

THE DUWAMISH INDIANS AND THE MUCKLESHOOT
AND PORT MADISON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Barbara Lane

Report prepared for: Suquamish Indian Tribe
and Muckleshoot Indian Tribe

May 1988

CAUSE 9213 #85-1
PLAINTIFF
EXHIBIT
NO. SU-5A1-24
ADMITTED 5/9/89

THE DUWAMISH INDIANS AND THE MUCKLESHOOT
AND PORT MADISON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Barbara Lane

Introduction

This report has been prepared at the request of the Port Madison and Muckleshoot tribal councils. The two councils are interested in the history of Duwamish affiliation at their respective reservations. Both of these reservations were designated by the United States as homes for the Duwamish Indians and both reservation communities today are comprised in part of people who identify themselves as Duwamish or part Duwamish or whose ancestors were identified as Duwamish.

The native name which is now rendered as Duwamish originally designated the people living at Black River below the junction of Cedar River. The name Duwamish has been expanded in meaning to refer generally to those people who lived in the area which is now occupied by the city of Seattle and the town of Renton. In this report we use the term Duwamish to refer to people from settlements on Elliott Bay, from villages along the White (Duwamish) River below its former junction with the Green River, to people from the Black River and lower Cedar River and from villages on Lake Washington, Lake Union and at Shilshole (Salmon Bay). The name Duwamish has been used occasionally in a broader sense to encompass all those people living in the watershed of the Duwamish River and its tributaries (and former tributaries) the Cedar, Black, Green, White and Stuck

rivers, as well as those people living around Lake Union, Lake Washington and the Sammamish area. This usage serves as a shorthand label to distinguish people of this large drainage basin from people of the adjacent Snohomish and Puyallup basins.

People of the larger Duwamish drainage area shared a common language and culture. People from villages throughout the area intermarried, visited one another, and sometimes shared hunting and fishing areas, shellfish grounds and berrying places. People from villages at Elliott Bay and the lower reaches of the river system travelled upstream to the foothills of the Cascades on berrying, fishing and hunting expeditions. Upriver villagers came to the salt water to harvest shellfish and marine species. There was, however, no drainage area-wide political unity.

While all of these people were at times referred to as Duwamish, they were usually designated by local names which referred to the particular stream or locality in which their villages were located. The people living in villages along the Green River, for example, were referred to in English as Green River Indians or in the native language by a term referring to that locality.

The Duwamish Indians were a party to the Treaty of Point Elliott which was negotiated January 22, 1855 and ratified in 1859. For purposes of treaty-signing, all of the people of the larger watershed were subsumed under the name Duwamish. No separate reservation was established for the Duwamish under the Point Elliott treaty.

The Stevens treaty commission originally intended that all the people of the larger Duwamish watershed should move across the Sound to join the Suquamish on the Port Madison Reservation in Suquamish territory. The intent of the Stevens

treaty commission is clearly stated by George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as secretary of the commission, in a report written shortly after the Treaty of Point Elliott was negotiated. (The report was not published until much later.)

Below these is the division of which the Dwamish and Sukwamish are the principal bands, occupying Elliott Bay, Bainbridge Island, and a portion of the peninsula between Hood Canal and Admiralty Inlet. Their head chief is Se-aa-thl, or, as it is usually pronounced, Seattle, from whom the town on Elliott Bay has been named. In this connection are also the Samamish, Skopahmish, Sk'tehlmish, St'kamish, and other small bands lying on the lakes and the branches of the Dwamish River, who are claimed by the others as part of their tribe, but have in reality very little connection with them. A very few of these last possess horses, but the majority are river Indians. The aggregate number of the whole was by census 807, which probably falls a little short of the truth. They differ but slightly from the Niskwalli in language. These tribes were included with all the others of the eastern shore and the islands in the treaty of Mukleteoh, or Point Elliott. A reserve of two sections was retained for them at Port Madison. (Gibbs 1877:179)

The Port Madison Reservation was established under the 1855 treaty and was enlarged in 1864 by executive order at the request of the Indians. The enlargement was requested by a delegation headed by Chief Seattle who maintained that insufficient land had been reserved for the Indians who were intended to reside there and that a larger reservation had been promised by the treaty commission. Some Duwamish moved to the Port Madison Reservation after it was enlarged. Others remained in their traditional territory. The Indians who moved to the Port Madison Reservation came to be known as Port Madison Indians. They were denominated in government records as Port Madison Indians or as Suquamish, regardless of their origin.

In 1857 the Muckleshoot Reservation was created to provide for the Indians of the Green and White rivers and other streams in that vicinity. This additional reservation was agreed upon at the Fox Island conference in August 1856 and resulted from complaints by the Indians that insufficient lands had been reserved

under the treaties negotiated in 1854 and 1855. The Muckleshoot Reservation was established by executive order in 1857 and was authorized under the Treaty of Medicine Creek which had been ratified in 1855. The Indians who located on this reservation became known as Muckleshoot Indians. The use of distinctive names referring to their original localities was not preserved in government records.

In 1874 the Muckleshoot Reservation was enlarged by executive order. It was enlarged with the expectation that Indians of the lower reaches of the Duwamish drainage system who declined to remove to the Port Madison Reservation might be induced to move to the Muckleshoot Reservation. The enlarged Muckleshoot Reservation was located within the region drained by the Duwamish-White river system, although upstream from Duwamish settlements in the Seattle and Renton areas. The intent of the government to provide for the Duwamish Indians on the Muckleshoot Reservation was first recorded in a report written by Indian Agent Michael Simmons, who had been a member of the Stevens treaty commission. In speaking of the Port Madison Reservation in 1860, Simmons noted:

There will be some trouble probably in prevailing upon the Dwamish who inhabit the east side of the Sound to come over to this reservation; but their objections must be overcome, or a course pursued with them that I will here explain. The Dwamish Indians live on a river of that name, which is formed by the junction of White and Black rivers. White river has a large tributary, called Green river, and between these two streams, seven miles from the fork, is the Muckleschute reservation. . . . I recommended to you, and with your acquiescence advertised in the newspaper, that all the land from this reserve to the junction of White and Green rivers would probably be reserved for the Indians. Whether this will meet the approbation of the department I am unable to say; but I still consider it advisable; for the Dwamish Indians, who object to go across the Sound, could, I think, be persuaded to come up and settle here; the only difference between this and their present location is, that it is a little higher up the same river.

(Simmons 1860:193-194)

Some Duwamish moved to the Muckleshoot Reservation after it was enlarged. Others remained in the vicinity of their old homes.

By the 1890s many Duwamish had been dispossessed of their villages and home sites and had become dispersed within their own homeland or had removed to one or another of the Puget Sound reservations. As noted above, the two reservations which had been designated specifically for the Duwamish by the government were the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations. This report attempts to trace the history of Duwamish settlement at these two reservations.

At the planning meeting it was agreed that our research should focus on the earliest feasible time period and should include the era in which land on the reservations was allotted. The objective is to determine the early history of Duwamish removal to the reservations and to document evidence of government intent to establish homes for the Duwamish at Port Madison and Muckleshoot.

After diligent search for and review of records, we are able to provide some information regarding Duwamish who settled at each of the two reservations and the years by which they were identified on the reservation rolls. We are able to identify Duwamish who received allotments of land on the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations.

Efforts to trace Duwamish history are hampered and limited by inadequate and conflicting records. In order to assess the findings reported here, it is important to understand the sources on which we have relied and the manner in which we have used those sources.

Methodology, Sources and Limitations

There are no systematic records of Duwamish communities or individuals or of the movements of Duwamish people from their traditional villages to reserva-

tions. Scattered bits and pieces of information are recorded in King County census records, but these are fragmentary at best. Indians are often listed by first name only and without any surname identification. Reservation records provide fuller information respecting names, often recording both Indian and English names for an individual, but these early records typically do not indicate the ethnic identity of members of the reservation community. Later records which attempt to record ethnic affiliations or derivations of the reservation members are of varying quality and utility. At Port Madison all reservation residents were for many years simply recorded as Suquamish regardless of actual ethnic origin. Similarly, at Muckleshoot all residents were simply identified in the records as Muckleshoot Indians.

Our first problem, then, is to identify Duwamish individuals. Initially we had assumed that we could identify Duwamish people by relying on the work done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in verifying individuals eligible to participate in the Duwamish Judgment Payment Award in 1971. The Bureau survey involved exhaustive and careful search of official records for "eligible Duwamish ancestors," but it is only partially useful for present purposes. There are several reasons for this.

First, Duwamish who did not have descendants alive at the time of the judgment award are not reported in the Bureau survey. Our purposes here are different from those which governed the Bureau's research. We are concerned here to ascertain the Duwamish who came to the two reservations in the early years regardless of whether they have descendants alive today. This has required a separate search of Bureau records and a search for other sources of Duwamish information.

Second, the Bureau rejected some people as "eligible Duwamish ancestors" on the basis that Bureau records did not support a finding that the individual was Duwamish. Our review of anthropological and other data supports the Duwamish identity of some individuals for whom the Bureau records provided inaccurate or inadequate information.

In this report we have identified as Duwamish those individuals who were found eligible to be named on the Duwamish Judgment Award Roll approved in 1971 and their "eligible ancestors." In addition, we have identified as Duwamish individuals who were not on that roll. In these cases the evidence on which we rely is made clear at the appropriate place in the body of the report.

In our effort to identify Duwamish people, we have searched and examined all Duwamish census rolls known to us. The earliest Duwamish roll which we have been able to discover is one compiled by Duwamish Indian leaders in 1915. This list of over 300 individuals includes both unenrolled Duwamish and Duwamish who were carried on one or another of the reservation rolls. The 1915 Duwamish roll is discussed at greater length later in this report. This was followed in 1919 by a Bureau of Indian Affairs effort to list all unenrolled (non-reservation) Duwamish. Several Duwamish rolls have been prepared under the direction of Duwamish leaders in subsequent years. A fairly comprehensive effort involving both self-identification by Indian applicants and review of federal government records by Bureau of Indian Affairs staff was undertaken in order to determine eligibility for inclusion on the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Payment Roll. The 1971 roll lists over a thousand people for whom the Bureau of Indian Affairs was able to trace descent from "eligible ancestors" (people whose Duwamish identity could be substantiated through official records such as individual history cards, probates,

and other official records.) For the purposes of this report, we have reviewed carefully the foregoing records and a large body of associated background data.

In addition, we have searched the published and unpublished genealogical data collected by anthropologists who have worked in the Duwamish area at various times between 1898 and the present. We have also searched old court records and agency files for statements made by Indian witnesses and deponents as to Duwamish affiliation. By cross-checking these sources with those reviewed earlier, we have been able to identify a number of individuals whose Duwamish affiliation is supported by the same kinds and quality of evidence used to identify those individuals found by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be "eligible ancestors." Some of these people were affiliated with the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations and their identification is necessary to an understanding of Duwamish presence at the two reservations. Some people were not identified in the extensive survey undertaken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs because these individuals did not have living descendants. As already noted, the purpose of that research was to determine eligibility of applicants to share in the payment award to Duwamish descendants who were alive at the time that the award was decreed.

Others were not recognized as Duwamish because Bureau records contained conflicting ethnic identity information for those individuals or the ancestors through whom they claimed Duwamish identity. Identification is complicated because the same person may be described as Duwamish in one set of records and designated as something else in other records. Sometimes this happens because an individual can properly be identified with two or more distinct groups. Traditionally, in this region, people attempted to arrange marriages with members of other local groups. Typically, an individual's parents might come from two different

localities, as for example, Duwamish and Suquamish, or Duwamish and Green River. The manner in which a person identified himself/herself or was identified by others often depended upon context and circumstance. In this manner, an individual with one Suquamish parent and one Duwamish parent might be identified as Duwamish under certain circumstances and as Suquamish in others.

Problems of identification arise even when both parents may have come from villages in Duwamish territory. In official government records individuals were frequently denominated as Suquamish merely because they were resident at the Port Madison Reservation or as Muckleshoot because they were carried on the rolls of that reservation. Duwamish who moved to one or the other reservation often were not identified as Duwamish, but were henceforth denominated Suquamish or Muckleshoot.

Inconsistencies are introduced when different usages of the name Duwamish are employed. Individuals from a large village on the White River are denominated Duwamish in some records and White River Indians in others. This has resulted in the Bureau recognizing some descendants of these villagers as Duwamish and denying such recognition to others. Inconsistencies of this sort, as well as the other problems noted above have complicated our efforts to identify Duwamish people at the two reservations. While we have caught some of these instances, others have undoubtedly escaped detection.

The foregoing comments have all related to difficulties in identifying which reservation members were Duwamish. In addition to these problems, we found it impossible to track movements of Duwamish people to the reservations during a twenty-five year period following the negotiation of the treaties.

Reliable population counts and census data for reservation as well as off-reservation Indian communities are largely unavailable for the years prior to 1880. For this reason it is impossible to document in any adequate fashion the movement of Duwamish to either the Port Madison or the Muckleshoot reservation during the twenty-five years following the treaty-signing. In 1880-1 there was a special Indian census at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations. Beginning in 1885 we have annual census rolls for reservation groups, but still only fragmentary and happenstance reporting for off-reservation people like the Duwamish. This makes identification of off-reservation Duwamish difficult.

Finally, the record is complicated by those Duwamish who affiliated first with one reservation and later moved to the other. While we have noticed several instances in which this has occurred, a complete year-by-year check would be required to identify all such cases.

We have not attempted a year-by-year check of Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservation records. In accord with discussions and agreement reached at the meeting which authorized this project, we have selected specific years and checked the records for both reservations for the selected time periods. The decision as to which years to sample has been dictated in part by the availability of records. The discovery of a 1915 Duwamish roll, for example, provided an opportunity to check contemporaneous rolls at the two reservations to discover which individuals named on the Duwamish roll appeared on the rolls of the Muckleshoot and Port Madison reservations.

In the same manner, concern to identify Duwamish recipients of land allotments at the two reservations mandated examination of records for the 1885-1905 era.

Land Allotments to Duwamish at the Port Madison
and Muckleshoot Reservations

The allotment of lands to Duwamish Indians at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations is consistent with the designation of these two locations as reservations for the use and occupancy of the Duwamish. While a few Duwamish received allotments at other reservations, the largest number of allotted Duwamish were located at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations respectively.

Port Madison

Allotments were approved at the Port Madison Reservation nearly twenty years before comparable action was taken at Muckleshoot. The first thirty-five allotments were made at Port Madison in 1886. Five more allotments were made in 1905. An additional ten allotments were approved in 1910, making a total of forty-nine original patents issued at this reservation.

Allotments were made to families and the names of both spouses appear on the patents as co-allottees. Of the forty-nine allotments at the Port Madison Reservation, at least nine were made to Indians who are identifiable unequivocally as Duwamish Indians. In some cases, both husband and wife are known to be Duwamish. In other instances we have information only about one spouse.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Allottee</u>	<u>Duwamish Identification</u>
PM-1	Henry Alexis	This man was the father of Charles Alexis, who in 1915 was a member of the Board of Directors of the Duwamish Tribe. In 1924 at a hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Charles Alexis testified that his father was a Duwamish Indian.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Allottee</u>	<u>Duwamish Identification</u>
PM-2	Charles Keokuk	This man's father was a well-known leader of the Black River Duwamish. Charles Keokuk's two wives, Lucy and Annie Moses, were full sisters and they, too, were Duwamish from the Renton area.
PM-18	Jack Adams	According to T.T. Waterman, this man's father came from a Duwamish village on the White River. Jack Adam's wife, Mary, was the daughter of a woman from Lake Washington.
PM-27	Jack Davis	This man was related through his mother to White River Duwamish. Jack Davis' wife, Jennie John, was Duwamish from Lake Washington.
PM-37	Peter Rodgers	Son of William Rodgers, a leader among the Duwamish. Peter Rodger's wife, Annie Moses Rodgers, is identified as an eligible ancestor for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.
PM-39	David Fowler	Son of Susie Jacobs Fowler, determined to be an eligible ancestor for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.
PM-42	William Rodgers	A leading man among the Duwamish, usually referred to as "chief." He and his wife, Annie, are listed as eligible ancestors for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.
PM-44	Alice Belmont	Daughter of Benjamin and Ann Solomon, both of whom are listed as eligible ancestors for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.
PM-47	Cecelia Mason	Daughter of Chief William Rodgers and Annie Rodgers, both of whom are listed as eligible ancestors for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.

Muckleshoot

The first allotments of land were not finalized at Muckleshoot until 1905. In that year, thirty-nine patents were issued. In 1909 three more allotments were made. In 1910 an additional patent was issued, making a total of forty-three allotments at Muckleshoot. At least nine of these allotments were made to Duwamish.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Allottee</u>	<u>Duwamish Identification</u>
M-4	Joseph Bill	Both Harrington and Ballard identify this individual as Duwamish. According to Ballard, Joseph Bill was Lake Washington Duwamish and Snoqualmie on his father's side and Suquamish and Clallam on his mother's side. His step-father was Duwamish and White River. Joseph Bill was deceased at the time that the 1915 Duwamish roll was made. His wife, Lucy Bill, is on the 1915 Duwamish roll.
M-5	Anthony James	This individual appears on both the 1915 Duwamish roll and the list of eligible ancestors for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll. He was a brother of Peter James, a Duwamish leader at Lummi.
M-19	Annie Nason	This woman was the daughter of Stuck Jack (M-22) and is identified as Duwamish through him. She was deceased by the time that the 1915 Duwamish roll was made, as was her son, William Nason (M-30). Her grandchildren are on the 1915 Duwamish roll.
M-22	Stuck Jack	This man's name appears on the 1915 Duwamish roll. He was rejected as an eligible ancestor for the 1971 roll by the Bureau of Indian Affairs apparently because he is identified as a Muckleshoot Indian in their records. The designation "Muckleshoot" refers simply to Indians who became affiliated with that reservation and cannot indicate whether or not an individual has Duwamish ancestry. According to Ballard, Stuck Jack came from the same village on White River from which "Chief Seattle" derives his Duwamish identity.
M-30	William Nason	This man was the son of Annie Nason (M-19) and is identified as Duwamish through her. He was deceased when the 1915 Duwamish roll was made, but his children are listed on the 1915 Duwamish roll.
M-32	Alexander Morris	This man is identified by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as Duwamish. He was rejected as an eligible ancestor apparently because his descendants traced connection through an adopted child, not because his Duwamish identity was questioned.
M-35	Katherine Ross	This woman was the daughter of James Daniels and the sister of Maggie Barr. Katherine Ross is identified as Duwamish through her father, James Daniels (M-36).

M-36 James Daniels

This man is identified as Duwamish by his daughter, Maggie Barr, an enrolled Muckleshoot who was born in 1894. Maggie Barr says that her father's correct name was Daniel James.

M-43 Lyman Siddle

This individual, and his wife, Julia John Siddle, are recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as eligible ancestors for the 1971 Duwamish Judgment Roll.

DUWAMISH ALLOTTEES AT PORT MADISON AND MUCKLESHOOT RESERVATIONS
FIRST YEAR NAME APPEARS ON RESERVATION ROLL

<u>Port Madison</u>			<u>Muckleshoot</u>		
PM-01	Henry Alexis	1878	M-4	Joseph Bill	1894
PM-02	Charles Keokuk	1885	M-5	Anthony James	1892
PM-18	Jack Adams	1878	M-19	Annie Nason	1898
PM-27	Jack Davis	1878	M-22	Stuck Jack	1892
PM-37	Peter Rodgers	1894	M-30	William Nason	1891
PM-39	David Fowler	1902	M-32	Alexander Morris	1892
PM-42	William Rodgers	1892	M-35	Katherine Ross	1894
PM-44	Alice Belmont	1902	M-36	James Daniels	1894
PM-47	Cecelia Mason	1909	M-43	Lyman Siddle	1911

Port Madison

Of the nine Duwamish allottees at Port Madison, three appear on an 1878 roll, which is the earliest year for which we have found a Port Madison roll. Jack Adams and Jack Davis are identified on this roll by their Indian names. There is an Alexis on that roll with an Indian name. We have tentatively identified this as Henry Alexis. The identification is tentative because later rolls do not show an Indian name for Henry Alexis and we therefore have no independent means to cross-check the identification. We make the tentative identification because Henry Alexis is shown on a roll two years later.

In submitting the 1878 rolls for the Tulalip Agency, the Indian agent noted that the lists were incomplete because many Indians were away from the reservations on hunting or fishing excursions. He estimated that between one thousand and fifteen hundred Indians belonging to the Agency were not accounted for in the 1878 rolls. The 1878 rolls from the Tulalip Agency can be used to identify

presence or assumed presence of a given family head at a given reservation. Absence of a name on the 1878 roll does not necessarily signify that the individual was not living there. He may have been temporarily absent.

A special Indian census of the Port Madison Reservation was made in 1880. The names of Jack Adams, Jack Davis, and Henry Alexis all appear on the 1880 roll.

The agency began to keep regular annual rolls in 1885. The name Charles Keokuk appears for the first time on the 1885 roll. As noted, he may have been in residence at Port Madison Reservation earlier. The point which must be understood is that the rolls can only show that an individual was listed as present or was considered to belong to a reservation at a given date. Failure to list a name is not proof that the individual (or family) was not resident at the reservation at the given year.

Two of the nine Duwamish allottees are listed on the Port Madison rolls for the first time between 1892 and 1894. This is the same time period in which six of the nine Duwamish allottees at Muckleshoot appear for the first time on the Muckleshoot rolls. It may be that this indicates a movement of off-reservation Duwamish to the two reservations at that period. This possibility would need to be verified by other kinds of documentation.

Two Duwamish allottees appear for the first time on the Port Madison roll in 1902. The final allottee identified as Duwamish is listed for the first time at Port Madison in 1909.

Muckleshoot

Of the nine Duwamish allottees at Muckleshoot, all but two appear on the rolls for the first time between 1891 and 1894. Annie Nason is not listed at

Muckleshoot until 1898 although her son William had been at Muckleshoot for the previous seven years. Lyman Siddle is first listed in 1911 and died in 1912 or 1913. His widow, Julia John Siddle, also a Duwamish, remained at Muckleshoot and their descendants are enrolled at Muckleshoot.

COMPARISON OF DUWAMISH ALLOTTED AT PORT MADISON
WITH DUWAMISH ALLOTTED AT MUCKLESHOOT

The pattern of allotments to Duwamish at the two reservations is very similar. Despite the fact that allotment was largely completed at Port Madison about twenty years prior to allotment at Muckleshoot, about the same number of Duwamish were allotted at both reservations. Many of these people received allotments during the same few years. The number of original allotments at the two reservations was also very nearly the same. As a result, the Duwamish allottees at Port Madison and at Muckleshoot represent a similar percentage of the total allottees at each of the respective reservations. Duwamish received nine out of forty-nine original allotments at Port Madison. At Muckleshoot nine of the original forty-three allotments were patented to people identified as Duwamish.

The allotting of Duwamish household heads and individuals at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot Reservations is consistent with the stated intent of the federal government to provide homes for the Duwamish at these two reservations.

THE 1915 DUWAMISH ROLL

The earliest roll of people identified as Duwamish which we have been able to locate is dated December 23, 1915. The roll contains over 300 names. The document was located among the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which are deposited at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The list apparently was prepared by members of the Duwamish tribal organization for presentation to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The roll is described as a list of the members of the Duwamish tribe of Indians. An accompanying letter describes the Board of Directors of the Duwamish tribe as consisting of: Peter J. James, of Marietta, Charles Alexis, of Suquamish, Joseph Moses, of Renton, James H. Tobin, of Olympia, Solomon J. Mason, of Suquamish, George Young of Tacoma, Lyman B. Siddle of Auburn, Henry G. Nelson, of Auburn, and Louis Satiacum of Tacoma. Charles Satiacum, of Tacoma was Chief, and William Rogers, of Suquamish was sub-chief.

Three of the ten Duwamish leaders named above were then resident at the Port Madison Reservation. William Rogers, the Duwamish sub-chief, was an allottee at Port Madison and had been enrolled at the reservation at least since 1892. Charles Alexis is listed on the 1885 Port Madison roll. His father, Henry Alexis, had received the first allotment at Port Madison. Solomon Mason, also residing at Suquamish, was married to Celia Rogers (daughter of William Rogers). Solomon Mason is identified in other records as an Alaskan or Canadian Indian.

Two members of the Duwamish tribal board of directors were residents of the Muckleshoot Reservation. Lyman Siddle was allotted at Muckleshoot. Henry G. Nelson was the son of a Muckleshoot allottee, George Nelson. In sum, five of the ten Duwamish leaders in 1915 were resident at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations.

Individuals on 1915 Duwamish Roll who are also
on 1915 Port Madison Roll

Adams, John	Keokuk, Lena
Alexis, Charles	Kitsap, Mary
Alfred, Louisa	Mason, Solomon
Contraro, Philip	Mason, Celia
Contraro, Ellen	Mason, Harry
	Mason, Mary
George, Martin	Moses, Charles
George, Eli	
George, Jennie	Rodgers, Annie
James, Walter	Thompson, Charles
James, Alphonso	Thompson, Chester
James, Lottie	Thompson, Blanche
James, Walter Jr.	
James, Neida	Wilson, Philomena
James, Mary	Wilson, Raymond
	Wilson, Freeman
James, Lillian	Wilson, Stella
	Wilson, Mary
Kelly, Charles	Wilson, Helen
Kelly, Monica	Wilson, Dorothy
Kelly, Agnes	Wilson, Louis Samuel
Kelly, Charles P.	

The 1915 roll for Port Madison Reservation contains a total of 168 names. The 38 names in the list above, separated in family groups, are extracted from the 1915 Port Madison roll. These individuals, listed more or less in family clusters, were named on the 1915 Duwamish roll.

Individuals on 1915 Duwamish Roll who are also
on Muckleshoot Roll

Bill, August	Jack, Alex
Bill, Clara	Jack, Anna
Curley, Fred	Jack, Stuck
Dan, Isabella	James, Anthony
Day, Maggie	James, Patrick
Dominick, Jerry	Lick, Lucy
Dominick, Mary	Marks, Alice
Dominick, Lily	Marks, Louisa
Dominick, Agnes	Nason, Colbert
Dominick, Josephine	Payne, Leonard
Dominick, Sherman	Payne, Lillian
Dominick, Charles	Reynolds, Nellie
Dominick, Emma	Ross, Dolly
Dominick, Lawrence	Siddle, David
Dominick, Agatha	Siddle, Lena
Garrison, Annie	Siddle, Laura
Guss, Ellen	Siddle, Hogan
Guss, Ella	
Smith, Christine	

The 1915 roll for the Muckleshoot Reservation contains a total of 161 names. The 36 people noted above, separated in family groups, are taken from the 1915 Muckleshoot roll. These individuals were listed on the 1915 Duwamish roll.

The total population figures for the year 1915 at Port Madison and Muckleshoot are very nearly the same. There were 168 names on the Port Madison roll and 161 people listed at Muckleshoot. The numbers of individuals identified as Duwamish are also very similar. As nearly as we have been able to ascertain, in 1915 there were 38 Duwamish at Port Madison and 36 people identified as Duwamish at Muckleshoot. The proportion of Duwamish representation in the total population is quite similar at the two reservations.

We have presented the 1915 population figures because this is the earliest date for which we have extensive Duwamish information. We have checked the rolls for both reservations in order to be sure that the Duwamish representation at either place is not somehow unique in that year. We find that almost all of the people identified as Duwamish who were present at the respective reservations in 1915 had been resident there for at least five years previous and in some cases for a much longer period.

We have also checked the names on the 1915 Duwamish roll against other information in order to document the reported Duwamish identity from other sources. Many of the individuals on the 1915 Duwamish list, in fact, are corroborated in the family history research of Duwamish ancestry conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in connection with the Duwamish Judgment Roll. Other individuals on the 1915 Duwamish list are not included in the "eligible ancestors" as defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In those cases which we have examined, there appears to us to be sufficient support of Duwamish identity to find the 1915 list credible and reliable.

It is to be expected that a certain amount of error will appear in any set of records such as those under review here. We have already noted that Solomon

Mason, who served on the Duwamish board of directors in 1915, has been identified as other than a Duwamish Indian in other government records. This may be an instance in which a non-Duwamish identified himself as Duwamish and was accepted as such by other Duwamish. Whatever the facts in this instance, the vast majority of names on the 1915 Duwamish roll appear to be verified as Duwamish by other independent checks.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It has not been possible to document Duwamish movements to either of the reservations during the period prior to 1878 because adequate records are lacking. It seems clear that some Duwamish went to the Port Madison reservation at or prior to 1878, but we cannot be sure how many people moved or how early the removal took place. A number of Duwamish seem to have joined the reservation communities in the 1890s. As nearly as we can tell, the numbers of Duwamish who went to Port Madison and to Muckleshoot in the period 1890-1915 were quite comparable. About the same number of Duwamish were allotted at each reservation. The Duwamish leaders, as represented in the 1915 Duwamish tribal board of directors were ten in number, half of whom were resident at the Port Madison and Muckleshoot reservations.

Date: 9 May 1988

Signed: Barbara Lane

Barbara Lane

Limits of this Study

This study has very limited parameters. It is not intended to be an exhaustive review of every Duwamish or part-Duwamish individual who ever resided at or was enrolled at either the Port Madison and/or Muckleshoot Indian reservation.

Secondly, it is not intended to trace the history of those Duwamish who were never enrolled at any reservation, or who may have been enrolled at reservations other than the Port Madison and/or Muckleshoot reservations.

In this connection we should note that the special 1881 census of the Muckleshoot Indian reservation lists a number of families living on various rivers in the vicinity of the Muckleshoot reservation, but not on the reservation. The census taker considered these people as "belonging to the Muckleshoot Reservation" although not resident there. Among these were fourteen families listed as "Dwamish, living along the Dwamish River."

It is not possible to trace the descendants of many of these people. For some, it is. We know that some of these people never were enrolled at a reservation, although their descendants can be found among the several reservation populations, including Port Madison and Muckleshoot, as well as among the non-reservation people of western Washington.

REFERENCES

- Ballard, Arthur C.
1929 Mythology of Southern Puget Sound. University of Washington Press. Seattle.
- Bureau of Census
1880 Special Indian Census, Tulalip Agency, Washington. Record Group 29.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs
1885-1940 Annual Census Rolls. National Archives, Washington, D. C. Microcopy 595: rolls 93, 582-587.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs
1971 Payment Roll of the Duwamish Tribe pursuant to Public Law 89-660 (Act of 10-14-66). Approved August 20, 1971.
- Dorsey, George A.
1902 The Duwamish Indian Spirit Boat and its Use. Philadelphia. University Museum Bulletin, Vol. III.
- Duwamish et al v. U. S.
 No. F-275 U. S. Court of Claims. National Archives, Washington, D. C. Record Group No. 123.
- Gibbs, George
1855 Indian Tribes of Washington Territory. Reports of Explorations and Surveys. . . . Executive Document #91, H. R., second session, 33rd Congress.
- Gibbs, George
1877 Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon. Washington, D. C.: Department of the Interior, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 1877.
- Harrington, John P.
 John P. Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (Microfilm edition: Reel 15, Frames 0488, 0500, 0810, 0327, 0492).
- Waterman, T. T.
1930 The Paraphernalia of the Duwamish "Spirit-Canoe" Ceremony. Indian Notes of the Museum of the American Indian, Vol. 7.
- Waterman, T. T.
 Puget Sound Geography. Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, Ms #1864.
- Waterman, T. T.
1973 Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound. Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation. New York.