was slowly smoke-cured in a cedar shed with a small, smoky fire of alderwood until it was completely dried.

Conifer Forests:
The interior of dense conifer forests were not that productive for food, but the edges offered a rich profusion of berries including salal, mahonia, several kinds of huckleberries, trailing blackberry, raspberries and gooseberries. Wet areas contained salmonberry whose green shoots were eaten in the early spring. Conifer forests were not that rich in material culture resources, with two exceptions: yew wood is the densest and heaviest wood found in the region. It is stronger than ash, but was far heavier than ash wood, which kept it from being useful for hand tools such as paddles. It was used to make wedges for splitting boards from logs, or a waist-high stick with one pointed end and a T-handle was often used as a digging stick for root harvest.
The second exception was red cedar, whose wood, roots and bark were used for almost anything and everything. The wood of the cedar tree has a natural antifungal agent that keeps it from decaying, and it also has insect-repellent properties that keep it from being consumed by ants, termites or beetles. The wood is light, straight-grained and easily carved. Cedar wood was used for houses, canoes, boxes and bowls. The bark was harvested, then processed and woven into clothing, hats, and cloth. Cedar roots were split and used for twining baskets.

Sub-alpine Meadows:
Mountain huckleberries grow in the subalpine fringe meadows between 4,000 and 6,000 feet elevation. These berries are one of the most important food resources in the Cowlitz seasonal round of resource gathering. Whole families moved to the higher elevations in the late summer of each year. Women and girls harvested berries from bushes and collected them into coiled baskets. Berries were brought back to berry camp, where they were dried on wooden racks and cattail mats over small fires. The raisin-like dried and smoke-cured berries would be packed into baskets and taken back to low-elevation villages, where they would be eaten throughout the winter mixed into acorn and hazelnut breads or cooked in soups and stews with smoked salmon and jerky. The meadows were also place where beargrass bunches grew in abundance. The center leaves of the tuft were picked and woven into finest imbricated baskets known.

Mountains:
While Cowlitz women and girls were gathering mountain huckleberries in late summer, Cowlitz men and boys would climb the high mountains hunting mountain goats and sheep. Boys would be sent to gather tufts of wool from the bushes where mountain goats

scratched and shed their itchy winter wool coat. The men would hunt sheep and goats for their meat, horn and hooves, as well as their woolly skins. They would hunt mountain sheep for their spiral horns. Most men would leave the mountains and return to low-elevation riverside villages when word came that the fall run of coho salmon was underway." (1, "Natural Resources> Focal Landscapes and Species")

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:

"No early writer gives us an adequate estimate of the Cowlitz population before strange diseases began their ravages. Native information must therefore be relied on. From one of the few survivors was obtained, along with a full list of the villages and their location, a careful estimate of the number of houses in each settlement. The result is surprising, indicating a total of four hundred and forty-five houses, or a minimum population of more than six thousand. It is safe to say that prior to about 1830 there were four thousand people on the Cowlitz river, though it must be said that a few of the villages near its mouth were partly inhabited by Chinookan people married to Cowlitz. The ethnologist Gibbs, who made his observations in 1853 and later, supposed that the maximum number of Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis was four thousand, but at the time he wrote the Cowlitz were rapidly approaching extinction." (3, page 5)

"Cowlitz aboriginal territory encompasses 2.4 million acres. The towns of Kelso (Tiahanakshih), Olequa (Kamatsih), and Toledo (Tawamiluhawihl), Washington are built on original Cowlitz village sites." (6 "Cowlitz Tribe")

"'Governor George Simpson reported in 1829 regarding natives living on the northern bank of the Columbia: "The country is densely inhabited … much greater than any other part of North America I have visited … the shores are actually lined with Indian lodges.' It is possible that Simpson saw Chinook villages, because the Chinook lived on the north bank of the Columbia, while the Cowlitz lived back from the Columbia River about a half-mile or so. It was reported that there were approximately 50,000 Cowlitz Indians living at that time." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

"Although ethnically unified as a tribal unit by geography, intermarriage and customs, the Cowlitz people are divided into two main groups-the Taidnapam, or Upper Cowlitz, and the Lower Cowlitz. Speaking Salishan like many of their neighbors in the 1800s the more populous Lower Cowlitz occupied 30 villages dotting the Cowlitz River from present-day Mossyrock southward to within a mile or two of the Columbia River." (8, "The Dispossessed")

Density: 50,000 Cowlitz (from 9 "Inside the Longhouse") /2.4 million acres (from 6 "Cowlitz Tribe") = .02083 Cowlitz per acre

Mean Village size: 445 houses (from 3. Page 5)/30 villages (from 8 "The Dispossessed) = 14.83 houses per village

Mean village population: 14.83 houses x 90 people per house (figure is mean of 80-100 people per house, statistic from 9 "Inside the Longhouse") = 1335 people per village

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

"Some of the more common roots that were gathered include: camas, wild potatoes, wild carrots, sunflower roots, and wild onion. There was an abundant growth of berries: three kinds of the huckleberry – blue, purple, and red; the blackberry, raspberry, thimble-berry, gooseberry, service-berry, salmon berry, sahlalberry, and the Oregon grape; the wild cherry and hazel-nut were also gathered.

The camas is a member of the wild lily family. It was the sweetener in their diet. It smells like vanilla, and tastes like brown/maple sugar. It can be made into molasses. It appears to be starchy, but it has no starch. It contains insulin, and affects action in the pancreas. It maintains the blood sugar level and avoids diabetes. It was a very important part of the ancient Cowlitz diet." (10, "Berries, Salmon, Elk)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

The Cowlitz fished for Salmon in the river and hunted large game in the forest for meat.

"The Cowlitz lived on streams and were good fishermen. They were also good hunters who followed the dear at all seasons. Salmon was the tribe's principal food, while venison was the principal flesh food. Elk were easily driven at the season when they herded and a single hunter would pursue the elk with the aid of two or three dogs. Besides deer and elk, they hunted bear, the big horn mountain goat, beaver, mountain beaver, and raccoon. Much of the meat would be dried for winter." (10, "Berries, Salmon, Elk")

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

Cowlitz used bows and arrows and spears for warfare and hunting/fishing, it is also probable that the Cowlitz used axes and knives as weapons.

"In 1847 artist Paul Kane sketched several burial canoes with the deceased's valuables therein: shell money, coins, beads, rings, colorful cloth strips, blankets, baskets, kettles, horn bowls and spoons, bows and arrows, paddles, spears and horn picks. Such was the equipment souls would need on their journey to the spirit world." (8, "the Dispossessed")

2.4 Food storage:

The Cowlitz would dry and preserve the berries and roots that they dug up, as well as the fish they caught and meat they hunted to provide sustenance in the winter. They would store their food in woven baskets.

"Besides deer and elk, they hunted bear, the big horn mountain goat, beaver, mountain beaver, and raccoon. Much of the meat would be dried for winter…They put the berries on cedar and maple mats, crisscrossed strips on poles over the fire. Berry juice sluiced

down into the fire producing more with which to dry and flavor the berries. Dried by fire and sun, preserved from worms by smoke the berries were put into Cowlitz root baskets, lined with maple leaves, and stored for winter." (10, "Berries, Salmon, Elk, and Camas")

2.5 Sexual division of production:

"The gathering of vegetal foods and supplies formed another important part of the aboriginal economy. While hunting and fishing were typical male enterprises, the gathering of vegetal products was primarily a feminine task. During the springtime, women went to the open prairies to dig and dry roots."(11, "We made Spears from Elk Horn")

2.6 Land tenure:

Historically: "The Cowlitz comprised about thirty settlements distributed along Cowlitz river from its junction with the Columbia to a point a few miles east of the Willamette meridian, a distance of forty to fifty miles……..The Cowlitz never entered into a treaty with the United States, but the remnant was settled on the Puyallup reservation." (3, page 5)

Currently:

After many years of land disputes with the US Federal Government, the Indian Claims Commission "decided that the United States government had indeed deprived the Cowlitz Tribe *"of its aboriginal Indian title as of March 20, 1863, without payment of any compensation therefore."* (25 Indian Claims Commission at 451-452). The total area of Cowlitz territory recognized by the Commission was 1.66 million acres - about two-thirds of the actual aboriginal territory. The settlement offered by the U.S. was fifty cents for each acre taken" (6, "Cowlitz Tribe")

"The Cowlitz Tribe is a growing force in community building in what are now Clark, Cowlitz, Lewis and parts of Pierce, Skamania and Wahkiakum Counties, a vast territory occupied by numerous Cowlitz villages prior to non-Cowlitz exploration and seizure." (1, "Welcome to Cowlitz Country")

2.7 Ceramics:

No ceramics, only woven baskets.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

In order to advance in the class/rank system of the Cowlitz, one had to be generous with their wealth.

"Achievement of a high status or a prestigious position involves behaving properly, not simply knowing how to behave properly winning spirit powers, being generous, kind and industrious so that wealth in a variety of forms, will simply "come to you"." (14, page 22)

"Some of the advice she was given was … She should share what she had with people, especially food and not be greedy." (14, page 26)

2.9 Food taboos:

"And, again, they have divinities presiding over certain special interests, such as the run of fish and the like. The heart of the salmon must never be given to a dog to be eaten, as on account of his base nature it would be an act of impurity, which would provoke the disfavor of the god presiding over the destinies of the salmon, and would cause a failure of the season's run of fish. The first salmon caught in the spring season must never be dressed or cooked until after the sun dips below the horizon in the west—everything is got in readiness for the feast, but all must wait until the sun disappears.

When the species of wild raspberry, which abounds in the coast region of Oregon and Washington, first ripens in the spring, the salmon, when caught., are laid with their heads pointing up stream, and then a berry of this variety is placed in the mouth of each fish, to remain there, however, for only a limited space of time, and hence the name of salmon berry, which it now universally bears. From the observance of this ceremony the early traders on the Columbia River, who witnessed the same, gave the berry that name. This rite, however, is only a propitiatory offering to the divine influences which are supposed to control the migration of the salmon." (16, page 259)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

The Cowlitz use canoes for travel as well as warfare, they travel on rivers and in the ocean.

"An important means of transportation was their blunt-nosed canoe, designed to go over rapids. The Cowlitz were experts in felling the red cedar with fire and stone tools, and in shaping the dugout to about a three-quarter- inch thickness. They then steamed it to widen the sides. These dugouts were used to traverse the dangerous and often tree-blocked Cowlitz River, which in its old bed was much faster and deeper than now. Early settler Ezra Meeker described how easily Cowlitz boatmen skimmed the water "with astonishing rapidity."" (8, "The Dispossessed")

"Tribal members…..join costal tribes in "Canoe Journeys" on major waterways." (1, "Welcome to Cowlitz Country")

"As Alexander McKay, Ovid Montigny and three Indian paddlers headed up the Cowlitz River, they were confronted with 20 canoes of Cowlitz Indians intent on war with the village of Chinookan Skilloots at the mouth of the river. The battle was averted by negotiations." (8, "The Dispossessed")

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Historical Quantitative data is sparse, anecdotal evidence about some notable individuals exists, suggesting that men were probably around 6ft tall:

"Something of the Cowlitz's economic and political organization before the flu epidemic can be learned from the life of **Chief Schanewa**, reputed to be one of the most powerful chiefs in the lower Columbia District. **Six feet tall** and an excellent hunter, the chief had seven wives through whom he made alliances with many other villages and tribes." (8, "the Dispossessed")

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

There are no historical measurements for the Cowlitz adult weights for either males or females.

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

There is no evidence recording this event in the life history of the Cowlitz.

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

The Cowlitz Flood Myth has a 16 year old girl watching over numerous children (symbolic of a mother?), so it could be possible that women would be married and reproducing by this time in their lives. No other evidence quantifies the ages at which the Cowlitz first married.

"They then put one of their finest young braves and a young woman of sixteen summers in the canoe to watch over and care for the children." (15, page 134)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

Cowlitz (immediate) families that have been recorded in kin-network charts show between 3 and 6 children in addition to the parents but there is a note that "All descendants in large families are not portrayed". (14, pages126-7, 131-32)

Cowlitz extended families could be much larger, according to Roy Wilson's description of families and their longhouses:
"Each longhouse may accommodate 80-100 people. It was not uncommon for these longhouses to be 100 feet long. One on the Northwest coast was known to be 900 feet in length and nearly 100 feet wide. Each longhouse sheltered all of the living members of an extended family of several generations." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

No evidence records the inter-birth-intervals of the Cowlitz.

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

The Cowlitz Flood Myth has a 16 year old girl and a "young brave" watching over numerous children (symbolic of a mother and father?), so it could be possible that women would be married and reproducing by this time in their lives. No other evidence quantifies the ages at which the Cowlitz first married.

"They then put one of their finest young braves and a young woman of sixteen summers in the canoe to watch over and care for the children." (15, page 134)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

There were no reports of divorces among the Cowlitz from the reading.

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

Polygyny is practiced among the Cowlitz, anecdotal evidence suggests that Cowlitz chiefs have multiple wives (one powerful chief had seven wives) in order to make alliances with neighbors.

"Something of the Cowlitz's economic and political organization before the flu epidemic can be learned from the life of Chief Schanewa, reputed to be one of the most powerful chiefs in the lower Columbia District. Six feet tall and an excellent hunter, the chief had seven wives through whom he made alliances with many other villages and tribes. Evidence indicates that he possessed exemplary portions of determination, persuasiveness, courage and benevolence - characteristics expected in headmen whose influence among peers stemmed from good judgment more than from power. … In the decades following the war the Cowlitz were pressured by settlers to be monogamous in their marriages" (8, "the Dispossessed")

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

Often, the Upper and Lower Cowlitz would trade men and women (spouses) for food items or valuables.

"Although the pattern was for Cowlitz men to marry Sahaptin women, Cowlitz women were known to marry Taidnapam men. 'They gave a woman or a man to the Taidnapam in exchange for food; though they were ashamed to trade for food instead of for valuables' (Jacobs 1934) or wealth items such as baskets." (14, page 72)

"A first marriage especially for those of high status required an exchange of goods between the two families with the groom's family giving somewhat more than the brides. Subsequent marriages might be arranged by the groom himself and required less in the way of goods. Exchanges of food continued between the two families thereafter." (19, 511)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

Among the Cowlitz, primogeniture is the rule.

"Low class people could be the non-illustrious, or they could be a younger sibling who, because of a rule of primogeniture, did not receive the hereditary privileges that could be displayed at the summer potlatch. … The area practiced primogeniture as a system of inheritance." (14, page 26, 27)

Inheritance among the Cowlitz was not limited to men; women could inherit from their mothers.

"Women were expert weavers of cedar baskets, an important wealth item, and rivaled the Klickitat in prestige as well as in the quality of their product. Women owned the basket designs from whom their daughters could inherit the privilege. Designs were often inspired by visions in religious experiences and dreams. Cedar bark could also be used to make string, rope, mats and clothing." (14, page 79)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

No record of notable parent-offspring conflict, parents would teach their offspring necessary skills and how to behave in a high-class way.

"Grandparents, parents aunts, uncles, or any elder were responsible for the education of upper class children who resided in the same community house. … An upper class girl was educated by a female elder how to walk, sit, and stand correctly. She was told moralistic stories meant to illustrate wrong actions that could occur in the present and would serve as guidelines or [f]or future decisions." (14, page 25)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

No historical record of the attitudes toward homosexuals among the Cowlitz.

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

Exogamy appears to be the theme.

Cowlitz were known to marry whites as well as other Native American people from other tribes, including the Chinook and Upper Chehalis (3, page 6)

"When the hop fields opened near Olequa, whole families worked and played in that country-fair atmosphere on the Cowlitz River. As in the past, they intermarried with members of other tribes and with whites." (8, "The Dispossessed")

"Women from the interior were "eager" (Ray 1966) to marry men on the coast to share their riches. … Exogamous marriage relations in the area were related to wealth and prestige because such marriages extended a family's food-getting privileges or resources (Snyder 1964:74)" (14, pages 75-76)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?

There seems to be no evidence that the Cowlitz believe that paternity is partible, no evidence seems to indicate that the Cowlitz recognized any "other fathers" besides a child's actual father.

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")

The traditional Cowlitz belief about the mother's role in procreation is not discussed in the literature.

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

There is no evidence to suggest this among the Cowlitz.

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

Only anecdotal evidence of rape occurred in 1811 by Iroquois working for the Pacific Fur company who "forced themselves on Cowlitz women".

"The second engagement between the Cowlitz and non-Indians took place after the North West Company, which had bought out the Pacific Fur Company in 1813, sent trappers and hunters, including Iroquois Indians, up the Cowlitz River. Problems began in 1818 after the Iroquois forced themselves on Cowlitz women. In the ensuing conflict one Iroquois died and two others were wounded." (8, "the Dispossessed")

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

Cousin marriage was discouraged, it is preferential that spouses be unrelated and wealthier (or nearly as wealthy), allowing the person marrying to grow in prestige.

"Nearly all Indian people on both sides of the mountains were bilingual, and some were trilingual, because of the practice of exogamy in bilateral kin groups which frowned on cousin marriage." (14, page 77)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

It does not seem so if they are married. Evidence suggests that a husband will have an older female relative chaperone his wives if they travel any great distance. However, other sources describe Coast Salish Indians (perhaps not Cowlitz) as being licentious and ready to "participate in that destructive commerce", even if she held a prestigious position in the community.

"A young woman of extraordinary personal beauty, a daughter of the chief family of the Cathelametts. She had recently been purchased, or espoused, by the heir-apparent of the Cowlitz Chief. She seemed to be indifferent to the life around her, and shortly after was, presumably, the cause of tribal war. She was permitted a few weeks later to pay a visit to her own tribe, accompanied by an old woman of her husband's. They both joined a part of the women of her tribe in a wapato gathering expedition. The old duenna did not return-her body was found next day near the wapato beds, horribly mutilated by a knife murder. The natural fruit of the Chinooks polity of marriage. A short tribal war resulted." (18, page 311)

"As to the licentious intercourse between the sexes, the natives were ready and sought opportunity to participate in the destructive commerce. And their customs, which were their only laws, left womanhood —especially widowhood— an outcast, where she was not held as a slave. It was a fact well known to pioneers yet living that a woman of bright, kindly disposition, of natural intelligence, which made her a natural leader of her sex, who was in 1840 the honored wife of the chief of one of the strongest coast tribes, and as such styled a queen by some writers, was in 1845 a leader and guide of native prostitutes, who watched and followed ships entering the Columbia from the time they crossed the bar in until they crossed out. And between opportunities of this kind, she went from camp to camp of white settlers on the Lower Columbia, thus seeking trade without the least sign of shame." (18, page 298)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

No evidence supports this among the Cowlitz.

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

With so many relatives around the child, it seems likely that if a mother would die other elder relatives (aunts, uncles, grandparents) would raise the child.

"Grandparents, parents aunts, uncles, or any elder were responsible for the education of upper class children who resided in the same community house. … An upper class girl was educated by a female elder how to walk, sit, and stand correctly. She was told moralistic stories meant to illustrate wrong actions that could occur in the present and would serve as guidelines or [f]or future decisions." (14, page 25)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

No historical data on this is subject available

4.22 Evidence for couvades

No Evidence for Couvades.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

None is specified

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

Cowlitz are constantly surrounded by kin, but since exogamy is the rule, they do not interbreed.

4.24 Joking relationships?

"Some larger villages might also have individuals who acted as jokers or buffoons, also a nonhereditary position (Swan ¡857:265; Olson 1936: 96—97)." (19, 511)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

Bilateral, Cowlitz traced their descent through both their parents' lineages in order to associate themselves with a high-class, powerful, and prestigious individual.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

With whole extended families living in the same longhouse (9, "Inside the Longhouse) and village exogamy practiced, it seems likely and natural that incest should be avoided in the Cowlitz tribe; however no evidence seems to clarify the subject either way.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

There appears to be a Cowlitz ceremony, but none of the literature describes it in detail. "Today the 2,700 enrolled members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe continue Indian observances related to child-rearing, religion and food, especially salmon. Many still fish and hunt. Some follow Indian practices in rituals, weddings and burials."

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

From looking at lineages, it seems that the Cowlitz were named for their ancestors (often fathers and grandfathers) (14, pages126-7, 131-32)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

Generally marriage was preferred to be outside the community for both sexes, exogamy was the rule, with women marrying and moving into her husband's village often from another tribe or language family.

"Marriage is recognized as a contract between two families; in theory, the upper class families insisted upon village exogamy, in order to extend their contacts and influence to other village groups." (14, page 26)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

Marriages seem to be arranged by family members in order to gain family prestige, wealth, and food-gathering rights.

"Marriage is recognized as a contract between two families … in order to extend their contacts and influence to other village groups. ... Exogamous marriage relations in the area were related to wealth and prestige because such marriages extended a family's food-getting privileges or resources (Snyder 1964:74)" (14, page 26, 75-6)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

There are not stated examples, but it seems likely that a family would be opposed to a woman marrying below her class or a man marrying in a way that might decrease the family's wealth or prestige.

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

Historical data is unavailable. Some sources assert that the Cowlitz were a peace loving people, while others say they were warlike. There is anecdotal evidence for Cowlitz participating in warfare with other tribes (but not war with the US Government), but no quantitative figures. (8, 12, 14)

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

Evidence suggests that the Cowlitz did not generally fight amongst themselves, but this did not stop them from raiding, enslaving, or making war with other tribes.

"The fact is that the Lower Cowlitz mixed with the Upper Cowlitz in the same way that fellow tribesmen always do. Their social and economic welfare demanded that it be so. There were minor sub-cultural differences in living patterns, but these were never the occasion for anything more than an interested comment. In an area generally lacking in inter-tribal conflict, it is perhaps unnecessary to say that there is no history or tradition of internecine war." (12, "Where and How")

"They have been called the blue bloods of southwest Washington, yet they were also known as warlike. One of the earliest accounts describes their swoop downriver to attack a Chinookan village at the mouth of the Cowlitz. Another account describes the unsuccessful effort of war chief Wieno and others to take slaves from a village on Vancouver Island. … As Alexander McKay, Ovid Montigny and three Indian paddlers headed up the Cowlitz River, they were confronted with 20 canoes of Cowlitz Indians intent on war with the village of Chinookan Skilloots at the mouth of the river." (8, "The Dispossessed")

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

> "As Alexander McKay, Ovid Montigny and three Indian paddlers headed up the Cowlitz River, they were confronted with 20 canoes of Cowlitz Indians intent on war with the village of Chinookan Skilloots at the mouth of the river. The battle was averted by negotiations." … "Problems began in 1818 after the Iroquois forced themselves on Cowlitz women. In the ensuing conflict one Iroquois died and two others were wounded. Not realizing that his men were the aggressors, James Keith, the chief trader, sent Peter Skene Ogden to punish the Cowlitz. Only with some persuasion did Ogden convince his Cowlitz guide, Chief How How, to lead him to the right village. Once there, the Iroquois, acting against orders, massacred 13 men, women and children, scalping three before they could be stopped. The incident temporarily halted the company's hunting and trapping on the Cowlitz River." (8, "the Dispossessed")

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

> "A few of the villages near its mouth [Cowlitz River] were partially inhabited by Chinookan people married to Cowlitz". The Cowlitz routinely intermarried with the Chinookan people. (3, page 5)
> "Upper Chehalis - Closely related to the Cowlitz in speech and in customs were the people living on Chehalis River and its affluents from Satsop River to the vicinity of the present town of Chehalis, Washington. These were known as the Kwaiyaiihlk. In 1853 they numbered, according to Gibbs, only about two hundred, and were becoming fused with the Cowlitz." The Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis had so much contact that the upper Chehalis not only adopted many Cowlitz Customs but were being assimilated into the Cowlitz culture. (3, page 6)

4.18 Cannibalism?

There do not appear to be incidents of cannibalism among the Cowlitz, except for a myth about Mosquito, a very dangerous person who kills people and drinks their blood that is killed by the Cowlitz.

> "Mosquito
> Once in the long ago time Mosquito was a very dangerous person. He would attack people and kill them by drinking their blood. One day he was paddling his canoe up the river, and as he was passing a village, the people who saw him called out to him, inviting him to come and eat with them. They did not recognize who he really was. He called back, asking them what they had for dinner, and they answered, "Rabbit stew." He answered, "Oh, no, that will burn me," and he quickly paddled on.
>
> He passed another village and refused their invitation. He passed a third village and they also invited him to dinner, but when they told him they were having duck stew, he became very angry and would not even answer them, and he paddled very fast to get away from there. He was passing another village, and the men there recognized who he really was. They called out to him, inviting him to dinner. When he asked what they were having, they answered, "Blood soup." He was very excited, and quickly accepted.
>
> As he was paddling his canoe toward the shore, this large group of men quickly cut themselves and drained some of their blood into a large bowl. When he arrived they fed

him first. They gave him bowl after bowl until he was so big and fat he could not move. Then they killed the dangerous one. He called back to them, begging to be allowed to come back, but they said they would only allow him to come back if he agreed to be a very small being who did not have the power to kill them, but instead be only a pest. And that is how we know Mosquito today." (15, page 135)

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

"Typically for the central Northwest Coast, the winter village was the largest organized sociopolitical unit. The "tribe," consisting of people who shared at least one language and lived in a certain winter territory, had no distinguishable social cohesion. If each house in a village held, on average, four nuclear families, and a village consisted of one to perhaps 10 houses, a winter village might well be as small as 2.5 people or perhaps as large as 300. Reports of larger settlements may indicate sites for fishing or other activities for which large numbers of people gathered during warmer weather or may date from post-treaty times (Curtis 1907—1930, 9:5—6, 172—173;T.C. Elliott 1912:206—207; Oison 1936:89, 93)." (19, 511)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

The Cowlitz live in longhouses in the winter and then construct temporary shelters during the summer when they harvest berries and tubers or if they find a favorable hunting spot.

"The permanent winter villages contained the great cedar-planked longhouses. About the first of May they abandoned these permanent winter villages and erected mat lodges on the prairies of the same type as their cedar-plank longhouses. Two months later, having harvested and either cooked or dried their roots, they moved up into the hills where the berries grew abundantly. These summer camps were occupied for weeks at a time at the major resource locations with hundreds of people gathering for short periods of time." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

The Cowlitz political system relied on wealth and prestige classes, with the most able people in these classes occupying leadership positions as chiefs.

"Smith suggests that there was practically no inherited social stratification, but there was a definite stratification of social position. Ability was said to run in families, but individuals who held positions of respect and authority were those who fitted perfectly with the preconceived ideas for what those positions required. … Prestige and authority could be invested in men who were good hunters or fishermen, those who had good technical skills, or they were warriors and political leaders. Leaders and warriors with outstanding abilities to produce wealth, through their own efforts, and then with a growing reputation for leadership abilities, were able to procure tribute from others in the

form of wealth goods. A great leader would be someone who could procure and accumulate wealth without any apparent effort on his part.

Influential men had established reputations. They were not young men since they had to establish a reputation through a number of life achievements. Prestige meant that a number of people were willing to support his endeavors, would speak to his ability and reputation, and give safe conduct if the situation demanded. Consequently, age and a large kin group would not distinguish a man from any other but individual differences would; it was these that became "solidified in the social standard" (14, 24-25)

"The Cowlitz Indian Tribe has a long and vigorous political history. An important part of that history is the evolution from a strong system of chiefs, to an elective presidential system in the early 20th century; and a constitutional elective Tribal Council system after 1950. Chief How-How (Circa 1815), Chief Kiscox (Circa 1850), Chief Umtux (Circa 1850), Chief Scanewa (Circa 1855), Chief Richard Scanewa (Circa 1860) and Chief Antoine Stockum [Atwin Stokum] (1878) led the Cowlitz in the 19th century. Twentieth century figures include Chief Baptiste Kiona (1912), President Dan Plamondon (1921), President John Ike Kinswa (1922), Chairman John B. Sareault (Circa 1925), Chairman Jas. E. Sareault (Circa 1930), Chairman Manual L. Forrest (1950), Chairman Joseph Cloquet (1959), Chairman Clifford Wilson (1961) and Chairman Roy Wilson (1974)" (6, "Cowlitz Tribe")

5.4 Post marital residence:

"The preferred residence after marriage, especially for the high class people, was patrilocal." (14, page 27)

5.5 Territoriality? (Defined boundaries, active defense):

According to some scholars, the Cowlitz and other Northwest Pacific Indians didn't have strict tribal territories or hunting/gathering grounds.

"The concept of defining sharp boundaries in order to set off the territory of one group from that of another is typical of Anglo-Americans, but it is a foreign concept to Native Americans. They had loosely defined use areas, and the territory of one group would often heavily overlap with those of others. The white man needs boundaries in order to draw his maps, but Native Americans never held the concept of being able to say that anyone owns a part of the Earth Mother. She owns us. Numerous different groups might be together in one huckleberry patch." (13, "The Long View")

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (Age and sex):

Elders would instruct the children in the community in the ways that one should act; evidence suggests that females received instruction predominantly from female elders. The same could be true of males, though the literature doesn't make that clear.

"Grandparents, parents aunts, uncles, or any elder were responsible for the education of upper class children who resided in the same community house. … An upper class girl was educated by a female elder how to walk, sit, and stand correctly. She was told

moralistic stories meant to illustrate wrong actions that could occur in the present and would serve as guidelines or [f]or future decisions." (14, page 25)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization:

Villages were made up of cedar longhouses in which many families of Cowlitz would stay.

"The size of a longhouse was known by its number of fires. Each cooking fire would accommodate two families, one family on each side of the longhouse; hence, a five-fire longhouse could accommodate 10 families, and a nine-fire longhouse could accommodate 18 families.
Each longhouse may accommodate 80-100 people. It was not uncommon for these longhouses to be 100 feet long. One on the Northwest coast was known to be 900 feet in length and nearly 100 feet wide. Each longhouse sheltered all of the living members of an extended family of several generations." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

There do not appear to be specialized structures besides the Longhouse among the Cowlitz.

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?:

The Cowlitz slept in beds near the walls of their shelters.

"Beds were placed along the outside walls of the house. They were double-deck affairs, made of boards which somewhat resembled a Pullman's berth. There was usually a space between the bed and the outer wall where the sleeper kept his/her valuables in a box or woven basket. Their clothing was also kept in these boxes or woven baskets. The bed "springs" consisted of split planks. These were softened by the use of numerous furs laid on top of these boards. Furs were also used for blankets. These furs were softly tanned and were taken from the mountain lion, the bear, and other animals of the forest. The wealthy could afford the furs of the sea otter. These furs were a great nesting place for fleas and other insects, but the Cowlitz had the powerful hellebore root which kept their beds free from these pests." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

"Pacific Northwest Indians grouped themselves more by family networks and villages than by tribe." (8, "the Dispossessed")

"Cowlitz genealogy charts show lineal descent of Cowlitz members from well before treaty time in 1855. Most can trace their descent to 1820 and at least to 1843, a few to about 1790. Cowlitz descendants can lay claim to ancestors who were pure native, and certainly of what we now know to be the Cowlitz locale, affiliation and culture in an indigenous or primal sense. … These kin network charts- in form and content – are typical for Coast Salish people whether they live on a reservation or not. They show how

tribes are built up through daughters and sons, and their spouses who are descendants of certain men and women.

Some of the men are key figures as they are high ranking individuals who gained prominence in their own time. Having one or more of these prominent individuals in your genealogy allows you to make claims to greatness and thus to high-class status and prestige." (14, page 124)

5.12 Trade:

The Cowlitz readily traded with other tribes in their area, as well as whites when they arrived.

"The Cowlitz had the largest open prairies of all the Western Washington tribes; consequently, they had an abundance of the camas. These camas tubers were dug up with a digging stick. Other tribes could be observed traveling up the Cowlitz River in their canoes trading with the Cowlitz for their camas." (10, "Berries, Salmon, Elk, and Camas")

"Trade goods included slaves, horses, dried camas and wapato roots, dried berries and meats, hides and furs, including the highly valued mountain goat hair that was woven into blankets, and wool dog hair used for the same purpose. Also prized were the Cowlitz women's water-tight baskets, thought by some specialists to be the most "perfect imbricated baskets with more stitches in the same space and also more beautiful designs" than baskets anywhere else." (8, "the Dispossessed")

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

Heavy indication of social hierarchies, Cowlitz ideology is that they were the highest class of Northwest Pacific Indians, and even among the Cowlitz there was a high and low class, based on behavior, wealth, and prestige.

"In some areas of the Coast, we know how the ethnic divisions were worked out with respect to rank: from the lower Chinook to the Wishram, a Klatskaine chief was considered lower than a Kathlament, but higher than a Clackamas and upriver people were lower. Lower Chinook have higher rank than Whishram and birthplace is prominent in making distinctions. Wealthy communities were downstream or west; these were the foci toward which the less wealthy people traveled, and the lower and costal river permitted larger population densities." (14, page 76)

"Coast Salish people had two distinct social groups, free and slaves; the latter were often war captives, debtors or criminals. The free group had two subclasses one of which is more prestigious than the other, but without the gross or "essential" differences that divide the upper from the lower strata in contemporary American society." (14, page 23)

"In assigning status to people, the Coast Salish mingle ascribed and achieved criteria, and their system involves two opposed categories. These are class membership and individual rank. The class system of nobles and low class "no accounts" emphasizes ascribed criteria. These include socialization of children to proper demeanor and conduct such as behaving with dignity, studied humility, restraint as well as willing to be a

generous adult. Behavioral traits such as these are said to reveal a person's ancestry and are then the result of being born into a high class family. A high class person… is supposed to have evidence in his or her genealogy that members of their family have been important people, and they are, consequently, of noble birth. Other criteria related to ascription are instruction in private knowledge or "advice" by elder high class relatives, particularly, in how to go about getting a prestige power or at least recognizing the experience if it comes unsought, having a high ranking father, and if a male, continuing to reside in the village of his birth after marriage.

Achievement of a high status or a prestigious position involves behaving properly, not simply knowing how to behave properly winning spirit powers, being generous, kind and industrious so that wealth in a variety of forms, will simply "come to you". … The high class group in Coast Salish societies is larger than the lower class. The ranks appear, however, to be fluid: a basis that seems to carry the underlying message for how the system works. Striving for prestige is one facet of the shifting statuses so that neither group should get too large." (14, page 22-23)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

A great deal of time seems to be devoted to finding and earning spirit powers, and during the winter, RCR appears to have been one of the prominent ways to spend time, especially in the evening.

"Story-telling and ceremonials occupied their winter evenings." (8, "The Dispossessed")

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

The Cowlitz have both shamans and medicine men, but these could be the same thing, just given different names by various people who study the group.

"In the decades following the war the Cowlitz were pressured by settlers to be monogamous in their marriages; to forego using sweat houses and flattening their newborns' heads; and to quit relying on medicine men" (8, "the Dispossessed")

"The shaman was supposed to possess one or more *sqəl'alitut* powers as well as the *xudab* since the latter alone would contribute to the ambiguity and is not sufficient for a person to gain prestige. The wealth or *sqəl'alitut* power is supposed to make its owner very good at what he does as well as be kind and generous and aid him in controlling his potential for evil. … A shaman could, after all, gain eminence through his or her healing abilities, and his power could be used to temper the boasting of an occasionally intemperate high class person. He could strive for prestige in his profession by knowing how to do ceremonies." (14, page 33)

6.2 Stimulants:

No evidence of stimulants, trance states appear to be induced without the aid of stimulants.

"The doctor manipulates his assistant until he has him mesmerized; also the baton, which is in a continuous state of agitation; he then places himself in a trance state, meanwhile keeping up a vigorous chant, and they start on their excursion to the shadowy shores." (16, page 260)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

Passage rituals for adolescent Cowlitz involved "fasting quests" where a person could find their spirit power.

"The name Cowlitz means "seeker" in a spiritual sense, according to some Cowlitz living today. Place Names of Washington also spells the name as "Ta-wa-l-litch," which meant "capturing the medicine spirit," referring to the Cowlitz practice of sending their youths to the river's prairies to seek their tomanawas, or spirit power. … In search of tomanawas, or spirit power, Cowlitz youths reaching adolescence went on fasting quests seeking visions of a spirit guide, guardian, or helper in such undertakings as hunting, fishing, felling trees, shaping canoes, making baskets or healing the sick." (8, "the Dispossessed")

6.4 Other rituals:

"During winter ceremonies dancers pounded their long carved sticks upon the floor and ceiling while singing their tomanawas songs. The main purpose of the tomanawas ceremony, said James Swan, was religious. Participants sought to avert evil and assure a supply of food for ongoing life. Through all their senses they also "tuned in" for physical and spiritual survival." (8, "the dispossessed")

6.5 Myths (Creation):

"The Flood Story: Once, in the long ago time, the Great-Chief-of-the-Above told the tribal Holy Man to tell the people that a great flood was coming. The men were instructed to look for the largest cedar tree that they had ever seen. It was to be the largest canoe that they could possibly make. Some of the women were to go to their basket trees and gather enough cedar bark to make the biggest and longest rope they had ever seen. The other women were to prepare much food: smoked salmon, dried berries, and many other foods.

The men finished building the great canoe. The women placed all of the food they had prepared in the canoe. The men took the rope the women had made and attached one end to the canoe and the other end to a very large rock near the edge of the river.

It began to rain, and they placed all of the children into the great canoe. They then put one of their finest young braves and a young woman of sixteen summers in the canoe to watch over and care for the children.

The rain continued to fall and the river overflowed its banks. The canoe began to float on the floodwaters. Soon the lower hills were covered with water. Finally only Lawelatla (Mount St. Helens) could be seen. In time even she disappeared under the waters of the flood. The canoe tugged on the long rope the women had made, which was attached to the large rock far below.

One day, one of the children cried, “Look, there is another canoe!” They could all see a tiny speck in the distance. The thought of seeing other people made them feel very good. The next day the other canoe seemed to be a little bit closer. At least it was a tiny bit larger, but the following day they realized that it was not a canoe. It was Lawelatla coming back into view.

When the waters finally receded, the canoe rested on the banks of what is known today as the Cowlitz River. And the children in that canoe became the ancestors of today’s Cowlitz Indian people.” (15, page 133-134)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

“In addition to trading, the Cowlitz avidly exchanged goods through games such as bone gambling, horse racing and "fairs or expositions," as Thomas Nelson Strong described their great competitive gatherings. The Cowlitz would race horses anywhere, said old-timer Melvin Core. Gambling games were an important and ancient social institution, explained Schanewa descendant Tanna Beebe. Gambling was a trial of superiority as well as an investment opportunity. Fairs and races were held near present-day Longview as well as on Cowlitz Prairie.” (8, “the Dispossessed”)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

In all of the literature, only males are mentioned performing religious ceremonies or rituals, while both sexes can find their *tamanawas*, it seems that the shamans or medicine men were predominantly male. Females are mentioned in one passage as having the potential to be a “medicine man” but every account describes any Cowlitz ritual being carried out by a man.

“Every person having a tamanawas is not necessarily a doctor or medicine man or woman, but every medicine man must have a tamanawas. These personal gods were not considered to possess equal attributes—some were supposed to be endowed with greater qualities than others.” (16, pages 259)

6.8 Missionary effect:

The Cowlitz had a Catholic Mission set up on their territory, but it did not have much of an effect on their beliefs or tribal practices. However, in the 1870s many Cowlitz joined the “Indian Shaker Church”.

“The inauguration of the Catholic Mission was in small part stimulated by the Cowlitz people’s interest. Although soon disillusioned, Father Blanchet was at first impressed by these "poor people [who] showed him a great desire to be enlightened. … The Catholic priests condemned them for laziness and unwillingness to plant their own potatoes as well as for their superstitions and reluctance to abandon traditional beliefs. … In the early 1870s, about the time the railroad was being completed through Cowlitz Corridor; many Cowlitz converted to the Indian Shaker church as a way to retain Indian values.” (8, “the Dispossessed”)

6.9 RCR revival:

The Cowlitz used to have pow-wows, then apparently stopped sometime after the Indian Wars, but in the last few years they have revived the pow-wow as well as other rituals.

"In the decades following the war the Cowlitz were pressured by settlers to be monogamous in their marriages; to forego using sweat houses and flattening their newborns' heads; and to quit relying on medicine men, going on spirit quests, holding pow-wows and speaking their own language." (8, "the Dispossessed")

The thirteenth annual Cowlitz Pow-wow is to be held on Sept 22, 2012 at Toledo High School (1, "Thirteenth Annual Cowlitz Pow Wow")

It also seems that some Cowlitz never stopped practicing their traditions, and some of those that did stop have begun to practice their heritage again.
"Today the 2,700 enrolled members of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe continue Indian observances related to child-rearing, religion and food, especially salmon. Many still fish and hunt. Some follow Indian practices in rituals, weddings and burials." (8, "The Dispossessed")

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

The Cowlitz would be buried in canoes with grave goods that would help them in the afterlife.

"Canoes or rectangular boxes set on platforms or into trees were also transport for the dead into the afterworld. In 1847 artist Paul Kane sketched several burial canoes with the deceased's valuables therein: shell money, coins, beads, rings, colorful cloth strips, blankets, baskets, kettles, horn bowls and spoons, bows and arrows, paddles, spears and horn picks. Such was the equipment souls would need on their journey to the spirit world."

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

"Before leaving Chief Kiscox's hospitable village on Cowlitz Prairie, Kane painted Caw-wacham holding her infant in its head-flattening ski' in, or cradle board. He was well aware that her reluctance to sit for him arose from the Cowlitz belief that such a portrait stole the soul. When he returned to the village two and a half months later and mentioned her name, no one would speak to him. He soon came to understand that she had died and in pronouncing her name he had been disrespectful and broken a taboo. He also knew that her relatives might seek vengeance, believing him to be the cause of her death." (8, "the Dispossessed")

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

None of the literature suggests this.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

"These Indians believed in one Supreme Being, the creator of all things, and they call him "Ecahnie." Then they have subordinate gods, and the principal one is "Talipas."

This divinity possessed some creative power, and he came among men to teach them ways of living, and in his travels he would assume the form of the coyote, hence his name (Tahipas being the name of the coyote). He taught the people the art of building canoes and of navigation, of making nets and seining for salmon, of building houses for their dwellings and all the various customs and rites which they observed. On account of his creative qualities his character is sometimes blended in with the Supreme Being, and at such times, in referring to him, they award him the title of Ecahnie.

The "Tamanawas" is a tutelary or guardian spirit or god who is supposed to see to the welfare of its subject and to give warning of approaching events of a portentous character. Every person having a tamanawas is not necessarily a doctor or medicine man or woman, but every medicine man must have a tamanawas. These personal gods were not considered to possess equal attributes—some were supposed to be endowed with greater qualities than others. Some individuals claimed that their gods could disturb the elements of nature; that is, could cause storms to arise, the lightning to flash and the thunders to rumble, and other disturbances as well.

These people believe in the immortality of the soul; they believe in a spirit life and in a spirit land; they believe that the spirit of other animals go to the spirit land as well as that of men. Their conception of the spirit land is quite beautiful and pleasing. There it is always spring or summer; the fields are perpetually green, flowers blooming, fruit ripening, and running waters diversify the scenery of the beautiful landscapes, with always an abundant supply of game, and of course the inhabitants are in a continuous state of felicity.

They believe that when a person becomes very sick the spirit leaves the body and seeks the shores of the spirit, land, and unless it is recaptured and returned to its original tenement, the person will of course surely die. In such cases the services of a skillful tamanawas doctor are engaged, and an assistant is furnished him to accompany him on his journey of discovery to the land of the (lead. The assistant is given a baton, ornamented in the upper part with plumes of birds and claws of beasts. The doctor manipulates his assistant until he has him mesmerized; also the baton, which is in a continuous state of agitation; he then places himself in a trance state, meanwhile keeping up a vigorous chant, and they start on their excursion to the shadowy shores. If they should be fortunate enough to find the absconding spirit, the doctor secures it and brings it back with him, oftentimes keeping it overnight, and restoring it to the patient the next day. Should the patient recover it is proof of the great powers of the doctor, but if, on the contrary, the patient pass away, it is evidence that the spirit ran away the second time.

They also believed in giants who possessed a more material nature, having the human form. These inhabited the recesses of the woods and devoured humankind as well as other animals. They name these giants "Cheatco." If a tree should happen to fall in calm weather as is often the case, it is at once attributed to the cheatco striking it down with his cane." (16, pages 258-261)

The Cowlitz also carved totems into the support beams of their longhouses

"A giant cedar tree was required to provide the ridge pole that held up the roof. The ridge pole was held up with house posts that were carved with the totems of the longhouse." (9, "Inside the Longhouses")

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

"Both sexes painted the face and the part in the hair especially for dancing. Black, red, and white paint were used for simple designs, with black favored by warriors and red by others. Both men and women tattooed rows of dots or lines on forearms and lower legs with charcoal, but only men tattooed the face." (19, 508)

7.2 Piercings:

"Apparently the nobility did have other physical characteristics such as pierced noses, ears, and flattened heads" (14, page 25)

7.3 Haircut:

"Men plucked out their beards, but hair was cut only during mourning." (19, 508)

7.4 Scarification:

Babies would have their heads flattened; this was done with a ski'in (cradle board).
"Before leaving Chief Kiscox's hospitable village on Cowlitz Prairie, Kane painted Caw-wacham holding her infant in its head-flattening ski' in, or cradle board. … In the decades following the war the Cowlitz were pressured by settlers to… forego… flattening their newborns' heads" (8, the dispossessed)

"In like manner, on imperfect information, a belief has become prevalent that the process of flattening the head of the babe is attended with great pain to the child. I find on careful inquiry that this is not so. It should be remembered that at birth the bones of the head of the child are extremely soft. When the babe has been properly trapped and fastened in its wooden cradle, a little bag, say four inches wide and eight inches long, filled with feathers or some other soft material, is placed longitudinally upon its forehead and bound on; it is then nursed to sleep. When it wakens, this, in due time, is taken off. This treatment is kept up for eight months or a year, some others continuing it longer than others. The child is always laid on its back during the treatment, and the weight of the feathers causes the head to flatten in its growth, and it is attended with no pain to the child." (16, page 258)

Interesting Social Benefit of Head-Flattening:
"The different tribes composing these people oftentimes made war upon each other, but they never made prisoners of each other for the purpose of enslavement. Within the limits of their territory no person having a flattened head was ever held as a slave. If any of these people should be so held by any outside tribe, no flathead would purchase him unless it was to ransom him that he might be given his liberty. This mark identified them rather as one people. Although several of these tribes speak an

entirely different and distinct language from any of the others, and are classed by scientific writers as belonging to different stock, yet I believe that for centuries past They were one people. Their custom of intermarriages would unavoidably lead to this." (16, page

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

The Cowlitz adorned themselves with feathers, ribbons, animal teeth, and animal furs.

"American navy lieutenant Charles Wilkes admired their "free and easy carriage on horseback" and their air of freedom, betokened by "[a] few ribbands and cock's feathers that . . gave them a flaunting kind of air, . . a species of self-esteem that was not unpleasing, and betokened independence and want of care, in good keeping with their mode of life." (8, "The Dispossessed)

"Besides deer and elk, they hunted bear, the big horn mountain goat, beaver, mountain beaver, and raccoon. Much of the meat would be dried for winter. The sinew would be saved for thread with which to sew the hides that were tanned. The teeth were saved for decoration, and the beaver fur for trim." (10, "Berries, Salmon, Elk")

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

Pictures of Cowlitz during their powwow suggest that ceremonial headdresses and robes (or gowns) are the ritual adornment of the Cowlitz Indians. (17, "Cowlitz Powwow")

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

"As was typical for the region, men generally went naked in summer, while women wore a knee-length skirt of shredded cedar bark. ¡n winter both sexes might add a fur or skin garment, varying from a single skin around the shoulder to an ankle-length robe. These were sometimes woven of dog wool … or of strips of rabbit or bird skins (Olson 1936:56; Adamson 1926—1927:8). Sea otter skins were limited to the wealthy. … For rain, both sexes might wear waterproof capes of cattail and other fibers (fig. 4), and women had cattail skirts (Jacobs 1934, 1:225; Olson 1936:57—58; Lander holm 1956:40)." (19, page 508)

"In 1845 … There was a village of the Cowlitz tribe on the south bank, below where Rainier now stands. The people looked poor, ill fed, and worse clothed. The chief had come to us in the stream to invite us to camp near, exhibiting a single fresh hen's egg as inducement. We did so, and visiting their camp had the first sight of life in a native fishing village. Some of the children were nearly naked. Though it was midwinter, the adult females, with one exception, were dressed in the native petticoat, or kilt, as second garment, the other being a chemise of what had been white cotton; one was engaged in the manufacture of cedar bark strings used in the formation of the kind of kilt she wore." (18, page 310)

7.8 Missionary effect:

After the Cowlitz became acculturated with the White American Society, many Cowlitz stopped dressing traditionally. This could possibly be due to missionary or settler influence.

"European clothing and items such as blankets were popular very early. By 1857 [19 years after the Catholic Mission was established in Cowlitz land] young people on Willapa Bay dressed mainly in European clothes (Swan 1857:154—155)." (19, 508)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

Some modern people who identify themselves as Cowlitz dress in their traditional dress, others do not.

“Let us go on with this topic a little further; these examples are the anomalies of ethnicity and serve to tell us why other models such as acculturation or the melting pot theory and assimilation didn’t explain what is happening on the ground. Does there have to be a feather in the frame for a Cowlitz to be accepted as Cowlitz or as an Indian? Barney referred to Norbert Bouchard, at his death, as a warrior and said they buried him with an eagle feather in his casket. I wonder what Bouchard would think since he make it clear to me he didn’t identify with any of the stereotyped Indian symbolism and found the string ties, Western dress, beadwork, and other Indian jewelry of the Cowlitz members, and especially the leaders, to be extremely annoying. He was a wonderful, outspoken individual who felt he didn’t need to “wear that stuff.” (14, page 67)

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system

The following type of kinship terminology was used throughout the Southwest Coast Salish tribes, including the Cowlitz.

"Kinship terms reflected the equal importance of maternal and paternal relatives. Quinault terms, the best documented are approximately Spier’s (1925:74) “Salish” type: sex of relatives was obligatorily expressed in the terms for all relatives older than the speaker but in none for those younger except son and daughter; parents but not grandparents were distinguished from their siblings; one’s own cousins were referred to by the same term is used for one’s siblings. Children were distinct from nephews and nieces, but grandchildren and grandnephews and grandnieces were called by a single term. Two terms, applying to either parents siblings, distinguished them by sex. Older and younger sibling-cousins were terminologically distinct. This set of terms, plus one meaning “by marriage,” was used for in-laws. A different set applied to certain relatives when they, or those connecting them to the speaker, had died (Elmendorf 1961a; Olson 1936:90—92)." (19, page 511)

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

“On the death of a spouse, the family of the deceased was expected to provide a replacement, and the surviving spouse was expected to accept the replacement.” (19, pages 511-512)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

See 8.1 above

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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