Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for

Proposed Finding for Federal Acknowledgment

of the

Snoqualmie Indian Tribe

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian tribe.

Approved: APR 26 1993

Eddie Brown

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs from the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

Part 83 established procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of an existing government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the Federal Government, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that it meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR. Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the petitioner does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the Federal Register initiates a 120-day response period during which factual and/or legal arguments and evidence to rebut or support the evidence relied upon for the proposed finding may be submitted by the petitioner and any other interested party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 2611-MIB.

After consideration of all written arguments and evidence received during the 120-day response period, the Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status. A summary of this final determination will be published in the Federal Register within 60 days of the expiration of the 120-day response period. This determination will become effective 60 days after its publication unless the Secretary of the Interior requests the Assistant Secretary to reconsider.

If the final determination is against acknowledgment of the petitioner, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for Federal services or other benefits.

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7 (a-g)

This proposed finding concludes that the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe (the petitioner) meets all seven of the mandatory criteria set forth in Part 83.7 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83.7) for Federal acknowledgment and, therefore, exists as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law. This finding is based on evidence submitted by the petitioner and other interested parties. It is also based on independent research conducted by the Acknowledgment staff and by a contract anthropologist.

This is a proposed finding based on the available evidence and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to the contrary during the 120-day response period which follows publication and distribution of this finding. New evidence submitted during the response may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, to be published separately after the receipt of comments, will be based on any new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding as well as the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion is set forth in boldface type as it appears in the regulations and is followed by a summary statement of the evidence relied upon in reaching a conclusion on that criterion.

83.7(a)

A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.

Documentary sources have clearly and consistently identified a body of Snoqualmie Indians living in the general vicinity of the Snoqualmie River Valley of western Washington from at least 1844 to the present. The identification of a Snoqualmie tribal entity was established by the United States in the governmental records of the territories of Oregon (1846-1853) and Washington (1853-1889). Tribal identification by various Federal agencies has continued, unbroken, to the present time.

Unlike some previous western Washington acknowledgment petitioners, Federal recognition of a government-to-government relationship with the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe existed clearly and continually from 1859, when the United States Senate and the President ratified the Treaty of Point Elliott, to sometime between 1955 and 1961, when the Snoqualmie were no longer considered to be an "organized" tribe under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

A substantial body of documentation indicates that BIA officials maintained continual contact with the off-reservation Snoqualmie leadership and/or its individual members from at least 1919 until the mid-1970's. Up until the period between 1955 and 1961, the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe was treated much like any other tribal entity under the jurisdiction of the BIA's Tulalip Indian Agency, which became the Western Washington Indian Agency in 1950. Although the tribe lacked its own federally reserved land base, the BIA generally recognized that the Federal Government maintained some level of responsibility for the Snoqualmie as a result of the Point Elliott treaty provisions and the trust land allotted to individual Snoqualmie members on the public domain. During the 1940's, for example, the Tulalip Agency sought to obtain a reservation for the Snoqualmie in the Tolt Valley, and provided the tribe assistance in the negotiation of hunting and fishing rights with the State of Washington. The off-reservation based Snoqualmie Tribal Council was listed among the tribal governments recognized by the BIA in a report published by the United States Congress in 1953.

While the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe was considered to be subject to the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) because it never voted officially to reject its provisions, it was not allowed to organize under the IRA because it did not have a tribal land base. By 1944, the BIA was classifying the western Washington tribes into three categories: (1) those based on reservations; (2) those with individual public domain allotments; and (3) those with no Federal trust land. The Snoqualmie were considered to be a public domain tribe under the second category.

When Congress was considering the termination of Federal services to the western Washington tribes in 1953, the BIA sent questionnaires regarding practices implemented under the IRA to tribes then considered to be federally recognized. The Snoqualmie were sent a questionnaire, as were some other off-reservation tribal entities, such as the Jamestown Clallam (previously acknowledged through the BIA's acknowledgment process). Other off-reservation groups in

the area, including some who have also petitioned for acknowledgment through the BIA's administrative process, were not sent a questionnaire.

During the "termination era" of the 1950's, Government policy makers in the Northwest began to scrutinize the status of non-reservation tribal entities under Federal jurisdiction more closely. In 1955, the BIA's Portland Area Director suggested that the Government's trust responsibility in western Washington should be limited to reservation-based tribes. By 1961, the BIA made it clear that the Snoqualmie were not recognized as being an "organized tribe," that is, one that had a reservation or owned tribal property in which members had a beneficial interest. By 1968, Snoqualmie leaders acknowledged in council meetings that the tribe was not federally recognized.

In 1974, a special BIA panel evaluated the status of the Snoqualmie against specific recognition criteria and, after finding the group to be eligible for Federal recognition, recommended that acknowledgment be extended to the Snoqualmie. However, neither this recommendation nor the group's 1976 petition for recognition was acted upon prior to October 2, 1978, the effective date of the new Federal acknowledgment regulations. This was because the Secretary of the Interior had suspended recognition decisions until the criteria and procedures could be examined and standardized. Subsequently, a United States District Judge, using criteria which had been developed in the context of litigation which had commenced prior to formation of the BIA panel and establishment of the Acknowledgment regulations, ruled that the Snoqualmie lacked the tribal characteristics necessary to exercise treaty rights. This decision was confirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1981. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision.

The Snoqualmie Indian Tribe has been identified periodically between 1889 and the present in the records of various officials, departments, and agencies of the State of Washington. The petitioner has been viewed consistently as being a distinct tribal entity by non-Indians within the region, including various local government entities and civil, recreational, and religious organizations.

The petitioner has been discussed and treated as being a distinct tribe in local and regional histories, as well as in the writings of various scholars. Since 1855, periodic articles in regional newspapers, and in local publications within the Snoqualmie Valley, have also identified a Snoqualmie tribal entity.

The petitioner has had repeated dealings with federally recognized Indian tribes historically and has been identified by and accepted for membership in both regional and national American Indian organizations.

The Snoqualmie Indian Tribe has been identified as being an American Indian tribe from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis and, therefore, meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(a).

83.7(b)

Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.

The Snoqualmie have historically been located in the Puget Sound region of present-day western Washington State. First sustained contact by Euro-Americans with the Snoqualmie was in 1833, when a trading post was established at Fort Nisqually at the southern end of Puget Sound. Extensive settlement by non-Indians in the Puget Sound area began in the late 1840's, leading to the treaty of Point Elliott, signed in 1855 and ratified in 1859. The Snoqualmie are classified culturally and linguistically as Southern Coast Salish, a subdivision of Coast Salish.

The Snoqualmie tribe at the time of the treaty and in the several decades before consisted of at least 18 and possibly more winter villages located along the Snoqualmie River. These villages were centered on one or several multi-family longhouses. In the spring and summer, residence was dispersed, as families exploited economic resources over a wide territory. The tribe was a single, distinct social unit, united by kinship and other social ties. The Snoqualmie tribe shared a common name and territory as well as being linguistically and culturally somewhat distinct from neighboring Coast Salish tribes. Until the mid-1840's, the Snoqualmie may not have been a single political unit in the sense of having an overall leader. This is discussed further under criterion (c). Within the Snoqualmie a distinction was made between the Upper Snoqualmie, those villages on the prairie above Snoqualmie Falls, and those below the falls, known as Lower Snoqualmie.

Marriage outside the village and the tribe was the norm for the Snoqualmie and other Coast Salish, at least for the upper social class, creating a strong network of social and economic relationships across the region. Because of this, tribes in the Puget Sound area, including the Snoqualmie, traditionally were cohesive groupings within a broader network of kinship, social and economic relationships that made up Puget Sound Indian society. The social organization of the Coast Salish tribes, including the Snoqualmie, has retained much of this character up to the present. Evaluations under the acknowledgment regulations interpret the criteria concerning community and political influence in terms of the particular social organization and culture of the tribe in question, in this case that of the Coast Salish tribes of the Puget Sound area. This has been done throughout this evaluation and the accompanying technical reports.

Within a few years after the treaty, in the 1860's, the Snoqualmie settlements were disrupted by white settlers. The Snoqualmie were driven out of their longhouses and their lands were taken over. The Snoqualmie were able to reestablish distinct settlements within a fairly short time. Three primary settlement areas emerged. One was in the Upper Snoqualmie area, including a settlement named Meadowbrook. A second was in the Lower Snoqualmie area, in the area of the aboriginal villages at Tolt and Fall City. A third settlement was formed in the 1870's at Lake Sammamish, adjacent to but outside traditional Snoqualmie territory. This settlement incorporated some Duwamish, with whom the Snoqualmie there were intermarried. These settlements were centered on areas where wage work was available, although traditional hunting, fishing and gathering remained an important part of subsistence.

Community longhouses were maintained in each of these settlement areas. Each community maintained a ceremonial cycle, lasting several weeks, based on the traditional religion. Much if not most of the traditional culture was maintained, including language and religion. Traditional patterns of marriage were maintained. Marriages within the group were common and there were many marriages with members of other area tribes, following the patterns of traditional social organization. There were few marriages with non-Indians.

The Treaty of Point Elliott anticipated concentrating all of the Indians covered by it on a reservation at Tulalip Bay. Some Snoqualmie moved to the Tulalip Reservation during the decades after its establishment in 1860. They initially established a separate village from the villages established by Snohomish and other tribes who moved to the reservation.

The majority of the Snoqualmie remained off-reservation because land on the reservation was limited and it was located outside of Snoqualmie territory, in the territory of the Snohomish. Those who moved to the reservations did not automatically become a distinct social and political group from those remaining off-reservation. The evidence is that the reservation Snoqualmie in this era maintained social ties with the off-reservation Snoqualmie, with whom many were closely related.

The Snoqualmie throughout the post-treaty period and into the first decade of the 20th century continued to be a highly distinct social community. They maintained geographically distinct settlements, exclusively or almost exclusively occupied by members of the group. They maintained a distinct language and culture. There were extensive kinship ties within the group as well as within the larger network of Puget Sound Indian society. All of these characteristics are strong evidence to demonstrate the existence of the Snoqualmie as a distinct community under criterion (b).

After the turn of the century, the geographically distinct off-reservation Snoqualmie settlements began to break up. By 1914, the population of these settlements had largely dispersed, although some families remained at Lake Sammamish until the 1930's and some Upper Snoqualmie families remained on their original lands. More of the Snoqualmie moved to the Tulalip Reservation, while others moved onto the Muckleshoot or other reservations. Over the course of the next 50 years, the Snoqualmie became somewhat dispersed, but most remained within traditional Snoqualmie territory or the areas bordering it, such as near Lake Sammamish. Others were on the Tulalip Reservation to the north of this region and the Muckleshoot Reservation to the south.

The regulations require that a distinct social community be maintained within which substantial social interaction and social relationships are maintained and which is distinct from non-Indian populations in the area. They do not require that the group or substantial portions of it live in a geographic area which is exclusively or almost exclusively occupied by members, e.g., a village or neighborhood. Such exclusive geographic settlement is sufficient evidence in itself to demonstrate that a group constitutes a distinct social community which meets the requirements of criterion (b).

The Snoqualmie underwent a political reorganization between 1914 and 1916, led by Jerry Kanim. The Snoqualmie after 1914, although not having any separate settlements, were linked together by many kinship ties based on marriages

existing between members in this period as well as kinship ties derived from marriages in the latter part of the 19th century. There were essentially three main elements of the group led by Jerry Kanim, centered off-reservation. These were Upper Snoqualmie families (including Sanawa/Martin and Moses), families from the Lake Sammamish community (Davis, Zackuse and others) and Lower Snoqualmie (especially families closely related to Jerry Kanim). Most of these family lines had several key marriages linking them to the others. Other families, closely related to one or another of these three elements, were resident on the Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservations but were socially and politically part of the Snoqualmie.

The Snoqualmie were extensively married within their own community or within local Indian society as a whole. Marriage outside the tribe was as common as marriage inside, in the traditional manner of Snoqualmie and Coast Salish culture. There were only a few family lines, comprising a small minority of the group, that were derived from marriages of pioneer men with Indian women (in the 1850's and 1860's) whose descendants had married only non-Indians and had integrated socially into non-Indian society.

In addition to kinship ties, many or most of the individuals alive in the decades between 1914 and 1956 had been born in and had previously lived in the distinct communities. They can reasonably be expected therefore to have maintained social relationships based on previous residence in those communities, even though this was not demonstrated by specific evidence.

The continuance of important social relationships among the Snoqualmie in this era was manifest in regular social gatherings of the tribe. Important instances of these were annual gatherings held by chief Jerry Kanim at Tolt/Carnation on the Fourth of July, Memorial Day gatherings held at Fall City by Ed Davis, another important leader, and Thanksgiving gatherings at Redmond held by Dwenar and Joseph Forgue. Each was an annual event, attended by a substantial portion of the Snoqualmie. The annual general council meeting was attended by most of the Snoqualmie. It was a social as well as political event, often lasting a couple of days.

There is strong evidence that a substantial portion of the Snoqualmie maintained the traditional culture in this period or were members of the Indian Shaker church, i.e., otherwise maintained a distinct culture from non-Indians. A substantial proportion of the membership continued to speak Snoqualmie, although reportedly the generation born in the 1920's was the last generation among which the language use

was widespread. Some traditional longhouse religion ceremonies were still held in the 1930's, at Lake Sammamish, and there is also good evidence that some individuals still sought traditional spirit powers.

This level of distinct culture includes religion and language, fundamental and essential parts of the culture, and is thus strong evidence in itself that the Snoqualmie were a distinct social group. The significance of cultural differences to demonstrating social community under criterion (b) is explained in greater detail below in subsequent portions of this evaluation.

Additional evidence that the Snoqualmie after 1914 continued to form a distinct social community is that knowledgeable outside observers characterized the Snoqualmie in various ways as a distinct social group or tribe. An example of this is the 1919 report of Charles Roblin, an Indian Service agent compiling a roll of individuals claiming rights as Indians. Roblin, based on extensive acquaintance with non-reservation populations which were Indian or of Indian descent, clearly distinguishes between the character of the Snoqualmie as having maintained a distinct social group (mentioning several other groups in the same category) in contrast to other populations which he characterized as individuals of Indian descent who had socially and culturally assimilated into the non-Indian population. Observations by Indian agents dealing with the Snoqualmie that they were a distinct social group or tribe appeared in the record as late as 1953, when the Tulalip agency observed that assimilation of "this band has not been very rapid." These observations support and confirm the substantial direct evidence of the maintenance of a distinct social community.

The membership of the Snoqualmie narrowed in the 1940's and 1950's, as many reservation residents who had been socially and politically affiliated with the Snoqualmie up until that point shifted allegiance to the reservations, which were becoming distinct social and political units. The reservations were organized in the 1930's as distinct, corporate units under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. The membership as defined by the new tribal governing documents at Tulalip and other reservations excluded Snoqualmie (and other Indians) not carried on the agency rolls as resident or otherwise belonging to the reservation.

There continued to be an off-reservation centered social and political body of Snoqualmie. The loss of some families to the reservations merely narrowed the composition of the Snoqualmie community, which became centered around certain family lines. In addition, small portions of many of the

lines which joined the reservations but were earlier affiliated with the Snoqualmie remain enrolled in the Snoqualmie today. Others in these lines, although not enrolled, are believed to be socially connected with the Snoqualmie.

The Snoqualmie between 1914 and 1956 maintained strong processes through which political influence was exercised. This included a chief whose influence affected many areas of members' lives. Political influence within the group which is as strong as this requires, and indicates the existence of, a substantial degree of social relationships between the members. Thus the demonstration of political processes which are this strong is good supporting evidence of the existence of a social community.

In summary, there is a variety of strong evidence that the Snoqualmie between 1914 and 1956 were a distinct social community within which strong social ties were maintained. Strong evidence includes the closeness of kin ties linking the major family groupings, the maintenance of a distinct culture, including language, and the existence of strong internal political processes. Additional evidence of long-term social relationships and social interaction is the various annual gatherings, each involving many members of the tribe. Supporting evidence is the observations of knowledgeable contemporary observers that the Snoqualmie were a distinct social community.

The documentary and ethnographic record concerning the maintenance of community among the Snoqualmie between 1956 and 1981 is relatively limited. There is no indication the geographic distribution had significantly widened compared with the previous four decades. This is not close enough to raise any presumption of significant social interaction. However, this geographic distribution is close enough that a significant level of social interaction among most of the group is easily possible. It is close enough that it raises no question about conclusions, based on other, limited evidence, that social interaction and social ties are being maintained. A membership which was highly dispersed geographically would raise such questions and would require better and more detailed evidence to overcome a presumption against maintenance of community based on a high degree of geographic dispersion.

Marriage within the Snoqualmie was common until the 1920's and Snoqualmie marriage within Puget Sound Indian society was common until the 1950's. Thus there remained a considerable degree of close kinship ties within the membership between 1956 and 1981. Kinship and other social links with other Puget Sound Indians continued to be

maintained by a substantial portion of the Snoqualmie. Thus there was probably a high degree of participation in the broad network of Puget Sound Indian society, based on individual kinship links.

There is a limited amount of evidence from interviews that there was maintenance of informal interaction among the membership during this period. The available evidence is too limited to establish in itself the existence of such interaction, although it supports such a conclusion. Related information concerning such informal interaction is evidence that food-sharing based on informal social interaction across family lines existed throughout this period. This was a continuation of historical patterns existing in previous decades. The distribution of food in part depended on knowledge concerning conditions among families. This information appeared to have been gained through informal social contact.

Limited interview data indicates that there continued to be some social ties among the oldest generation which were derived from the era of distinct settlements, before 1914. Among a larger proportion of the membership there were social ties based on the later, 1914-56, era when there continued to be group ceremonies and frequent major social gatherings of the tribe.

Annual meetings and other general membership meetings were held consistently. These meetings were social as well as political in nature. Social interaction at the annual meetings has been reasonably intense, but limited in time, and must be evaluated together with and in the context of the overall body of evidence of social interaction and social relationships. Attendance at general membership meetings from the 1960's on has been broadly distributed among the main family lines and within each family line as well. Attendance at a given meeting has ranged from 10 to 30 percent of the membership. There was no measure made of the total percentage of the membership that had attended at least one general membership meeting within a given time span.

Based on the available evidence, the degree of social interaction and social ties was somewhat diminished from the previous eras. Large-scale community gatherings such as those held by Jerry Kanim and Ed Davis in earlier decades were no longer held. There was no evidence that group-organized religious ceremonies were performed after the 1930's. There were no evident community institutions in the sense of churches or economic organizations. There was no information concerning whether major social divisions existed which functioned in a variety of social contexts.

The Snoqualmie instituted a membership requirement of 1/8 degree Snoqualmie blood in the late 1940's or early 1950's. Though previously no specific requirement was made, there were few members with less than this blood degree. The average Snoqualmie blood degree of the membership between 1956 and 1981 was probably considerably higher than 1/8. Ancestry derived from other tribes was not counted towards the membership requirement, even though most Snoqualmie had, because of traditional marriages patterns, a considerable degree of Indian ancestry derived from other local tribes. Concern within the Snoqualmie about declining Snoqualmie blood degree was not seriously evidenced until the 1980's, when it began to affect the membership eligibility of the children of younger members. This was the result of increased marriage to other Indians and to non-Indians in the preceding generations.

The blood degree of the Snoqualmie membership as a whole provides evidence of maintenance of a community. A blood degree requirement for membership in a group establishes a requirement for the maintenance within the group as a whole of at least a minimal degree of social ties, since it is a measure of how close kinship ties of a given individual are with other members of the tribe. The higher the blood degree of an individual, the higher the number of relatives that individual is likely to have within the tribe and the closer his relationship to them. While in individual instances a person of low blood degree may have established strong social ties within a group, and vice versa, blood degree is a valid measure of the overall social ties based on kinship within the membership of group. It indicates that membership requires more than simply showing descendancy, however remote, from the historic tribe. A membership criterion only requiring descendancy provides no evidence in itself for the maintenance of social community, although it does not rule out the possibility that a distinct social community has been maintained.

A significant portion of the membership maintained cultural differences from non-Indians. The clearest evidence of this is Snoqualmie participation in the Shaker Church, the Indian Smokehouse religion (a modified revival of traditional religion) and probably some continued traditional religious beliefs among the oldest generation. The Snoqualmie participating in these religions were probably a significant minority of the tribe, although detailed evidence was not available. There was no longer a separate congregation of Snoqualmie Shakers after approximately the 1940's. The Snoqualmie instead participated in intertribal Shaker congregations. The number of individuals speaking the Snoqualmie language continued to decline as the older Snoqualmie died off.

The most consistent and detailed data to demonstrate social community concerns the maintenance, functioning and change of Snoqualmie political institutions. This information is more detailed and systematic than the information available which directly describes the maintenance of social community. Significant, noncoercive political processes such as those which occurred among the Snoqualmie in this period require and are based on the existence of social ties and communication in order for them to operate. Thus the existence of such political processes, where they are clearly established by the evidence, provides evidence for the existence of a social community. This evidence must be evaluated together with direct evidence concerning social community.

There is clear evidence, discussed in more detail under criterion (c), that throughout the 1970's there were political activities within the Snoqualmie whose nature indicates they were based on an underlying social community. Political activities brought forth different views concerning changes in the form of Snoqualmie government and the addition of programs or change in focus of programs. Opinion was divided concerning maintaining traditional forms of political process versus changing them. In addition, there were differences over how to address the question of regaining fishing rights. Differences over some issues represented generational conflicts, which were evident throughout the decade as well as afterwards. These were consistent, complex differences, at times allying the oldest and youngest generation against the middle generation. These political activities provide evidence for community because they involve the mobilization of the members and expressions of differences of opinion along generational and other lines concerning a wide range of issues. They indicate social divisions along the lines of these opinions.

The evidence for community from political processes between 1956 and 1970 is less strong for the 1970's through 1981, in part because this period was a low point of political activity after the death of Chief Jerry Kanim in 1956. There is some evidence of generational differences in political opinion before 1970, notably in the election of Robert Comenout as chairman in 1968.

The available evidence is sufficient to demonstrate that a significant level of social community was maintained by the Snoqualmie between 1956 and 1981. The Snoqualmie between 1956 and 1981 demonstrated a fairly high degree of closeness of kinship ties between members of the group, although this was less so than in previous periods. Membership in the group required demonstration of 1/8 or more Snoqualmie blood degree, and average blood degree in practice was higher.

This demonstrates that the Snoqualmie had important kinship ties and were more than merely a group of distantly related descendants of Indians. The group did not become more widely dispersed geographically in comparison with previous eras, remaining within an area close enough to allow maintenance of community social relations. Evidence for continuing political processes was more extensive than that concerning community. This evidence establishes a significant degree of political process which thus provides significant supporting evidence to demonstrate the existence of a social community. A significant, though diminishing amount of distinct culture was maintained. Community was strongly established before 1956 and is clearly established for the modern community (since 1981). A significant amount of evidence concerning the period between 1956 and 1981 shows the continuance of social patterns and characteristics which provide evidence of community. These patterns are demonstrated with more detailed and extensive evidence for the time periods before and after 1956 to 1981.

Modern community is defined for the purposes of this evaluation as approximately 1981 to the present. There are no evident significant differences in the character of the community from the preceding period, but considerably more detailed documentary and interview materials is available. The division of time periods is established at this point in time in part because of the changes in leadership and form of tribal government that occurred in 1980-81.

The geographical distribution of the Snoqualmie membership has not changed substantially from that of the previous decades. There are no distinctly Snoqualmie settlement areas. About 70 percent lives within a 50 mile radius of Tolt/Carnation, most between Marysville and Monroe on the north and Auburn on the south, a distance of about 50 miles. This is not close enough to raise any presumption of significant social interaction, but is close enough that social interaction at a significant level is easily possible. A highly geographically dispersed membership would require evidence to overcome a presumption against maintenance of community based on the geographic dispersion of a group's members over great distances with no concentrations in smaller areas.

There is strong evidence of the maintenance of significant social relationships among the Snoqualmie in the modern community, although there was not detailed information concerning particular forms and intensity of social interaction. "Social interaction" describes the actual occurrence of interaction between individuals such as at meetings, in conversation, during conflicts and the like. "Social relationships" refers to circumstances where the

individuals within a group define themselves and are defined by others as connected with each other in a particular way, accompanied by role definitions, feelings of social attachment, obligations and expectations. Social relationships affect what interaction occurs and social interactions help create some social relationships. Important social relationships in the Snoqualmie case include those of kinship and membership in the tribe itself. Strong social relationships can exist without being manifest in frequent day-to-day interaction.

Strong evidence for the existence of significant social relationships among the Snoqualmie is provided by the fact that family line groupings are socially defined and known throughout the membership. Groups of related Snoqualmie are recognized by Snoqualmie in some, though not all, social and political contexts, and thus significantly define social relationships. These kinship groupings are well-known and are defined as the major families making up the tribe. They have a clear social definition which ascribes particular characteristics and histories to each family group. These social definitions carry with them a sense of a long history of interaction and relationships which are important to the Snoqualmie. Their existence indicates that regular social interaction has taken place, in order for that knowledge and history of relationships to exist. The available data concerning family groups and their social significance is particularly strong concerning how they manifest themselves in Snoqualmie political contexts. Conflicts between "families" are considered a prominent element of general council meetings, the major context in which political decisions are reached by the Snoqualmie.

Major family lines are defined for the purposes of this review as those eight lines which comprise between five and 15 percent of the membership each. These genealogically defined major lines correspond in most respects to the ones socially recognized by the Snoqualmie. Major family lines account for about 77 percent of the current membership. Eighteen smaller lines together only comprise 23 percent of the enrollment, although they have many other family members who are not enrolled with the Snoqualmie.

Within the Snoqualmie membership, six major family lines and six smaller lines constitute the social and politically most active portion of the membership and have the strongest social ties. These comprise about 69 percent of the membership. These are all families which historically resided off-reservation. Most were closely linked to the key historical leaders Jerry Kanim and his ally Ed Davis. They have historically been an important part of the Snoqualmie and their continued central presence in the group

is based on a history of political and social relationships with each other.

Fifteen percent of the membership was derived from 12 other small family lines. Information was relatively limited concerning their relationship to the main six major and six minor lines. Most on the basis of limited investigation, are the "remnants" of family lines that maintained significant social and political ties until the 1950's or 1960's. Many are affiliated with Tulalip Reservation and formerly had a larger enrollment with the Snoqualmie. Their kinship ties to the main Snoqualmie present family lines were not determined. They do not appear to be highly active in formal events of the Snoqualmie presently, but may have been in the period before the modern community. Some members participated in the Snoqualmie general council, a major political forum (see criterion (c) discussion) as late as 1976. Based on limited information, almost all of these family lines appear to have remained a part of Puget Sound Indian society.

Two other major family lines only recently became part of the Snoqualmie membership, i.e., in the late 1970's or early 1980's. Most members from one of these lines either subsequently withdrew from membership or were banished from membership by action of the Snoqualmie tribal and general councils. These two lines cannot be considered to have had close social ties with the Snoqualmie.

The major family line groupings are relatively small groups of closely related individuals, i.e., the largest has less than 50 individuals in it. The generational depth to a common ancestor, for a young adult, is to a common grandparent or great-grandparent. It is thus reasonable that the members of a line would have close ties with each other and would be socially defined as a unit.

Kinship ties between family groups rest on marriage ties between Snoqualmie lines created no later than the 1920's, with some dating back to the last decades of the 19th century. They are still a factor in social and political relationships but are presumed to have diminished in significance in comparison with previous eras because they are no longer as close. Nonetheless, they provide significant supporting evidence for the more direct evidence that significant social relationships still exist within the Snoqualmie. Snoqualmie kinship ties with the Puget Sound Indian network, traditionally part of their social context, are somewhat stronger, since it was only in the 1950's that marriages to Indians of other tribes in the area stopped being common.

The available data demonstrates that most of the present Snoqualmie members have substantial social ties with each other. For a portion of the membership, approximately 15 percent, adequate information is lacking to demonstrate the extent of social ties that may exist, although there was some limited evidence that they have maintained, at least until recently, some social relationships with the main families. Another portion of the membership has been two family lines which joined within the past ten years. These comprise approximately 15 percent of the membership list reviewed for this finding, although one of the two lines has essentially all withdrawn their membership or been banished from membership. The available information concerning these lines does not indicate that they presently maintain an active social or political relationship with the rest of the Snoqualmie. The proportion of Snoqualmie that have not demonstrated at least some social ties is not large enough to conclude, given the other evidence cited below, that the present-day Snoqualmie do not meet the requirements for community, i.e., that significant interaction and social relationships exist broadly among the membership. This criterion does not require that social interaction and relationships be uniform within the membership, but allows for the common circumstance where the main body of a group has substantial social ties while a periphery of membership has a lesser degree of social connection.

The evidence concerning Snoqualmie political processes in the present-day group is more detailed and systematic than that which was available which directly described the maintenance of social community. Significant, noncoercive political processes such as those which occur among the Snoqualmie, require and are based on the existence of social ties and communication in order for them to operate. Thus the existence of such political processes, where they are clearly established by the evidence, provides evidence for the existence of a social community. This evidence must be evaluated together with evidence directly concerning social community.

Aspects of present-day Snoqualmie political process which most clearly indicate the existence of supporting social processes include the expression of differences of opinion along generational and other lines concerning such issues as fishing rights and the form of leadership and the mobilization of opinion to seek the ouster of a chairman whose behavior was not acceptable.

Detailed information concerning informal interaction, as opposed to the social relationships described above, was not provided with the petition materials nor obtained by subsequent BAR research. The available information is

described below.

Annual meetings and other general membership meetings are held consistently, often several times a year. These meetings are social as well as political in nature, but are not the lengthy, multi-day events of Jerry Kanim's time. Attendance at meetings has been broadly distributed among the main family lines and within each family line as well. Between 10 to 30 percent of the members attend any given meeting. There was no measure made of the percentage of the membership that had attended at least one meeting within a given time span. Social interaction at the annual meetings is reasonably intense, but limited in time. Because attendance is broadly distributed, the general membership meetings provide some evidence to demonstrate social community, although not strong evidence in itself.

The operation of the present Snoqualmie foodbank program and the previous informal means of distributing food among the membership which have historically existed among the Snoqualmie gives some indication that informal patterns of communication among the membership exist which provide information concerning which members are in need. This information is very limited and unsystematic. It is thus at best supportive of the more direct information concerning community.

There was no information concerning the extent of informal social gatherings of Snoqualmie beyond those of close family members. There was clear information that attendance at weddings and funerals was limited to members of the particular family line involved. The degree of geographical dispersion of the Snoqualmie mitigates against a high degree of informal social gatherings on a regular basis.

There is a limited amount of data indicating that many of the Snoqualmie have an in-depth knowledge of each other and their histories and families which extends across extended family lines. They display a sense of involvement with each other which reflects a long history of interaction. The intensity and depth of time of this knowledge and these relationships goes well beyond the knowledge that would have resulted from informal social interaction developing out of participation at formal events such as meetings. In other words, it was not characteristic of the knowledge growing out of the limited social relationships associated with membership in a formal organization.

There is good evidence that a substantial minority of the Snoqualmie maintain significant cultural differences from non-Indians, and some evidence that a larger proportion maintains other, more limited cultural differences. There

is good evidence that such individuals have high prestige within the Snoqualmie. Approximately 15 percent of the membership participates in an Indian religion. Further, participants are drawn from several of the family lines, i.e., important cultural differences are not narrowly confined to a small portion of the membership. Cultural differences of this nature are particularly strong evidence because religion is a fundamental part of a culture's belief system. These are very strong, significant differences, even though only a minority of the population currently maintains them.

To be meaningful as evidence concerning the maintenance of a cohesive, distinct social community, cultural differences should extend beyond purely symbolic expressions of identity. An example of the latter is the revival and performance of traditional style dances, in contexts such as parades or performances before non-members, as a means of affirming identity, but without the context of beliefs, worldview and supporting social and economic obligations that the dance had in its original cultural and social setting.

While maintenance of cultural differences is not a requirement of the acknowledgment regulations, nor a necessity to demonstrate a distinct community, the existence of such differences is, by its very nature, a good demonstration of significant social distinction. It is also strong evidence that there exists, and historically has existed, significant social cohesion as well as internal political processes which have acted to maintain distinct cultural elements within the community against pressures from non-Indian society to acculturate to non-Indian society.

The Snoqualmie have continued to maintain a membership requirement of 1/8 degree Snoqualmie Indian ancestry. Because recent outmarriage has led to a decrease in Snoqualmie blood degree among the younger generation, there was a debate within the Snoqualmie over the question of changing the membership requirements. Rather than lowering the requirements, the Snoqualmie require that individuals with less than the required blood degree must be adopted. Presently there is a further requirement that adoptees be sponsored by a present member and that they serve a five-year probationary period. These present rules resulted from problems experienced after the adoption under less stringent rules in the early 1980's of many members from a family line with no previous association with the Snoqualmie. The present rules were adopted at a general council meeting, i.e., required broad community approval. Because of tradition, reduction in the blood degree requirement was

rejected, as was adding in blood degree based on other tribal ancestry. The maintenance of a specifically Snoqualmie blood degree, together with adoption rules that effectively require significant connection with the community, represents a political decision to maintain a community with significant social cohesion while dealing with the question of decreasing Snoqualmie blood degree. Most adoptees are children of present members.

Demonstration of community under the regulations requires that the tribe be a social community which is distinct from other populations in the area. This requires that they maintain a significant degree of social cohesion within the group and also that members maintain at least a minimal social distinction from non-members. Minimal social distinction means that they identify themselves as distinct and that they are identified as different by non-members. Evidence of more than a minimal distinction is not required to demonstrate that criterion (b) is met, as it can be met by directly demonstrating the existence of significant levels of social interaction and social relationships. Evidence of strong social distinctions, beyond a minimal degree of identification, such as patterns of social discrimination, is good evidence to demonstrate the existence of social cohesion within the group. Social distinction which is more than minimal may result from either externally imposed discrimination or internally defined and maintained social relationships and social pressures.

Through their membership requirements, the Snoqualmie maintain clear social boundaries on their membership which make them distinct from non-Indians. Membership requires more than simple demonstration of Indian ancestry from the tribe, however remote that ancestry might be. Thus membership is based on members making a significant social distinction between themselves and non-members.

The Snoqualmie clearly meet the minimal requirements of the regulations concerning distinction, identifying themselves and being identified by outsiders as Snoqualmie. There was little direct description or information indicating the degree to which social distinctions, beyond identification per se, exist in interaction with non-Indians. What evidence is available does not indicate that there are currently strong social distinctions made by non-Indians. Snoqualmie interact extensively with non-Indians and in many contexts. There was no direct evidence to demonstrate whether there were differences in the degree and kind of interaction with Indians versus with non-Indians. Many Snoqualmie attend non-Indian churches, but a significant minority still participate in Indian religions. There are

no barriers to intermarriage from the point of view of non-Indians nor do the Snoqualmie presently exhibit a preference for marriage with Indians or place a lower value on marrying a non-Indian. There are no current marriages between two Snoqualmie. There are a number of the older generation who are presently married to other local Indians or who have had such marriages.

In summary, the available evidence demonstrates that most of the present membership have substantial social ties with each other. There is a variety of different kinds of evidence which demonstrate the existence of significant social ties among most of the membership. The geographical distribution of the membership is close enough that significant social interaction is possible, although not close enough to assume that such interaction is occurring. Kinship relationships are close enough to be in themselves a good basis for community. The existence of cultural differences provides evidence that there is more than a minimal distinction between the Snoqualmie and non-Indians. The Snoqualmie have maintained a clear membership boundary, reinforcing evidence from other sources that this is more than a formal organization of Snoqualmie descendants. The family lines which comprise the largest part of the membership are historically non-reservation families and represent in part a continuity with political alliances which have been at the heart of the Snoqualmie tribe since at least 1914. There was limited evidence that informal, though not necessarily intense, social contact was maintained broadly among the membership. Stronger, though less direct, evidence of social contact is the significant extent of social knowledge and involvement among Snoqualmie members. This is partly expressed in awareness and knowledge of the history, character and actions of the major family lines, which is evidence of continuing social ties as well as social contact. There is further, strong, evidence from political processes among the Snoqualmie, which are more clearly and extensively documented than direct evidence of social community, that significant social relationships and a significant degree of social contact exist because the nature of these political processes requires such relationships in order to operate as well as reflecting and expressing such relationships.

The contemporary Snoqualmie have demonstrated the existence of significant social relationships and social interaction within the group and therefore meet the requirements of criterion (b).

The Snoqualmie have maintained a distinct community throughout history since first sustained contact with Euro-

Americans in the 1830's until the present. Therefore, the Snoqualmie meet the requirements of criterion 25 CFR 83.7(b).

83.7(c)

A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

Between 1843 and 1847, a chief of the entire Snoqualmie tribe emerged, possibly in response to the effects of white settlement and other contacts. His name was Pat Kanim. Previous to this, the Snoqualmie may not have constituted a single political unit in the sense of having an overall leader. Leadership and other political processes were exercised at the village level and/or within nonlocalized kinship groups. The extent to which Pat Kanim may have exercised leadership characterized by strong authority versus leading more through his ability to exert political influence through persuasion as a public speaker is not entirely clear. Even though the exact nature of his leadership is not certain, it is clear that he was recognized as an important leader by non-Indian governmental authorities, as well as by the Snoqualmie themselves. Pat Kanim was the second signer, after Seattle, of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott, a fact which reflects his importance.

In addition to Pat Kanim, there were subchiefs subordinate to him, leaders of villages and possibly local leaders influential in several villages. The Upper Snoqualmie had a chief, named Sanawa, whose authority appears to have extended over all of the Upper Snoqualmie portion of the tribe. The relationship between Sanawa and Pat Kanim is not entirely clear. For the most part Sanawa appears to have been subordinate to Pat Kanim, but at other times acted independently of him.

Pat Kanim died in 1858. Sanawa survived until 1875. Sanawa's authority as chief was recognized by the Federal government. There is clear evidence of his leadership role in maintaining the Upper Snoqualmie as an off-reservation group. Sanawa was succeeded as chief by his son, John Senaa, for an unknown length of time. Whether Sanawa's and John Senaa's leadership extended beyond the Upper Snoqualmie to all of the off-reservation settlements could not be determined. After John Senaa's death, leadership was less

formal. Except for Watson Martin, another descendant of Sanawa, specifically named leaders of the off-reservation Snoqualmie are not known for the period after John Senaa's death until 1914. There were Snoqualmie political leaders resident on Tulalip in the late 19th century, whose influence may have extended to non-reservation residents.

Names of leaders are for each of the Snoqualmie settlements are not known for all periods after 1858. In addition to Sanawa and John Senaa, political processes existed through informal leaders, community meetings and the cooperative effort necessary to construct and maintain longhouses and communal ceremonies. Snoqualmie leaders led Snoqualmie hop-picking crews. They thus organized a major form of economic activity important to the membership and dealt with external authorities as part of the process. The existence and maintenance of culturally and territorially distinct communities is further evidence that political influence through either formal or informal leaders or group decision-making processes was maintained throughout the latter part of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century.

Between 1914 and 1916, a political reorganization of the Snoqualmie tribe took place. The first stage of the reorganization was the naming of Jerry Kanim as chief. Kanim's role as chief was a strong one but differed somewhat from that of the traditional chiefs because of the substantially changed social and economic conditions of the Snoqualmie. Kanim was sought out by the Snoqualmie to be leader and he acquired political influence over the course of several years before being put into office. Kanim was sought as chief because he was from the chiefly line of Pat Kanim and was articulate and knowledgeable about Snoqualmie traditional culture. The process of his becoming chief is in itself evidence of significant political processes because it required a major mobilization of community opinion and the existence of shared community values concerning leadership.

The second stage of the reorganization was the institution of a formal governing council, with a chairman and council members elected by the members, and a general council of the members as a whole. These changes were made after a lengthy political process of meetings and discussion among a substantial portion of the membership, taking place over two weeks. They are thus in themselves strong evidence for the exercise of political influence within the Snoqualmie.

Kanim was a powerful speaker who was known for his ability to influence community opinion. Reports of his "legitimacy" as leader are widespread. The actions of older Snoqualmie

leaders today still reflect his influence and ideas. This demonstrates that there was a significant relationship between leader and followers during his tenure and also demonstrates the political process by which he mobilized community opinion on significant issues.

The reinstitution of a chief, and institution of the other features of the reorganization, are significant political actions because they in part addressed the significant economic and social changes occurring among the Snoqualmie in the first decades of the 20th century.

Gaining land for the Snoqualmie to settle upon and the maintenance of fishing and hunting rights under the treaties were two issues that Kanim spoke powerfully about to the Snoqualmie all his life. Kanim pursued these issues with Federal, state, and local authorities throughout his tenure. Kanim came into office during a period when the Snoqualmie had recently lost their off-reservation lands. At the same time the completion of the allotment of reservations left many eligible individuals landless because there was insufficient reserved land. Hunting and fishing rights were of great importance because the Snoqualmie hunted and fished extensively for subsistence purposes. Access to traditional hunting and fishing grounds was becoming increasingly limited because of competition with non-Indians and increasing restrictive game and fish laws. Land and hunting and fishing rights were thus clearly issues of significance and concern to the Snoqualmie as a whole.

There is some evidence that for several decades Kanim organized crews of Snoqualmie to pick hops and other crops. Thus, he exercised leadership in economic organization of members and dealt with external authorities on matters of economic importance. Economic organization is strong evidence of significant political influence and leadership because it affects a major part of the lives of group members in ways which are intrinsically important.

Kanim's personal leadership also took the form of counseling members and settling disputes between individual Snoqualmie. He also dealt with external authorities concerning the welfare of individuals, interceding for those in legal trouble or needing economic assistance such as employment.

There is evidence of other influential leaders besides Kanim within the Snoqualmie, who served on the council or as chairman. Among these were Watson Martin, from the family line of the Upper Snoqualmie chief Sanawa. Martin was identified as a leader before Jerry Kanim became chief. Another important figure is Ed Davis, whose influence stemmed in part from being the leader of the Indian Shaker

Church congregation of the Snoqualmie, and who was apparently an important influence in the movement which brought Kanim to power. Davis also organized regular events which brought Snoqualmie together.

The tribal council and the general council played roles which were mainly contributory to the political influence exercised by Kanim within the Snoqualmie, serving as a sounding board and dealing with issues under his leadership. The general council meetings had the function of assembling the larger part of the membership to make decisions on issues, elect replacements for leaders and make changes in the form of Snoqualmie governance.

The form that Kanim's reorganization of the Snoqualmie took after he became chief was stimulated by and reflected, though only in part, Indian movements which had begun 10 or more years earlier in the Puget Sound area to gain land and pursue claims against the Government. One common element in these movements was the creation of formally organized councils representing the interests of claimants to the rights of various historical treaty tribes. These organizational forms, however, were adopted by a variety of populations of greatly differing social and political character. Formal organizations at the time were adopted by reservation tribes and non-reservation tribes, but also by organizations which were largely made up of descendants of Indians who had assimilated into the non-Indian population. The adoption of a formal organization by a group of people such as those in the latter category meant that the existence of such an organization did not automatically demonstrate that the organization thus formed was a tribe and that the organization exercised tribal political authority within the meaning of these regulations or was the reorganization of an on-going more traditional tribal political system. In contrast, the Snoqualmie were a traditional, culturally distinct community, fully part of Indian society and did not include significant numbers of Indian descendants. It's reorganization was the reorganization of an on-going political system.

Strong evidence for political process among the Snoqualmie during Jerry Kanim's tenure is that external authorities recognized his political influence. The BIA, which dealt with the Snoqualmie as a recognized tribe in this period, consistently recognized and dealt with Kanim as a leader who represented the concerns and interests of the Snoqualmie members and exercised influence among those members. These external authorities were knowledgeable about the Snoqualmie tribe and dealt with it regularly on a variety of matters. Until the 1930's, the Government dealt with the Snoqualmie resident on and off-reservation more or less as a single

political entity. Thus, in 1928 Jerry Kanim was elected head of the business council instituted by the Indian Service to deal with the Tulalip Agency Superintendent on matters affecting Snoqualmie interests on the Tulalip Reservation. Subsequently, the Government began to recognize the Snoqualmie on the Tulalip Reservation as a distinct entity. Beginning in 1929, there was a separate council on Tulalip, representing the interests of all of the Indians resident there, while Kanim was dealt with separately as leader of an off-reservation based Snoqualmie tribe. In 1936, the residents of the Tulalip Reservation, made up of Snohomish, Snoqualmie and others, were organized as a tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act. The Federal government continued to recognize Jerry Kanim's band as a separate political unit.

The information concerning Jerry Kanim's leadership is sufficient in itself to establish that the Snoqualmie met criterion (c) during the period of his leadership between 1914 and 1956. The level of political processes and exercise of political influence during Jerry Kanim's tenure very substantially exceeds the minimal requirement of the Acknowledgment regulations.

For ease and clarity of analysis and presentation, political influence after Kanim's death up to and including the present community is dealt with here as a single time period. Differences within this time period are dealt with specifically under each particular topic.

Sometime between 1955 and 1961, the Snoqualmie lost Federal recognition by the Federal government. This loss resulted from the policy changes and reexamination of the status of non-reservation groups (see criterion (a)), rather than a change in the Snoqualmie. As a consequence, however, there was no longer the external recognition of significant political influence.

Chief Jerry Kanim died in 1956. After his death, Snoqualmie political activity lessened for about a decade. Kanim had not prepared a successor and many of his activities did not continue. The chieftainship did not continue because none of the individuals that the Snoqualmie sought as chief were willing to accept the position. There was a decline in political activity after Kanim's death because the Snoqualmie political system did not immediately adjust or reorganize itself in response to the changed conditions of not having the strong figure it had had for decades and not being recognized.

Although political activity lessened, several important political figures influential in the past remained active,

including Ed Davis, Kanim's chief political ally. The general council continued to function as a decision-making and review body. The chairmanship position, which had existed during Kanim's tenure but was overshadowed by the chief's position, became the central political office. It did not immediately become a strongly influential position, however.

The chairman's position became a strongly influential one in 1968 with the election, for the first time since Kanim's death, of a strong figure, Robert Comenout. Another change in the Snoqualmie political system which led it to become more active was the large turnover in council positions around the same time. The election of a new chairman and the change in council positions was part of a movement by a younger generation to become involved as many of the generation that had served under Jerry Kanim died or became too old to serve.

Ed Davis played an important political role from 1956 into the 1980's and had great legitimacy as an influential leader. Davis continued to be active politically until shortly before his death in 1987. Evidence for this is the role he played in advising concerning Snoqualmie traditions of leadership and government, and the heed paid his advice by a variety of Snoqualmie leaders over a very long period of time. He also exercised considerable direct political influence by using the influence of his stature to promote for office individuals he thought suitable for the chairmanship and also for the chief and subchief roles. Davis' role provides important evidence, together with the other evidence showing political influence among the Snoqualmie, to demonstrate that significant political influence has been exercised among the Snoqualmie from 1956 until the present.

Although the Snoqualmie again appointed a chief in 1986, the role is considerably different than that of Jerry Kanim or 19th century chiefs. It was not demonstrated that the chief, and an associated council of subchiefs, in fact play a significant political role.

The general membership meeting (general council) has played a major role in Snoqualmie political processes from at least the 1960's until the present. It is the final arbiter of political issues and conflicts. The general council meeting provides clear evidence that there is a bilateral political relationship between Snoqualmie members and the tribe. More particularly, it connects the tribal council and the chairmen to the membership, both by electing them and by reviewing actions which are considered critical or controversial. The expectation and experience of Snoqualmie

leaders is that the general council is a forum where public opinion is brought to bear. Any issue may be brought to the general council by a member. Attendance at meetings ranges from 10 to 35 percent of the membership, depending in part on the importance of the issues to be discussed. The fact that not all adult Snoqualmie can be shown to be directly participating in the general councils does not conflict with this conclusion, given that a significant portion of the membership participates and that participation is broadly distributed among the membership.

There is some evidence to demonstrate that, both presently and in past decades, broad public opinion has existed concerning various incumbent chairmen. There was little evidence of systematic informal campaigning for chairman or tribal council in advance of general council meetings. There was some evidence for awareness of political issues in advance of the meetings. This is further evidence that general council actions represent significant political influence because they are affected by political concerns among the Snoqualmie that exist broadly and consistently, i.e., exist outside the context of a given meeting.

There is good evidence, consistent over a long period of time (1960's to the present), that opinion and concern over the actions of the Snoqualmie leadership and the form of that leadership have existed at large among the membership. These have been evidenced from time to time by generational differences concerning the Snoqualmie leadership and the form of government.

A strong demonstration of internal political influence occurred in 1980 when community opinion was mobilized to oust the chairman, whose behavior in this role violated community norms. This ouster is an especially significant exercise of political influence because there was no formal provision, nor precedent, for such an action. The ouster brought one of the highest turnouts at a general council meeting. The turnout, as well as interview data, indicate that there was extant community opinion about the chairman's actions. This opinion was presumably communicated informally. This illustrates the existence of the flow of political opinion and thus a bilateral political relationship, a requirement of criterion (c).

Generational conflicts over political issues have been evident in Snoqualmie political processes since the 1968 election of Robert Comenout. Several examples were evident during the 1970's, involving representation on the council, the form of governance, and the approach to seeking restoration of fishing rights. These conflicts have taken a form which indicates that a broad spectrum of public opinion

among the Snoqualmie is involved rather than just the actions and opinions of particular individuals.

Hunting and fishing rights have been a consistent concern addressed by the Snoqualmie council and leadership throughout the period between 1956 and the present. Some fishing continued under ordinary license or under temporary treaty rights between 1971 and 1979 during the U.S. v. Washington litigation. Regaining hunting and fishing rights is one reason voiced for seeking Federal acknowledgment. It is likely that fishing remained an important part of Snoqualmie subsistence until World War II, and for some time later for some Snoqualmie. There is good evidence that public opinion among the Snoqualmie up until the present has remained strong concerning the loss of fishing rights. Thus, there is good evidence that fishing rights is a political issue of substantial significance and concern among a wide portion of the Snoqualmie because the effective loss of access to these rights is recent and there is continued widespread interest among the members.

Additional evidence that there presently exist processes of political opinion and influence within the Snoqualmie which involve most of the membership is that the major family lines function politically to a limited degree. Family lines presently are recognized within the Snoqualmie as social units which have political opinions that differ from those of other families. Family conflicts are considered a characteristic feature of general council meetings. There is no system of family representation per se, and the family lines do not function as highly organized blocks. However, they are one line along which political opinion is formed. There was no evidence whether or not family lines had functioned similarly in the past.

There appear to be significant differences among different portions of the membership in their degree of involvement in Snoqualmie political relationships. Five major family lines are particularly active in Snoqualmie social interaction and political relationships. All actively participated in general council meetings and participation was generally broad within each family line. These families are socially recognized as distinct units with differing characteristics. Other family lines enrolled in the Snoqualmie are less active.

There exists substantial evidence between 1956 and 1968 and strong evidence from 1968 through the present that political influence is exercised within the Snoqualmie membership, that leaders and council have a significant political connection with the membership, i.e., a bilateral political relationship, and that political issues of significance to a

broad portion of the membership have been addressed. Thus, the Snoqualmie have met the requirements of criterion (c) from 1956 up to and including the present.

We conclude that tribal political influence has been exercised within the Snoqualmie throughout history until the present. The Snoqualmie therefore meet the requirements of criterion 25 CFR 83.7(c).

87.3(d)

A copy of the group's present governing document, or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.

The petitioner submitted a copy of its current governing documents. Adopted in 1981, the documents consist of a constitution and bylaws. These documents and further information provided by the petitioner demonstrate that the business and affairs of the petitioner are managed by the Tribal Council. This council consists of four officers (chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer) and five other members. The chairman is elected for a three-year term, and the remaining council members are elected for a two-year term by the general membership. There are also committees which deal with specific issues pertaining to the petitioner or its membership. These committees are appointed by the general membership or the tribal council. Final authority in all matters rests with the general membership, which is referred to as the "general council." The general council meets at least once a year to transact tribal business brought before it by the tribal council.

As stated in the petitioner's governing documents, membership is open to all persons of one-eighth or more Snoqualmie blood. Any person who does not meet this requirement is eligible for adoption as a member with those membership privileges that are expressly bestowed at the time of adoption. Membership in more than one tribe or group is expressly prohibited. The petitioner has also submitted regulations and ordinances, which have been adopted by the general membership in 1986 and 1987, regarding the membership privileges of adopted members. The petitioner also provided materials describing the enrollment procedure which has been in effect since the 1950's and evolved from the enrollment procedure first developed in 1929.

The petitioner has submitted copies of its present governing documents, as well as supplementary materials, describing the membership criteria and the procedures by which the petitioner currently governs its affairs and its members. We, therefore, conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(d).

83.7(e)

A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descendancy from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

Ninety-six percent of the petitioner's 313 members have established or can be expected to establish descent from the Snoqualmie, a signatory tribe to the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott. The remaining 4 percent of the membership consists of 11 members who have not satisfactorily established Snoqualmie descent, and 3 members who are non-Indian, but who have been adopted as members. Eighty-five percent of the petitioner's members can trace to ancestors who are identified as Snoqualmie, and either appeared on the Schedule of the Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington, prepared by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1919, or made an application to be listed on the 1919 schedule. Another 11 percent of the membership can trace to ancestors who are identified as Snoqualmie in allotment lists or other Bureau records.

Based upon materials provided by the petitioner, the majority of members (82 percent) possess the one-eighth or more Snoqualmie blood required by the petitioner's membership criteria. Members who possess less than one-eighth Snoqualmie blood but who descend from a Snoqualmie ancestor have been adopted. Twenty percent of the membership are concurrently members of other tribes. Because concurrent membership in more than one tribe or group is prohibited by the petitioner's governing body, these members technically do not meet the petitioner's membership criteria.

Eight former lists of members were either submitted by the petitioner or were already on file with the Bureau. The

lists date from 1916 to 1976, and contain substantially the same members. The only noticeable difference in these lists is the gradual dropping off of members who were also members of federally recognized tribes. Eighty-five percent of the current membership either appears, or has direct ancestors who appear, on one or more of the former lists.

Eighty-five percent of the petitioner's members shared in the 1978 judgment distribution awarded to the Snoqualmie and Skykomish Tribes in the Indian Claims Commission docket 93. In order to be eligible to share in the judgment distribution, these members were required to document their descent from the historic Snoqualmie tribe. Descent from the historic tribe can be verified for four members (one percent of the membership) who do not appear on the docket 93 judgment roll. An additional 10 percent of the current membership are expected to be able to establish their descent from the historic tribe based on their close relationship to members who have already established their descent.

The petitioner has submitted a list of its current members and a copy of each available former list of members based on the petitioner's own defined criteria. Virtually all of the petitioner's members have established or are expected to be able to establish descent from the historic tribe. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(e).

83.7(f)

The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American tribe.

In the past, the petitioner's membership has included members who were also enrolled in a federally recognized tribe. Some of these former members eventually dropped their membership with the petitioner. In the past ten years, the petitioner has removed approximately 33 individuals (not included as part of the current membership) from its membership list once the petitioner ascertained that the individual was enrolled in a federally recognized tribe.

Twenty percent of the current membership (63 members) can be identified as being enrolled in a federally recognized tribe, leaving a substantial majority (80 percent) of the petitioner's membership who are not enrolled in a federally

recognized tribe. The membership of the 20 percent who are enrolled in a federally recognized tribe is dispersed among seven tribes serviced by the Puget Sound Agency, and is based primarily on the member's descent in another line from a non-Snoqualmie Indian ancestor who was affiliated with the tribe.

We conclude that the petitioner's membership is not principally composed of persons who are members of other federally recognized tribes and, therefore, meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(f).

83.7(g)

The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

There is no record that the Snoqualmie Tribe, or its members, have ever been the subject of any Congressional legislation which has expressly forbidden or terminated the Federal relationship. We conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(g).

SOURCE MATERIALS FOR SNOQUALMIE FINDING

Ajax, Ivor L.

1950a Letter from Chief Inspector, Washington State Liquor Control Board, to Fred A. Gross, Superintendent, Tulalip Indian Agency. September 14. National Archives-Pacific Northwest Regional Branch, Seattle, WA. Record Group 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE SNOQUALMIE INDIAN TRIBE

The majority of the Snoqualmie reside in the counties of King and Snohomish in western Washington, within or closely territory.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

Identification as an American Indian Tribe

Documentary sources have clearly and consistently identified a body of Snoqualmie Indians living in the general vicinity of the Snoqualmie River Valley of western Washington from at least 1844, when a physician at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually compiled a census of the tribe, to the present. The identification of a Snoqualmie tribal entity was established by the United States in the governmental records of the territories of Oregon (1846-1853) and Washington (1853-1889) and by a statute of 1859, whereby the U.S. Senate and the President ratified the Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855, to which the Snoqualmie were a signatory party. Federal identification has continued, unbroken, to the present time.

The Snoqualmie Tribe has been identified in certain Federal judicial records, including those of the U.S. Court of Claims, the Indian Claims Commission, and the U.S. District Court for the District of Washington. In recent times, Federal agencies such as the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Education have provided project funding to the petitioner based on an identification of a Snoqualmie tribal entity. Agencies such as the Forest Service have also sought consultation with Snoqualmie leaders.

Federal identification of the Snoqualmie has included a substantial body of documents from the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). BIA officials maintained continual contact with the Snoqualmie leadership and/or its individual members from at least 1919 until the mid-1970's. Up until the period between 1955 and 1961, the Snoqualmie Tribe was treated much like any other tribal entity under the jurisdiction of the BIA's Tulalip Indian Agency, which became the Washington Indian Agency in 1955. Although the group lacked its own federally reserved land base, the Agency generally recognized that the Federal Government had some level of responsibility for the Snoqualmie as a result of the Point Elliott treaty provisions. Particularly during the 1940's, this relationship went beyond the BIA's role of approving

attorney contracts and preparing rolls for litigant tribes, whether or not they were federally recognized. The Agency, for example, sought to obtain a reservation for the Snoqualmie in the Tolt Valley, and provided assistance in the negotiation of hunting and fishing rights with the State. In a report published by the U.S. Congress in 1953, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council was listed among the tribal governments recognized by the BIA.

While the Snoqualmie Tribe was considered to be subject to the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, because it never voted to reject its provisions, it was not allowed to organize under the IRA, because it did not have a land base. During the 1950's, when the Government attempted to "terminate" Indian services and/or reduce the number of tribes entitled to Federal services, policy makers in the Northwest began to scrutinize more closely the status of non-reservation tribal entities under Agency jurisdiction. As a result, groups such as the Snoqualmie tended to be classified as being unrecognized by the Government. It is clear from the statements of both BIA officials and STO leaders during the 1960's and afterward that the Snoqualmie Tribe was considered to be lacking Federal recognition, even though it continued to be listed as being under jurisdiction of the Western Washington Indian Agency as late as 1975.

In 1974, a special BIA panel evaluated the status of the Snoqualmie against specific recognition criteria and, after finding the group to be eligible for Federal recognition, recommended that acknowledgment be extended to the Snoqualmie. However, neither this recommendation nor the group's 1976 petition for recognition were acted upon prior to October 2, 1978, the effective date of the new Federal acknowledgment regulations, because the Secretary of the Interior had suspended recognition decisions until the criteria and procedures could be examined and standardized. In 1979, a U.S. District Court judge, using criteria which had been developed in the context of litigation commenced prior to formation of the BIA panel and establishment of the Acknowledgment regulations, ruled that the Snoqualmie lacked the tribal characteristics necessary to exercise treaty rights. This decision was confirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1981. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision.

The Snoqualmie Tribe has been identified periodically between 1889 and the present in the records of the State of Washington, including those of the Governor and his advisory council on Indians, and the departments of State government which regulate hunting, fishing, liquor, and social and health services. It has also received program funding from the Washington Commission for Vocational Education and the

Washington Commission on the Humanities. The Snoqualmie Tribe has likewise been identified by local governmental entities, such as the City of Carnation (1917), the King County Landmark Commission (1980's), and the Snoqualmie Valley Citizens Advisory Committee (1980's). The petitioner has been viewed as a distinct tribal entity by non-Indians within the region, including such organizations as the Tolt Sportsmen's Association (1934) and the Fall City Cemetery Association (1978). The Snoqualmie Tribe has been identified similarly by various religious organizations, including the United Methodist Church (1986), the Washington Association of Churches (1991), and the Church Council of Greater Seattle (1991).

The Snoqualmie has been discussed and treated as being a distinct tribe in local and regional histories, such as Denny (1908) and Bagley (1929), as well as in the writings of scholars such as Bancroft (1890), Haeberlin and Gunther (1930), Lane (1975), and Suttles and Lane (1990).. Since 1855, periodic articles in regional newspapers, such as the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the Olympia Pioneer-Democrat, or in local publications within the Snoqualmie Valley, such as the Valley Record, have also identified a Snoqualmie Indian entity.

The Snoqualmie Tribe has historically had repeated dealings with federally recognized Indian tribes, including the Upper Skagit Tribe, the Muckleshoot Tribe, the Suquamish Tribe, and the Tulalip Tribes. It has been identified by and accepted for membership in the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) (1978 -), and has also been affiliated with and active in such regional Indian organizations as the Northwest Federation of American Indians (c.1913-1949), the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians (1978 -), the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission (during the 1970's), and the Small Tribes of Western Washington (STOWW) (1975 -).

Maintenance of an Indian Community

There is a paucity of external documentary sources providing evidence of the tribal social and community activities of the Snoqualmie throughout history. Most of the evidence relied upon in this report is based on the oral recollections of Snoqualmie tribal elders and other tribal informants and on internal documents maintained by the tribal council.

The political, economic, social, and religious centers of traditional Snoqualmie community life were the village potlatch houses and ceremonial longhouses. It was in these

structures where community meetings were held, where surplus goods were redistributed to or exchanged with people from other villages and tribes, and where important ceremonies, such as the Longhouse Spirit Dance, the Spirit Canoe Ceremony, and the potlatch, were performed. In the wake of Euro-American settlement in the Snoqualmie Valley, the Snoqualmie people were compelled to abandon their historic villages. Yet, the use of longhouses as community centers in their reformed settlements continued into the present century, and, in the case of the ceremonial longhouse at Lake Sammamish, lasted up until the mid-1930's. Although the traditional longhouse religion is no longer practiced, there continues to be a limited degree of involvement of Snoqualmie members, including some leaders, in the expression of native beliefs and ceremonies represented by the modern smokehouse religion.

By the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855, the Snoqualmie ceded their traditional homeland in return for a small Federal reservation near Snohomish Bay, which eventually became the Tulalip Reservation. Although some tribal members went to live there, most preferred to stay within the Snoqualmie Valley. While some managed to maintain a foothold in their homeland in the face of hostile settlers, many were forced to find new homes. As a consequence, three primary off-reservation settlement areas emerged: Lake Sammamish, the Upper Prairie above Snoqualmie Falls, and below the Falls in the area of the aboriginal villages at Tolt/Carnation and Fall City.

Community longhouses were maintained in each of these settlement areas. The dozen or so families who moved to Lake Sammamish established a community longhouse there and survived by combining wage work (cutting timber and picking hops and other crops) with subsistence fishing, hunting, and gathering, which at times became communal activities. Other families were attracted by agricultural employment opportunities to settle near the emerging Upper Prairie communities of Meadowbrook and Tanner, where they also established community longhouses as well as a food bank and cemetery. In the 1890's, two Snoqualmie tribesmen obtained trust patents for Indian homesteads on land adjacent to or near a non-Indian homestead that had been inherited by a Snoqualmie widow. This land base, a portion of which continues to remain under Federal trust, allowed the descendants of at least one homesteader (the Moses family) to maintain traditional subsistence patterns into the 1930's. A longhouse-style home built on this land served as a site for winter ceremonial dances up until 1911. During the same period, many Snoqualmie families continued to live in the valley below Snoqualmie Falls, where they maintained community longhouses on or near the old village sites at

Fall City and Tolt/Carnation.

During the four to six week ceremonial season each winter, the Snoqualmie people would take up residence in the longhouses to dance, hold feasts, and conduct community business. Informants who participated in these events around the turn of the century later indicated that it was not uncommon for members from one settlement to also participate in the ceremonial activities at the longhouse of another. Between 1900 and 1905, many of the Snoqualmie on the Upper Prairie were reportedly burned out of their homes, longhouses, and food shelters and forced to find refuge at other settlements or on the reservations. Some of these people may have been among the 39 landless families who appeared at the Muckleshoot Reservation in 1903.

Seasonal agricultural employment became something of a communal activity for many Snoqualmie, especially after hop-farming began to flourish in the early 1880's. For example, Ed Davis recalled that in 1906 he and 50-60 other Snoqualmie picked hops on an 80-acre farm in the Snoqualmie Valley, and that they lived in a 16-foot wide picker's shack which was 8-10 rooms long. An observer in 1895 also confirmed that the Indian pickers were generally housed together as a tribal group.

In 1911, the Snoqualmie were reportedly introduced to tenets of the Indian Shaker Church of the Northwest by Indians from the Tulalip reservation. The 19 members who formed the first Shaker church among the Snoqualmie held their meetings in Ed Davis's cabin along the Raging River near Fall City. Davis became the head minister of this church in 1915, and in 1922 his congregants built a new two-story structure which contained a church on the first floor and the Davis family residence on the second.

Snoqualmie participation in the Indian Shaker Church was widespread in this era and has continued to a lesser degree up to the present. Many families attended services and some traveled considerable distances to do so. The Fall City church became the most common location for the funeral services of off-reservation Snoqualmie members. Other Snoqualmie participated in Shaker churches on the Tulalip, Muckleshoot, and other reservations. The home of the George Moses family on the Upper Prairie was reported to have also become a Shaker meeting place. The Snoqualmie Shakers frequently visited each other's churches and sometimes rotated services among the various meeting places. However, the Shaker movement never completely eclipsed the traditional longhouse religion, which continued to be practiced by some tribal members. Still other Snoqualmie remained steadfast to Protestant denominations, while many

sampled, blended, or vacillated between the various religious practices.

In 1916, Jerry Kanim, who had been installed two years earlier as the primary leader or chief of the Snoqualmie, organized a new governmental structure for the tribe. The formalized council with elected officers and council members which he formed in that year has continued to exist under various forms and titles up to the present. A membership list drawn up at a council meeting in 1916 contained approximately 326 names. Of these, 40 percent resided in King County, which encompassed the three primary settlement areas, although most of these county residents were living on or near the Muckleshoot reservation. Only about 6 percent of the total membership was still residing in the vicinity of the old lower village sites below Snoqualmie Falls. Another 29 percent of the membership resided in adjacent Snohomish County, the majority of which lived on or near the Tulalip reservation.

The social aspects of the periodic and annual meetings held by the tribal council, which have been held at various locations almost continuously since 1916, often included salmon bakes or other kinds of luncheons or dinners, and sometimes included celebrations which were described as powwows or potlatchs. The usual pattern of the annual meeting, held most often in May, was to convene for a council or preliminary meeting at about 10:00 a.m. and then break around noon for a salmon bake or other fare. After a period of eating and visiting, the meeting was reconvened in the afternoon to discuss issues of importance to the general membership. One informant recalled that when the meetings were held at a certain two-level structure in Tolt/Carnation, the children played together downstairs, while the adults gathered upstairs. The minutes of the 1929 annual meeting, attended by about 100 members, indicate that the morning meeting was followed by a "War Dance" staged by "many of the prominent members of the Tribe" on the streets of Tolt/Carnation for the purpose of raising funds.

By the early 1920's, most of the Snoqualmie had been forced out of the Upper Prairie area and the employment opportunities for those in the Lake Sammamish area had also dwindled considerably. Some families sought employment elsewhere in the timber industry, others went to live with relatives on the reservations, and still others found commercial farmwork in the Snoqualmie and Yakima valleys. The eight families who remained in the Lake Sammamish area still maintained their ceremonial longhouse and tribal members elsewhere still came to the Lake Sammamish area to visit, fish, and take part in the seasonal longhouse ceremonies. It is reported, for example, that tribal leader

Jerry Kanim regularly came there to observe the traditional Salmon or First Fish ritual, whereby the first catch of each species was ceremonially greeted with songs and dances.

After the Joseph Forgue family moved to Redmond, just north of Lake Sammamish, in 1920, their home became a kind of community house and subsistence distribution center for the Snoqualmie. Four other Snoqualmie families came to live within two blocks of the Forgue residence, and numerous other guest families, as well as single people, either lived in the residence or camped out on the Forgue property temporarily. These tribal people would come to the Forgues to pick berries, fish in Lake Sammamish, or work the local harvests. They would also come for food and shelter if they were in need. Families from as far away as Yakima would bring their local produce there and contribute either food or money to the Forgue household while they stayed there collecting and preserving local food resources. As many as 50 tribal members would fish Lake Sammamish at the same time. After a month or so, the visiting families would return home with the products of their harvesting activities and would distribute the surplus to their relatives or others who were elderly or indigent. This tribal redistribution network is reported to have been spread over a wide region and to have contributed greatly to the survival of the scattered Snoqualmie. Backyard feasts were frequently held at the Forgue camp and the family hosted a special harvest festival each Thanksgiving, at which time as many as 50 individuals would gather to open the first of the foods preserved for winter.

Other households which functioned as tribal gathering places and centers for activities and assistance were Jerry Kanim's at Tolt/Carnation and Ed Davis's at Fall City. In later years, the Tom Zacheus (a.k.a. Zackuse) home at Lake Sammamish and the Earnest Barr residence at Issaquah also are reported to have served these functions. The Kanim home was more of a center for political and educational activities whereas the church/house of the Davis family had more of a religious role. Kanim began in the 1920's to sponsor an annual Fourth of July celebration at his home, to which at least 60 tribal members would come to take part in the Tolt/Carnation parade and participate in traditional Indian games and dances. The tribe usually entered a float depicting some aspect of Snoqualmie culture in the town parade and set up a display of arts and crafts. Many of the visiting families would camp on Kanim's property and eat from the long table that filled his house. The tribal members would also participate in their own foot races, bone games, and dances. In addition, Kanim and his son-in-law would challenge anyone in King county to a boxing match. These July get-togethers are believed to have continued

until Kanim's death in 1956.

Another tribal event, which evidenced cultural blending during the 1920's and later, was the Memorial Day gatherings at Fall City. Every year, 50-60 tribal members would come to attend services at Ed Davis's Indian Shaker Church. Afterwards, they would proceed to the Snoqualmie section of the Fall City cemetery to decorate the graves and then return to the church for a large dinner. In 1930, what was described as a potlatch and powwow was held at the Kanim house in Tolt/Carnation. A newspaper article describing the event noted that the guests, who included members of the "Skagit, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Snohomish, Upper Snoqualmie, and Skykomish" tribes, and some non-Indian dignataries from Seattle, were greeted by "Chief Jerry Kanim" and were "seated at a long table laden with savory foods."

During the early 1930's, some Snoqualmie continued to participate in the winter dances that were held at the Lake Sammamish longhouse. Economic difficulties had compelled Amelia Brown Zacheus and 20-30 other Snoqualmie who were seasonal workers to take up residence in the longhouse. After Brown married John Enick, the couple began hosting winter ceremonials there in 1931. These events, which lasted for a week, attracted dancers from as far away as Yakima, it being common for some Indians to make a circuit of the winter dances sponsored by the various tribes. Jerry Kanim reportedly danced his spirit song at the Lake Sammamish ceremonies during the four or five seasons that the winter dances were sponsored by the Enicks. Although the death of John Enick in 1935 brought an end to the dances there, Amelia continued to live in the longhouse for almost another decade.

Their knowledge of local food resources, their continued reliance on aspects of the traditional subsistence economy to supplement their cash resources, and their utilization of a communal food distribution network helped the Snoqualmie survive the Great Depression of the 1930's. Nevertheless, it was a difficult time, and the tribal council was compelled to establish a "needy fund" to provide assistance to members.

The yearly Memorial Day gathering at Fall City probably declined after the Indian Shaker Church there was destroyed by fire in the 1940's. Yet, the Snoqualmie cemetery continued to be maintained, and the minister of the church, Ed Davis, recalled that healing services continued to be held in private homes after the fire. Edward Moses also remembered that the Fall City congregants met more regularly thereafter with the Snoqualmie Shakers who remained on the Upper Prairie (the Moses families). When Amelia Brown

Zacheus moved out of her Lake Sammamish residence around 1944, it symbolized the abandonment of the last Snoqualmie longhouse that had been used for ceremonial purposes.

In 1953 a tribal get-together at Jerry Kanim's home in Tolt/Carnation was described in a local newspaper as a gathering of Indians "In Remembrance of Service to Their Country." The occasion was a farewell party for Kanim's grandson Jerry Enick, who was being inducted into military service. The newspaper reported that about 50 relatives and friends were served dinner, and that Kanim presided as the toastmaster. Those present included Snoqualmie members from various locations, STO council leaders, and spiritual leaders from the Yakima and Suquamish tribes. The participation of Kanim and other Snoqualmie members in the annual Soap Box Derby Days in Fall City was also noted in local newspapers during the early 1950's.

Jerry Kanim's funeral in 1956, held at the Pentecostal church in Tolt/Carnation, was described as the largest ever held in the Snoqualmie Valley. The pallbearers included leaders from several tribes and people from many tribes were reported to be among the 500 mourners who gathered at the Grange Hall for a memorial potlatch following the church service and burial ceremonies at the Indian cemetery in Fall City.

According to information collected from tribal elders, the gathering places and food and clothing distribution centers operated by key families at the various and scattered locations of Snoqualmie residence continued to serve the same social and economic functions through the early 1960's. Tribal members from throughout the region, for example, continued to come to the Forgue family homes in Redmond to pick berries and catch redfish. There is evidence that at least part of the food distributed by the Snoqualmie during the 1970's was surplus salmon from State hatcheries.

The tribal redistribution network still continues to function. The Forgue family household in Redmond served as the primary center of this activity until 1965, when the mother of the family, Dwenar Forgue, moved to Duvall. She and/or her daughter, Mary Anne Hinzman, then continued to manage the network from that location. Since 1976, the tribal offices which were established at Issaquah and then at Redmond have served as redistribution headquarters.

During much of the 1970's, the Snoqualmie were granted State and/or Federal permission to maintain a seasonal tribal fishery on Lake Washington and elsewhere. In 1975, a tribal respondent reported that 70 individuals participated in this fishery, all of whom relied on fish to provide most of

their annual income. It was also reported that 60 Snoqualmie families were dependent upon the tribal fishery to provide them with salmon for their personal consumption. During this same period, the Snoqualmie were allowed occasionally to conduct special limited catches for ceremonial purposes. The catch from these one-day excursions were used to conduct both tribal and intertribal ceremonial dinners and for commercial salmon bakes to benefit the Indian Shaker church. It was reported that social activities such as bone games were connected to these dinners.

Beginning in 1978, tribal community programs were expanded through a Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) project which provided elderly members with fuel, transportation, and housecleaning services, and also provided assistance to high school dropouts and the unemployed. In that same year, the Tribal Organization obtained ownership of the Snoqualmie section of the Fall City Cemetery, which it has maintained ,and where some deceased tribal members have continued to be buried, up to the present.

The longevity of the Forgue family Thanksgiving celebrations is not known precisely, but may have continued into the 1960's or later. In 1975, the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization revived the holiday get-togethers when it began hosting tribal dinners at Thanksgiving and/or Christmas. These events, which have taken place every year since that time and have attracted 50-100 individuals, have been held most recently at the inter-tribal longhouse that was erected on the Evergreen State fairgrounds in Monroe.

There is no systematic data regarding other events which have served to bring the Snoqualmie together. However, over time they have included potlatchs and powwows (such as 1930, 1940, and 1986), the installation of a new chief (1986), parades (Fall City Derby Days in the 1950's), birthday celebrations (Ed Davis's in 1979, Dwenar Forgue's in 1982), farewell parties (Jerry Enick's in 1952), give-aways (Daniels family, 1984), weddings (Earnie Barr's in 1987), and funerals (Jerry Kanim's in 1956, Dwenar Forgue's in 1984, and Ed Davis's in 1987). Some of these events have also served to link the Snoqualmie community to a larger inter-tribal social network.

The Snoqualmie governing body began meeting more frequently in the mid-1970's. Up to the present, participants have continued the practice of socializing at these meetings through the sharing of food. They also have revived the ritual of opening and closing meetings with Indian Shaker prayers. More consistently than in the past, members have been kept informed of tribal activities through the periodic

circulation of newsletters. Since 1980, the Snoqualmie governing body has been more inclined to impose sanctions against tribal officers and members whose behavior has been viewed as not conforming to tribal standards or as betraying the best interests of the Snoqualmie.

There also has been an increase, since the early 1980's, in the number of cooperative endeavors sponsored by the Snoqualmie, ranging from commercial salmon bakes to cultural demonstrations and political protests. During this same period, the Snoqualmie have taken a more active and visible role in events and issues involving the larger community of western Washington residents. Increased access to grant monies has likewise provided opportunities for cultural revival programs in language, history, and arts and crafts.

Ethnologists have found that there has been a corresponding revival of traditional religious expression among the Snoqualmie. Some form of nativistic religious practices are adhered to by a small percentage of the current adult tribal membership.

Maintenance of Tribal Political Influence or Other Authority

Traditional Political Organization

Scholars and other observers do not agree on the nature of traditional Snoqualmie political organization. The consensus of most 20th century ethnologists is that there was no political organization beyond the autonomous villages. Some maintain that there was not even a formal village headman or council and that the identification of head chiefs and sub-chiefs in the mid-1850's was merely a result of the efforts of American treaty-makers to combine previously autonomous groups into tribes in order to create an authority structure for negotiation purposes. In contrast to these views, the scholars who helped prepare the Snoqualmie petition argue that the Snoqualmie maintained three tiers of political institutions beyond the village leadership -- at the district, chiefdom, and confederacy level. They contend that the observed chief and sub-chief structure reflected the reality of a Snoqualmie hierarchy and its confederation with other nearby tribes such as the Snohomish and Skykomish.

This report has not attempted to resolve or reconcile interpretative differences regarding the definitive nature of Snoqualmie political organization during the period prior to sustained contact. Whether or not the Snoqualmie people constituted a confederated chiefdom or merely a loose

collection of atomized villages during that era, there appears to be universal agreement that they were a distinct group over which some level of autonomous political influence and authority was exerted.

Political Leadership and Processes, 1856-1914

The Euro-Americans who came in contact with the Snoqualmie in the 1840's and 1850's generally acknowledged the primary tribal leader to be Patkedib, who came to be known as Patkanim or, more popularly, as Pat Kanim. Kanim was the second signer, after Seattle, of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott with the United States, which he signed as "Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish, and other tribes." The other tribes may have included the "Sk-tah-le-jum," who lived on the upper reaches of the Tolt River, and the "Skai-wha-mish" (Skykomish) Thirteen other Snoqualmie also signed the treaty, including four as "sub-chiefs."

During the winter following the treaty, Snoqualmie and Skykomish auxiliairies under Kanim and sub-chief Squush-um (Cush-Cushum) aligned with the Americans against a rebellious coalition of Puget Sound Indians under the Nisqually leader Leschi. After this uprising was squashed successfully in 1856, the combatants under Kanim returned to Whidbey Island, where a number of Snoqualmie had relocated rather than going to the Snohomish Bay reservation. There, at Holmes Harbor, an Indian agent compiled a tribal roll and identified Kanim as head chief, Cush-cushum as "2nd Chief," and seven other men as sub-chiefs. Five of these sub-chiefs had been signers of the Point Elliott treaty. One of the two who had not signed was Sanawa, the leader of those Snoqualmie who continued to reside on the prairies above Snoqualmie Falls. Later that year, Sanawa requested that a reservation be set aside for these people on the Upper Prairie so that they might farm like the Americans.

In the spring of 1858, the Snoqualmie on Whidbey Island began migrating back to the Snoqualmie valley area, and in the fall of that year Pat Kanim died while enroute to his former village. With the exception of Sanawa, no post-1858 references have been found regarding the leadership roles of Cush-cushum or any of the other men who had been identified as Kanim's subordinate leaders. Neither has much documentation been located which identifies specifically or consistently the leaders of the various, scattered Snoqualmie settlements during the period between 1858 and 1916.

Regardless of what his real political influence and authority over the Snoqualmie may have been, Sanawa was

recognized by the Federal Government to be the head tribal chief in 1870. However, he was more generally identified as being the leader of the Upper Snoqualmie or those living above the Falls, in contrast to the Lower Snoqualmie or those followers of Pat Kanim who had returned to the area below the Falls. Sanawa's request for a reservation on the Upper Prairie was never honored, although he continued to reside in that area until his death in 1875. His descendants testified in 1926 that his son John then became a Snoqualmie chief. In 1900, Watson Martin, a grandson of Sanawa, who also became known as "Chief Sanawa," was identified as a leader in the Upper Prairie community.

There is limited oral history evidence regarding the nature of Snoqualmie political processes prior to the turn of the century. As a boy growing up near the Lake Sammamish longhouse in the 1880's, Ed Davis remembered that designated leaders would call the adults of the community to the longhouse for meetings, which sometimes lasted all day. Although he did not specify the leaders by name, he stated that the meetings might be called to solve problems, which required a general consensus, to sanction marriages, which also required the approval of a community leader, or to dispense justice to accused offenders. Davis also recalled that problems between the various communities were resolved by leaders of the respective settlements.

After hop farming began to flourish in the Snoqualmie, Issaquah, and Yakima valleys, many Snoqualmie gained seasonal employment as pickers. An observer in 1895 has described how the Indian picking crews were "generally presided over by . . . some head man elected to the chieftainship, much as whites elect their officials." It was reported that although their tribal authority was limited, these head men did negotiate with the land owners and that the pickers under their charge were housed together as a tribal group. Tribal leader Ed Davis confirmed the communal aspects of the picker's camps, when he described how he and 50-60 other Snoqualmie picked hops in 1906.

Political Organization and Initiatives Since 1914

In 1914, Jerry Kanim, a nephew of Pat Kanim who had grown up in the Tolt/ Carnation area, was installed as the head chief of the Snoqualmie. After observing the political activities of the Northwest Federation of American Indians and the emerging tribal governments on the Muckleshoot reservation and elsewhere, Kanim organized a new political structure for the Snoqualmie in 1916: a formal tribal council with officers and council members elected by Snoqualmie people from the various settlement areas, both on and off the

reservations. This body has continued to operate, under various titles and governing documents, up to the present, and Jerry Kanim continued to be the primary leader of the Snoqualmie until his death 40 years later, in 1956.

Although there is no written documentation of a Snoqualmie tribal meeting prior to 1916, Ed Davis and others have stated that such meetings were held at various houses and places prior to the time when Jerry Kanim became the leader and that inter-tribal business was regularly conducted at the longhouse dances. The new council also met in the homes of Jerry Kanim or other leaders, but sometimes rented a meeting room, usually in either the Grange, Eagles, or Odd Fellows halls in Tolt/Carnation or the Potlatch hall on the Tulalip Reservation. The new council also instituted an annual meeting of the general membership, which, with the exception of 1945, has been held every year since that time. For most of the period since 1916, the council itself met periodically as needed.

Most of the members of the new tribal council were also leaders in the Indian Shaker Church, which had taken hold among the Snoqualmie just prior to Jerry Kanim's emergence as chief. These included Jerry Kanim, Bill Kanim, and George Luke. Many of these men were allottees or residents on the Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservations, and some had been Indian agency policemen. Luke, for example, had an allotment at Muckleshoot where he was also a policeman and a leader in the local Indian Shaker Church. Some were active as well in regional Indian organizations, such as the Northwest Federation of American Indians formed in 1913. The political influence of the Snoqualmie leaders during this period was thus broadly based.

The evidence is clear that Jerry Kanim was the most influential Snoqualmie leader between 1916 and 1956, and also the one who most often represented the tribal group to outsiders, including Federal and State authorities. He was a dynamic and charismatic leader who devoted most of his life to tribal matters. The oral history evidence indicates that his home in Tolt/Carnation became a base for political and community activities, including an annual Fourth of July get-together. Tribal members also came there regularly to resolve problems, including marital disputes, or to seek his help in gaining employment or welfare assistance. Assuming responsibility for the tribe's seasonal workers, he often found jobs for his people in the hops fields and elsewhere. The documentary record gives evidence of his efforts to gain medical, legal, and welfare services for tribal members and to help control alcohol-related problems. He also spent considerable time instructing the youth and others regarding aspects of traditional culture. Although he was a traveling

missionary for the Indian Shaker Church, and later became a fundamentalist Protestant, he continued to participate in the winter longhouse dances up until the mid-1930's.

In 1929, the Snoqualmie established formal by-laws and adopted the name Snoqualmie Tribal Organization (STO), by which it was known until 1981. Five of the nine members elected to life terms on this new council had also served on the 1916 council, including Jerry Kanim, who was elected president. During the following year, there was established a "council of old people," to serve as "the judges of the Snoqualmie tribesmen." The duty of this council of elders was to uphold tradional customs and monitor the conduct of the membership. The inclusion of Watson Martin on this council was viewed as a way of reunifying the Upper and Lower Snoqualmie.

Some of the council members of the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization also came to serve simultaneously on reservation-based councils. For example, Alex Young was also on the Tulalip council in 1930 and George Luke was on the 1935 Muckleshoot council. Wilfred Steve, who had been the vice-president of the Snoqualmie council in the years just prior to the formation of the STO, and who continued to meet with that organization, was elected tribal chairman at Tulalip in 1930 and served in that capacity for many years. In the 1940's, Lawrence Sheldon, the vice-chairman of the Tulalip council and the chief of police on Tulalip, and Edith Parks, another Tulalip council member, also served simultaneously on the STO.

While there is no direct evidence of the distinctions these individuals may have made between the two tribal councils on which they served, a dichotomy can logically be assumed from reading sample minutes of the meetings of the respective councils. It seems likely that the reservation councils were seen as a way to protect property and other trust interests, while the Snoqualmie council was viewed as a vehicle for the pursuit of claims and off-reservation treaty rights, and perhaps as more of a guardian of their cultural identity. The reservation councils, for example, did not often begin their meetings with Indian Shaker prayers or use native language during the proceedings as did the STO.

This situation draws attention to the general problem of dual enrollments, if not dual allegiances, among the Snoqualmie and other native peoples of Washington. Because of mixed ancestry, caused in part by the traditional emphasis on exogamous marriage outside of the tribe, or because of a historic choice that was made whether or not to go to a reservation, many found themselves in the position of having the option to choose among several possible tribal

and/or reservation affiliations and of also having the freedom to align with more than one at a time and also to readily switch between them. Thus, while the Snoqualmie councils remained relatively stable and maintained a remarkable degree of continuity, with several members serving for two decades or more, there was always a certain level of the membership that ebbed and flowed according to individual and economic circumstances as well as personal whims.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization revised its by-laws and adopted a constitution in 1948, and revised these governing documents again in 1981, at which time it dropped the STO designation in favor of simply the Snoqualmie Tribe.

The principal concern of the Snoqualmie leadership from 1916 on has been the actualization of the Point Elliott treaty provisions. Up until the 1960's, this concern was focused on three political initiatives: claims litigation, the acquisition of federally reserved trust land, preferably within the aboriginal territory, and the protection of treaty hunting and fishing rights. The claims litigation was resolved in 1968 when the Indian Claims Commission issued its final judgment in favor of the Snoqualmie. By that time it had also become clear that the promise of a reservation for the Snoqualmie Tribe hinged on its attainment of Federal recognition. In 1981 the Snoqualmie were denied the right to exercise treaty fishing rights. Since that time, the tribal leadership has focused on the issue of Federal acknowledgment as a means of obtaining its long-standing political goals.

Claims Litigation

The STO joined with the Snohomish in 1917 to hire a claims attorney and contracted with a new attorney in 1925 after receiving congressional authorization to join 18 other Puget Sound tribes in bringing a treaty claims suit before the U.S. Court of Claims. This litigation, Duwamish, et al. v. United States (Docket No.) was filed in 1933. In expectation of a speedy resolution of the suit, the STO voted in 1934 to postpone consideration of the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) until the claim had been settled. After the suit was dismissed by the Claims Court, because the offsets exceeded the potential judgment award, the Snoqualmie succeeded in getting legislation introduced in 1940 and 1941 which would authorize the tribe to bring its own independent claims before the Court. However, in a surprise move, Jerry Kanim decided to withdraw the 1941 bill just ten days after it was introduced out of respect for the Government's preoccupation with the war effort.

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) was established in 1946, the attorney representing the Snoqualmie claims died in 1947, and the STO began having joint meetings with the Upper Skagit tribe in 1948 in order to pool energies and funds toward the introduction of separate claims before the ICC. The STO hired a new attorney in 1949 and he filed the Snoqualmie claim with the ICC in 1951. Although the attorney died shortly thereafter, a new contract was negotiated subsequently with another legal firm which succeeded in obtaining a judgment award of $257,689 from the ICC in 1968. The STO voted the next year to reconsider the settlement, apparently not understanding that the ICC could not provide land and protect treaty hunting and fishing rights. Because the Snoqualmie was not considered by the Government to be a recognized tribe (i.e., having a reservation and approved constitution and governing body), the judgment award was distributed to eligible Snoqualmie descendants, including many who were not members of the petitioning group, on a per-capita basis, rather than being awarded to the tribal organization itself.

Treaty Hunting and Fishing Rights

In an effort to prevent State wardens from arresting tribal members who attemped to exercise treaty hunting and fishing rights between the 1930's and the 1970's, STO representatives met with representatives of the State game and fish departments and the Tulalip Indian Agency, as well as delegates from other tribes and the Northwest Federation, and wrote letters to the Governor, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the President. The council closely monitored the court proceedings of Indians who were arrested and arranged legal counsel for its own members who were charged. It prepared to pursue a precedent-setting test case in 1952, but the case was thrown out of court after the defendant enlisted in the military service. In the 1950's, the STO approved the issuance to its members of fishing and hunting identification cards, which indicated their exemption as Indians from State licensing requirements.

During the early 1970's, the Snoqualmie were granted State permission to exercise limited treaty fishing rights and maintain a tribal fishery on Lake Washington and elsewhere for subsistence, commercial, and ceremonial purposes. The Snoqualmie council appointed a special committee to oversee this activity, approved tribal fishing regulations for each seasonal run, issued tribal fishing licenses and identification cards, and maintained enforcement powers over the 70 individuals who reportedly participated in this fishery.

In an effort to gain affirmation of its reserved treaty fishing rights, the Snoqualmie in 1974 joined four other non-recognized Indian groups as would-be intervenors in the U.S. District Court case of United States v. Washington. The Court had already ruled in this case that certain federally recognized tribes in western Washington were entitled tc 50 percent of the harvestable fish passing through their usual and accustomed off-reservation fishing areas, and to regulate their share of those fisheries.

In 1975, the Snoqualmie requested and received an order from the Court permitting the five intervenor tribes to exercise conditional treaty fishing rights under sponsorship of one of the recognized treaty tribes until such time as a final decision was reached in their case. Accordingly, the Snoqualmie maintained and regulated a federally sanctioned tribal fishery between 1975 and 1978. The tribal council promulgated a tribal fishing ordinance, appointed three tribal fisheries patrolmen, and imposed sanctions against tribal violators of its fishing regulations.

After protracted deliberations, Judge George Boldt finally ruled in 1979 that Federal recognition and the continued maintenance of a communal unit were required for an Indian tribe to establish and exercise treaty rights and that the Snoqualmie and other intervenor tribes did not qualify for this status. This decision was based on criteria which evaluated, among other things, the extent to which the tribe had maintained governmental control over the lives and activities of its members as well as political control over a specific territory. The evidence before the Court specific to the Snoqualmie was limited in a variety of ways and failed to establish certain critical information regarding the political history of the group, such as the facts that it had reorganized under the leadership of Jerry Kanim prior to 1920 and did not disband following the Duwamish decision of 1934. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in 1981 that the District Court had erred in stating that Federal recognition was required for the establishment and exercise of treaty rights, but agreed that the evidence supported the finding that the intervenor tribes lacked sufficient political and cultural cohesion to claim tribal treaty fishing rights. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision of the Court of Appeals. The temporary permission granted the Snoqualmie and other intervenor tribes to exercise treaty fishing rights expired and was not renewed.

Efforts to Gain a Land Base

Jerry Kanim made a formal request to the Superintendant of

the Tulalip Indian Agency for a trust land base in 1919. After the Government proposed a 10,240-acre reservation for the Snoqualmie within the Tolt Valley in 1937, the STO tried for several years to negotiate with the Tulalip Agency regarding the details of this proposal. Yet, the plan never came to fruition. In 1946, Jerry Kanim inquired about the possibility of the Snoqualmie obtaining waterfront lots within the Tulalip Reservation and, beginning in 1953, the tribal council also tried to obtain surplus agency lands on Tulalip. However, these efforts were also to no avail. In the early 1970's the council discussed the possibility of using all or a portion of the 1968 claims judgment award to purchase land, and gave consideration to potential sites. This was before it realized that the funds would be distributed on a per-capita basis, thus negating any tribal programming. In 1978, the STO inquired of the BIA if the tribal cemetery land at Fall City, to which it had recently gained title, could be brought under Federal trust status. It was informed that it could not. A clause in the revised tribal constitution of 1981 mandated the council to seek trust status for all newly acquired lands. However, the Snoqualmie still lack any tribal land base other than the tribal cemetery.

Aside from the principal tribal initiatives, the Snoqualmie governing body also dealt with internal matters such as elections, enrollment, dues and attendance, tribal welfare issues, fund-raising projects, and loan programs. As new and younger leaders emerged during the 1960's to replace elders who died, retired, or withdrew from political involvement, tribal council interests and issues shifted and became more diversified. This change in leadership coincided with the proliferation of Federal programs for Indians. Consequently, there has been much more emphasis on tribal health, education, and welfare projects since the late 1960's. In comparison to the Jerry Kanim era, there has generally been more turnover of leadership and increased conflict and tension within the Snoqualmie political structure since 1967.

Following a period when leaders sometimes complained about the lack of member participation in tribal activities, the Snoqualmie council began meeting on a more frequent and regular basis beginning in 1975. In that same year, the council also started sponsoring tribal holiday dinners at Thanksgiving and/or Christmas. These get-togethers, which have somtimes included tribal meetings, have continued up to the present. In 1976, the Snoqualmie established a tribal office in Issaquah, 15 miles southwest of Tolt/Carnation. This office served as both the administrative center for the council and headquarters for an ongoing tribal distribution network, which provided surplus food and clothing to members

thoughout the region.

A membership list compiled by the STO in 1929 contained 224 names. In 1930, the STO attempted to reunify the Upper and Lower Snoqualmie by electing Watson Martin (Chief Sanawa) to a "council of old people" which was charged with the duty of upholding traditional customs and monitoring the conduct of the membership. Later in the decade, in 1939, Martin's nephew, William Martin, was elected president of the STO.

Leadership Continuity and Longevity

The history of Snoqualmie leadership since the 1916 council has been characterized by continuity and longevity. This may be due in part to the fact that prior to 1981, leaders were expected to serve for life or until they resigned. Jerry Kanim was the tribal chief for over 40 years (1914-1956) and the tribal president/chairman for more than 20 years (1916-1939). His first three successors as tribal president/chairman each served for 12 or more years: William Martin (1939-1955); Emil Williams (1955-1967); and Robert Comenout (1967-1980). The others, elected after three-year terms were mandated by constitutional revisions in 1981, were Karen Boney (1981-1984), Andy de los Angeles (1984-1990), and Ron Lauzon (1990-). Unable for 30 years to agree on the selection of a chief to succeed Jerry Kanim who had both the desired qualifications and was willing to serve, the Snoqualmie finally decided in 1986 to bestow this rank upon Earnest Barr, an elder who had previously served on the tribal council for 12 years (1972-1984). He continues to serve as the tribal chief.

The Snoqualmie tribal council has also been relatively stable. Ed Davis served on the governing body for nearly a half-century (1939-1986), including almost 20 years as chairman of the council, and Jerry Kanim's daughter, Evelyn Enick, served for nearly 40 years (1943-1981) as tribal secretary and then vice-chairman. In addition to Kanim, Davis, and Enick, 11 others were council members and/or officers for 20 or more years, including (in chronological order) Andrew Kanim (1916-1944), Solomon George (1916-c.1940), Ed Percival (1916-1937), William Martin (1939-1969), Cyrus James (1940-1961), Helen Moses (1940-1962), Edward Moses (c.1942-1962), James Enick (1943-1969), Judie Moses (1955-1982), Leona Eddy (1962-), and Karen Boney (1967-1990). In addition, at least nine others served for a dozen or more years, including Alex Young (1927-1944), Edith Parks (1941-1955), Kiutus Tecumseh (1951-1967), Emil Williams 1953-1967), Juanita Carpenter (1964-1981), Emma Sweet (1962-1981), Helen Harvey (1967-1979), Robert Comenout ((1967-1980), and Earnest Barr

(1972-1984).

Developments Since 1981

Since the adoption of a new constitition and bylaws in 1981, which established specific terms of office, the Snoqualmie governing body has had considerably less continuity and stability. The combined changes of tribal representatives between 1981 and 1984 (8 of the 11 positions), which allowed only Ed Davis, Leona Eddy, and Earnest Barr to have more than three years tenure in office, represented the largest known turnover of Snoqualmie leadership. For the first time in its history, all of the officers and seven of the ten total members of the Snoqualmie governing body in 1982 were women. Five of these women were from the same family line (Forgue), and they were joined in 1983 by a male representative from the same family. In the 1984 election, three of the four officers were turned out of office, women council members again became the minority (by a margin of 6-5), and the number of Forgue family members was reduced from six to four. By 1987, only 4 of the 11 council members were women, and only three of the council were from the Forgue family (the same number as from the de los Angeles family).

Although the tribal council has continued to exhibit much behavior characteristic of its past, such as respect for and protection of elders and a general tendency to defer important decisions to the general membership, it has become involved in more controversial matters. Disputes over issues and/or between families are more evident. Political and even domestic differences between members, which may have been resolved in private by past leaders, are now aired publicly before the council. During the Jerry Kanim era whatever sanctions were used to control tribal members must have been informal. More recently, however, members whose behavior does not conform to tribal standards or who are seen as betraying the mutual interests of the tribe, including some current and former leaders, are now censured by banishment from membership.

Among those banished were four members of two families that had attained a measure of political prominence in the tribe, despite having only recently gained membership. These individuals broke away to become leaders of a group known as the Snoqualmoo Tribe of Whidbey Island, which subsequently filed a separate petition with the BIA for Federal acknowledgment. They were banished in 1988 for their allegedly unauthorized use of documents and other information intended to be used in support of the Snoqualmie petition.

Along with selecting a tribal chief in 1986, the Snoqualmie also established a chief's council consisting of the tribal chief and four sub-chiefs. The purpose of this council is to represent the tribe to the public and to other tribes and to serve a ceremonial and advisory role for both the tribal council and the general membership. In 1987, for example, the chief's council made recommendations regarding the issue of a divorce between two members whose families were well represented on the tribal council.

As part of its administrative expansion in the 1980's, the Snoqualmie Tribe established a non-profit corporation in 1982 in order to initiate and manage a growing number of grant-supported tribal programs. This corporation, run by a board of directors which initially consisted of tribal council members, has designed, funded, and administered a number of educational, cultural, and economic development projects. Also in 1982, the tribal office was relocated from Issaquah to Duvall, but was moved again by the next summer to its present location in Redmond. Because of the expansion of grant-supported tribal programs, the office has been utilized almost every weekday and the council has usually met there on a monthly basis. However, as the facility is not adequate to accommodate annual meetings or other gatherings involving a large number of members, these are held elsewhere, most recently at the Evergreen State Fair longhouse in Monroe.

The more recent Snoqualmie leaders have been interactive with a wider range of governmental agencies, including the U.S. Forest Service, the State Department of Social and Health Services, and the King County Landmark Commission. Their tendency toward political activism has been shown by their willingness to stage organized protests, such as the ongoing demonstrations opposing further development of the Snoqualmie yalls hydroelectric generating plant and tourist complex.

Besides adopting a new constitution, other self-regulatory activities of the Snoqualmie tribal council during the 1980's included the establishment of guidelines for tribal leaders, the adoption of a tribal law and order code, and the implementation of new regulations and ordinances regarding membership. The Snoqualmie council was advised during the 1980's by 20 different standing committees consisting of 1-8 members each and ranging in subject matter from acknowledgment to youth activities.

Throughout the years, many of the most important Snoqualmie political leaders have also been leaders and/or practicioners in various forms of nativistic religions. It has been estimated that most of the current tribal

leadership positions are held by adherents of either the smokehouse religion, the household "power-dream," or the Indian Shaker Church.

TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

The Snoqualmie were one of more than 50 known tribal groups who occupied the territory of western Washington extending from Samish Bay southward to the head of Puget Sound and including the drainage areas of the rivers that flow into both the Sound and the Hood Canal. The tribal groups which speak either of two Coast Salish languages, Lushootseed and Twana, have been classified as the Southern Coast Salish. The Snoqualmie spoke the Southern Lushootseed dialect in common with the nearby Suquamish, Duwamish, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Squaxin Indians. Yet, they were also linked by marital, economic, and ceremonial ties to such Northern Lushootseed speakers as the Snohomish and Skykomish (Suttles and Lane 1990, 485; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 11).

The Snoqualmie inhabited the drainage area of the Snoqualmie River from near its confluence with the Skykomish River, above the present town of Monroe, southward to Annet Lake and from Snoqualmie Pass in the east, the lowest route over the Cascade Mountain Range, westward to the headwaters of Tuck Creek (Indian Claims Commission 1960, 25, 39). The "heartland" of this territory was the Snoqualmie River shore between the present towns of Carnation and Fall City. The Snoqualmie maintained a number of permanent winter villages along the river, the principal ones being where the townsites of Carnation and Fall City now stand (Hill 1970, 1).

What had been known as the town of Tolt, on or near the Snoqualmie village site at the mouth of the Tolt River, was renamed Carnation in 1917, afterthe nearby Carnation dairy farms. The name was changed to Tolt again in 1928 and then officially back to Carnation in 1951, although many Snoqualmie people continued to call it Tolt (FD). Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, the town is hereafter referred to as Tolt/Carnation in this report.

The Snoqualmie villages generally contained 3-8 cedar longhouses of up to 200 feet in length, in which as many as 10 nuclear families might reside, as well as a number of other appurtenant structures, such as sweat lodges, fish smoking sheds, potlatch houses, and ceremonial longhouses (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 4-5).

The Fall City site was the largest village, containing perhaps as many as 18 houses of various sizes (Tollefson and

Pennoyer 1986, 49). While it has been estimated that the Snoqualmie occupied as many as 58 longhouses in 18 separate villages (Martin 1933, 178; Larson 1984, 31-40), Tollefson and Pennoyer (1986, 48) maintain that the available demographic data are not sufficient to make an accurate determination of either the number of Snoqualmie villages or the number of longhouses in each.

Many ethnologists have divided the Snoqualmie into two groupings; a lower band below the Snoqualmie Falls and an upper band above, on the Snoqualmie Prairie (Waterman c. 1920, 142; Lane 1975a, 1). This division reflected geographical as well as historical and political differences. The ecological zone below the falls was an area of migrating salmon, dense woodlands, and interconnected waterways, in contrast to the zone above which featured trout streams, prairies, and free-roaming game (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 49).

The Snoqualmie acted as key middlemen in the native trade between coastal waters and the interior plateau by utilizing the arterial water system in their territory and establishing overland trails such as those leading through the Snoqualmie and Yakima Passes. This networking also resulted in the establishment of significant ties with tribes in adjacent areas, such as the Yakima, a non-Salish people living east of the Cascades. So extensive were these contacts that many Snoqualmie became as conversant in Sahaptin, the Yakima dialect, as they were in their own Salish dialect (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 2, 35, 38; Suttles and Lane 1990, 488).

The Snoqualmie economy was based on an adaptation to the seasonal cycles of their marine and mountain environments. Tribal members learned when and where to harvest resources at the peak time of production and accessibility. The most important food source was the five species of salmon available in the Snoqualmie River and its tributaries below Snoqualmie Falls. The Snoqualmie developed at least nine techniques for harvesting the annual runs and exploited at least a dozen other fresh-water species from a variety of other sources, including the Snoqualmie River above the falls, mountain lakes, and the creeks that flowed into Lake Sammamish. With the sanction of neighboring tribes, the Snoqualmie also harvested clams and saltwater fish and mammals from the tidal flats along Puget Sound (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 19, 23-24).

When marine and fresh-water sources were unavailable, the Snoqualmie shifted production to game and plant resources. Hunting parties traveled into the Cascades or to Whidbey Island to bag deer, elk, mountain goat, and other game

animals, and gathering parties collected herbs, berries, and numerous roots, including camus and wapato (wild potatoes), on the upland prairies and along the lake and river shores (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 24-29; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 20-21; King et al. 1990, 7). Shelter for the mobile summer hunting, fishing, and gathering camps was provided by mat-covered gabled roof structures of a type unique to the Snoqualmie (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 18-19).

An abundance of natural resources allowed the Snoqualmie to harvest or produce a surplus of goods which could be redistributed strategically for their own advantage through trading networks not only among the Snoqualmie villages but also with other tribes. Entitlement to a greater share of the tribal production permitted ranking Snoqualmie leaders to accumulate wealth. Many of the goods that came to them were then redistributed generously through potlatches and other ceremonial exchanges. These ceremonies served in turn to solidify social rank and political authority and provide a measure of social and economic security by expressing the group's interdependence. Marriages between villages linked the bride and groom's kin groups. Economic obligations between parents-in-law (and their kin) followed from these marriages so that trading relationships were enhanced. Marriages thus connected people throughout the region (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 59-61; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 32-34; Suttles and Lane 1990, 494).

In common with other Coast Salish tribes, Snoqualmie social organization was characterized by stratification based on distinct family rank, exogamous marriages at the higher ranks, and a bilateral kinship system. Snoqualmie society was divided into three ranks, an upper level with ranked positions of formal status, a lower rank whose interactions were confined largely to local groups, and slaves who had been kidnapped or taken in raids. Marriage between upper rank Snoqualmie and members of the ranking families of other tribes was encouraged. This and the flexibility of the system of bilateral descent, which emphasized the kin relationships of parents and affirmed relations between groups of people united through a marriage, gave couples considerable freedom to choose the residence and tribal affiliation most attractive to them (Blukis-Onat 1984, 84-87; Suttles and Lane 1990, 493-94; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 50-51, 56-57; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 7-12).

Religious concepts dominated every aspect of traditional Snoqualmie life. Every accomplishment was attributed to assistance from a guardian spirit, which was usually described as having the appearance of an animal or humanlike being. Such spirits were categorized according to the types of power they conferred; the major kinds being those that

brought success in wealth, warfare, hunting, gambling, and soul-recovery. Shamans or spirit doctors had distinct spirits from lay persons, which conferred the power to diagnose and cure illnesses as well as to cause sickness and death (Suttles and Lane 1990, 497; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 3).

Guardian spirits were typically acquired through a vision quest made during puberty. Preparation for such vision-seeking was begun in early childhood. Following an initial encounter with a youth, a guardian spirit might return several years later and manifest itself through an early winter illness. A "spirit doctor" or shaman was then consulted, and if, as expected, the diagnosis was spirit sickness, the patient was compelled to sponsor a winter ceremony, called the Longhouse Spirit Dance, to honor the spirit, by singing the song it had bestowed upon the patient during the first encounter and by dancing, fasting, and meditating. This permitted the patient to recover and to establish a partnership with the spirit, which then necessitated subsequent dances each winter. The Longhouse Spirit and other winter dances were public events usually performed in ceremonial longhouses before an audience made up of the patient's family and neighbors (Suttles and Lane 1990, 497; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 2-3, 107-108).

Other ceremonies included the soul-recovery ritual known as the Spirit Canoe Ceremony and the potlatch. Soul recovery was performed by several men who had the spirit power to recapture souls believed to have been stolen by the dead. The performance was conducted in a ceremonial longhouse before as large an audience as possible over a period of from two to five winter nights. It featured the use of thick planks on which the patient's guardian spirit was depicted, and painted posts and staffs. The planks and posts were set up to represent the outline of a canoe (hence the ceremony's name), in which the performers stood and used their staffs to dramatize their paddling on a long journey to the underworld to engage the dead in battle and recover the lost soul (Suttles and Lane 1990, 498; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 100-101, 107).

Those youth who encountered a wealth power during their vision quest were obligated to serve that spirit by hosting an intervillage giveaway or potlatch. These events were staged for several days at the residence of the potlatcher or in a potlatch house. They featured games and contests, secular songs and dances, and the ceremonial distribution of gifts to the invited guests. These occasions could also be used to validate social and political alliances and changes in status, in common with the similar intervillage feasts and giveaways sponsored by ranking families to publicize key

events in the lives of their members (Suttles and Lane 1990, 497-98).

Believed to be the creation place of the Snoqualmie people, the Snoqualmie Falls became their religious mecca. According to tradition, the Falls were once a large fishing weir that was transformed supernaturally into "a lofty cataract" (Ballard 1929, 78). The base of the Falls was believed to be the dwelling place of a powerful spirit who bestowed spirit power on those who sought it successfully. The Falls were also believed to be the place where the spirits of various resources of the Snoqualmie Valley met those of the Upper Prairie (Tollefson 1992, 34)

To the extent that aspects of traditional Snoqualmie beliefs and ceremonies are encompassed in the contemporary smokehouse religion and power-dream, it can be stated that native religious practices have been maintained by some Snoqualmie members up to the present, although the last tribal longhouse in which religious ceremonies were held was abandoned in the 1940's. Snoqualmie Falls also continues to be a place of great spiritual significance to the Snoqualmie.

Scholars differ considerably in their descriptions of Snoqualmie political organization. The consensus of most 20th century ethnologists is that there was no political organization beyond the autonomous villages which were linked by marriage and common language (Ballard 1929, 35; Smith 1940, 6; Smith 1949, 86, 88; Collins 1950, 334; Elmendorf 1960, 308-313). Onat (1984, 89) found generally that the political system of the Puget Lowland peoples was so limited that use of the term "tribe" in reference to them was "misleading." Suttles and Lane (1990, 494-95) maintain that while the wealthiest household head was usually recognized to be the village leader, there was no formal village headman or council. They hold further that the identification of head chiefs and sub-chiefs in the mid-1850's was merely a result of the efforts of American treaty-makers to combine previously autonomous groups into tribes in order to create an authority structure for negotiation purposes (Suttles and Lane 1990, 485).

In contrast to these views, Tollefson and Pennoyer argue that a careful analysis of the descriptions by tribal informants and 19th century observers reveals that the Snoqualmie maintained three tiers of political institutions beyond the village leadership; at the district, chiefdom, and confederacy levels. According to their model, each longhouse had a leader and council and each village was governed not only by a chief, who was usually the wealthiest and most influential man in the village, but also by a

council consisting of the leaders of the other longhouses. Leaders from two or more contiguous villages were also organized as a district council under an acknowledged common leader. Tribal informants suggest that the Snoqualmie had at least four such districts (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 45-48). Tollefson maintains that these districts corresponded to the modern communities of Monroe, Tolt/Carnation, Fall City and North Bend (Tollefson 1992, 32).

The district chiefs likewise functioned as a tribal council under a head tribal chief whose administrative headquarters were at the Tolt/Carnation village site. Chiefs at every level were advised by prominent elders, shamans, and military leaders who had their own councils but who also served as individual consultants. This Snoqualmie chiefdom was also aligned with other tribes and chiefdoms, most notably with the Snohomish and Skykomish, through confederacies formed to facilitate the redistribution of surplus goods among the varied ecological niches and to protect resources from outsiders. Tollefson and Pennoyer also suggest that because the confederated tribes shared prominent shamans, their political alignment was reinforced by a religious alliance (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 46-73, 102-103).

Tollefson and Pennoyer claim that 20th century scholars have neglected to see the hierarchical structure of Snoqualmie political organization because they have been preoccupied with kinship analysis and because their theoretical models have been based on "micro-level" analyses of patterns which followed the "removal and dismantling" of the traditional society. They maintain, on the other hand, that 19th century observers generally suggested the existence of "ranking chieftains, councils, and confederacies" because their data was based on a "macro-level" analysis at a time when a multi-level political structure was still observable. To Tollefson and Pennoyer, the existence of a political hierarchy also meshes logically with the stratified social organization and redistribution economy of the Snoqualmie. In their view, central authority at the chiefdom level was necessary to coordinate and protect both the carefully scheduled exploitation of subsistence resources and the intertribal redistribution of surplus goods (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 41, 45, 54-57).

This report will not attempt to resolve or reconcile interpretative differences regarding the definitive nature of Snoqualmie political organization during the period prior to sustained contact. Whether or not the Snoqualmie people constituted a confederated chiefdom or merely a loose collection of atomized villages during that era, there

appears to be universal agreement that they formed a distinct group over which some degree of autonomous political influence and authority was exerted. The purpose of this report is to measure the extent to which that distinctive and interactive social and political character has been maintained to the present.

EARLY EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT: 1792-1848

The first Europeans to skirt the coast of what is now the state of Washington were Spaniards who had sailed northward from Mexico in the late 16th century. Although Russian and British explorers also joined the search for the fabled Northwest Passage in the 18th century, the first European landfall on the Washington coast did not take place until 1775, when a Spanish crew set ashore at the mouth of the Hoh River (Avery 1965, 65, 72). After Spain recognized England's commercial dominion over the Pacific Northwest in the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, British and American traders rapidly established control over the maritime fur trade in the region (Billington 1974, 229; Avery 1965, 78-79). The British explorer Captain George Vancouver mapped the Washington coast and Puget Sound in 1792 (Billington 1974, 432; Avery 1965, 79), and this expedition probably marked the first casual observation by Europeans of the Southern Coast Salish peoples (Suttles and Lane 1990, 488). The American captain Robert Gray discovered the mouth of the Columbia River in that same year, and the United States land expedition under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark reached coastal Oregon in 1805 (Billington 1974, 375, 433; Avery 1965, 84-85, 103-104). These events signaled the beginning of what would gradually become the Anglo-American domination of the region.

Epidemic diseases, introduced ultimately by Euro-Americans, preceded sustained contact with the Southern Coast Salish. All of these tribal groups suffered from the initial smallpox epidemic of 1775, and most experienced the smallpox and/or measles epidemics of 1801 and 1824. These diseases had a devastating effect. By 1856, the estimated precontact population of the Lushootseed-speaking groups had been decreased by nearly 60 percent (Boyd 1990, 146-47).

Britain and the United States signed a Treaty of Joint Occupation in 1818 by which it was agreed that the citizens of both nations could freely enter the "Oregon Country" (which then also included Washington, Idaho, and British Columbia). Spain gave up her claim to Oregon in favor of the United States by virtue of the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 and Russia likewise abandoned any claim to this region in 1824. For the next twenty years, the only disputed claims

in the area were those of Britain and the United States to the triangle between the 49th parallel and the Columbia River (Billington 1974, 431).

England's powerful Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the rival North West Company in 1821 and established new fur trading posts throughout the region (Billington 1974, 382-83). There was no European knowledge of the Southern Coast Salish documented previous to this. No systematically gathered data were collected prior to the 1850's (Suttles and Lane 1990, 488), even though the company's establishment of Fort Nisqually near Puget Sound in 1833 brought its traders and trappers into direct contact with the Snoqualmie. In order to exploit the agricultural potential of the area, the company developed a large commercial farm near the fort in 1838 under its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (Avery 1965, 271). This brought even more Euro-American people and goods within the range of the Southern Coast Salish people (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 118). In 1844, William F. Tolmie, a physician at Fort Nisqually, conducted a census of the Snoqualmie, establishing their number at 373 (Gibbs 1867, 40).

The first sizeable migrations over the Oregon Trail brought hundreds of Americans into Oregon's Willamette Valley in the early 1840's. In 1843, these people established a provisional government over a large area that included present-day Washington (Billington 1974, 445-48, Avery 1965, 159-163). Settlement northward to Puget Sound was pioneered by the Michael T. Simmons family, which settled near present Olympia in 1845 (Avery 1965, 168). Early explorations of the Snoqualmie Valley included those made by A.C. Anderson in 1841, Samuel Hancock in 1849, and R. H. Lansdale in 1852 (Ebasco Services Inc. 1989, 10).

The British finally agreed to abandon the area below the 49th parallel in 1846 and, two years later, Congress created the Oregon Territory, encompassing what is now Oregon, Washington, and Idaho as well as parts of Montana and Wyoming (Billington 1974, 451-52, Avery 1965, 164). This legislation, which was termed the Organic Act, contained a clause protecting the "rights of person or property" of the territory's Indians as long as such rights were not extinguished by treaty (9 Stat. 323). In the early 1850's, territorial governor Isaac I. Stevens directed George B. McClelland and Abiel Tinkham to find potential routes for a railroad through the Cascades. Exploration parties under these men passed through the Snoqualmie Valley and eventually identified the Snoqualmie and Yakima passes (Ebasco Services Inc. 1989, 10)

THE PAT KANIM ERA: 1848-1858

The Euro-Americans who came into contact with the Snoqualmie in the 1840's and 1850's generally acknowledged the primary tribal leader to be Patkedib, who became known as Patkanim or, more popularly, as Pat Kanim. Kanim is believed to have been born between 1815-1820 near the Tolt/Carnation village site and to have become a chief sometime between 1838-1843. He may have inherited the right to the chieftanship from his father, Whyeeka, who was of Colville and Yakima ancestry, but who apparently became a tribal leader after marrying a Snoqualmie woman whose name is not known to us. Pat Kanim may also have ascended to the position following the death of an older brother. Because he was reported to have acquired the power of a spirit doctor, Tollefson and Pennoyer maintain that Kanim's leadership of the Snoqualmie confederacy was based on a combination of spiritual and political influence (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 61-2, 115-116, 119).

The Snoqualmie had a reputation for fighting and raiding during this era and were viewed as a threat by many white settlers and by some of the tribal groups with which they were not closely aligned, such as the Nisqually (Heath 1979, 56, 88, 107). Pat Kanim was not well disposed to the Euro-American settlers initially; it is alleged that he and his father and brother were once tortured by the whites at Nisqually as punishment for a murder of which they were subsequently found innocent (Phelps 1970, 10).

In 1848, a white settler named Thomas L. Glasgow established a homestead on the east side of Whidbey Island (Bancroft 1890, XXXI: 10-11). One Snoqualmie legend has it that Kanim sponsored a large intertribal gathering on the island shortly thereafter, at which he called for the extermination of the pioneer whites in order to discourage further settlement. Kanim's plan was compromised allegedly by the fact that his daughter Julia had gone to live with Glasgow and may have warned him of the plot (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 129-133). However, our genealogical research has not found any evidence to show that Kanim actually had such a daughter.

In May of 1849, a party of Snoqualmie and Skykomish under Pat Kanim became involved in a skirmish at Fort Nisqually which resulted in the death of an Anglo-American named Leander Wallace and a Skykomish shaman. After Kanim had entered the compound, ostensibly to resolve an issue of spousal abuse by a son of a Nisqually chief against his Snoqualmie wife, a shot fired in jest by one of the fort's Indian guards caused the tribesmen outside to rush the gate. Numerous shots were exchanged in the ensuing fracus before

Kanim and his party managed to escape (Farrar 1919, 212-15; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 134-36).

Some weeks later, Dr. Tolmie asked Pat Kanim to return to the fort, where a message from Governor Joseph Lane was delivered to him. After Kanim apologized for the incident and expressed hope that no harm would come to his people, the Snoqualmie resumed trading at the fort. In August, however, J. Quinn Thornton, an Indian sub-agent for the territory, offered Kanim a reward of 80 blankets if he would surrender those believed to be involved in the killing within three weeks. Kanim complied by turning over six Snoqualmie men on September 5 in exchange for the reward. Two of the alledged offenders were his own brothers, Quallawort and John Kanim. In what was the first trial of a district court to be held north of the Columbia, Quallawort and a fellow tribesman man named Cussass were subsequently found guilty. On October 3, 1849, they were executed by hanging (Farrar 1919, 219-220, 223, 228-29; Bonney 1927, I:57; Avery 1965, 169; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 143-49).

Whereas Pat Kanim had previously advocated violence against white settlers, he proceeded in the years following the Fort Nisqually incident to accommodate and protect such settlement. He developed personal relationships with a number of the pioneer Puget Sound settlers, including Dr. D.S. Maynard, the colonists at Alki Point, and Arthur A. Denny, who in 1851 was one of the founders of the settlement that became known as Seattle (Spediel 1978, 64-65, 153; Swan 1957, 396; Denny 1908, 76-77, 86; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 149-151).

In order to encourage further settlement of the Oregon territory, Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act in 1850 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1850, 496). This legislation permitted individual settlers, including "American half-breed Indians," who were at least 18 years of age and who had at least declared their intention to become United States citizens, to claim title to up to 320 acres of land free of charge, provided that they lived on the tract for four years and made certain improvements. The rub was that these homestead rights were extended prior to the extinguishment, or even the precise definition, of the property rights of the territory's Indians, which had been validated by the United States in the Organic Act of 1848 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1848, 323). Predictably, the thousands of settlers who took advantage of the legislation paid little heed to tribal title claims.

Under pressure from the growing number of Donation Land Act claimants north of the Columbia, Congress established Washington as a separate territory (encompassing the present

state of Washington and parts of Idaho and Montana) in 1853. Major Isaac I. Stevens was appointed territorial governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs. A strong proponent of settlement expansion, Stevens first goal as Indian superintendent was to extinguish tribal land titles and to concentrate the Indian population on reservations, where the process of acculturation to Euro-American society could be intensified.

Beginning in December of 1854, Stevens negotiated a series of treaties with the various tribes and bands under his jurisdiction. On January 22, 1855, at Mukilteo or Point Elliott near the mouth of the Snohomish River near present-day Everett, the governor concluded a treaty with 82 leaders from tribal groups whose land stretched northward to the Canadian border. In addition to the Snoqualmie, the "chiefs, headmen, and delegates" at the treaty council represented the Duwamish, Suquamish, Snohomish, Stillaquamish, Swinomish, Skagit, Lummi, and "other affiliated and subordinate tribes and bands" (U.S. Statutes at Large 1855, 927; Wiley 1855). According to popular tradition, the Duwamish-Suquamish leader Seattle, who was the first signer of the treaty, is alleged to have then delivered a much-quoted speech about native peoples and their environment (some recent scholars have questioned whether the speech was ever given by Seattle; see Kaiser 1987). Pat Kanim also addressed the crowd, which included approximately 2,500 Indians, but his words were never recorded (Wiley 1855).

The Point Elliott treaty provided for the extinguishment of title to the then existing tribal use areas in exchange for annuity payments and the establishment of smaller reserved areas on Federal land. The United States promised to protect the right of the Indians to fish at their "usual and accustomed grounds and stations," to erect temporary curing houses, and to gather roots and berries on "open and unclaimed lands." It agreed further to provide health, education, and other services on the reservations. In turn, the tribal representatives were pledged to maintain friendly relations with Euro-American settlers, to free their slaves, to break off trade relations in Canada, and to maintain order and prohibit liquor on the reservations (U.S. Statutes at Large 1855, 927).

The 82 Indian representatives who attached their marks to the Point Elliott treaty may have signed in the order of their relative rank or status, as established among the tribal groups or as determined by Government authorities. Kanim, the second signer after Seattle, signed as "Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish, and other tribes" (U.S. Statutes at Large 1855, 927). The other tribes may have included the

"Sk-tah-le-jum," who lived on the upper reaches of the Tolt River, and the "Skai-wha-mish" (Skyhomish) (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 158).

Thirteen other Snoqualmies signed the treaty, including four as "sub-chiefs." Tollefson maintains that these sub-chiefs represented the four Snoqualmie political districts (Tollefson 1992, 32). The other representatives and their order of signing included: sub-chief Squush-um or The Smoke (a.k.a. Cush-cushum) (8th); sub-chief Slat-eah-ka-nam (a.k.a. Hutty Kanim) (15th); sub-chief St'hau-ai (a.k.a. Sthowie or Jim Kanim) (16th); Do-queh-oo-satl (19th); sub-chief John Kanam (20th); Klemsh-ka-nam (21st); Noo-heh-oos (58th); Hwek-hu (59th); Yim-ka-dam (61st); Luch-al-kanam (63rd); S'hoot-kanam (64th); Sme-a-kanam (65th); and Sad-zis-keh (66th) (U.S. Statutes at Large 1855, 927; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 161-62). Sub-chiefs John Kanim (acquitted in the Leander Wallace trial in 1849) and Jim Kanim were brothers of Pat Kanim, and Do-queh-oo-satl was his cousin. Cush-cushum, Hutty Kanim, and Klemsh-ka-nam were brothers to each other, although not to Pat Kanim (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 121, 124).

The Point Elliott treaty called for the establishment of four temporary reservations (Port Madison, Snohomish Bay, Swinomish, and Lummi) and the eventual removal of all of the Indians living west of the Cascades in Washington Territory to a general reserve. This general reservation was to be the township of land set aside by the treaty for an agricultural and industrial school. The site was north of the mouth of the Snohomish River and Quilceda Creek, above the present town of Everett, and encompassing Tulalip Bay (U.S. Statutes at Large 1855, 927; Marino 1990, 169,171). The Snoqualmie, as well as all of the other native peoples of the Snoqualmie-Skykomish-Snohomish river system and the Stillaquamish River, were assigned temporarily to two sections of land on the north side of Snohomish Bay and Quilceda Creek, in what had been Snohomish territory. This was in the same area as the proposed general reserve, which eventually became known as the Tulalip Reservation. The treaty commissioners who planned the probable number and size of the reservations in 1854 estimated that the Indians to be moved to the Snohomish Bay Reservation numbered between 300 and 400. However, when the Indian agents started collecting the people for removal in 1856, they learned that their actual number was closer to 1,800. The inadequacy of a 1,280-acre reservation for this many tribal members was obvious. The assignment was particularly inequitable given the fact that the amount of land was equal to that which could have been claimed by as few as four settlers under the Donation Land Act (Lane 1975a, 4-5).

According to Tollefson and Pennoyer, the Snoqualmie never moved to the temporary Snohomish Bay reserved lands, although many of them settled briefly nearby. They state that Pat Kanim chose instead to reside for a time near present-day Marysville (which is southwest of Quilceda Creek) approximately one mile from the Tulalip Reservation. They state further that Kanim and 1,500 of his followers were later moved across the Sound to the Holmes Harbor area of Whidbey Island, near the present town of Freeland, which was south of the Coupeville/Penns Cove area where Kanim had previously established his annual summer encampments (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 60-61, 76). However, Tollefson and Pennoyer give conflicting information on whether this movement took place before or after the Indian wars of 1855-56 (compare pp. 76 and 193).

The terms of the Stevens treaties were not ratified by the U.S. Senate until 1859 (Kappler 1904, II: 669). In anger over the disruption that had been brought about by epidemics, the encroachment of settlers, and the policies of Governor Stevens, a coalition of Puget Sound Indians staged an uprising during the winter following the treaty negotiations (1855-56). A few hundred Nisqually, Puyallup, and other Sahaptin allies, under the direction of the Nisqually leader Leschi, tried to draw other western Washington tribal groups into a general war against the whites. The ensuing hostilities also became linked to the Yakima War of the same period (Marino 1990, 172).

The Snoqualmie aligned with the United States forces during this conflict. Under the leadership of Pat Kanim and Squush-um (Cush-Cushum), who had signed the Point Elliott treaty as a sub-chief, a band of Snoqualmie and Skykomish auxiliaries took part in a few battles, including an attack on Leschi's camp on the Snohomish River. Leschi escaped this engagement but was later betrayed by two of his own men. His subsequent imprisonment by territorial authorities brought an end to the hostilities. Although Pat Kanim petitioned Governor Stevens to release the Nisqually leader, he was eventually executed. In the meantime, the Snoqualmie soldiers received pay for their military service, including a bounty for the enemy heads they had brought in (Marino 1990, 172; Simmons 1856; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 178-190).

Following the war, the combatants under Pat Kanim returned to Holmes Harbor, where agent Nathan Hill listed 119 adult Snoqualmie males on his census of April 1856 (Hill 1856a). This roll identified Pat Kanim as head chief and Cush-cushum (Squush-um or The Smoke) as the "2nd Chief." Five of the seven men listed as sub-chiefs had been signers of the Point Elliott treaty, including Klemish-Kanan (Klemsh-ka-nam),

Nu-que-a-salt (Do-queh-oo-satl, and Lul-qua-Kanan (Luch-al-kanam), who had not been identified as sub-chiefs at the treaty signing. Although St'Hau-ai (Sthowie or Jim Kanim) and John Kanan (John Kanim) appeared as the second and third names on Hill's roll, they were not identified as chiefs, but merely as Pat Kanim's brothers. Among the sub-chiefs listed who had not signed the treaty was Sah-aah-wah (a.k.a. as Sanawa), who is identified in other records as the leader of those Snoqualmie who continued to reside on the prairies above Snoqualmie Falls.

At the conclusion of hostilities, Fort Tilton, a military post that had been established a mile below the Falls, was turned into an Indian agency to service the Snoqualmie under Sanawa (Kellogg 1934, 51). This leader then requested that one or more of the prairies above the Falls, where the Snoqualmie had already been raising potatoes, be established as a reservation so that the people might farm like the Americans. This request was endorsed by Indian agent Nathan Hill in September 1856 (Hill 1856c).

Pat Kanim and the other Snoqualmie at Holmes Harbor periodically left Whidbey Island to fish in their Snoqualmie River homelands or to visit with both the Indians and Americans in the Seattle/Olympia area (Fay 1857; Hill 1856b; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 193, 196). Some of them attended a large Lummi potlatch in the spring of 1857 (Simmons 1857a), and Pat Kanim and his brother John also sponsored their own potlatch on Whidbey Island in November of that year (Fay 1857). On one occasion in 1857 some Snoqualmie leaders chanced to witness the distribution of annuities to tribal members who had fought the Americans, including some Nisqually and Puyallup (Simmons 1857b). In light of the fact that his people had not yet received anything, one of the leaders, Hetley Kanim, described as a Snoqualmie sub-chief, later told agent Michael T. Simmons, in one of the few recorded utterances by a Snoqualmie during that era, that "If you whites pay the Indians that fight you, it must be good to fight" (Simmons 1858, 229).

A number of difficulties, including devastating epidemics, a scarcity of salmon, and a growing alcohol problem, made conditions intolerable for the Snoqualmie on Whidbey Island. In the spring of 1858 they began migrating back to the Snoqualmie River area. According to oral tradition, Pat Kanim died on the banks of the Snohomish River in the fall of that year while enroute to his former village (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 76-77, 201). Klemsh-ka-nam, another of the Point Elliott treaty signers, who had been identified as a sub-chief by Hill in 1856, also died that autumn (Simmons 1858).

DISPERSION AND DISORGANIZATION: 1859 - 1915

With the exception of Sanawa, no post-1858 references have been found regarding the leadership roles of Cush-cushum or any of the other men who had been identified in documents as Pat Kanim's subordinate leaders. Furthermore, no documentation has been located which identifies specifically the leaders of the various, scattered Snoqualmie settlements during the remainder of the 19th century.

Regardless of what his real political influence and authority over all of the Snoqualmie may have been, Sanawa came to be recognized by the Federal Government as the head chief (Ross 1870, 481). However, he was more generally identified as the leader of the Upper Snoqualmie or those living above the Falls, in contrast to the Lower Snoqualmie or those followers of Pat Kanim who had returned to the area below the Falls. In 1858, Sanawa's request for a reservation on the Upper Prairie was endorsed by Michael T. Simmons, agent for the Puget Sound district, and forwarded to J.W. Nesmith, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington and Oregon (Simmons 1858).

Sanawa's request for a reservation within the traditional Snoqualmie homeland was never honored, nor was he granted land on the Tulalip Reservation. By 1860, Simmons had given up the idea of a temporary Snohomish Bay Reservation. "Unless the Indians particularly desire and insist upon it," he wrote, "it would be better not to incur the expense: but to settle them upon the general reservation at once" (Simmons 1860, 418).

In September 1861, Snoqualmie members were among the approximately 2,300 Indians who gathered at Tulalip to witness the first distribution of treaty annuities (Whitfield 1926). Although some individuals from both the upper and lower bands eventually went to live at the reservation, most of the Snoqualmie did not (Western Washington Indian Agency c.1968; Lane 1975a, 9). In a 1956 opinion, the Solicitor's Office of the Department of the Interior held that removal to the reservation was not obligatory upon the treaty tribes. This ruling stated that the purpose of the Point Elliott treaty was not to remove tribal entities intact, but rather to consolidate individual tribal members who wished to avail themselves of whatever benefits might be available on the reservation (Fritz 1956, 483-84).

There was not much inducement for the Snoqualmie to leave their homes, potato fields, and fishing grounds, and there was no concerted effort on the part of the Government to compel them to relocate. Funds for the establisment of the

reservation were not made available until after the treaty was ratified in 1859, and for many years thereafter the funding was not adequate to provide for the medical, educational, and agricultural services promised by the treaty. Neither did the Government provide monies promised for removal and subsistence nor compensation for homes and improvements that would be lost. Much of the land and resources at the reservation was unsuitable for habitation and farming in the early days, and was generally inadequate to accommodate the number of people who were supposed to settle there. As a result, some of the Snoqualmie who came there soon left again in disappointment, sometimes with the encouragement of soldiers stationed nearby. The fact that the reservation was in Snohomish territory and outside of their traditional homeland also made Tulalip unattractive to some Snoqualmie members (Lane 1974, II: 275-76, 286-87; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 206).

Nevertheless, some Snoqualmie were eventually allotted land at the Tulalip Reservation, and others may have also been allotted on the Lummi, Swinomish, and Port Madison Reservations. Individual lands were allotted at Tulalip between 1883 and 1909. Most Tulalip allotments (95) were granted in 1883, a few others were made in 1902 and 1908-1909 (Lane 1975b III: 498). In the late 1960's, the Western Washington Indian Agency reported that 33 people listed as Snoqualmie had received allotments at Tulalip (Western Washington Indian Agency c.1968). However, anthropologist Barbara Lane, testifying during intervenor proceedings in the United States v. Washington case in 1975, stated that she had counted a total of 38 Snoqualmie allotments at Tulalip: 21 granted to those identified only as Snoqualmie and 17 to those listed as Snoqualmie mixed with other Indian ancestry, such as Skykomish. Lane stated further that these Snoqualmie allotments represented less than one-quarter (around 23%) of the approximately 164 allotments issued at Tulalip (Lane 1975b III: 499-500).

Among the Snoqualmie who moved to Tulalip were some of the relatives of Pat Kanim, including Louis, Bob, and William Kanim. Louis and Bob both received allotments at Tulalip (Walter 1912; Buchanan 1913b) and Bob was a policeman there for a number of years and was part of a delegation which petitioned the Federal Government not to move Indians off the reservation in the 1890's. Another relative who became a Tulalip resident was Skookum George, whose father, the sub-chief Do-que-oo-satl, was a cousin of Pat Kanim. George was also among the unknown number of Snoqualmie who received title to individual land on the reservation after allotment was initiated in 1883 (Tollefson and Pennoyer 310-11; Lane 1975a, 13; Buchanan 1915, 112-13). Despite the presence of members of what had been the highest ranking Snoqualmie

family, Tulalip came to be dominated politically by Snohomish leaders (Whitfield 1926, 34-35, 41).

Those unwilling or unable to relocate to the reservation prior to the 1870's were compelled to compete for their customary subsistence resources with a growing number of white settlers. Some Snoqualmie families cleared land and established new settlements and community longhouses in the Snoqualmie Valley. However, because these choice sites were most attractive to the pioneer settlers, many of the Snoqualmie people were driven off these lands and forced to scatter (Martin 1926; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 207). Some moved to the reservations or east of the Cascades while others sought new subsistence locations. Still others moved to the white settlements to gain menial employment. Some, however, stayed and continued the struggle of maintaining a foothold on the traditional lands (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 208, 238).

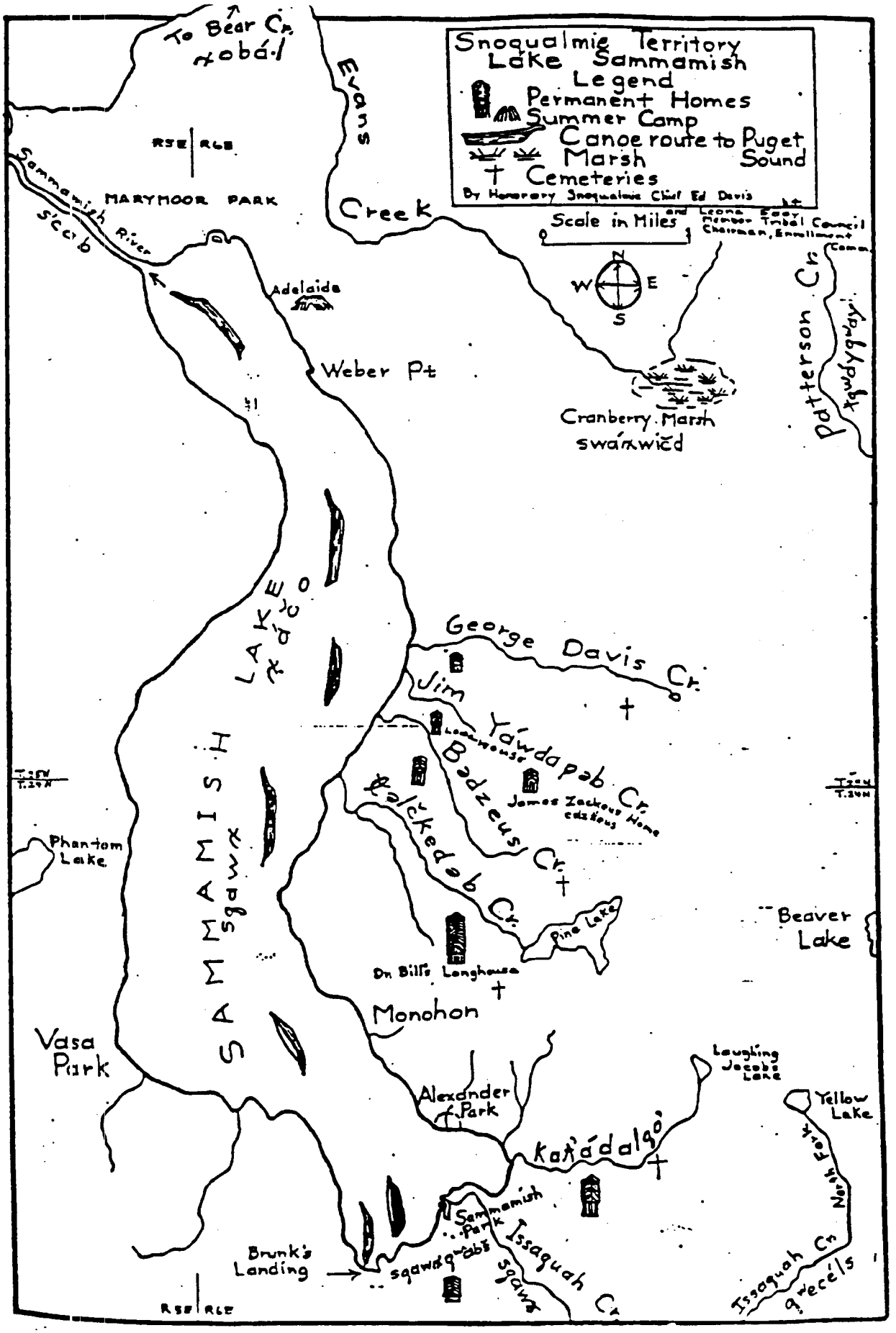
Between 1865-1870, several Snoqualmie people, including the Davis, Jack, and Bikk families, moved to the mouth of the Cedar River in the Georgetown area of Seattle to clear land for the new settlers. Here, in the traditional area of the Duwamish, to whom some of them were married, the Snoqualmie migrants constructed mat houses and a ceremonial longhouse. While the Zacheus (a.k.a. Zackuse) family found employment along Lake Union in Seattle, others found work cutting wood in the Issaquah Valley. As more employment became available in the Issaquah area in the 1870's, between 12-16 tribal families moved to the eastern shore of Lake Sammamish, where the Snoqualmie had traditionally made annual fishing visits, and formed a new settlement. This was approximately 15 air miles west of Tolt/Carnation and Fall City. Here they built log cabins along the streams and a community longhouse, in which the families resided during the four to six weeks of the ceremonial dancing season. Among the early settlers of this settlement were the families of Jim Zacheus and Doctor Bill, two of the four Snoqualmie spirit doctors in the community, who owned 80-acre plots along the lake shore, and the George Davis family, which obtained a 120-acre homestead. George's son, Ed Davis (c.1888-1987), the most prominent Snoqualmie elder of the 20th century, lived for over 20 years in this settlement (c.1888-1909), which would eventually contain five cemeteries for separate families (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 209-213, 260; Davis 1975b, 102, 104, 113).

Ed Davis testified in 1975 that the homesteads of the Snoqualmie families at Lake Sammamish were approximately a quarter mile apart from each other (Davis 1975b, 113). With the help of Snoqualmie enrollment chairman Leona Eddy, Davis drew an undated map entitled "Snoqualmie Territory,

Lake Sammamish." This map (see page 41) shows seven permanent structures (two of which are identified as longhouses), one summer encampment area, and four cemeteries. Most of the landmarks identified appear to have been located within the Northwest Quarter of Township 24 North, Range 6 East and the Southwest Quarter of Township 25 North, Range 6 East (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, map between pages 211 and 212). Local historian Bessie Craine has stated that the first white settlers at Lake Sammamish lived near a peaceful Indian community composed of "shacks and hovels at the head of the lake" (Craine 1983, 1-2). It is not known if the community described was the Snoqualmie settlement area, or if the structures described were part of a permanent or summer settlement.

The Indian families at Lake Sammamish combined wage work with subsistence fishing, hunting, and gathering. Craine stated that they were "quite industrious" and "worked for whites" but desired "to be left alone to hunt and fish" (Craine 1983, 1-2). Subsistence activities were at times communal. Other Snoqualmie from both the upper and lower Snoqualmie River valley also visited the settlement to fish. While many of the Snoqualmie men continued to work in the timber industry, several of the settlement people went to work on the hop farms which had been established in the Issaquah River valley during the 1860's. Others picked the cranberry bogs and potato patches. At the height of the harvest season, whole families toiled in the hop fields and the pickers from the various tribal groups maintained separate camping areas, in part to avoid conflict. Some of the single Snoqualmie women went to live with white settlers, who paid compensation to their fathers. After the law required legal marriages, some of the white men sent the women and their children back to the settlement rather than marry, while others married and kept their family with them (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 214-220).

Many of the Snoqualmie who had been driven out of their villages settled in or near the developing Upper Prairie communities of Meadowbrook and Tanner (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 243). In 1858, a white homesteader named Jeremiah Borst established a trading post on the site of an abandoned military blockhouse that had been called Fort Alden, about two-and-one-half miles upsteam from [south of] Snoqualmie Falls (Corliss 1972, 31). Borst received a patent for approximately 153 acres of this land along the south side of Snoqualmie River in 1867, paying the fees with military scrip issued to the widows of servicemen in the War of 1812. In 1875, he received a final homestead patent for 148 acres on the north side of the river across from his trading post and initial plot of land (Lane 1991, 3).


Snoqualmie Territory
Lake Sammamish
Legend
Permanent Homes
Summer Camp
Canoe route to Puget Sound
Marsh
Cemeteries
By Honorary Snoqualmie Chief Ed Davis
Scale in Miles
and Leona Foster Tribal Council Chairman, Enrollment Comm.
To Bear Cr.
Evans Creek
Sammamish River
MARYMOOR PARK
Adelaide
Weber Pt
Cranberry Marsh
Patterson Cr.
George Davis Cr.
Jim
Badzeus Cr.
James Zackuse Home
Phantom Lake
Pine Lake
Beaver Lake
Dn Bills Longhouse
Monohon
Vasa Park
Alexander Park
Laughing Jacobs Lake
Yellow Lake
Sammamish Park
Issaquah Cr.
Brunk's Landing
North Fork
Issaquah Cr.
LAKE SAMMAMISH
RSE RLE
T.25N
T.24N

There, Borst, who eventually became one of the wealthiest landowners in the region, began to employ Indians on his hog farm (Bagley 1929, 784). This and similar agricultural and lumber mill work eventually attracted around 100 Snoqualmie to the settlement on or adjacent to his farm which became known as Meadowbrook (see map on page 43) (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244).

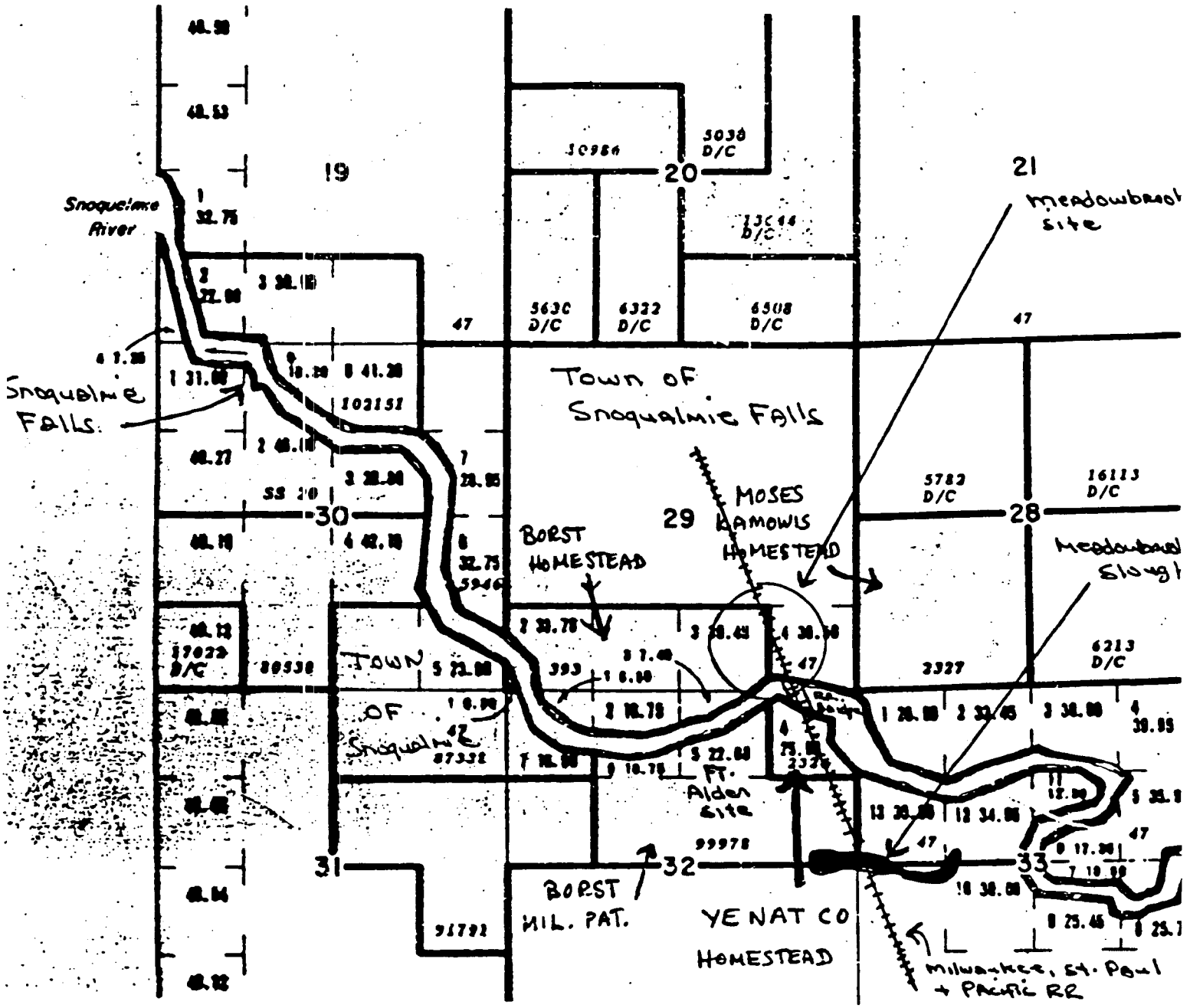
In his 1929 history of King County, local historian Clarence B. Bagley described Meadowbook as being an addition to the town of Snoqualmie Falls (Bagley 1929, 782). The only landmark on modern maps that still bears that name is the Meadowbrook Slough, a body of water lying just east of the town of Snoqualmie and south of the Snoqualmie River. Tollefson and Pennoyer state that the Snoqualmie Indian cemetery was located across from Meadowbrook Slough (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 243). A map of early settlements in the Snoqualmie Valley, drawn in 1972 by local historian Margaret McKibben Corliss, shows Meadowbrook on the north side of the Snoqualmie River across from Fort Alden (Corliss 1972). In a 1956 history of the town of Snoqualmie, longtime non-Indian settlers Otto and Dio Reinig related that there were a great number of Indian villages when they arrived in the Snoqualmie Valley in 1890. They described the largest of these as being on "the Meadowbrook [or north] side of the river near the Milwaukee Railroad bridge" (Snoqualmie Community Development Program 1956, 1). This would place it within Section 29, Township 24 North, Range 8 East.

The Snoqualmie at Meadowbrook constructed two ceremonial longhouses and established a cemetery and what has been described as a "food bank" within this community. A ceremonial longhouse was also built in the settlement of Tanner (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 241-44). This community was approximately seven miles upstream from (south of) the Meadowbrook settlement.

Around 1879, the prosperous Jeremiah Borst married Kate Kanim, a half-sister of Jerry Kanim (1874-1956), the most prominent Snoqualmie leader of the 20th century. This couple lived together until his death in 1890 (Corliss 1972, 33; Lane 1991, 4).

The Indian Homestead Act of 1875 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1875, 402) established provisions for individual tribal members to secure homesteads on the public domain. Most of the lands filed for in western Washington were lost to non-Indians because the Indians did not have sufficient funds to pay the filing fees (Weston 1975, 457). It is not known how many Snoqualmie may have applied for land under this statute or for public domain allotments in accordance

SNOQUALMIE UPPER PRAIRIE SETTLEMENT AREA



with section 4 of the General Allotment Act of 1887 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1887, 388).

In 1881, some Snoqualmie tribesmen applied for Indian homesteads under provisions of the 1875 statute on land adjacent to or near the Borst lands described above. One of these men was Yenatco (a.k.a. Udetka), a grandson of Chief Sanawa (and the older brother of Watson, Lyman, and Ida Martin referenced later in this report), who eventually gained trust title to 25-acres of bottomland adjoining the Borst property on the south bank of the Snoqualmie and across the river from the Meadowbrook settlement. The mineral rights to this tract are still held in trust by the United States for the heirs of Yenatco (Lane 1991, 4-5).

Jerimiah Borst filled out a witness form to accompany Yenatco's homestead application in July 1881. He indicated in his written statements that he had known the claimant for 26 years, or since he was a boy, that Yenatco had worked for him often, and that he had also worked at the hop ranch and as an independent farmer. Borst also stated that Yenatco had lived on the homestead prior to the filing in 1881, and that Borst was familiar with the plot because he had previously lived next to it, but now lived two miles south of that location (Borst 1881).

In addition, a Snoqualmie named Kamous (a.k.a. Polecane, Moses, Moses Kamous, and Moses Kamowis), who had found work with the Milwaukee Railroad, also established a 160-acre homestead across the river from the Yenatco property and adjacent to the Meadowbrook settlement. In 1890, he received a 25-year Indian trust patent for this land, on which he had already established a longhouse-style home where winter ceremonial dances were often held between the 1880's and 1911. On this land base, Kamous and his heirs, who took Moses as a surname, would sustain residence on the Upper Prairie longer than other Snoqualmie families. There they maintained traditional subsistence patterns into the 1930's. A portion of this tract remains under Federal trust (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 245-47, 250; Lane 1991, 5-6).

A 1870 census and report filed by Samuel Ross, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, listed Sanawa as the "head chief" of the Snoqualmie, whose population was 301 (133 men, 95 women, and 73 children). Since this report contains no separate breakdown for the Snoqualmie who were living on the Tulalip Reservation, it can be assumed that the majority of the people listed as Snoqualmie by Ross were not residing there. If they had been, it seems unlikely that an off-reservation leader would have been considered their chief. The statement by Superintendent Ross that "it is reasonable to suppose that

in a wild, sparsely settled country like this, at least 5 percent of the Indians are not found," also suggests that his census was not confined to the reservation population (Ross 1870, 17; Lane 1975a, 9). Thus, it appears that the Office of Indian Affairs regarded the Snoqualmie to be resident in their traditional territory. These conclusions are supported by Edmond Mallet, the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency, who stated in 1877 that "Fewer than one-half of the Indians live on the reservation; whole tribes have persistently refused to remove to the reservations assigned them" (Mallett 1877, 198; Lane 1975a 8).

Sanawa's home had been in an Upper Prairie village of some eight longhouses which was known as Bokwab (Martin 1926). After the Snoqualmie were driven out of this village, it is believed that Sanawa later lived alone on a small tract of land on the Upper Prairie (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 240). According to testimony taken from his descendants in 1926, Sanawa died around 1875, after which his son John (a.k.a. John Senaa, John Senawa, John Saniwa, and John Skadaway) became a Snoqualmie chief (Senaa et al. 1926). Corliss states that when the early settlers came to the Fall City area in the 1870's, "John Saniwa" was considered to be the chief of the Snoqualmie (Corliss 1972, 13).

Prior to the turn of the century, the family of Martin Inyes (a.k.a. Hi-Kan-Neechai, Martin Innius, and Martin Eneas), which would take Martin as a surname, may have also assumed a leadership role on the Upper Prairie. Inyes was a Wenatchee who had married Ka-Mi-Weet, a woman of mixed Snoqualmie and Wenatchee ancestry who was one of Sanawa's daughters. This couple lived adjacent to Sanawa and their children included Yenatco, the Indian homesteader referenced previously, and Watson Martin, Lyman Martin, and Ida Martin Moses (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 246, 317-18; Lane 1991, 6). Watson Martin, who also became known as "Chief Sanawa," was identified in 1900 by one of the early schoolteachers in the area as a leader in the Upper Prairie community (Corliss 1972). His sister Ida, who married George Moses, the step-son and heir of Kamous, also became one of the most powerful and respected spirit doctors in the area. In 1985, Snoqualmie elder Allie Moses Wilbur recalled first participating in winter ceremonial dances at the Moses homestead in 1909 when she was 12 years old (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 246).

Settler William H. Taylor estimated that there were at least 25 Snoqualmie families living in the Snoqualmie valley when he arrived in 1872 (Bagley 1929, 781; Corliss 1972,13). Ollie and Dio Reinig stated that there were still several Indian villages in the valley when they arrived in 1890

(Snoqualmie Community Development Program 1956, 1). Those Snoqualmie still living in the lower valley below Snoqualmie Falls included the Peter, Purser, Entrasol, and Kanim families (Jerry Kanim was born near Tolt/Carnation in the 1870's).

Corliss relates that when the first white settlers arrived in the 1870's in the lower valley area that became Fall City, John Saniwa was considered the Snoqualmie chief. She states further that his council house was located on the north side of the Snoqualmie River at the end of the present Fall City bridge and that this was the site of the first schoolhouse at Fall City. The name "Saniwa" is also included among the Indian names found in a book which William H. Taylor kept at his Fall City trading post in 1874 and 1875. Corliss identifies several other Snoqualmie who interacted with the early white settlers at Fall City, including Tolt Johnny, George Davis, and a Mrs. Martin (Corliss 1972, 13, 20-21). George Davis lived in the Lake Sammamish settlement area from the late 1870's until he moved to Fall City in 1909. His son Ed Davis married Tolt Johnny's daughter in 1905 and moved to Fall City in 1911 (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 212, 222, 225).

Although the lower valley Snoqualmie also adapted to an economy which balanced traditional subsistence with seasonal wage work, they were more scattered and less prosperous than the Snoqualmie who lived on the Upper Prairie or at Lake Sammamish. Nevertheless, they continued to maintain community longhouses on or near the old village sites at Tolt/Carnation and Fall City. Tollefson and Pennoyer identify one of the winter dancing ceremonial sites as being Tolt Johnny's longhouse along the Raging River near Fall City (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244, 250-52). Although Corliss did not mention this longhouse in her history of Fall City, she did indicate that the Johnny family lived near the Raging River and that there were at least three Indian encampment areas in the Fall City area during the early settlement period; at the mouth of the Raging River, on flat land below the Fall City cemetery [which was also a Snoqualmie burying place], and on both sides of the Snoqualmie River on the north edge of Fall City (Corliss 1972, 13, 17). Snoqualmie elder Dwenar Forgue recalled attending winter ceremonial dances and Indian healing services at a Fall City longhouse during the early years of this century (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 257).

As a boy growing up near the Lake Sammamish longhouse in the 1890's, Ed Davis remembered that designated leaders would call the adults of the community to the longhouse for meetings, which sometimes lasted all day. Although he did not specify the leaders by name, he stated that the meetings might be called to solve problems, which required a general consensus, to sanction marriages, or to dispense justice to accused offenders. Davis also recalled that problems between the various Snoqualmie communities were resolved by leaders of the respective settlements (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 231-32; Davis 1975a).
During the four-to-six week ceremonial season each winter, the Snoqualmie people would take up residence in the longhouses to dance, hold feasts, and conduct community business. Those from one Snoqualmie settlement might also participate in the ceremonial activities at the longhouse of another. For example, Ed Davis remembered that Upper Prairie people came to dance with the Tolt/Carnation people at the turn of the century (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244-45). Dwenar Forgue (1898-1984), who grew up in the Lake Sammamish area, recalled attending tribal gatherings at a Fall City longhouse during the early 1900's. She also remembered attending her first such gathering at the Lake Sammamish longhouse in 1905 (Forgue 1978).

During the following year, Doctor Bill, assisted by three other spirit doctors (Jim Zacheus, John Satlabqed, and Johnnie Louie) conducted a Spirit Canoe ceremony there to recapture the soul of Ed Davis from his deceased ancestors (Jerry Kanim later carved a scale model of the spirit boards used in this ceremony). Tollefson and Pennoyer suggest that the residence of four spirit doctors in one community indicated that at the turn of the century Lake Sammamish was a composite settlement of people who had previously lived in separate villages, and that the more traditional Snoqualmie were not moving to the reservations (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 259-60). This may have been because these kinds of native religious practices were being suppressed on the reservations. At Tulalip, for example, the tribal court between 1902 and 1906 regularly handed out work penalties of 30-45 days to those involved in Indian doctoring (Gunther 1977, 101).

Completion of the transcontinental railroad in the early 1880's brought rapid population growth to the upper Snoqualmie valley. The presense of rail transportation stimulated the development of the hop industry, which began in the Puyallup valley in the 1870's and spread into other areas of western Washington (King Catton, and Tillotson 1990, 10). After Jeremiah Borst sold 900 acres of his farm land to a Hop Growers Association in 1882, hop farming began to flourish in the Snoqualmie valley as it already had in

the Issaquah valley. This provided seasonal employment opportunities for the Indians, who came to dominate the work crews. The expansion of hop acreage helped to make western Washington the leading hop-producing region in the world for a time, but glutted markets and an infestation of aphids led to a rapid decline of the industry in the 1890's, compelling many local farmers to shift to dairy farming (Bagley 1929, 789; Hill 1970, 58; Corliss 1972, 107; Craine 1983, 4). The introduction of a more resistant strain of hops in the Yakima valley later offered new work for the Snoqualmie pickers (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 243).

Costello described how the Indian picking crews were "generally presided over by . . . some head man elected to the chieftainship, much as whites elect their officials." He reported that although their tribal authority was limited, these headmen did negotiate with the land owners and that the pickers under their charge were housed together as a tribal group (Costello 1986, 156). Ed Davis recalled that in 1906 he and 50-60 other Snoqualmie picked hops on the Growers Association's remaining 80-acre farm, and that they lived in a 16-foot wide picker's shack which was 8-10 rooms long. However, this place became a dairy farm during the following year (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244).

It has been alleged that between 1900 and 1905, many of the Snoqualmie on the Upper Prairie were burned out of their homes, longhouses, and food shelters and forced to find refuge at other settlements or on the reservations. It has also been speculated that some of these people may have been among the 39 landless families who appeared at the Muckleshoot Reservation in 1903, where some Snoqualmie were already residing (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 245; Noel 1980, 71). The Muckleshoot reserve had been established in 1857 between the White and Green Rivers near present Auburn to accommodate the Salish-speaking groups that had not been named explicitly in the 1854 treaty of Medicine Creek. These included the Stkamish, Skopamish, and Smulkamish (Marino 1990, 169).

The Snoqualmie were reportedly introduced to tenets of the Indian Shaker Church of the Northwest in 1911 by Indians from the Tulalip Reservation (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 275). This indigenous Native American religious movement was based on revelations received by a Squaxin named John Slocum beginning in 1882. Containing facets of both Christianity and traditional Indian religious practices, including elements of the aboriginal Puget Sound guardian spirit religion, Slocum's message offered salvation to Indians who would abandon smoking, drinking, and gambling, turn away from the ministrations of native shamans, and prepare to receive the Shaker Spirit through the inducement

of a trance characterized by involuntary trembling known as "the shake." Despite continuous efforts to suppress it, the Indian Shaker movement gained rapid acceptance throughout the southern Puget Sound region and gained legal protection in 1910 when the Church was incoporated under Washington State law. As part of the effort to gain this status, the Church adopted a formal leadership structure based on Protestant models, with a bishop, who appointed ministers and missionaries, and a board of elders elected every four years at a church convention. This 1910 organization has survived to the present with only slight modifications (Amoss 1990, 633-34).

The 19 members who formed the first Shaker church among the Snoqualmie (sometime after 1911) held their meetings in a small cabin beside the Raging River about one-half mile south of Fall City. This was the home which Ed Davis had purchased from his father George after the family had moved from the Lake Sammamish settlement area around 1910. After serving as minister Tom Josh's assistant for approximately three years, Ed Davis, who made his living primarily as a logger, became the head minister of this church in 1915. In order to accommodate a growing membership, the congregants built a new two-story structure in 1922 which contained a church on the first floor and the Davis residence on the second (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 225, 275-78; Davis 1975b, 106).

Snoqualmie participation in the Indian Shaker Church was reportedly widespread during that era, although it is not known what proportion of the membership were participants. Many families attended services and some traveled considerable distances to do so. The Fall City church became the most common location for the funeral services of off-reservation Snoqualmie members. Such services were followed by a dinner at which the property of the deceased was distributed to family and friends. A year later, the mourners would gather again at the burial site for a "headstone party" which would be followed by another dinner. Other Snoqualmie participated in Shaker churches on the Tulalip, Muckleshoot, and Stillaquamish Reservations. The home of George Moses (the step-son of Kamous) and his wife, Ida Martin Moses, on the Upper Prairie was reported to have also become a Shaker meeting place. The Snoqualmie Shakers frequently visited each other's churches and gathered together periodically for services at one location. The latter gatherings were rotated among the various meeting places (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 276, 279-80, 282).

Most of the Snoqualmie political leaders who emerged in the early 20th century were adherents of the Indian Shaker faith. Jerry Kanim, a nephew of Pat Kanim who was installed

as the head chief in 1914, was a founder of the Fall City church and a traveling missionary whose duty it was to keep member churches in line. Minister Ed Davis served on the Snoqualmie tribal council, as did Bill Kanim and George Luke (a.k.a. George Louke) who were pillars of the Tulalip and Muckleshoot churches respectively. However, the Shaker movement never completely eclipsed the traditional longhouse religion, which continued to be practiced by an unknown number of tribal members (the last Snoqualmie longhouse was not abandoned until around 1944). Still other Snoqualmie remained steadfast to the Protestant denominations to which they were converted, while many sampled, blended, or vascillated between the various religious practices (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 280, 282, 304-05, 332, 335).

TRIBAL REORGANIZATION: THE EARLY JERRY KANIM YEARS, 1916-1929

In the years just prior to his installation as head chief, Jerry Kanim, who had grown up in the Tolt/Carnation area, resided on the Muckleshoot Reservation, where he gained knowledge about the workings of the tribal government there. He visited the meetings of the recently reorganized Duwamish tribal council and became interested in the emerging "business councils" of other tribes. He also learned of the organizational efforts being made by Thomas G. Bishop, a Snohomish who wanted to unify the landless Indians of western Washington in a campaign to gain reserved land bases and to defend their treaty rights. In 1913, Bishop founded the Northwest Federation of American Indians in Tacoma (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 326, 330-32; Marino 1990, 178).

These contacts and experiences led Jerry Kanim to propose a new organizational structure for the Snoqualmie. In 1916, he met for several days with 50-60 Snoqualmie elders to discuss his initiative for a new council. He also visited the homes of several prospective council members in an effort to determine who might be best qualified to serve on the basis of their knowledge of tribal customs. He and his hand-picked candidiates were then elected at a meeting of Snoqualmie members at Tolt/Carnation on June 2, 1916 (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 330-35).

According to Tollefson and Pennoyer (1986, 335), the following individuals were elected to office: Jerry Kanim as tribal president, Andrew Kanim as vice-president, George Salomon (a.k.a. Solomon George) as tribal chairman (there is no explanation of the distinction between the role of the president and that of the chairman), Edna Percival as secretary, and a council consisting of Bill Kanim, Jim

Graham, George Luke, Snoqualmie Charlie, and Ed Percival. However, a membership roll developed at the meeting and listing those present and those not present but "vouched for by the Indians present," does not include Salomon or the Percivals among the members. It also indicates that Ed Davis was not present at the meeting (ST 1916).

A formalized Snoqualmie council with elected officers and council members has continued to exist under various forms and titles up to the present, and Jerry Kanim remained the primary Snoqualmie leader until his death in 1956.

The 1916 membership list includes 326 names, of which 176 were listed as being 18 or older. Of the 77 members who were present at the meeting, 61 were 18 or older. This indicates that 35 percent of members who were 18 or older were in attendance at the meeting. An analysis of the post office addresses on the list indicates that 40 percent of the membership was living in King County, which encompassed the Snoqualmie Valley towns of Tolt/Carnation and Fall City as well as the Upper Prairie and Lake Sammamish areas. However, 76 members or 62 percent of those from King County were listed as being in the area of the Auburn post office, which was in the vicinity of the Muckleshoot Reservation. Auburn residents also comprised 23 percent of the total membership and 46 percent of those over 18 who were in attendance at the meeting. The next largest concentration of members in King County (16 or approximately 5% of the total membership) were listed under the post office at Snoqualmie, a town just below Snoqualmie Falls. The traditional settlement areas of Tolt/Carnation and Fall City were also listed as the residence of 11 and 9 members respectively, including Jerry Kanim (Tolt/Carnation) and Ed Davis (Fall City).

Approximately 29 percent of the membership was listed as being resident in Snohomish County, an area north of and adjacent to King County. Tulalip was listed as the post office for 51 percent of these county residents, and these 48 people comprised 15 percent of the total membership. Other Snohomish County members were concentrated at Monroe (12) and at Marysville, Darrington, and Sultan (11 each).

The adjacent counties of Thurston and Pierce, just south of King County, accounted for 4 percent and 2 percent of the total membership respectively, while 16 percent resided elsewhere in Washington. Approximately 5 percent of the members were listed under postal areas which could not be located on a map, while 3 percent of the membership had no post office listing. Only four members were listed as residing outside Washington, all of them in California, and, despite the concentration of membership in King County, only

one member was listed as living in Seattle.

The membership of the tribal council was composed of so-called landless Indians and public domain allottees, as well as residents and allottees of the Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservations. According to Tollefson, they also represented each of the four traditional Snoqualmie political districts (Tollefson 1992, 41). Of the tribal officers and councilman other than Jerry Kanim who appeared on the list, Bill Kanim (c.1844-1943) was listed under the Tulalip post office and Andrew Kanim (c.1878-1944) was under Marysville (near the Tulalip Indian Agency, where he was employed as a policeman in 1910; see Tulalip Indian Agency 1910, 54). Both had been allotted land on Tulalip, as had Ed Percival (c.1872-1937) (FD), and in 1915 the Tulalip Superintendent maintained Individual Indian Money ([IIM) accounts for both Andrew Kanim and Ed Percival (Buchanan 1915). Snoqualmie Charlie had a public domain allotment near Tolt/Carnation, but was identified (as Charles Snoqualmie) as residing on Tulalip in 1920 and later moved to Muckleshoot (Ellis 1920 in SPA file; FD). Jim Graham was under Issaquah (just south of Lake Sammamish), and George Luke (listed as George Lucas) was under Enumclaw (a town southeast of Auburn and the Muckleshoot Reservation, where he was known to be involved in the Indian Shaker Church).

Luke had been a policeman at Muckleshoot in 1902, where he had an allotment, but was discharged for drunkeness (Reynolds 1902a; 1902b). Both Bill and Andrew Kanim had also had previous run-ins with Tulalip Agency authorities. On April 21, 1884, Bill had been fined for drinking (Tulalip Indian Agency 1884), and on December 12, 1905, Andrew was being sought on a charge of adultery (Reynolds 1905). In light of the later involvement of George Luke and Bill Kanim in the Indian Shaker Church, it is fitting to note what Superintendent Walter F. Dickens wrote about "Shakerism" in his 1922 Annual Report on the Tulalip Indian Agency. "It is true," penned Dickens, "that some of the worst characters, those who formerly drank and used tobacco, have discontinued these habits and are now apparently very religious" (Dickens 1922, 4).

Five of the members on the 1916 list had been among the 25 individuals, described as "Snoqualmie and Snoqualmoo" members, who had signed a petition on February 17, 1913, directed to Dr. Charles W. Buchanan, the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency, requesting that a monument be erected at the gravesite of Chief Pat Kanim at the Tulalip cemetery (George et al. 1913; Buchanan 1913). These were Andrew Kanim, Bill Kanim, Mrs. Skookum George, Joseph James, and Alexander (a.k.a. Alex) Young (c.1870-1946). With the exception of James, whose address was listed as Bellingham

(near the Lummi Reservation and just south of the Canadian border in northwest Washington), all of these members were residing in the Tulalip area in 1916 (ST 1916). Since some Snoqualmie known to be resident on the Tulalip Reservation, such as Skookum George, were among the other 20 petition signers, it may be assumed reasonably that many of the other signers were also Tulalip enrollees who chose not to be affiliated with the off-reservation organization.

Although there is no written documentation of a Snoqualmie tribal meeting prior to 1916, Ed Davis and others have stated that such meetings were held at various houses and places prior to the time when Jerry Kanim became the leader, and that tribal business was regularly conducted at the longhouse dances. The new council also met at Jerry Kanim's home at first, but later rented either the Grange, Eagles, or Odd Fellows halls in Tolt/Carnation. The new council also instituted an annual meeting of the general membership, which has been held almost continuously since that time (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 327-28).

The principal concern of the new council was the actualization of the Point Elliott treaty provisions through claims litigation, the protection of hunting and fishing rights, and the establishment of a Federal reservation within the aboriginal territory. Kanim reportedly met frequently with Thomas Bishop, whose Northwest Federation was then pushing for the unification of the western Washington tribes on treaty issues (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 335. 337). In 1917, a committee of Snoqualmie and Snohomish representatives, formed to negotiate an attorney contract, hired a Tolt/Carnation lawyer named Jesse Simmons to represent the tribes in their treaty claims (Merritt 1917; Kanim 1917). Two years later, on November 15, 1919, Jerry Kanim made a formal request to the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency for a land base and for assistance in reaching a treaty settlement. "My people want land to live on," the letter stated. "We want to live in Snoqualmie Valley, the land of our fathers." It explained further that "My people who have not been helped by the government have held meetings and selected a committee to act for them. I am one of that committee. . . ." It concluded by stating that the committee had made a contract with Simmons "to represent our people and make a settlement with the government for us. We will be glad if you will help him" (Kanim 1919).

In 1914, Superintendent Buchanan had indicated that the Indian Office was proposing to expand its jurisdiction over the non-reservation Indians who had never been enrolled and for whom the agency had little information (Buchanan 1914). The efforts of the Northwest Federation in the pursuit of

treaty claims were instrumental in getting the Office of Indian Affairs to authorize Special Agent Charles E. Roblin to enumerate the landless and unattached Indians of western Washington between 1916 and 1918.

On January 1, 1919, Roblin submitted his "Schedule of Unenrolled Indians" of Western Washington (Roblin 1919a). In an accompanying letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he reported that there were still "a considerable number of full-blood Snoqualmie" residing in the traditional village areas of Tolt/Carnation and Fall City as well as other towns of that district. He stated further that these "Indian settlements have not been completely eliminated," but that most of the Snoqualmie had no land and survived by working in the logging camps and sawmills (Roblin 1919b).

Of the 222 names on the Snoqualmie roll, however, only about 44 had also been on the 1916 membership list. The explanation for this seems to be that the Roblin roll included only those who were not on any other Indian census (i.e., not enrolled with an Indian Agency), whereas a number of the Snoqualmie had previously been listed on Agency censuses. Thus, while Ed Davis and Jim Graham were on the Roblin roll, Jerry Kanim and Bill Kanim were not, because their names had been on the Muckleshoot and Tulalip Agency censuses respectively. The Roblin roll also carried the names of more people who had a lesser degree of Snoqualmie blood and who may not have been thought to be members of the 1916 organization.

In the summer of 1919, the Snoqualmie were honored by having the world's largest wooden ship named for the tribe. Many prominent tribal officers and members participated with other dignitaries in the formal launching of the 5,000-ton U.S. naval vessel "Snoqualmie" in Seattle on August 12. Kate Borst did the christening honors; Jerry Kanim, dressed in a suit, led the singing of Snoqualmie songs;, and George Luke and Andrew Kanim also had a role in the ceremonies, which were followed by a banquet. A newspaper account of the event indicated that Pat Kanim's daughter "Soosie" (Susie Kanim French) was also present, and claimed that it was first time that Indians had ever participated in the launching of a ship named for their tribe (Woodwick 1983).

The Indian Office never enrolled those on Roblin's 1919 Snoqualmie roll because it anticipated that they would eventually be part of a proposed claims settlement. On December 10, 1921, the Snoqualmie and other tribal groups within the jurisdiction of the Tulalip Agency voted to have the Northwest Federation of American Indians represent their interests in these claims (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 352) In January of 1924, Wilfred Steve (1893-1956) represented

the Snoqualmie on a five-man delegation which the Federation sent to Washington, D.C., to meet with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and lobby for legislation that would authorize litigation of the claims (Dickens 1924). Finally, on February 12, 1925, Congress passed a bill (U.S. Statutes at Large 1925, 886) allowing certain Indians of Washington (including the Snoqualmie) to submit claims to the U.S. Court of Claims.

A few weeks later, on March 28, 1925, representatives from the Snoqualmie, Stillaguamish, Suiattle, Snohomish and allied tribes held a meeting at the Potlatch House at Tulalip, at which Superintendent Dickens explained the legislation and the need for each tribal group to designate their choice of an attorney to represent them and to select a committee to negotiate and sign an attorney contract. The Snoqualmie, in common with all the other tribes that made a designation, chose Arthur E. Griffin, a former Superior Court judge in Seattle, as their legal counsel. They also selected Wilfred Steve, Jerry Kanim, William Bagley, Ed Percival, and Andrew Henry to handle the contract signing (Tulalip Indian Agency 1925a; ST 1925a). During 1926 and 1927, attorney Griffin gathered affidavits from a number of knowledgeable western Washington Indians, including Jerry and Bill Kanim and Watson Martin (Martin 1927).

In a deposition of February 25, 1927, Jerry Kanim stated that he had "inherited the right" to be chief, and that the title was not just honorary since he exercised authority over tribal members. "Ever since I became recognized as the leader of the Snoqualmie Tribe," he said, "I have always had the right and privilege to gather them so often, the same as I have gathered them here today." He stated further that the Snoqualmie still maintained tribal relations and kept a list of members, that they gathered whenever he called, and that he had called them together many times. He affirmed that the tribe had been affiliated with the Northwest Federation since around 1916, and stated that he was pursuing the treaty claims because he could recall as a youth hearing the elders talk about the treaty in their council meetings. Besides himself, Kanim identified the current tribal committee as consisting of Wilfred Steve as vice-president, Jack Anderson as secretary, Johnny Johnson as treasurer, and members William Bagley, Ed Percival, Joseph Charles, and Alex Young (Kanim 1927a). A 1927 list of the post office addresses of the heads of families under the Tulalip jurisdiction indicated that Joseph Charles (c.1882-1935), who was of Snohomish/Skagit ancestry and was the son of a Tulalip allottee), in common with Steve, Bagley, Percival, and Young, was listed under the Marysville post office. Also listed were a number of off-reservation Snoqualmie, including Jerry Kanim at Tolt/Carnation and Ed

Davis at Fall City (Schlageter 1927; Gross 1927).

In July of 1928, Jerry Kanim wrote a letter from the Muckleshoot Reservation to William Shelton, a Snohomish leader on the Tulalip Reservation, seeking his advice regarding Snoqualmie people who were "getting pretty bad making moonshine and beer." Kanim stated that he had previously discussed the matter with the sheriff in Seattle, but that no action had been taken. "Someday they will kill one another," he noted, "And I think before it gets too far we ought to do something to stop them." He asked Shelton to think about "what we could do for our people" and if he thought it would be good idea for him "to come and take it up with our agent," presumably meaning the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency (Kanim 1928).

According to oral testimony, the Snoqualmie continued throughout the 1920's to hold an annual meeting at Tolt/Carnation and to conduct tribal council meetings at other times as necessary (Eddy c.1975, 1-2). However, minutes of these meetings, which were reported to have been taken by the tribal secretary, are no longer extant. After an Indian Office circular authorized the organization of tribal business committees on the reservations, a Business Committee representing the Snoqualmie Tribe on the Tulalip Reservation was formed on April 6, 1929. The Tulalip Agency Farmer, the Reservation's agricultural supervisor, reported that the officers of this committee were Jerry Kanim (president), Wilfred Steve (vice president), Solomon George (secretary), and John Johnson (treasurer), and that the members were George Luke, William Bagley, Joseph Charles, Alex Young, and Andrew Kanim. All were elected to serve until they were recalled or resigned, and they were reported to be governed by a constitution and by-laws. With the exception of Jerry Kanim, who lived at Tolt/Carnation, and John Johnson, who was from Monroe, the remainder of the committee members were reported to be residing on or near the Tulalip Reservation (Tulalip Indian Agency 1929).

The formation of this Business Committee may explain why "Tulalip" was listed as a tribe in a 1929 listing issued by the Office of Indian Affairs (even though there was no historical Tulalip tribe and the people on the Tulalip reservation were from various Salish tribes). Although this release, issued as Bulletin 23 and entitled "Indian Tribes of the United States," listed 50 tribes in Washington, it did not include the Snoqualmie (Office of Indian Affairs 1929).

THE SNOQUALMIE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION: 1929-1939

A week after the Agency Farmer's report, on the evening of April 13, 1929, Jerry Kanim called a meeting at the Shaker Church on the Muckleshoot Reservation to begin developing a new tribal organization for the Snoqualmie. Tribal attorney Arthur E. Griffin had advised them to take this step in order to "properly present their claims to the Government." Those in attendance drafted temporary by-laws, chose a committee to nominate temporary officers, and adopted the name Snoqualmie Tribal Organization (STO), a designation which continued to be used by this body until the 1980's. Elected to office for life terms were Jerry Kanim as president, Andrew Kanim as vice-president, Chester Williams as secretary, Alex Young as treasurer, and a board consisting of Solomon George, George Luke, Joseph Charles, Ed Percival, and William Bagley. Also active in the discussions at this meeting, but not elected to office, were John Longfred, Wilfred Steve, Joe Bill, and John James (c.1882-1960) (STO 1929a). Steve, who also served as the secretary of the Northwest Federation in 1929 (Tulalip Indian Agency Farmer 1929), later became the tribal chairman at Tulalip (Upchurch 1935), where James was an allottee (Davis 1975a, 9), and Longfred was a resident (Tulalip Indian Agency n.d); Bill had a 160-acre allotment at Muckleshoot (Reynolds 1902c).

Of those elected, the Kanims, George, Luke, and Percival had been on the 1916 tribal council, and Bagley, Percival, and Jerry Kanim had been on the 1925 claims committee. Five of the nine elected had been on the Snoqualmie tribal committee of 1927 and all but Williams and Percival had been on the 1929 Snoqualmie business committee at Tulalip. Bagley (c.1869-1939) was a policeman on Tulalip and was married to Mollie Martin Bagley (1901-1965), a Tulalip allottee and the sister of Watson Martin (Chief Sanawa) (FD). Bagley's father was the Skykomish leader William Jimicum, and Bagley reportedly represented the Skykomish on this Snoqualmie council, although he also had Snoqualmie ancestry. Indians familiar with the Muckleshoot tribal government allegedly helped the Snoqualmie draw up bylaws, which were finalized in subsequent meetings and adopted by the general membership at the 1929 annual meeting of the Snoqualmie (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 272, 354-55).

One of the topics of discussion at the initial meeting of the STO was the question of fishing rights. After the State of Washington established new fishing regulations in 1909, its increasingly stringent enforcement of game and fish laws placed the Indians' treaty rights and subsistence economy in jeopardy (Buchanan 1915, 112-13). A number of tribal members, including some living on the reservations, had been

arrested for not abiding by the State's licensing requirements. After Jerry Kanim himself was arrested in 1927 for hunting and trapping without a license, he directed a letter to the Tulalip Superintendent, questioning the State's authority to impede the exercise of treaty rights (Kanim 1927b). In response, Superintendent Frederick A. Gross stated that he did not know what advice he should give, but that it did appear that the intent of the treaty was to preserve Indian hunting and fishing rights. Because of the State's stand, however, he opined that it would probably be necessary "to fight the question out in court." He urged Kanim to take "whatever you earnestly feel is your right stand," and offered that "in case you need any further help, let me know and I will try to assist you" (Gross 927b).

The need to protect treaty resources was apparently one of the prime reasons why the Snoqualmie found it necessary to strengthen their tribal government. At that first organizational meeting in April 1929, at which Jerry Kanim was elected president, he suggested that a tribal delegation be sent to Olympia to confer with the governor regarding what was referred to as the "fish question" (Gross 1927b).

At that meeting, a letter in which attorney Arthur E. Griffin described the "good work" Jerry Kanim was doing for the Snoqualmie was also read (STO 1929a). The oral history record indicates that group members came regularly to Jerry Kanim's house in Tolt/Carnation to resolve their problems, such as marital disputes, or to seek his help in gaining employment or welfare assistance. He reportedly tried for several months (with unknown results) to get medical assistance for Snoqualmie members at the Cushman Indian Hospital. He also spent considerable time instructing the youth and others regarding traditional culture. He frequently traveled around the state to aid group members or to represent the Snoqualmie at Indian gatherings. Assuming responsibility for the tribe's seasonal workers, he often found employment for them in the hops fields and elsewhere (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 338-39, 347-350, 411).

Kanim negotiated harvest employment for the Snoqualmie with a number of farmers. His seasonal circuit began with picking strawberries and raspberries on the Halbrick farm near LaConner, continued in the loganberry and blackberry fields near Conway, and was followed by the harvesting of peas and other vegetables on various farms in the Puget Sound region. The Snoqualmie pickers then ended their season in Yakima, where they harvested hops, apples, and potatoes (Tollefson 1992, 38).

On March 1, 1920, Jerry Kanim directed a letter (on

Northwest Federation letterhead) to the Superintendent of the Cushman Indian Agency in Tacoma requesting economic assistance for 17 of the aged and infirm Indians living around Tolt/Carnation, Snoqualmie, Fall City, Monohon, and Redmond area, including Kate Borst and Snoqualmie Charlie (Keenum 1920a). In a subsequent letter, Kanim explained that the names submitted "were taken before the committee of the Snoqualmie Tribe" and that those listed "were present at the meeting" (Keenum 1920b). Upon investigation, Indian agents found that many of the Snoqualmie were quite elderly but "seemed to be well taken care of by relatives with whom they lived." Consequently, they recommended that only three or four old women should receive payments because there were "so many Indians who are in much more destitute circumstances than those we found in that district that we could not make them all allowances" (Dickens 1920).

Minutes of the May 26, 1929, annual meeting of the STO indicate that Jerry Kanim called to order at 12:30 p.m. what was probably a council meeting at his residence. This meeting was followed by a "War Dance" staged by "many of the prominent members of the Tribe" on the streets of Tolt/Carnation. It was reported that 500 visitors enjoyed this entertainment and that a collection taken after the dance amounted to over $21.00. This activity was followed by a second meeting (probably the general meeting), which was described as the "business meeting" and was called to order by Jerry Kanim in the Eagles Hall at 4:00 p.m., with "about 100 Tribal members present." During this meeting, which lasted until 7:30 p.m., the STO by-laws were formally adopted, an upcoming meeting of the Northwest Federation was discussed, and a Snoqualmie enrollment list containing 224 names was compiled (STO 1929c). A newspaper article announcing the meeting had stated that it would be "the final opportunity for members of the tribe to enroll" (Anonymous 1929). There is no indication of why specifically the STO was conducting an enrollment of its members.

The approved STO by-laws established a dues structure for membership of $1.00 a year for adults "payable in advance," and $ .50 for junior members (those between 15 and 21 years old). Besides active and junior members, the by-laws provided for three other classifications of membership - associate, Indian associate, and honorary. Indian associate members were defined as those who could "only vote upon questions relating to their own Tribal interests," whereas honorary membership was reserved for "persons of distinguished attainment" upon whom voting rights were not conferred. Membership applications were to be reviewed by the secretary and president. Meetings were to be governed by Robert's Rules of Order, and a quorum was established as

being at least 20 members and a majority of the Executive Board, which was described as consisting of the president, secretary, and treasurer. The by-laws provided for an annual meeting to be held in Tolt/Carnation on the second Saturday of March (STO 1929d), although in practice the meetings came to be held most often in May.

By the early 1920's, most of the Snoqualmie had been forced out of the Upper Prairie area. In 1923, an appraisal made of the trust land of the late George Moses at Snoqualmie Falls recommended that the Tulalip Agency sell the timber and then divide the proceeds and partition the land among heirs, four of whom were reported to be living on the land in "very poor houses" (Schlageter 1923). Employment opportunities for those in the Lake Sammamish area had also dwindled. Adapting to the new circumstances, some families sought employment elsewhere in the timber industry, or went to live with relatives on the reservations, or found commercial farmwork in the Snoqualmie and Yakima valleys. The eight families who remained in the Lake Sammamish area eventually moved two to three miles back (east) from the old settlement site along the shoreline in order to secure cheaper and more secluded property. Included among these people were members of the Walker, Williams, Forgue, and Louie families, as well as Kate Borst, the widow of Jeremiah Borst, and her daughter Eva Mead (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 239, 246). However, these families maintained their ceremonial longhouse, and tribal members living elsewhere came to the Lake Sammamish area to socialize, fish, and take part in the seasonal longhouse ceremonies. It is reported, for example, that Jerry Kanim regularly came there to observe the traditional Salmon or First Fish ritual, whereby the first catch of each species was ceremonially greeted with songs and dances. Leona Eddy, a current elder and the step-granddaughter of Kanim, recalled her first observation of this ceremony in 1925, when she was approximately seven years old (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 236-37).

In 1920, the Joseph Forgue family moved to Redmond, just north of Lake Sammamish, where their home became a kind of community house and subsistence distribution center for the Snoqualmie. Four other Snoqualmie families came to live within two blocks of the Forgue residence, and numerous other guest families, as well as single people, either lived in the residence or camped out temporarily on the Forgue property. These tribal people would come to the Forgue's to pick berries, fish in Lake Sammamish, or work the local harvests. They would also come for food and shelter if they were in need. Families from as far away as Yakima would bring their local produce there and contribute either food or money to the Forgue household while they stayed there collecting and preserving local food resources. As many as

50 tribal members would go to Lake Sammamish at the same time to fish. After a month or so, the visiting families would return home with the products of their harvesting activities, and there they would distribute the surplus to their relatives or others who were elderly or indigent. This tribal redistribution network is reported to have been spread over a wide region and to have contributed greatly to the survival of the scattered Snoqualmie (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 343-345).

Backyard feasts were frequently held at the Forgue camp and the family hosted a special harvest festival each Thanksgiving, at which time as many as 50 individuals would gather to open the first of the foods preserved for winter. At such occasions, Dwenar Forgue (1898-1984), the mother of the family, who was also the stepdaughter of Jerry Kanim, would set her table three times, as was the Indian Shaker custom. Joseph and Dwenar also worked hard throughout the year to keep their family and guests well supplied with food; he would hunting and fish and she would can fruits and vegetables (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 345-346).

Other households which functioned as tribal gathering places and centers for activities and assistance were Jerry Kanim's at Tolt/Carnation and Ed Davis's at Fall City. In later years, the Tom Zacheus (a.k.a. Zackuse) home at Lake Sammamish and the Earnie Barr residence at Issaquah also are reported to have served these functions. The Kanim home, which was reported to be even busier than the Forgue household, was more of a center for political and educational activities, perhaps similar in function to the old Snoqualmie "Halalt" which had also been at Tolt/Carnation, whereas the church/house of the Davis family had more of a religious role. Kanim began in the 1920's to sponsor an annual Fourth of July celebration at his home, to which at least 60 tribal members would come to take part in the Tolt/Carnation parade and participate in traditional Indian games and dances. The tribe usually entered a float depicting some aspect of Snoqualmie culture in the town parade and set up a display of arts and crafts. Many of the visiting families would camp on Kanim's property and eat from the long table that filled his house. The tribal members would also participate in their own foot races, bone games, and dances. In addition, Kanim and his son-in-law would challenge anyone in King county to a boxing match on which bets were taken. If the Snoqualmie boxers won, the tribe kept the jackpot, but if the challengers won, the money would go toward the expenses of the Tolt/Carnation parade (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 347-49). These July get-togethers continued until Kanim's death in 1956 (FD).

Another tribal event which evidenced cultural blending

during the 1920's and later was the Memorial Day gatherings at Fall City. Every year, 50-60 tribal members would come to attend services at Ed Davis's Indian Shaker Church. Afterwards, they would proceed to the Snoqualmie section of the Fall City cemetery to decorate the graves and then return to the church for a large dinner (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 349). While the destruction of the church by fire in the 1940's may have curtailed some communal aspects of these Memorial Day observances, the tribe has continued to maintain the cemetery in good order and to keep the graves decorated (FD).

In 1930, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported on a potlatch and powwow that was held at the Jerry Kanim house in Tolt/Carnation. The article noted that the guests, who included members of the "Skagit, Lummi, Muckleshoot, Snohomish, Upper Snoqualmie, and Skykomish" tribes, were greeted by "Chief Jerry Kanim" and were "seated at a long table laden with savory foods." (The meaning of the designation "Upper Snoqualmie" in this context is not understood). The article stated further that the event was also attended by officials from Seattle, including a superior judge, the sheriff, and a deputy sheriff (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1930). The judge and sheriff and justice of the peace had previously been made honorary Snoqualmie members at a special tribal meeting that took place on February 4, 1930, at the County-City Building in Seattle (STO 1930b).

On March 29, 1930, Superintendent A.F. Duclos called a meeting at the Tulalip Indian School of all the Indians residing on the reservation. He explained that they needed a tribal council to handle questions regarding tribal property and other legal issues on the reservation. Robert Shelton, a Snohomish, suggested that since the reservation consisted of several tribes, that each should select its own council or delegate. Wilfred Steve, who had been elected to chair the meeting, then contended that the council should be limited to reservation residents; an idea which Shelton objected to strongly. Reference was then made to a letter in which the Superintendent had stated that the council should consist of Tulalip residents only. After considerable argument, it was finally agreed that the off-reservation people would be excluded from the council. Those assembled then elected Steve as chairman of the council and Alex Young, William Shelton, Sebastian Williams, and Hubert Coy as its other members (Tulalip Reservation Committee 1930). Presumably, this council took over the functions of the business committee formed the previous year to represent the Snoqualmie on Tulalip. The formation of the new council thus had the effect of preventing Jerry Kanim from further representing the Tulalip Snoqualmie

through a sanctioned on-reservation council. It also marked the beginning of the demarcation which would gradually separate the reservation Snoqualmie under the "organized" Tulalip tribal council from the landless and "unorganized" off-reservation Snoqualmie who had no property interests at Tulalip.

Two days later, on March 31, 1930, a STO meeting was called at Tolt/Carnation for the purpose of reunifying the Upper and Lower Snoqualmie. Watson Martin, who was also known as Chief Sanawa, stated that he had not been notified regarding the STO meetings. This situation was rectified when he was chosen to be part of an elders council (STO 1930c). Later in the decade, his nephew William Martin would become the STO president.

Wilfred Steve also participated in the March meeting and it was his suggestion that the Snoqualmie should have a "council of old people" to serve as "the judges of the Snoqualmie tribesmen." In addition to Watson Martin, the following were then elected to this council of elders: Jerry Dominick, Bill Kanim, William Bagley, Elisa Steve, Sililus Dan, and Maggie James (STO 1930c). Dominick, who was then about 76 years old, had been a resident of the Muckleshoot Reservation where he had an 160-acre allotment (Reynolds 1902b; 1902c). Photographs showing Bill Kanim and his wife gardening and gathering roots appeared subsequently in the 1934 Annual Report of the Tulalip Indian Agency. Kanim was then described as being 90 years old (Tulalip Indian Agency 1934).

The duty of the council of old people was to uphold traditional customs and monitor the conduct of the membership. Tribal Organization minutes between 1932 and 1934 also reflect the continued use of Chinook or perhaps Salish in such meetings, at least to the extent that letters in English were translated into a native language for the benefit of the "older people" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 360; STO 1932a). A list of tribal leaders dated February 9, 1931, indicated that both the STO of 1929 and the council of elders of 1930 had remained intact (STO 1931). This meant that Alex Young was then serving on both the Snoqualmie and the Tulalip councils. A document described as the "Tribal Enrollment of a meeting that was held at Tolt, Wa. on May 28, 1932, at the Grange Hall" (which may have been an attendance list) contained the names of 63 members (STO 1932b).

Jerry Kanim exemplified the diversification of religious experiences among the Snoqualmie during this era. Although he was active as a missionary for the Indian Shaker Church, he continued to participate in the winter dances that were

held at the Lake Sammamish longhouse during the early 1930's. Economic difficulties had compelled Amelia Brown Zacheus and 20 to 30 other Snoqualmie who were seasonal workers to take up residence in the longhouse. After Amelia Zacheus married John Enick, the couple began hosting winter ceremonials there in 1931. These events, which lasted for a week, attracted dancers from as far away as Yakima; it being common for some Indians to make a circuit of the winter dances sponsored by the various tribes. Jerry Kanim danced his spirit song at the Lake Sammamish ceremonies during the four of five seasons that the winter dances were sponsored by the Enicks. Although the death of John Enick in 1935 brought an end to the dances there, Amelia continued to live in the longhouse for almost another decade (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 237-38, 305).

Knowledge of local food resources, continued reliance on aspects of the traditional subsistence economy to supplement cash resources, and utilization of a communal food distribution network helped the Snoqualmie survive the Great Depression of the 1930's (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986,237). Nevertheless, it was a difficult time. The Tribal Organization established a "needy fund" to assist members who needed ready cash, but even Jerry Kanim admitted in a letter in which he requested retirement support from the Government in 1931 that he was "about starving" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 359-60).

On December 29, 1930, Kanim wrote Superintendent Duclos at Tulalip asking if his home at Tolt/Carnation could be exempted from taxes. He explained that his cousin Annie Henry had bought the lot and built the house for him with funds "drawed from the Indian office at Tulalip" and that "Now it seems like I shouldn't pay taxes on it." Kanim stated further that Superintendent Gross had once written about the possibility of bringing the land under trust, but that he had lost the letter. He concluded by stating that he had never gone to a "registering" or to "any voting election," but that he was "still living up to my tribal relationship" (Kanim 1930). A response to this letter was not found.

On January 22, 1937, Ed Davis wrote the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency asking if, as "a party that is inherited in Tulalip Reservation," he could get a loan from the Government or the Tulalip tribe: "for I could have some good use for the money now" (Davis 1937). Superintendent Oscar C. Upchurch agreed to provide Davis with a set of harnesses. However, "As for a loan from the Tulalip tribe," he advised, "I do not believe that they would like to go off the reservation with loans at present" (Upchurch 1937b). Three months later, Alex Young's name appeared on a list of

48 individuals who had cash loan agreements with the Tulalip tribe (Tulalip Indian Agency 1937). Two years later, on February 17, 1939, the clerk of the Board of Education of the Snoqualmie Public Schools wrote Upchurch to both complain about three Snoqualmie families "who do not seem to make any attempt to regulate their children" and praise the children of the Edward Moses family, who were "well behaved and clean as their means allow" (Leyde 1939). In response, Upchurch wrote "There is very little that can be done to regulate the lives of people who misdirect them," but that he might be able to get some financial assistance for the oldest Moses boy to attend college (Upchurch 1939c).

The efforts of State officials to force tribal members to comply with fish and game regulations during these blighted times continued to be a major political concern. After Ed Davis was arrested for trapping beaver without a license, the STO met for three hours on January 19, 1930, at Thomas Johnson's home in Marysville and decided to allow the Northwest Federation to pursue the case. Jerry Kanim was elected to present the case at the next Federation meeting (STO 1930a). Although a judge eventually dismissed the case, the arrests continued.

Three years later, in 1933, Otto Moses, a member of the Moses family on the Upper Prairie, was arrested and charged with illegal trapping in the Cascade Mountains. He was subsequently found guilty and sentenced to 30 days in jail by a judge in Bellevue (Upchurch 1934a). Acting on behalf of the STO, secretary Chester Williams met several times with B.M. Brennan, the State Director of Fisheries, to discuss the issue and arrange for tribal representatives to meet with the governor and the directors of the State fish and game departments in February of 1934 (Brennan 1934). Prior to this meeting, on February 15, 1934, the Tolt Sportsmen's Association passed a resolution requesting the governor to permit the Snoqualmie to hunt, fish, and gather berries and roots without a license (Tolt Sportsmen's Association 1934). Four days later, the Sportsmen's Association in the town of Snoqualmie passed a similar resolution (Snoqualmie Sportsmen's Association 1934).

During the same period, Williams had also appealed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. At Collier's request, C.R. Whitlock, the Superintendent of the Yakima Indian Agency wrote Brennan on December 27, 1933, asking if State authorities would concede to the Snoqualmie the same rights exercised by the Yakima and other Columbia River tribes to take fish for their own use without a license, but to purchase a license for any commercial fishing (Whitlock 1933). In a letter to the Commissioner on February 26, 1934, Williams reported on the meeting with the governor

that had taken place three days earlier. He stated that "still they say that we cannot fish for our own use or hunt," and that "we are being made Fools, under the present Game Commission, and now it is up to you to advise us...." He wrote further that they left the meeting, at which Superintendent Whitlock had also been present, with "nothing accomplished," and that even though the State game director, Lou Ovendon, agreed to meet with Jerry Kanim during the following week, he was not available when Kanim visited his office three days later. He concluded that the Game Commission was "trying to deprive our old people of their only livelihood" (Williams 1934a).

On March 21, 1934, Commissioner Collier wrote Chester Williams that he had requested Superintendent Whitlock to submit a report to him on the continued negotiations regarding Snoqualmie hunting and fishing rights (Collier 1934a). Whitlock presumably filed such a report, for Collier wrote in a June 9, 1934 letter to Williams that the Yakima Superintendent had "exerted considerable effort in an attempt to secure for the Snoqualmie Indians the privilege of taking fish for their own use without being compelled to secure a license." However, the letter did not challenge the opinion which had been stated by Brennan in a letter to Collier of April 30, 1934, which was also enclosed, that the Department of Fisheries had no legal authority to exempt Indians from State licensing requirements (Collier 1934c). Later in the year, on December 17, 1934, Jerry Kanim directed a letter regarding the hunting and fishing issue to President Franklin Roosevelt (Kenum & Williams 1934b).

During the next year, the Snoqualmie began working to garner support for a bill introduced in the State legislature (House Bill No. 359) to protect Indian fishing rights (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 364). In April of 1936, a young Snoqualmie member named Clarence Moses from Snoqualmie Falls was charged with hunting without a license by a State game warden. A judge subsequently confiscated the youth's rifle, fined him, gave him a suspended sentence of 90 days, and made him walk home from Kirkland. Both Clarence and his uncle, Otto Moses, wrote letters to Superintendent Upchurch at the Tulalip Agency asking him to intercede (Clarence Moses 1936; Otto Moses 1937). In response, Upchurch wrote that "The number of times that Indians of that neighborhood have been arrested on these grounds should be sufficient warning and my advice to you is to inform all of your people to go according to the laws of the State because that is what the game wardens are going by" (Upchurch 1936). In a letter of January 10, 1937, Jerry Kanim requested that Superintendent Upchurch attend the trial of James Enick (Kanim's son-inlaw), who had been arrested for illegal trapping. Upchurch responded that he would not be able to

attend. "Be sure to have witnesses who will testify that the beaver was caught on Indian trust land," he advised. "This is the only defense that we could offer" (Upchurch 1937a).

Another primary concern of tribal leaders during the 1930's was the continued pursuit of treaty claims against the Government through negotiation or litigation. Addressing their annual meeting at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall on May 25, 1930, attorney Arthur Griffin told the Snoqualmie that an official had promised that the Government would settle the claims within five years (STO 1930d). At an STO dinner meeting held at the home of William Bagley on June 25, 1932, Jerry Kanim and Ed Percival were chosen as delegates to meet with Griffin and discuss the gathering of evidence (STO 1932c). A proposed contract with Griffin was approved at a March 25, 1933, meeting at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall, and Andrew Kanim, Watson Martin, and William Bagley were chosen to sign the contract on behalf of the STO (STO 1933).

Optimism fueled expectations for a speedy resolution of the suit (Duwamish et. al. v. United States) that was filed in the U.S. Court of Claims on October 11, 1933, on behalf of the Snoqualmie and 18 other tribes of the Puget Sound area (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 360-61). Consequently, the Snoqualmie tribal council, meeting at Jerry Kanim's residence on April 14, 1934, voted to postpone consideration of provisions of the proposed Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) "until such a time that our Claims that is [sic] now pending in the Court of Claims is settled" (Kenum & Williams 1934a).

The Snoqualmie were generally opposed to the IRA because they were afraid that it would give the Government an opportunity to dictate the way in which their potential claims payment would be spent. As the legislation was understood by the Snoqualmie leaders, it provided that any monies received in litigation would be spent by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the benefit of the tribe (Kenum & Williams 1934a). In a letter of April 16, 1934, Commissioner Collier wrote Jerry Kanim explaining that the proposed bill had "nothing whatsoever to do, one way or the other, with Court of Claims suits" (Collier 1934b). However, the Snoqualmie still wanted to resolve the treaty issues before weighing their options regarding reorganization. "Don't you think that this tribe should be given a little more consideration," wrote Chester Williams to Collier, "before this bill is acted upon, as to how we were treated after our Treaty was made between the Snoqualmie Tribe and Gov. Isaac Ingle [sic] Stevens and never has been fulfilled yet? We

are still waiting" (Williams 1934c).

On June 4, 1934, the U.S. Court of Claims issued a decision in the Duwamish v. United States suit. It ruled that although the plaintiffs were entitled to a judgment of $71,496.45, the United States as defendant had shown in its counterclaim that it was entitled to an amount in excess of this sum. Since the judgment was thus eliminated by the offsets, the case was dismissed (U.S. Court of Claims 1934). The plaintiff tribes subsequently petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to review the Court of Claims decision, but were denied on May 27, 1935 (U.S. Supreme Court 1935).

Two weeks after the Court of Claims decision, on June 18, 1934, the IRA was enacted (U.S. Statutes at Large 1934, 984). Section 18 of the Act provided that the statute would not apply to "any reservation" where a majority of the adult members voted against its application in special elections called by the Secretary of the Interior. There is no evidence that the Indian Office ever requested the Snoqualmie to vote on the IRA.

In compiling a list in 1935 of the tribes that had not yet voted on the IRA, N.O. Nicholson, the Superintendent of the Taholah Indian Agency, excluded those tribal groups that were not living on reservations. He wrote that it was his "off hand impression that none of these groups are so situated such that the [IRA] would apply to them or such that they would be eligible to vote under this Act" (Nicholson 1935).

In May of 1934, Superintendent Upchurch asked the Snoqualmie to furnish him with a copy of a recent tribal roll that had been approved by Jerry Kanim and to indicate the Snoqualmie blood quantum of the membership (Upchurch 1934b). Of the 116 members for whom a designation was made, 66 (or 57%) were considered to be full-blood Snoqualmie, and only 5 (or 6%) had less than 1/8 Snoqualmie blood. Given the exogamous marriage pattern of the Snoqualmie, the total Indian blood quantum of many of the mixed-blood members was probably considerably higher than 1/8. Tollefson and Pennoyer maintain that the relatively high Snoqualmie blood quantum among the membership in 1934 is indicative of the fact that the tribe was maintaining strong ethnic boundaries by closely monitoring its membership roll. In an effort to reduce the potential for dual enrollment, those who opted to enroll in other tribes were encouraged at a June 14, 1931 council meeting to sign papers stating that they would have no further interest in the STO (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 360, 362-33; STO 1930e).

In response to the Upchurch request for blood degrees, STO secretary Chester Williams wrote on June 4, 1934, that the Snoqualmie had never enrolled anyone on the basis of blood quantum, but had instead required approval "of the Chief and a council of persons who are old and should know the parentage of the person who enrolls." Williams concluded by stating that the 1934 tribal roll consisted of all those who had attended meetings since 1929, but that quite a few members had neglected to enroll their children (Williams 1934e).

Correspondence between the Tribal Organization and the Tulalip Indian Agency in 1934 and 1935 provides evidence of the ongoing meetings of both the Snoqualmie council and the Northwest Federation. Superintendent Upchurch was invited to attend a special STO dinner meeting held at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall on March 24, 1934, to discuss the pending Indian Reorganization legislation, and to appear at the 1934 Snoqualmie annual meeting scheduled to take place at the same location on May 20. He appeared at the March meeting (STO 1934), but wrote that he could not attend the annual meeting because of a prior out-of-state commitment (Williams 1934b; Upchurch & Lucas 1934).

In July of that year, Upchurch sent notices to both member tribes and regional newspapers announcing that the annual meeting of the Northwest Federation would take place on July 21 in LaConner, Washington. The notice identified the Snoqualmie as one of the 23 members of the Federation and described the meeting as "the most important general assembly of Indians in the Northwest." It noted further that the recently passed Indian Reorganization Act and the pending claims would be primary topics of discussion and that the governor and a Congressman were expected to be on the program (Upchurch 1934c). On December 6, 1934, Upchurch sent a letter to the Everett newspaper announcing that Commissioner Collier would appear at a December 11 Federation meeting in LaConner. This letter identified the Snoqualmie as being among the tribal groups that would be in attendance (Upchurch 1934f).

A letter from Jerry Kanim and tribal secretary Chester Williams to the Commissioner on April 14, 1934, described an STO meeting that took place at the Kanim residence on that date. It notes that those present and voting included, in addition to Kanim and Williams, vice-president Andrew Kanim, treasurer Albert Prenatt, and council members Solomon George, William Bagley, Ed Percival, and Joseph Charles (Kenum and Williams 1934a). All but Prenatt, who was a brother-in-law to Ed Davis, had been part of the initial STO of 1929 and the Kanims, George, and Percival had been members of the 1916 tribal council. However, George Luke,

who was on both the 1916 and 1929 Snoqualmie councils, was identified by Superintendent Upchurch in 1935 as being a member of the Muckleshoot tribal council. Wilfred Steve, who had been identified as being the vice-president of the Snoqualmie council in the late 1920's prior to the formation of the STO, was still listed by Upchurch as head of the 1935 Tulalip tribal council. Also listed on that council was Alex Young, who was on the 1916 Snoqualmie membership list and had been identified as a Snoqualmie council member in 1927 and 1929 and as the first treasurer of the STO (Upchurch 1935). Minutes of a March 25, 1933, meeting indicated that Young, who had been elected to the Tulalip council in 1930, had been "recalled" as treasurer for not attending meetings and for failing to make annual reports, and that Prenatt was elected to succeed him, although Prenatt had objected initially (STO 1933).

In response to a questionnaire from the National Resources Board regarding tribal groups within the region, Superintendent Upchurch, on September 20, 1934, identified "an important band of Snoqualmie Indians under the leadership of Jerry Kanim," and noted that a number of these Snoqualmie "were not enrolled at any agency and have no land." As a solution to this situation, Upchurch proposed the establishment of a small reservation for these people within the Snoqualmie National Forest (Upchurch 1934e). He later wrote that this area could be designated as a reservation "for all homeless Washington Coast Indians not otherwise provided for, but to be governed by the unallotted Snoqualmie band," which he described as being "Now affiliated with the Muckleshoots" (Upchurch 1937c).

In a preliminary report of March 1, 1937, E.M. Johnston, a Land Field Agent based in Sacramento, identified the Snoqualmie as living in the vicinity of Snoqualmie, Fall City, Carnation, and Preston and consisting of 211 members under the leadership of "Chief Jerry Kanim." The Johnson report proposed that about 10,240 acres of largely prairie, stump, and second-growth timber land on both sides of the Tolt River about 1-1/2 miles north and east of Tolt/Carnation be set aside as a reservation for the Snoqualmie (Johnston 1937). Upon receiving this report, George P. LaVatta, Portland Field Agent for the Indian Office endorsed the proposal, stating that it would be necessary for the Snoqualmie to secure a land base before they could organize under the Indian Reorganization Act (LaVatta 1937; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 364-66).

Discussion of the proposed reservation proceeded to the point that the Snoqualmie considered negotiating their potential right to Tolt waters with the City of Seattle. Jerry Kanim hoped that the tribe might be able to use

revenue from the municipality for development of the reservation, and he invited Upchurch to attend the 1937 annual meeting, to be held at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall on May 29, to discuss the matter (Kenum 1937). Upchurch declined to attend the meeting but wrote Kanim that "the first effort I shall make will be to get a reservation for your people. The rehabilitation and development of it will be a matter for later consideration" (Upchurch 1937d).

Minutes of the 1937 Snoqualmie annual meeting reflect that the proposed land acquisition was the main topic of discussion (STO 1937b). However, it does not appear that the Government had taken any further action on the proposal in the interim. At the 1938 annual meeting, held at the home of Ed Davis in Fall City, a resolution was passed regarding the desired size of a reservation (a "renewed" enrollment list compiled at this meeting listed 96 names) (STO 1938). The next year, on April 26, 1939, Kanim again directed a letter to Upchurch stating that "I am going to call my Tribe together again this year" and inviting the Superintendent to attend the annual meeting to be held at Tolt/Carnation on May 13. Kanim hoped that Upchurch might provide an update on the reservation plans (Kenum 1939a).

Upchurch did attend the 1939 annual meeting, held at the Tolt/Carnation Eagles Hall, but talked mostly about the requirements of getting an attorney contract approved by the Indian Office (STO 1939). The Snoqualmie wanted Arthur Griffin to continue to pursue their claims, but needed to get Government approval. In response to the requirement that the tribe submit a resolution specifying why an attorney should be hired, the Snoqualmie presented Upchurch with a laundry list of their claims against the Government. These included to gain compensation for the land, villages, and longhouses taken from them and for the failure of the Government to provide adequate reserved lands or allotments, to establish and maintain an agricultural and industrial school, to restrain whites from gaining land prior to the treaty signing, and to protect fishing and hunting rights. They also included on the list any further claims which they might not have listed specifically (Williams 1939). By letter dated May 17, 1939, Superintendent Upchurch informed Commissioner Collier that the "various items set forth. . .appear to be of sufficient basis for the employment of a claims attorney on a percentage basis," and asked to be sent the proper contract forms (Upchurch 1939b).

The Snoqualmie voted in favor of a cash settlement of their claims so that they might purchase land. The minutes of the annual meeting also reflect that it was conducted by William Martin, who had become the Snoqualmie president, but that Chief Jerry Kanim continued to speak first, that Tom

Zackuse, Ed Davis, Bob Nason, and Alex Young were elected to the STO council, and that vacancies on the "old people's council" were filled by Anna Jack and Jack Stillman (STO 1939). This indicates that Kanim had taken on an emeritus or ex-officio role as "chief," although he remained the primary political leader, while Martin had been given more of the day-to-day duties of running the STO and its meetings.

Martin, who was then also enrolled with the Skagit Tribe, was the great-grandson of Sanawa, the man who was identified as being the "head chief" of the Snoqualmie in 1870 (FD). Of the new members of the elder's council, Stillman, who was then about 62 years old, was a Muckleshoot allottee who was married on the reservation to Jerry Kanim's sister in 1903 (Reynolds 1909; 1903). In 1920, Stillman was identified as having been badly crippled in a train accident and living with his sister-in-law 5-to-7 miles from Tolt/Carnation (Keenum 1920a). Anna Jack, the former Anna Kanim, had married Alex Jack, a Muckleshoot allottee in 1908 (Reynolds 1909; Tulalip Indian Agency 1910). The minutes also indicate that a dinner was held between sessions and that the meeting was closed by the president "until Chief calls the next meeting" (STO 1939).

On July 15, 1939, Jerry Kanim was one of 32 delegates from 14 tribes attending a meeting of the Northwest Federation at the Tacoma Indian Hospital. Kanim placed in nomination the name of the man elected as the organization's new president, George James of the Lummi Tribe. Wilfred Steve of the Tulalip delegation expressed his resentment toward Kanim for stating that the Tulalip people were not "favorable" to the Federation. Kanim also spoke at length about the State's prosecution of Indians for hunting and fishing and expressed the hope that the Federation would renew its fight for Indian rights (Northwest Federation of American Indians 1939).

INCREASED FEDERAL INTERACTION: 1940-1949

BIA Contacts

There are more Indian Office records pertaining to the Snoqualmie for the 1940's than for any other decade. This reflects, in part, the continuing and escalating involvement of the Office of Indian Affairs (which in 1947 officially adopted the name Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)), with the Snoqualmie's ongoing pursuit of treaty claims and rights. It also indicates that the relationship between the petitioner and the Tulalip Indian Agency went beyond the

BIA's responsibility for approving attorney contracts and preparing rolls for tribal entities involved in litigation, whether or not such entities were recognized by the Federal Government.

The Tulalip agency continued its efforts to secure a reservation for the Snoqualmie, and to provide assistance in the negotiation of hunting and fishing rights with the State and the pursuit of claims litigation in Federal court. The Superintendent not only aided the Snoqualmie tribal council in getting its attorney contracts approved by the Department of the Interior, but also helped it obtain legal counsel (Gross 1947f) and served as an intermediary between the tribal officers and their lawyer both before and after the contract was approved (Gross 1947g; 1949c). In 1940, he even donated money toward the travel expenses of the tribal attorney (STO 1940c).

The Superintendent attended Snoqualmie meetings more frequently than in the past and also kept the Commissioner better informed of STO activities by sending him minutes of some of the meetings (Gross 1949a; 1949b; 1949d; 1949g) and updated lists of tribal council members (Upchurch 1944c). In an April 8, 1941, letter to Commissioner John Collier, Superintendent Upchurch described the STO as a small band "headed by Jerry Kanim" which had received no allotments or other treaty benefits, but which had "increased in number and have been joined in their recent claims protest by Tulalip Allottees and their landless descendants of Snoqualmie blood, and also by Indians of Snoqualmie blood affiliated on the Yakima Reservation." Upchurch continued that the STO had been meeting "periodically for a number of years" under Kanim's general guidance. He estimated that the number of adult members of Snoqualmie blood who were unattached to any reservation numbered about 100. He concluded that he felt that "a small band of this tribe" had "a legitimate claim to further lands" and that he had proposed the acquisition of a reservation in the Tolt River Valley (Upchurch 1941b).

The Superintendent also kept the Snoqualmie better informed of BIA activities than he had previously. The Snoqualmie chairman and secretary were included on the mailing list of "Tribal Officials of Organized Tribes, Tulalip Jurisdiction" and were regularly sent circulars and memoranda from both the local agency and the BIA's Central Office (Gross 1947a; 1947b); Pryse 1947). In 1945, for example, chairman William Martin was sent a circular requesting information about the tribal police and court system. In response, he wrote "we have got to have a reservation to have our police forces and judges" (Martin 1945). Answering a request in 1947 for information about the Indians of the Puget Sound area,

Superintendent Fred A. Gross, the man who replaced Upchurch as the Tulalip superintendent in October 1944, listed the Snoqualmie among those "in addition to the Tulalip Tribe" that were "under the jurisdiction of the Tulalip Agency" (Gross 1947i).

On several occasions throughout the decade of the 1940's, the Tulalip Superintendent provided advice and assistance to Snoqualmie members both on and off the reservations. He accommodated the requests of Snoqualmie leaders for advice, even regarding relatively minor governmental issues such as whether it was legal to have a business meeting on Sundays (Upchurch 1944a; Kenum 1944b) and whether the tribal secretary should issue receipts for dues payments (Upchurch 1943e). He was also asked whether the tribal secretary could issue letters to members stating that they were not Government wards so that they might purchase beer (Williams 1941). On at least one occasion, he arranged for the Snoqualmie council to meet on the Tulalip Reservation (Upchurch 1941a), and on another, he notified a Seattle newspaper reporter about an upcoming Snoqualmie meeting (Gross 1948d). In 1948, at the request of Jerry Kanim, he provided information to the editorial staff of the Everett Herald regarding a recent STO meeting and the status of the Snoqualmie claims (Gross 1948c). During that same year, he prepared a notice on official Indian Office letterhead announcing a joint meeting of the Skagit and Snoqualmie to be held at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall (Gross 1948f), and in 1949 he allowed the Snoqualmie to conduct an inter-tribal meeting in his own office (Gross 1949).

The Tulalip Superintendent went to Seattle to visit Jerry Kanim in the hospital in 1948 (Gross 1948b). He also helped him write a letter to President Truman in 1947 (Gross 1947c), and received a request from him during that same year for assistance in finding the whereabouts of a Snoqualmie member (Kanim 1948b). In 1947, the Superintendent monitored efforts to gain parole for a Snoqualmie member in the State Reformatory in Monroe. The Tulalip agency's special officer, Timothy J. Dunn, went there with Jerry Kanim to meet with the prisoner and his family, the Parole Board, and the superintendent of the reformatory (Ryan 1947). Dunn's weekly log for 1946 indicates that the agency also provided law enforcement services to off-reservation Snoqualmie, such as handling reports of missing children. In August, Dunn looked for William Martin's foster son Jimmy in Seattle after he was reported missing and ill, and in December he located a runaway grandchild of Ed Davis in Auburn (Dunn 1946a; 1946b). In addition, the Superintendent handled criminal complaints filed by and/or against Snoqualmie members (Gross 1945b), and offered advice to some of them regarding divorce

proceedings and child custody issues (Gross 1945a; 1946f).

There is evidence that at least one Snoqualmie member attended a BIA school in the 1940's. Patricia Moses of the Upper Prairie Moses family was enrolled at the Chemawa Indian School in Chemawa, Oregon during the 1944-1945 school year. However, she obliged the request of her sisters to return home to take care of her ailing mother in 1945, and it is not known if she ever returned to the school. This information is revealed in a letter that a Seattle social worker wrote to the Chewama Superintendent about Patricia's situation upon returning home. The social worker noted, among other things, that the Moses' "have a good reputation in the community" (McIlveen 1945).

Another form of Federal interaction with the Snoqualmie came on October 1, 1944, when Jerry Kanim was asked to testify at a field hearing on Indian affairs and conditions before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. The hearing, chaired by Representative Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson of Washington, was held at the Swinomish Indian Reservation in LaConner. Also attending were three other Congressmen and twelve other tribal delegates. At the beginning of the hearing, the tribes represented were classified as being either reservation tribes, public domain tribes, or tribes without either reservation or public domain lands. The Snoqualmie were described as being in the middle category. Jerry Kanim talked about the unfulfilled treaty promises, including hunting and fishing rights. "My people have nothing, no land, no homes," he concluded, " and I want you to do what you can in Congress" (U.S. House of Representatives 1944, 14-17).

STO Activities

In part because of the greater level of contact between BIA officials and the Snoqualmie in the 1940's, there is also a better record than before of the activities of the STO during that decade. There is not a complete record of all the meetings, but the minutes that are still extant reference other meetings for which there is no longer any record and give some indication of the council's ongoing business and participation. The Tribal Organization continued to meet periodically at different times and places. The available records for 1940, for example, indicate that there was a meeting in January at the Eagles Hall in Tolt/Carnation (STO 1940a), in February at Andrew Kanim's house in Marysville (STO 1940c), in March back in Tolt/Carnation (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 3/4/1940), and in April at the Potlatch Hall on the Tulalip Reservation (STO 1940f). However, there is no record of other meetings that

might have been held during that year.

Superintendent Upchurch attended the January meeting (STO 1940a), and guest speakers for the February meeting included Peter James, a Duwamish leader from the Lummi Reservation who had once been president of the Northwest Federation, and George James, the current Federation president and Lummi chairman (STO 1940c; Tulalip Indian Agency Farmer 1929; Tulalip Indian Agency n.d.). A newspaper article announcing the March gathering described it as "an all-day powwow" which would be attended by "Between 600 and 700 Indians of the Snoqualmie tribe" (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1940). At the April meeting, which was described as being for "the Snoqualmies residing on the Tulalip Reservation, it was reported that there were then 640 members and that the enrollment was being reviewed by both the Tulalip and Yakima Indian agencies. Others who wanted to enroll were given an opportunity to do so at this meeting. Cyrus James (1903-), a grandson of Bill Kanim, was designated the acting chairman (of that meeting only) and Andrew Kanim was described as being the "assistant Chief." Jerry Kanim, Alex Young, and Solomon George also took part in the discussions (STO 1940f). In a May 1 letter to Upchurch, Kanim reported that Helen Moses (of the upper prairie Moses family) was now the STO treasurer and that Charles Hoptowit was the "branch manager," which may have been in reference to the Snoqualmie branch of the Northwest Federation (Keenum 1940a). Since Hoptowit was enrolled at Yakima, it may also refer to a branch of the Snoqualmie at Yakima (FD).

The minutes of a March 15, 1941, meeting at Tolt/Carnation refer to an annual meeting to be held on May 17 and to a previous meeting that had been held in Marysville by the "Lower Snoqualmie Indians at Tulalip." This designation and the meeting the previous year of the Tulalip residents only indicates some continued distinction between the Upper and Lower Snoqualmie. Evidently, however, those who met separately were still viewed as being under the STO umbrella, since the minutes of the Lower Snoqualmie meeting were read and approved by the STO at the March 1941 meeting. The minutes of the latter meeting also reveal that there were at least 38 voting members present, and that Cyrus James nominated Jerry Kanim to serve as a delegate to accompany the tribal attorney to Washington "on the grounds that they would listen to a Chief." Other participants included Ed Davis, who conducted the opening prayer (presumably an Indian Shaker prayer), William Martin as president, Ted (Edward) Moses as acting secretary, Jerry Kanim as chief, Andrew Kanim, Cyrus James, Alex Young, John James, Edith Parks, and Billy Williams. Also in attendance were Peter James from Lummi and Joe Young "of Tulalip" (STO 1941a).

An article appearing in the Seattle Times on May 11, 1941, featured photographs of Jerry Kanim and other "landless" Snoqualmie "from Carnation, Tolt, Puyallup, and Suquamish" meeting at the home of Betty Lozier on or near the Muckleshoot Reservation. The article stated that Kanim spoke to the Indians assembled "First in English and then in Chinook" (Seattle Times 1941). Kanim had invited Commissioner Collier to attend the annual STO meeting to be held on May 17 in Tolt/Carnation, but never received a response (Collier 1941a; 1941b).

On April 23, 1942, Jerry Kanim wrote Superintendent Upchurch that Chester Williams had resigned as tribal secretary because of bad health and that Ted Moses would take his place temporarily until a new election could be held (Kenum 1942). It is not known if this refers to Edward Moses or to his son Ronald, who was sometimes called Ted. Edward, who probably resided on the Moses family trust land on the Upper Prairie, was the son of George and Ida Martin Moses and the husband of the tribal treasurer, Helen Moses (FD). Kanim also indicated that the STO needed to reorganize since some of the council members had passed away, and promised to keep the Superintendent informed of future meetings and elections, stating that he might "call what few council [members] we have left at my home" (Kenum 1942).

Handwritten minutes from a STO meeting held on August 7, 1943, at the Eagles Hall in Tolt/Carnation are somewhat difficult to follow. However, they indicate that the first item of business was the continued need to fill vacancies on the council. Alex Young stated that he might not be able to serve because he was also on the Tulalip council and Andrew Bill was reported by Peter James to be unavailable because he was already a councilman for the Duwamish (he was in fact the chairman of the Muckleshoot tribal council; see Tulalip Indian Agency 1943a). Although the document is such that it is not easy to distinquish the nominators from the nominees, it appears that Evelyn Enick was elected secretary, that her husband, James Enick, Mary Charles, and a "Mrs. Harris" were elected to the council, and that Jerry Kanim was given a vote of confidence to be retained as chief. Other participants included William Martin, who chaired the meeting, tribal attorney Andrew Griffin, Cyrus James, Frank Ross, Mary Starr, and John James, who at one point, during a rather heated debate over whether the Snoqualmie should accept land or money in settlement of their claims, walked out of the meeting (STO 1943).
Three of the Snoqualmie at the August 1943 STO meeting had been active participants in a Tulalip tribal council meeting held just a few weeks before. They were Alex Young, Cyrus James, and John James (Tulalip General Council 1943).

Two days after the August STO meeting, Superintendent Upchurch sent Jerry Kanim a letter explaining a recent circular that had been sent out by Commissioner Collier. Upchurch stated that the Commissioner's purpose was to encourage tribal organizations to continue their work during the war. However, he wanted them to understand that the Indian Office would not be able to help them because Congress had cut off the funds used to assist Indian organizations (Upchurch 1943a). Sometime during September of 1943, the Tulalip Agency filled out a form listing the members of the Snoqualmie council. William Martin was listed as chairman, Cyrus James as vice-chairman, Helen Moses as treasurer, Evelyn Enick as secretary, and Jerry Kanim as chief. Named as council members were Ed Davis, Alex Young, William Jackson, Lawrence Sheldon, Andrew Kanim, and Edith Parks (Tulalip Indian Agency 1943d). The use of the title chairman instead of president as prescribed in the STO by-laws became common beginning in the 1940's, although in this instance it may have been the agency's designation. The STO was also referred to variably as the Snoqualmie Tribal Council or the Snoqualmie Business Council during this era. However, there is no evidence that either the name of the tribal organization or the titles of its officers were ever changed officially.

Of the new council members, both Lawrence Sheldon and Edith Parks would serve simultaneously on the Tulalip tribal council. Sheldon was elected vice-chairman of that council in 1946 (Tulalip Indian Agency 1946b), and was reported to be the chief of police on the Tulalip Reservation in 1949 (Tulalip Board of Directors 1949). Parks would also be elected as a Tulalip council member in 1946, and Alex Young was reported to be on the "Law and Order Staff" of the Tulalip council in that same year (Tulalip Indian Agency 1946b).

In a letter dated March 7, 1944, Superintendent Upchurch informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the changes that had taken place on the various tribal councils under the Tulalip jurisdiction as a result of recent elections. For the Snoqualmie, he noted that Alex Young and Andrew Kanim should be stricken from the previous list of council members and that James Enick should be added. Enick, who was Jerry Kanim's son-in-law, was described in the letter as being a full-blood Snoqualmie from Tolt/Carnation (Upchurch 1944c), although he was partly of Sauk-Suiattle ancestry (FD). The death of Andrew Kanim left Jerry Kanim the only Snoqualmie council member who had served continuously since 1916. Young's withdrawal also made Kanim the last of the original 1929 STO councilmen.

On May 16, 1945, STO chairman William Martin wrote

Superintendent Gross that the Snoqualmie had not had an annual meeting because of the wartime gas shortage. He stated that it was decided at the last meeting that they had "to lay still until [the] war is over," and that they had "turned all funds over on War Bonds." Earlier in the letter he had described the STO as "just a organization to get a reservation set aside for our landless people which has been going on for 26 years" (Martin 1945).

Minutes extant from a March 8, 1946, STO meeting show that 50 members were present for the five-hour gathering, but do not indicate the location. Cyrus James chaired the meeting and Jerry Kanim served as the translator and took part in most of the discussions. Other participants included John James, Edith Parks, Helen Moses, George Bates, and Deo James. Kanim closed his remarks by stating that the next meeting would take place on May 4, 1946 (STO 1946e). On May 9, 1946, Superintendent Gross wrote Kanim that he would not be able to attend the Snoqualmie annual meeting scheduled for the "next Saturday" (Gross 1946e). Two weeks later, Kanim requested that Gross attend a special tribal meeting to be held at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall on June 8, since "without your presence our meeting would hardly be worth the effort" (Kanim 1946b).

In March of 1947, Gross attended an STO meeting in Tolt/Carnation. He later wrote William Martin that the Snoqualmie were subject to the Indian Reorganization Act since he had no record that they had ever voted against it (Gross 1947d). The minutes of a May 17, 1947, meeting show that the council officers and members had remained the same since 1944. However, William Martin was now designated as the president and Cyrus James as the vice-president rather than as chairman and vice-chairman. Special guests at this luncheon meeting included Superintendent Gross, tribal attorney Arthur Griffin, and lawyers Kenneth R.L. Simmons and Theodore H. Haas, who had previously served as Chief Counsel for the U.S. Indian Service. Other participants included Jerry Kanim, William Martin, George Bates, and Wilfred Steve (STO 1947b). A letter which Gross wrote to Simmons on April 14 indicates that this was the annual Snoqualmie meeting and that it took place at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall (Gross 1947f). A letter between the same parties two weeks later states that Kanim had mailed "something like 120 cards to the various members of the Tribe, notifying them of the meeting" (Gross 1947g).

Minutes are extant for four STO meetings from 1948, in February, March, May, and December. Two other meetings, held in April and November, are referenced in these minutes or in other documents. A February 21 meeting at the Tolt/Carnation Eagle's Hall was attended by Superintendent

Gross. The gathering included a luncheon at the home of James Enick, who had given the opening prayer for the meeting (STO 1948a). A local newspaper announcement of the event stated that representatives from 21 Western Washington tribes would attend (The Valley Record 1948). Following the meeting, one newspaper account stated that "more than 100 Western Washington tribesmen and their families" were in attendance (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1948a), while another estimated the number of Snoqualmie members present to be "About 40" (Seattle Daily Times 1948). A photograph accompanying an article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer regarding the meeting shows Jerry Kanim standing behind a podium with Superintendent Gross and seven of the STO council members by his side (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1948b). In a February 11, 1948, letter, Gross indicated that Kanim had attended a large tribal gathering on the Lummi Reservation earlier that month (Gross 1948a). The March meeting was held jointly with the Upper Skagit council at Tulalip (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948a). A letter sent by president William Martin to his "Fellow Tribesmen" on May 7 to announce the annual meeting, refers to a meeting with attorney Kenneth R. L. Simmons that took place in Tolt/Carnation on April 9 (Martin 1948). An article in the Everett Daily Herald indicated that this had also been a joint meeting and identified the chiefs, officers, and members of the Snoqualmie and Skagit councils (Everett Daily Herald 1948).

The 1948 STO annual meeting was also a joint affair with the Upper Skagit. Held again at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall on May 29, the meeting featured a salmon bake as a means to both "help defray the expense of the meeting" (Martin 1948) and to raise funds for attorney fees (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948b). The public was invited to partake of the baked salmon "as only our Indian women can prepare it" (Martin 1948).

The main business of the meeting was related to attorney contracts, and both tribal groups elected four delegates to sign a contract designating Kenneth Simmons as their claims attorney for a period of ten years. Superintendent Gross was present to provide information and guidance in this matter, explaining that the contract had to be signed before a Superior Judge. Cyrus James, elected as one of the Snoqualmie delegates, explained further that a copy of the tribal by-laws had to be recorded with the contract. Consequently, a Snoqualmie constitution, the first drawn up by the STO, and revised by-laws were adopted by a vote of 37-0. Similar governing documents were also approved unanimously by the Upper Skagit. These documents, which were described as having been "brought up to date by both the Snoqualmie and Skagit special Committee," incorporated

attendance and dues requirements and implemented new methods whereby the membership could petition to hold a meeting (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948b; 1948c; STO 1948c). Gross later wrote Simmons that the meeting had been "very successful" (Gross 6/9/1948 SPA 40s-134), and Alice Cuthbert, secretary for the Upper Skagit, wrote in her minutes that "the two tribes were well represented" (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948c).

On November 24, 1948, Superintendent Gross prepared a notice on Indian Office letterhead announcing that at "the request of Chief Jerry Kanim," a joint Snoqualmie-Upper Skagit meeting would take place on December 11 at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall. This notice referred to a previous meeting of "officials and delegates" of the two tribes that had taken place at Mount Vernon on November 5 (Gross 1948f). The STO became affiliated with the Upper Skagit council in order to combine efforts and share expenses in the pursuit of their separate claims before the Indian Claims Commission.

Snoqualmie participants at the December 11 joint meeting, which was chaired by Charles Boome, the Upper Skagit chairman, included William Martin as tribal chairman, Jerry Kanim as chief, Kanim's daughter Evelyn Enick as secretary, and John James. The two councils then conducted their separate business. By a vote of 12-0, the Snoqualmie elected Edward Moses to fill the vacancy of William Jackson on the STO council, and John James praised Jerry Kanim for all his work and for his interpretation of remarks and letters "in the Indian language so the elder people can understand" (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948d).

Available documents from 1949 indicate that STO meetings were held at Jerry Kanim's house in Tolt/Carnation on March 5, at the Muckleshoot Community Hall on April 9, and jointly with the Upper Skagit council at Tulalip on April 23 (STO 1949a; 1949b; Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1949a). Undated, handwritten minutes from the annual meeting, which was scheduled to be held on May 28 in Tolt/Carnation (STO 1949a), indicate Superintendent Gross was again in attendance (STO 1949c), and a joint meeting with the Skagit at Tulalip on July 12 was attended by attorney Kenneth Simmons (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1949b). Jerry Kanim and other STO council members joined representatives from the Muckleshoot, Tulalip, Upper Skagit, and Suiattle tribes at a meeting with the State Fish Commission in Seattle on November 9 (Cuthbert 1949). Ten days later, the STO held a meeting at Jerry Kanim's house (STO 1949d SPA 40s-196), and on December 3 an inter-tribal meeting of Snoqualmie, Skagit, Suiattle, Tulalip, and Puyallup members was held at the Tulalip agency to discuss fishing rights. The minutes of

this meeting indicate that Jerry Kanim appointed William Martin "to act as a Joint Chairman for the day," and that Superintendent Gross was one of the principal speakers (Skagit, Snoqualmie and Suiattle Tribes 1949; Anonymous 1949).

Tribal Issues

The primary preoccupation of the STO during its meetings of the 1940's continued to be the pursuit of its claims litigation and legislation. The case which the Duwamish and 18 other western Washington tribes and bands had filed before the U.S. Court of Claims had been decided without compensation in 1934, and the U.S. Supreme Court had declined to review this decision (U.S. Supreme Court 1935). Thereafter, the Snoqualmie sought to gain authorization to file their own individual claim.

On January 8, 1940, Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington introduced a new bill in Congress (S. 3063) to allow the Snoqualmie to reintroduce their claims before the Court of Claims. The STO sought a settlement of $5,373,135 for land and rights taken by the United States (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1940 in STO; Schwellenback 1939). However, the Department of the Interior reported unfavorably on the Schwellenbach bill (Upchurch 1941b), and it never progressed out of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (U.S. Congress 1940, 670). On January 27, 1940, a tribal committee consisting of Jerry Kanim, Chester Williams, and William Jackson contracted with Arthur E. Griffin to represent the STO in its claims for another ten years (STO 1940b). In accordance with Federal law, this contract was approved by the assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs on March 27, 1940 (Zimmerman 1940), and by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior on April 2, 1940 (Department of the Interior 1940). In 1941 the STO attempted to get a new authorization bill through Congress. A draft of a new bill to be introduced by Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington and which would provide more money for legal expenses was discussed at tribal meetings (STO 1941a; Bone 1941).

Senator Bone introduced the new bill (S. 1440) on May 1, 1941 (U.S. Congress 1941, 3482). However, at a tribal gathering at Muckleshoot just ten days later, on May 11, Jerry Kanim made an announcement which reportedly stunned the Indians assembled. "Congress is busy with a war," he stated, and "The Great White Father is busy with a war." So, "For respect for our country we are withdrawing our bill" (Seattle Times 1941).

At a meeting two years later, on August 7, 1943, the STO

reconsidered its position and discussed the idea of introducing another authorization bill. The meeting included a lengthy and somewhat heated debate on whether the Snoqualmie should seek land or money in the settlement of their claims. Although litigation was not being pursued, attorney Griffin's contract was still being retained (STO 19430; 1946).

On August 13, 1946, Congress authorized the creation of an Indian Claims Commission (ICC) to adjudicate the monetary claims of Indians against the United States (U.S. Statutes at Large 1946, 1049). Prior to its enactment, Jerry Kanim corresponded with Representative Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson of Washington, the chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs and the sponsor of the ICC bill, regarding the intent and status of the legislation (Jackson 1946a; 1946b). At a March 22, 1947, meeting, the STO passed a resolution authorizing Jerry Kanim to write President Truman requesting that he make an early appointment of the ICC commissioners (STO 1947a). Kanim dictated such a letter to Superintendent Gross, who had it typed for him and instructed Kanim to include a copy of the resolution with the mailing (Gross 1947c). Kanim's letter, dated March 22, 1947, urged the President to appoint N.B. Johnson of Claremore, Oklahoma, as an Indian member of the Commission (Kanim 1947). However, on April 4, 1947, William D. Hassett, the President's secretary, replied that the President had already submitted his nominations to the Senate and that Johnson was not one of the nominees (Hassett 1947).

In April of 1947, Jerry Kanim requested Superintendent Gross to write Kenneth R. L. Simmons, an attorney in Billings, Montana, who had worked previously for the Yakima Tribe, to ask if he could attend the upcoming STO annual meeting and discuss the possibility of becoming the tribal attorney for the Snoqualmie (Gross 1947f). Gross did as he was requested, and in a subsequent letter to Simmons explained that Arthur Griffin was very old and could no longer give active attention to the Snoqualmie claims (Gross 1947h). Simmons agreed to attend the annual meeting of the STO on May 17, where he explained that because he had recently been employed by the Department of the Interior, he was restricted by departmental regulations from accepting employment by a tribe until February of 1948 (STO 1947b). In December of that year, Arthur Griffin, who was 83 years old, died after being hit by a car in Seattle (Gross 1947j). A few days after Griffin's death, Jerry Kanim wrote Gross that he had not heard "from the tribe whether we are going to continue with the claim or quit" (Kanim 1948).

At an April 9, 1948, meeting at Tolt/Carnation, the STO voted to hire Simmons to pursue the Snoqualmie claims before

the Indian Claims Commission (Martin 1948). In a letter to Gross on February 24, 1948, Simmons explained that for $3,000 per year plus traveling expenses and a contingency fee of 10 percent of any eventual claims settlement, he would represent "as many tribes as care to participate" in their claims, general litigation, and all other legal matters (Simmons 1948a). The need to meet such legal costs may have been the impetus which brought the Snoqualmie and Skagit councils together in March of 1948 in an effort to pool their energies and funds. At the annual STO meeting that year, both the Snoqualmie and Skagit voters elected delegates to sign a contract with Simmons (Gross 1948e), and both councils also voted unanimously to assess each of their members $5.00 per year "to be ear marked to the Attorney fees only" (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948b; 1948c; STO 1948c; 1948d). During the discussion of the proposed attorney contract, Wilfred Steve asked why the Secretary of the Interior had the right to cancel the contract. He stated that since the contract was between the Indians and Mr. Simmons, "the Indians should not be made a third party" (STO 1948d).

After reviewing a proposed contract between the STO and Simmons, William Zimmerman, Jr., the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested that the fee be limited to $750 for each tribe and credited to the allowed contingent fee (Simmons 1948b). Because it appeared to him that the STO did not have sufficient funds to meet the costs of investigating the claims, Zimmerman requested that the fees be made contingent upon either an appropriation of a claims settlement by Congress or the availability of funds in the STO treasury (Zimmerman 1948). Despite various fund-raising efforts, the joint fund of the Snoqualmie and Skagit was reported to be only around $483 at the end of 1948 (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948d). The tribes reached an agreement with Simmons on the contract provisions on November 5, 1948, and the contract was approved by the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs on February 8, 1949 (Emmons 1955).

The continued struggle with the State over the exercise of treaty hunting and fishing rights was another of the chief concerns of the STO during the 1940's. On April 14, 1941, Governor Arthur B. Langlie wrote Jerry Kanim that it was unfortunate that the United States had not guaranteed a permanent fish supply for the Snoqualmie, but that the State Supreme Court had ruled that off-reservation Indians were subject to the same laws as other citizens, "and from this decision I cannot vary." However, he concluded that he would work toward "a practical adjustment of Indian fishing" which would balance fishing rights with conservation needs and with the "basic food needs of all of the Indians"

(Langlie 1941).

On December 5, 1942, Warner W. Gardner, the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior, wrote Jerry Kanim in response to a letter that Kanim had written on November 2 to former Solicitor Nathan Margold, who had since retired from the Department. Gardner advised that it was not lawful for State game wardens to arrest the Snoqualmie for fishing or hunting without a license, as these rights were protected by treaty (Gardner 1942).

Through its periodic meetings, the Northwest Federation continued to monitor closely the cases of Indians arrested by State game wardens, and Snoqualmie representatives were often invited to attend these meetings (see Sebastian Williams 1944). On January 8, 1946, Jerry Kanim represented the STO at an all-day meeting in Seattle between delegates of the Northwest Federation and Milo Moore, the State Director of Fisheries. The minutes of this meeting indicate that former STO council member Wilfred Steve was then the Indian Relations Officer for the Department of Fisheries (Northwest Federation of American Indians 1946).

The Northwest Federation disbanded in 1949. In 1954, the Inter-Tribal Council of Western Washington Indians was created to take its place (Porter 1992, 126). No documentation was found to indicate that the Snoqualmie were involved with this latter organization.

The Indians of western Washington were encouraged greatly by the decision rendered by U.S. Supreme Court in 1942 in the Sampson Tulee case. Tulee was a Yakima Indian who had been convicted in the Superior Court of Klickitat County for

dipnetting salmon off the reservation without a State license. The State Supreme Court in Washington affirmed the conviction, but on appeal the U.S. Supreme Court reversed this decision. It ruled in the case of Tulee v. Washington that the State had the power to place restrictions of a regulatory nature on Indian tribal members concerning the time and manner of fishing outside of the reservations in the interest of conservation, but that the provisions of the May 29, 1855, treaty between the Yakima and the United States precluded the State from requiring the Indians to pay its license fees (U.S. Supreme Court 1942, 681). The Washington State Department of Game also concluded eventually that such Indians were also exempt from paying license fees to hunt for game animals off the reservation. However, because the State maintained that these rulings only applied narrowly to the recognized members of tribes coming under the May 29, 1855 treaty (Biggs 1949), Snoqualmie members continued to be arrested. Among them was 14-year-old George Moses who was jailed for six days in 1945 for fishing in Griffin Creek without a license (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 247).

The STO closely monitored developments in the Tulee case (Upchurch 1942a). Prior to the Supreme Court decison, Jerry Kanim had written Superintendent Upchurch that he already had "all the fish traps ready to put up" and that Upchurch should "tell the State I am going to block up the whole Snoqualmie River, if they won't hatch up any more fish [just a joke]" (Keenum 1942).

Later in the decade, at a joint meeting of Snoqualmie and Skagit on July 12, 1949, attorney Kenneth Simmons, who had represented the Yakima in the Sampson Tulee case, stated that he would also pursue hunting andfishing rights as part of his claims work for the two tribes (Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1949c; Cuthbert 1949). On November 9, 1949, delegates from the Snoqualmie, Muckleshoot, Tulalip, Upper Skagit, and Suiattle tribes met in Seattle with Alvin Anderson, the director of the State Fisheries Board. Jerry Kanim was described as being "the 1st speaker and leading member" at this meeting, which was chaired by Superintendent Gross. After listening to the delegates speak, Anderson expressed his desire to find a definite solution to the problem of treaty fishing rights and suggested the use of identification cards issued by the tribes and approved by the BIA. He then urged the tribes to take up consideration of this idea at a general council meeting (Cuthbert 1949). At a meeting at Tulalip on December 3 attended by 26 tribal representatives, Jerry Kanim and John James were elected to a ten-member, inter-tribal committee to meet further with State officials on this issue (Anonymous 1949).

A third area of interest during the 1940's, but one which seemed to lose momentum as the decade progressed, was the continued pursuit of a federally reserved land base for the Snoqualmie. As part of a ten year plan for tribes under the Tulalip jurisdiction prepared in 1944, Superintendent Upchurch recommended funding for the initial phase of investigation and preparation of the proposed Snoqualmie reservation in the Tolt River Valley. He wrote that "an important percentage" of the Snoqualmie were "entitled to fulfillment of the 1855 treaty," and that a "home in equity should be secured to them." Despite their lack of community property, the Superintendent stated that the tribal group was bound together "very securely by their blood ties and common interests" and that "their leader, Chief Jerry Kanim is a man of more than ordinary native intelligence and vision (Upchurch 1944b).

On September 5, 1944, Upchurch informed Kanim of a Congressional field hearing that the Indian Affairs Subcommittee was going to conduct at LaConner on October 1. He advised that the STO should submit a paper outlining its wants and needs and that "the principal thing that should be put in the statement should be a demand for a reservation" (Upchurch 1944f).

In a recent article on the landless tribes of western Washington, Frank W. Porter, III, wrote that the proposed Snoqualmie reservation became a "dead issue" by 1945 because of new economic restraints. Porter's sources indicate that the BIA had sharply curtailed its funding for land acquisitions and had limited its considerations to lands that could generate sufficient revenue for repayment or to tribes with the ability to repay land acquisition loans (Porter 1992, 122).

In February of 1946, Jerry Kanim inquired about the possibility of the Snoqualmie obtaining a few lots along the beach of the Tulalip Reservation to use as "summer homes" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 374). In response, Superintendent Gross wrote on February 5 that whatever rights the Snoqualmie Tribe may have had on the Tulalip Reservation were extinguished when the enrolled Indians of that reservation voted to accept the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (Gross 1946a). Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman, Jr., also wrote Gross on April 25, 1946, that only such Indians as were allotted or lived on the reservation and were considered Tulalip members at the time the Constitution and by-laws were adopted would be considered as having any rights on the reservation. However, he stated that the Tulalip tribes could grant permission to the Snoqualmie to use or lease summer homesites on the reservation. Zimmerman

then closed by asking what plans the agency had for providing land to the Snoqualmie "by purchase, or otherwise" (Zimmerman 1946).

The existing records of STO meetings from the 1940's also indicate that some internal issues such as enrollment, dues and attendance, and tribal projects were addressed, although the discussion of these matters occupied a relatively small percentage of the council's time when compared to that which was focused on treaty issues. Of the various internal concerns, however, enrollment received the most continuous attention.

During 1940 the signing of enrollment cards became a regular part of council meetings as the STO managed to bring its enrollment up to date (STO 1940a; 1940e). The STO reported a membership of approximately 640, including children, during that year (STO 1940f). However, Jerry Kanim wrote Superintendent Upchurch on February 1, 1944, that the enrollment had not been updated since 1940 (Kenum 1944b). Upchurch sent Kanim and tribal secretary Evelyn Enick copies of the standard enrollment forms that were then being used by the Tulalip Agency (Kenum 1944d; Upchurch 1943c; 1943d). Kanim responded that these forms were helpful since "a lot of people are now trying to get into the tribe that we shouldn't have" (Kenum 1944d).

The STO attempted to bring its rolls up to date prior to the 1944 annual meeting on May 28 (Kenum 1944e). The Snoqualmie enrollment in 1944 was reported to be 120 families, including 639 individuals of which 352 were female and 277 were male (Upchurch 1944b). In October of 1949, Superintendent Gross submitted a list of 69 STO members who were thought to be dually enrolled in the Tulalip tribes. He then requested that the STO send representatives to a November 16, 1949, meeting at which the Tulalip enrollment committee was going to try to resolve this issue. Also invited were the council members or membership and enrollment committee members from several other tribes, including the Suquamish, Skagit, Swinomish, Suiattle (Gross 1949e). Apparently, the STO made an effort, sometime after 1944, to exclude from membership those who were not participating in tribal activities and/or were enrolled in another tribe. By 1951, only 134 adults were included on the Snoqualmie membership list, and 6 of the 22 family lines represented on the 1940 membership list had been dropped (STO 1951b).

The problem of attendance at meetings was addressed by the STO early in the decade and the issue of dues assessments became more important later as the organization struggled to find ways to meet its legal expenses. At an April 12, 1941

meeting, the STO passed a resolution regarding attendance and dues requirements. The resolution proclaimed that members must attend at least one tribal meeting each year and pay annual dues of $1.00, and that those who did not would be subject to removal by the tribal secretary with the consent of the council (STO 1941b). The constitution and revised by-laws approved May 29, 1948, required every member to attend the annual meeting "for the purpose of filling out and paying on their membership card." The dues assessment was also increased to $5.00 (STO 1948c).

In an effort to meet its legal fees, the STO stepped up its fund-raising during the latter part of the decade with activities such as commercial salmon bakes. The organization also attempted to exploit other traditional tribal activities for the benefit of its legal fund. For example, a strawberry grower attended the 1948 annual meeting, donated $5.00 to the tribal treasury, and stated that he would donate an additional $1.00 for every Snoqualmie who would come to his fields to pick (STO 1948d; Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1948b; 1948c).

In addition to the dues assessments, collections were also taken up at the STO meetings for both legal expenses and other purposes. At the February 1, 1948 meeting, for example, a collection was made so that the STO could send flowers to the family of a deceased member. At other meetings, contributions were solicited for costs such as the fee for using the Tulalip Potlatch Hall and the purchase of stamps and envelopes (STO 1948a; Snoqualmie and Skagit Tribes 1949a; 1948d). Among its other projects requiring expenditures, the STO attempted in 1940 to purchase five acres of land to be used by its members for ball fields and other recreational purposes. The minutes from a meeting that year also suggest that the STO was making loans to its members at that time (STO 1940d).

Social Interaction

Aside from the salmon bakes, luncheons, and powwows that were held in conjunction with some of the STO meetings during the 1940's, there is little documentation regarding other social or community activities of the Snoqualmie during that decade. According to the oral recollections of elder members, however, the annual July 4 celebrations at Tolt/Carnation continued, as did the gatherings and/or food distribution activities in the households of Jerry Kanim, Ed Davis, Joseph Forgue, and Tom Zackuse. The yearly Memorial Day gathering at Fall City probably declined in size and importance if it was held at all after the Shaker Church there was destroyed by fire. Yet, Ed Davis recalled that

healing services continued to be held in private homes after the fire, and Edward Moses stated that the Fall City congregants also met more regularly thereafter with the Snoqualmie Shakers who remained on the Upper Prairie (the Moses families). When Amelia Brown Zacheus finally moved out of her Lake Sammamish residence around 1944 it symbolized the abandonment of the last Snoqualmie longhouse (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 238, 278-280, 343-45, 347-49).

END OF THE JERRY KANIM ERA: 1950-1959

BIA Contacts

During the first half of the 1950's, the relationship between the Snoqualmie and the BIA remained much the same as it had been during the previous two decades. After 1956, however, there is a very noticeable decline in the number of agency records documenting the relationship. This date coincides with the death of Jerry Kanim, the man who had provided the continuity of 40 years of political leadership. The late 1950's was also a period during which the so-called "termination" policy, a movement to terminate Indian services and/or reduce the number of tribes entitled to Federal services, was in an advanced stage. Policy makers began to scrutinize more closely the status of non-reservation tribal entities considered to be under Agency jurisdiction. As a result, groups such as the Snoqualmie tended to be classified, by the late 1950's, as being unrecognized by the Government.

What had been the Tulalip Indian Agency on the Tulalip Reservation was combined with the Taholah Indian Agency and moved to Everett, Washington, in 1950, after which the consolidated office became known as the Western Washington Indian Agency. The BIA also created an Area Office in Portland, Oregon, during that year, to maintain supervision over its agency offices in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho (Hill 1981, 176-78). The Federal records which are still extant for the early 1950's indicate that the Superintendent of the Western Washington Agency continued to have regular contact with STO leaders. He attended their meetings periodically and advised them on a variety of issues, including their constitution and enrollment. Just as the Tulalip Superintendent had done, he continued to correspond on their behalf with their claims attorney (Gross 1950d), to represent their interests in meetings with State officials regarding hunting and fishing rights and other issues, and to keep the Commissioner informed of STO activities by sending him minutes of meetings and lists of council members (Gross 1950f). He also gave information about the

Snoqualmie to the public and the media. In July 1954, for example, Superintendent Melvin L. Robertson responded to a request from the editor of The Amerindian in Chicago for information about women serving on tribal governing bodies. Among the 17 names and addresses provided by Robertson was that of Edith Parks, the Snoqualmie secretary (Robertson 1954).

In 1953, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Congress published the results of an extensive investigation of the BIA, which it had conducted in order to determine the feasibility of termination proposals. A table in this report, entitled "Indian Tribal Governing Bodies," listed the Snoqualmie Tribal Council among the 193 "tribal governments at present recognized by the Indian Bureau" (U.S. Congress 1953, 1369). The Snoqualmie Tribe was also included in a listing entitled "Alphabetical List of Indian Tribal Organizations (1950) -- Non-IRA" (U.S. Congress 1953, 1042).

In 1954, after Superintendent Raymond H. Bitney was criticized by the Tulalip tribes, in part because of his amicable relationship with the Snoqualmie (Bitney 1954a), the STO passed a resolution praising his job performance (Kanim 1954). In response, Bitney wrote Jerry Kanim that You may rest assured of my cooperation to the fullest extent possible to you and your people in regard to matters affecting the Snoqualmie tribe. In fact, I think it is the cooperation and advice that you have received from this office that has created the feeling on the part of some of the other Indians that they desire to give me the same treatment that you and your people are getting when you attempt to fish, under your treaty rights, adjacent to the Tulalip and other reservations created under the treaty (Bitney 1954b).

Later that year, Don C. Foster, the Portland Area Director, wrote to STO president William Martin explaining his views regarding the relationship between tribal councils, agency Superintendents, and the Area Office. "I am looking forward to getting acquainted with the members of your Council and to learn first hand on the ground the problems that are giving you concern," stated Foster. "It is our desire to work with you in a friendly, understanding manner. . . ." (Foster 1954).

Representatives from the STO continued to receive BIA circulars. They were also invited by the BIA to attend inter-tribal meetings and to comment on proposed policy changes. In 1951, for example, William Martin was one of 19 tribal chairmen asked by Superintendent Bitney to attend a regional meeting on welfare issues organized by the

Department of Social Security (Bitney 1951b). The STO was likewise requested to comment during that year on proposed legislation which would transfer law and order jurisdiction over Indian reservations to the State (Bitney 1951b). In June of 1952, Martin and his wife were among 20 tribal representatives invited to meet with G. Warren Spaulding, the BIA's Director of Programs, during his visit to the Western Washington Agency as part of a tour of agencies under the Portland Area Office. Spaulding, whose purpose was to make recommendations regarding the withdrawal of Federal services to Indians, later reported to the Commissioner that the Snoqualmie had no property, "either tribal or allotted." His general conclusion regarding the tribes represented at the Everett meeting was that they had "demonstrated their ability to make a living in the white-man's world without assistance from the Bureau" (BIA 1952).

In June of 1953, Superintendent Bitney requested the STO to answer a questionnaire to be used by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs regarding "actual practices" which had been developed under the tribal organization clauses of the IRA (Bitney 1953a). During that same year, the BIA drafted legislation to provide for the termination of supervision over the property of certain Indian "tribes, bands, communities, and organizations, or groups, and the individual members thereof." The Snoqualmie were one of the entities named in the draft bill. Superintendent Bitney invited William Martin to attend an October 17 meeting at the agency to discuss this proposal further (Bitney 1953b).

On November 12, 1953, A.M. Sacks of the Western Washington Agency redrafted an earlier draft report of Superintendent Bitney's on the Snoqualmie entitled "Summary Report of Withdrawal Status." This report noted that the Snoqualmie had no reservation or tribal land, but lived "around the town of Carnation in King County, on the Tulalip Reservation, and on public domain homestead allotments." It stated that for those members who had restricted land, the BIA still exercised trusteeship over their property, provided Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts, and furnished forest protection. It also noted that education was furnished by the State through a contract with the BIA, but did not specify if this was limited to those holding interests in trust property (Sacks 1953).

The Agency declined to make an estimate of Snoqualmie population because it had no recent roll. Regarding the readiness of the Snoqualmie for termination of Federal supervision, the report declared that "These Indians have handled most of their own affairs for many years and are considered able to assume control of the remainder." "Most

of them live among non-Indians and are accepted by the latter." Among the special problems termination might raise, the report noted the legal question of whether the Snoqualmie, as a Point Elliott treaty tribe, had a right to share in tribal property on the Tulalip, Suquamish, Lummi, and Swinomish Reservations (Sacks 1953).

Indian Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons hoped that termination of Federal supervision over the Western Washington tribes would be completed "within five years" (Emmons 1954). In response to a request to present tribal views on the proposed termination legislation to the Commissioner during his visit to Olympia on January 20, 1955, the STO passed a resolution on January 14 stating its position on the so-called "Readjustment programming." Concluding that the withdrawal of Federal supervision would not have "a material effect on the Snoqualmie Indians, numbering about 650 members" since they had no reservation lands and had not "for many years past received any special services or benefits," the resolution stated that the council was unopposed to termination under certain conditions. The stipulations it specified were that the treaty rights guaranteed to the Snoqualmie be fully preserved and protected, that the tribal group be given the same recognition regarding health and welfare issues as reservation tribes and the same entitlement to land as other treaty tribes that received land, and that termination would not effect adversely the pending suit "in the Court of Claims" (STO 1955a). As a measure of the STO's understanding of the termination proposals, this resolution indicates a lack of awareness regarding what the final effect (the abolishment of Indian trust lands and special health and welfare services) would be. It also reflects a lack of precise knowledge about the tribunal before which its claims were then pending (the Indian Claims Commission rather than the Federal system's regular claims court).

The BIA's effort to redefine what constituted tribal entities entitled to continued Federal jurisdiction was made apparent in a report which Portland Area Director Don C. Foster submitted to Commissioner Emmons on February 21, 1955. Foster recommended that the BIA's approach for planning purposes in western Washington should be "on the basis of trust land ownership patterns, and not on the basis of tribes, treaty tribal groupings, or other broad categories not connected directly to the land." He saw "little or no purpose in the Bureau concerning itself with tribes who have no trust real property... and whose only special connection with the Federal Government is the settlement of their claims." In his view, such groups were "living on the same terms and under the same conditions as other citizens of the state," and should not be brought into

the termination negotiation meetings. Among the groups Foster felt "should not be of Bureau concern at this time" was the Snoqualmie (Foster 1955).

In regard to withdrawal of BIA responsibility, Foster suggested that "Direct termination by legislation should be minimized...." He favored instead finding solutions for affected Indian groups or individuals on a case-by-case basis. Concerning ongoing claims before the ICC, he felt strongly that the BIA should be relieved of its responsibility of paying judgment funds "for those tribes or Indian groups where Bureau responsibility has ended" (Foster 1955). Presumably, he meant by this the western Washington tribes which had no Federal trust land base.

Despite the evolving definition of Federal tribal recognition, the BIA offered direct assistance to the Snoqualmie at least once during the 1950's, and in at least two instances the agency Superintendent was informed of internal problems of a personal nature which Jerry Kanim was attempting to resolve. Just before the Tulalip Agency was closed in 1950, Superintendent Gross wrote tribal secretary Evelyn Enick that a number of surplus girl's and women's shoes from the Chemawa Indian School were available for distribution to needy tribal members. He also informed her that the agency was going to be receiving surplus potatoes, of which families were entitled to 25 pounds per month. Gross stated that if Enick would advise him of the quantity needed, "we might be able to take care of some of the needy Snoqualmie Indians" (Gross 1950a; 1950b).

Also in 1950, Jerry Kanim requested the Superintendent's assistance in regard to a prominent tribal member who had a drinking problem which was being exacerbated by a non-Indian visiting in the same household (Kanim 1950b). Gross, in turn, asked the State Liquor Control Board if there was anything it could do through its enforcement division (Gross 1950n). A liquor inspector responded that the State should be able to handle the problem if the subject was obtaining drinks from a tavern, but if the drinks were being furnished by the non-Indian in the tribal member's home the problem would have to be solved by Federal authorities (Ajax 1950a). However, it was concluded that the BIA lacked jurisdiction because a written statement had earlier been obtained from the agency vouching for the fact that the subject's name did not appear on any of its rolls. Gross was compelled to admit that unless the name was on record "we cannot say that the Indian is a ward of the Government" (Gross 1950n). As a minimal solution, the State convinced local tavern owners to agree not to serve liquor to the tribal member (Ajax 1950b).

Correspondence related to this issue indicated that the Western Washington Agency did not possess or maintain a Snoqualmie roll in 1950. After Evelyn Enick returned her identification card because her tribal affiliation was listed as Muckleshoot rather than Snoqualmie, Gross informed her that this had been done because her name was on the Muckleshoot census. "Since we do not have a roll of the Snoqualmie tribe," he wrote, "we can only give you the information that appears on our record" (Gross 1950n). Nevertheless, the Superintendent still provided assistance to the STO regarding enrollment issues. After Jerry Kanim notified Gross that his wife Jennie Kanim was enrolled with the Snoqualmie, the Superintendent wrote the Duwamish tribal secretary on Kanim's behalf requesting that Mrs. Kanim's name be removed from the rolls of that tribe (Gross 1950l), and the Duwamish secretary agreed to grant the request (Sackman 1950). During a visit to the Western Washington Agency in 1951, Kanim also requested that his name and that of his daughter Evelyn Enick be removed from the roll of the Muckleshoot Tribe. He explained that he was counted as part of the Muckleshoot census of 1910 because he had resided for a short time with friends on the reservation, but that he was a full-blood Snoqualmie and had never been affiliated with the Muckleshoot Tribe (Ross 1951).

BIA inter-office correspondence in 1950 also shows that the Central Office was unclear regarding the status of the STO's 1948 constitution and by-laws. D'Arcy McNickle, Chief of the Branch of Tribal Relations, wrote Gross on June 23 requesting an explanation regarding the history of the document which had earlier been sent to Washington. "Does the tribe wish that it be given formal recognition by this Office," he inquired, "or is this document merely a proposed one on which the tribe wishes office comment or assistance?" (McNickle 1950). Gross replied that he believed that the constitution was adopted "in the interest of the tribe" and that since the STO was not under the IRA "it may or may not require Indian Office approval" (Gross 1950j).

In 1954, Jerry Kanim complained to agency personnel about a personal problem within the STO and requested their advice regarding the drafting of a tribal resolution. This was related to the STO's efforts to indicate its support of Superintendent Bitney. Kanim reported that while the passage of a resolution to that effect was being discussed at a recent tribal meeting, president William Martin had walked out. Indicating a possible rift within the council which may have been a factor in Martin's later resignation, Kanim stated that "Our Chairman is a hindrance to our tribal affairs and doesn't cooperate in the least" (Kanim 1954). Bitney did not respond to the comments about Martin in his reply, but merely suggested that Kanim have the tribal

secretary draft the resolution "if you desire to present the same before the council" (Bitney 1954d).

Council Activities

The extant record of STO meetings during the 1950's indicates that the first meeting of record during the new decade took place at the Tulalip Agency on March 4, 1950. The minutes of this three-hour meeting indicate that it was held jointly with representatives of the Upper Skagit, Muckleshoot, Suiattle, Suquamish, Snohomish, Stillaquamish, and other tribes, that it was attended by Superintendent Gross and presided over by William Martin, and that some of the speakers addressed those assembled "in the Indian language" (STO 1950a; Skagit Tribal Organization 1950).

In April of 1950, William Martin received a letter from Joseph R. Garry, a Coeur d'Alene member who was the president of the Affiliated Tribes of the Northwest, an organization (formed around 1948) which described itself as a constituent body of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Martin was asked whether he agreed with the Affiliated Tribe's resolutions opposing the establishment of the BIA's Area Offices (Garry 1950). The next month, on May 6, the STO and Upper Skagit council met again for five hours, in the dining hall of the Tulalip Indian School, to discuss the ICC claims. Also present were representatives from various tribes and attorneys Kenneth Simmons and his associate, Donald C. Gormley of the Washington, D.C., law firm of Wilkinson, Boyden, Cragun and Barker, and Kenneth J. Selander (Cuthbert 1950). In his memorandum transmitting the minutes of this meeting to the Commissioner, Superintendent Gross noted that it had been called by "Chief Jerry Kanim" (Gross 1950e).

Three weeks later, on May 27, the STO held its annual meeting at the Tolt/Carnation Eagle's Hall. The remarks of Jerry Kanim indicate that he was discouraged by the level of attendance. "It is time we should keep up our annual meeting," he stated, "Once a year we prove ourselves as members of the Tribe, enrolling our families and paying our dues." "How are those who do not attend the meetings going to accomplish anything . . . ?" John James also asked "Why are not all the people here that were notified?" "It seems we should all be here" (STO 1950b).

Kenneth Simmons tried to schedule a meeting with the STO in September of 1950 to discuss the ICC claims, but agreed to meet in October after learning that many of the members would not be available. "I had forgotten," he wrote Jerry Kanim on August 24, "that it was the custom of your people

to go to the Yakima Valley during the month of September to pick hops" (Simmons 1950c). At about the same time, Superintendent Gross wrote Kanim: "I hope you will have a successful period of time over in the Yakima country" (Gross 1950m).

On the evening of March 1, 1951, the STO met for four hours at the Savoy Hotel in Monroe, Washington. The minutes of this meeting, which are the only ones that remain extant for that year, show that its primary purpose was to discuss matters related to Snoqualmie enrollment with attorney Simmons. It was decided that new enrollment forms would be developed and that an Indian blood quantum requirement would be added to the membership criteria, although the precise blood degree requirement was not specified in the minutes. Those in attendance also voted to release tribal funds to cover the expense of bringing the enrollment papers of the estimated 600 members up to date. These minutes also contain the first reference to the participation of Kiutus Tecumseh, who is designated as being a "Chief," in an STO meeting (STO 1951a).

In a letter of April 17, 1951, Kenneth Simmons wrote Jerry Kanim that he was happy to learn that the STO would give consideration to the adoption of a new constitution and by-laws at its next meeting in May. He also suggested that the Snoqualmie should have both the new governing document and the updated membership roll approved by the Secretary of the Interior (Simmons 1951).

A luncheon meeting with Upper Skagit and Suquamish representatives was held at the Tolt/Carnation Eagle's Hall on February 29, 1952. The minutes indicate that Edward Moses and Edith Parks were absent (STO 1952a). These two council members also missed the annual meeting which was held at the same place on May 10. The main business of this meeting was a discussion and vote on the adoption into membership of two women who appeared before the council, which took about an hour. After the candidates were adopted, the meeting recessed and there is no indication that it ever reconvened. Jerry Kanim commented that people used to "stay until afternoon" (STO 1952b).

Later in the year, on December 13, another joint meeting was held with the Upper Skagit council. While minutes for this meeting have not been found, a joint resolution adopted at the meeting is extant. The council members who signed this document resolved to petition Congress for the establishment of a reservation, that the final claims settlement should fulfill all of the stipulations promised by treaty, and should provide land as well as money. Five of the Upper Skagit council signed this resolution, while only three

members of the STO signed: Kiutus Tecumseh, Ed Davis, and William Martin (Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit Tribes 1952).

In February of 1953 a get-together at Jerry Kanim's home in Tolt/Carnation was described in a local newspaper as a gathering of Indians "In Remembrance of Service to Their Country." The occasion was a farewell party for Kanim's grandson Jerry Enick who was being inducted into military service. The newspaper reported that about 50 relatives and friends were served dinner, and that Kanim, "who maintains [the] headquarters of the Snoqualmie Tribe at Carnation" presided as the toastmaster. Kanim talked about the Snoqualmie tradition of serving the United States since the 1850's: "Our people have always done their part and given a good account of themselves." He also expressed the hope that this would be a good opportunity for his grandson. Among the others present were Dwenar Forgue and her family from Redmond, and STO council leaders William Martin, John James, and James and Evelyn Enick, parents of the honoree. In addition to spiritual leaders from the Yakima and Suquamish tribes, the crowd also included the minister of the Carnation Pentecostal Church, with which Kanim had become affiliated (The Valley Record 1953).

The annual meeting for 1953 took place at Tolt/Carnation on May 23. Pending litigation on fishing rights was the main topic of business, and the discussants included representatives from the Nooksack, Upper Skagit, and Snohomish tribes. Following the usual practice, there was a morning and an afternoon session. The first order of business in the afternoon was the election of a new secretary. Edith Parks was elected over Helen Moses by a vote of 9-7 (STO 1953a). The next month two Snoqualmie girls were pictured in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer as participants in the Fall City Soap Box Derby Day. Rosemary Enick and Judy Moses, dressed in traditional garb, were described in the photo caption as "Snoqualmie Valley princesses" representing "Indian Royalty" because of their descent from chiefs Pat Kanim and Sanawa respectively (Seattle Post-Intelligencer 1953).

Minutes are extant from an STO meeting that was held on November 21, 1953, at the home of Johnny James in Marysville. The main topic of discussion was again the possibility of obtaining waterfront lots on the Tulalip Reservation. The roll call indicates that the council then consisted of William Martin, Jerry Kanim, Kiutis Tecumseh, Emil Williams, Ed Davis, Cyrus James, James Enick, Helen Moses, and Edward Moses, and that the last three named were not present (STO 1953b).

The only 1954 meeting referenced in the existing records is

the one in early January which William Martin allegedly walked out of during a pro-agency resolution debate (Kanim 1954). A year later, on January 14, 1955, the STO passed its resolution stating to the Commissioner that it was unopposed to termination under certain conditions (STO 1955a).

William Martin resigned as the STO president on March 11, 1955 (Tecumseh et al. 1955). There is nothing in the extant documents that indicates the specific reason for the resignation. However, it may have been because Jerry Kanim, and perhaps other members, had lost confidence in his leadership, as Kanim had expressed clearly to Superintendent Bitney during the previous year (Kanim 1954).

Emil Williams (c.1886-1968) was elected to replace Martin as president at an April 18, 1955, meeting at the Tolt/Carnation Odd Fellows Hall. Leo Charles was elected to take Williams place on the council, and the minutes indicate that there were at least 27 voting members present. The minutes of a previous meeting in Olympia were approved and reference was also made to the annual meeting to be held in May. Funds were collected to send a tribal delegate to Washington, D.C., to attend the fall session of Congress, and Kiutus Tecumseh made a motion to send a letter of appreciation to William Martin "for all he's done for the Tribe" (STO 1955b). In the letter, "Mr. Tecumseh and the Snoqualmie Tribal Members" stated to the man that had served as the STO president since the 1930's that "we shall long remember the sincere and loyal service you have rendered' (Tecumseh et al. 1955).

The 1955 annual meeting was held on May 14. Although minutes of the meeting have apparently not survived, documents from subsequent meetings show that Judie Moses was elected at that gathering to replace Edith Parks as tribal secretary (STO 1955c). In June, Jerry Kanim was the "colorful figure who led his people" in the Fall City Derby Day parade, accompanied by Kiutus Tecumseh, who was described as the "assistant chief." The celebration closed with a huge bonfire at the mouth of the Raging River, where Kanim gave a speech on Indian-white relations which was responded to by Congressman Thor C. Tollefson. This turned out to be Kanim's last public appearance (Polley and Everett 1956).

On July 9, another meeting was held at the Tolt/Carnation Eagle's Hall. Unlike several of the previous meetings for which there are records in the early 1950's, the discussion was dominated by claims issues, just like most of the meetings had been during the 1940's. John James lamented that there were "less and less people taking part in the

Tribal Affairs." Mabel Monohon stated that she had an answer for James and for Jerry Kanim, who were always asking what happened to the people who used to come to the meetings: they are "all dead" (STO 1955c).

On October 15, 1955, the STO returned to the Eagle's Hall to hold a five and one-half hour meeting, with the usual break for a luncheon. The business discussion at this meeting was balanced between the claims legislation and efforts to obtain property on the Tulalip Reservation. The minutes show that president Emil Williams had relinquished his affiliation with the Snohomish Tribe, and that Kiutus Tecumseh had assumed a new leadership position within the STO, that of the chairman of the council (the leader of or spokesman for the elected STO council members as distinct from its officers, even though the ranking officer, the president, was also commonly referred to as the chairman). At least 19 voting members were present (STO 1955d).

According to a recent scholarly article written by Frank W. Porter, III, the STO adopted a resolution on October 20, 1955, which requested that any income derived by the Tulalip Tribes from the surplus Government buildings at the former Tulalip Agency site be impounded until the Solicitor for the Department of the Interior had rendered a decision regarding which Indians were entitled to an interest in the unreserved lands of the Tulalip Reservation (Porter 1992, 129-30). Such an opinion had been requested by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 28, 1953 (Fritz 1956, 1709). On October 25, 1955, Superintendent Clarence W. Ringey wrote Portland Area Director Don C. Foster that in his view the Snoqualmie had no rights to the Tulalip Agency buildings, but that attention shoukld be made of the fact that the Snoqualmie had strong feelings about the Tulalip Tribes controlling the affairs on the reservation. "We believe this is a continution of their efforts," wrote Ringey further, "to to prove their 'treaty rights' in the unreserved tribal lands on the Tulalip Reservation" (Porter 1992, 130).

A few weeks later, on November 19, the STO met again for three hours at the Eagle's Hall to discuss claims and fishing litigation and Tulalip property issues with Superintendent Clarence W. Ringey and a new attorney named Malcomb S. McLeod. The minutes indicate that the meeting was called to order by the assistant chairman (vice-president) Cyrus James and that three council members were present, Edward Moses, Leo Charles, and James Enick. Listed as absent from the council were Ed Davis, Kiutus Tecumseh, and William Martin. This may reflect that Martin was considered to be a council member even though he was no longer an STO officer. It was decided by "the few Council

members" present that the STO would not send a tribal delegate to Washington, but that it would hire McLeod to handle any potential fishing rights litigation (STO 1955e).

The November 1955 STO meeting was the last attended by Jerry Kanim. Then in his mid-90's, he became ill on Thanksgiving Day and had to be placed in a nursing home. He died on February 26, 1956. His funeral, held at the Pentecostal church in Tolt/Carnation, was described as the largest ever held in the Snoqualmie Valley. The pallbearers included leaders of the Lummi, Swinomish, Yakima, and Upper Skagit tribes and a representative from the Western Washington Agency. The church service was followed by a procession to the Indian section of the Fall City cemetery, where Kanim was buried next to his wife. People from many tribes were reported to be among the 500 mourners who gathered at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall for a memorial potlatch (Lynch 1956; Polley and Everett 1956).

Following the Kanim funeral, James and Evelyn Enick publicly introduced their son Jerry Enick as "the new chief of the Snoqualmie." Enick, who was then 23 years old, was Kanim's oldest grandchild and closest male descendant and had reportedly received instruction from Kanim regarding tribal history and customs since he was a young child (Lynch 1956). Two years later, Jerry Enick was also described as being the Snoqualmie chief when he was married to Genevieve Broncho in a Shaker church service at Harrah, Washington, on the Yakima Indian Reservation (The Valley Record STO-26).

Despite these identifications and his status as the heir apparent, Jerry Enick's name was never mentioned in any of the extant STO records as a candidate to replace Jerry Kanim as chief. Furthermore, whatever support he might have had outside of his family was nullified when he chose to enroll with his father's tribe, the Sauk-Suiattle. While the Snoqualmie continued to voice their need for a chief, it would take 30 years for them to find someone with the stature and qualifications they sought who also desired to serve. Likely candidates, such as Ed Davis and Kiutus Tecumseh, declined because they were not of the Kanim line, and Evelyn Enick was denied the role, although she had the right lineage and was willing to accept, because she was a woman. Tollefson and Pennoyer maintain that this adherance to tribal custom reflected the continuing influence of traditional culture on the Snoqualmie (STO 1976b; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 412).

Five days prior to Jerry Kanim's death, on February 21, 1956, the Acting Solicitor of the Department of the Interior, Edmund T. Fritz, issued a formal opinion rearding ownership of the unallotted lands on the Tulalip

Reservation. He ruled that those members of the several tribes entitled to settle on Tulalip who chose not to move or remain on the reservation held no "enforceable right" to property there. He ruled further that Indian title to the unallotted lands on the reservation were vested in the Tulalip Tribes which had organized under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act. In his concluding statement, however, Fritz reiterated that "questions of this nature can effectively be determined only by a court of competent jurisdiction" (Fritz 1956, 1709-1712).

The STO's annual meeting on May 12, 1956, at the Masonic Hall in Fall City, was first the council had had since November of 1955. As noted above, there is no reference in the minutes to Jerry Enick being the new chief, or even of his being present, although both of his parents were there. Also in attendance was William Martin, who was described as being an "Ex-Snoqualmie." The discussion was again divided between litigation issues and the continued attempt to obtain land at Tulalip. The four-hour meeting closed with a collection being taken for a salmon bake (STO 1956a). The STO met again with the Upper Skagit at the Memorial Park in Marysville on July 28, 1956, to discuss claims issues with attorney Donald C. Gormley of the Wilkinson firm, and Verne Ray, an anthropologist from the University of Washington. The STO passed a resolution designating Evelyn Enick as the tribal delegate who would meet with the Western Washington Agency in regard to the issuance of identification cards for fishing and hunting (Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit Tribes 1956).

In response to a request from Superintendent James P. Howell on August 3, 1956, for updated information on the Snoqualmie's governing body, the STO informed the Western Washington Agency that its officers consisted of Emil Williams as chairman, Cyrus James as vice-chairman, Judie Moses as secretary, Evelyn Enick as assistant secretary (a new position), and Helen Moses as treasurer. Listed as council members were Kiutus Tecumseh as chairman, and Ed Davis, Edward Moses, Leo Charles, James Enick, and William Martin as members (STO 1956b). The loss of Jerry Kanim made Ed Davis the STO leader with the most tenure; the continued presense of Davis, William Martin, Cyrus James, and Edward and Helen Moses gave the 1956 governing body an element of continuity with the councils of the late 1930's and early 1940's.

It can be assumed reasonably from the continuity of membership in the STO and the recollections of some of the council members from that period that meetings continued to be held on a more or less regular basis for the remainder of the decade. However, the meeting of July 28, 1956, was the

last for which there are available minutes until May 28, 1960, and a June 1959 meeting is the only one for this period which is referenced in other documents (Ringey 1959).

Tribal Issues

The pursuit of claims litigation was eclipsed as the primary STO issue during the 1950's by the continued fight with the State over hunting and fishing rights. Attorney Kenneth Simmons filed the Snoqualmie claims before the Indian Claims Commission on January 29, 1951, and the case was assigned docket number 93 (Indian Claims Commission 1960, 43). After this, the claims issue took up far less discussion in STO meetings. Unfortunately, Kenneth Simmons died in 1953 (STO 1953a), and this necessitated the negotiation and approval of another attorney contract. Prior to his death, Simmons had assigned an interest in the case to Wilkinson, Boyden, Cragun and Barker (which later became Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker), a Washington, D.C., firm that specialized in Indian litigation and which had agreed to assist in the prosecution of the claim. This assignment was approved by the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs on November 16, 1951 (Emmons 1955). The STO authorized the Wilkinson firm to become its primary counsel following Simmons' death, but the BIA refused to approve the proposed attorney contract in 1954.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs objected that the new contract made the STO solely responsible for the reimbursement of expenses and thus appeared to be "more of a burden on the tribe than the original contract," which had provided an option for reimbursement out of potential Congressional appropriations. STO chairman William Martin complained to Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons that the contract had been properly authorized by "the general council," and that without a contract he did not see "how we can prosecute our claims, a situation manifestly unfair to us" (Martin 1954). In view of the fact that Simmons and the Wilkinson firm had already spent considerable time and effort on the claims, Commissioner Emmons agreed to approve the contract if a clause was added making expenses reimbursable either out of funds credited to the tribe no later than two years after the expiration of the contract or out of any potential judgment award (Emmons 1955).

The STO and the Wilkinson firm agreed to the Commissioner's conditions, and the amended contract was approved by the Commissioner on August 17, 1955 (Ringey 1955a). When this five-year contract, which was made retroactive to March 24, 1954, expired on March 24, 1959, the Wilkinson firm requested a two-year extension from the BIA. Although the contract provided that such an extension could be requested

without tribal consent, Assistant Commissioner Thomas M. Reid insisted on "an expression of the tribe's views before approving the extension" (Reid 1959). Consequently, the STO passed a resolution approving of the extension at a meeting in June of 1959 (Ringey 1959).

Although the Indian Claims Commission was only authorized to make monetary awards for historic claims, the STO continued to debate whether it wanted or would accept land or money or both as part of a settlement. Thus, it passed resolutions on December 13, 1952 (Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit Tribes 1952), and on January 14, 1955 (STO 1955a), which stated that it intended to gain both land and money. At an STO meeting on July 19, 1955, there was also a discussion about expanding the existing claim (STO 1955c).

On October 17, 1958, attorneys for the Snoqualmie filed an amended petition with the Indian Claims Commission. This petition requested that the Snoqualmie plaintiff be permitted to claim land in the Skykomish River drainage area as a part of its case, since there were Skykomish descendants among its membership but there was no longer an identifiable Skykomish tribal entity. Over the objections of the defendant, the United States, the Claims Commission accepted the amended petition (Indian Claims Commission 1960, 28, 42).

While there is no record that the BIA made any further effort during the 1950's to obtain a reservation for the Snoqualmie in the Tolt River Valley, the acquisition of a trust land base remained an important issue to the STO. Beginning in 1953, an effort was made to obtain ownership of the land and buildings on the Tulalip Reservation that had been vacated by the BIA when the agency facilities were moved to Everett. It was reasoned that since the agency and reservation had been established in part for the benefit of the Snoqualmie, the STO was entitled to at least a share of this property. On November 21, 1953, eight members of the governing body signed a resolution requesting that certain surplus agency lots along the reservation waterfront "be returned to the legal owner, the Snoqualmie Tribe" (STO 1953b). After the Tulalip tribal council requested that the surplus agency buildings be conveyed to Tulalip Tribes, Inc., the STO requested in 1955 that any conveyance or lease be suspended until an opinion could be obtained from the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior regarding the legal ownership and proper distribution of the property (Williams and Moses 1955). Superintendent Ringey later told Snoqualmie leaders at a STO council meeting that Tulalip Tribes, Inc., was a legally chartered corporation established to do business on the reservation and that it could only be stopped from obtaining the surplus agency

buildings by a restraining order (STO 1955e). Apparently, the STO never succeeded in obtaining such an order.

The dominant issue for the STO during the 1950's, at least as reflected in the extant records, was fishing rights. In March 1950, the inter-tribal delegation to which Jerry Kanim and John James had been elected in December of 1949, met with officials of the State Fish and Game departments in Seattle to present their views regarding the right of Indians to take fish and game out of season. Superintendent Gross, who was also present, later wrote Kenneth Simmons that "The officials listened attentively but their reaction was negative" (Gross 1950d). Simmons and the tribal leaders then gave "serious consideration" to filing a test suit against the State (Simmons 1950b; Cuthbert 1950).

The use of so-called "blue cards" to indicate the exemption of Indians from State licensing requirements was begun in the late 1940's. The blue cards were general identification cards issued by the BIA, ostensibly because many older Indians lacked birth certificates. They indicated the cardholder's tribal affiliation and vital statistics and were used for many purposes, including health care. After the Tulee fishing rights case, the State of Washington decided that the blue cards would be a good method of identification for treaty fishing and hunting purposes. Those who wanted to use their card for such purposes were required to attach it to a letter from the State game and fish department outlining the conditions governing such activities (Weston 1975b, 406, 410).

Prior to issuance of the blue cards, tribal membership and other data was verified by tribal officials, who also distributed the cards after they were issued. The leaders of the off-reservation tribes were sometimes requested by the BIA to submit information about members for whom the Western Washington Agency had no enrollment data (Weston 1975b, 480). On October 17, 1951, for example, Superintendent Bitney sent to Evelyn Enick, the STO secretary, three blue cards for Snoqualmie members, even though the Agency did not have complete census data on one of these individuals (Bitney 1951d).

One of the members who received a blue card on that date was Morgan Moses, who either had been or was shortly thereafter arrested for fishing illegally on the Tolt River (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 378). His subsequent court trial, which was viewed as a test case by the Snoqualmie if not the other tribes, was often discussed in STO council meetings (STO 1952a). The STO paid $150 bail for Moses and arranged to have attorney Malcomb McLeod represent him. However, after Moses enlisted in the military service, the State dismissed

the charges and returned the bail money to the tribe (STO 1965a; Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 378).

The minutes of a joint meeting of the Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit on July 28, 1956, indicated that the blue card system supervised by the BIA had been cancelled and that the State was issuing its own cards to tribal members. The discussion indicates that the tribes were disgruntled by this development because the State had established a one-fourth degree Indian blood requirement for the new cards rather than basing eligibility merely on tribal enrollment, as had been done under the old system (Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit Tribes 1956).

Other issues discussed in tribal meetings during the 1950's included membership rules and regulations, enrollment procedures, tribal expenses, fund raising, and loan programs.

Social Interaction

Again, there is a paucity of documentary sources which provide evidence of tribal social and community activities during the 1950's, aside from the luncheons, salmon bakes, and Derby Day festivities, and the wedding, funeral, and farewell party that have already been described. However, according to information collected from tribal elders, the gathering places and food and clothing distribution centers operated by key families at the various and scattered locations of Snoqualmie residence continued to serve the same social and economic functions. Tribal members from throughout the region, for example, continued to come to the Forgue family homes in Redmond to pick berries and catch redfish (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 382). With the death of Jerry Kanim, however, the "Fourth of July" get-togethers at Tolt/Carnation probably came to an end.

TRANSITION AND DIVERSIFICATION: 1960-1969

The petitioner has provided minutes from eleven STO meetings that took place during the 1960's, including at least one from every year of that decade, with the exception of 1962 and 1966. These documents indicate that the meetings were generally less frequent, shorter in duration, and more poorly attended than they had been previously. They also reflect that this was a period of transition during which new and younger leaders emerged and council interests became somewhat more diversified. Many elders died or retired. Meetings were held at the Masonic Hall in Fall City (where the council first met in 1956) during the first half of the

decade, but the STO returned to the more familiar Eagle's Hall in Tolt/Carnation during the latter part of this period. Although Jerry Kanim's daughter, Evelyn Enick, remained the vice-chairman thoughout the decade and her husband James continued to be listed as a council member, they were made conspicuous by their absence from all of the annual meetings of which there is record between 1963-1969.

The first meeting of the decade for which there are extant minutes is the annual meeting of May 28, 1960, at Fall City. As had been the pattern in the past, there was a two-hour morning session, during which "members checked their enrollment papers." Then, after the customary break for lunch, there was an afternoon business meeting which was dominated by a discussion of the potential claims settlement. Ed Davis chided those present for not beginning the meeting with a prayer, and then made a motion that the STO send flowers to the family of Molley Bagley, an elder who had died recently (STO 1960a). A listing of the STO officers and council members for that year indicates that they were the same as they had been in 1956, the last previous year for which there is a record (STO 1960b).

A month after the 1960 annual meeting, on June 30, the Indian Claims Commission issued its initial findings of fact, opinion, and interlocutory order in the Snoqualmie case. It determined that the Snoqualmie was an identifiable tribe that had the right to bring and maintain the suit, and to amend its original petition to present a claim on behalf of the Skykomish. It also held that the Snoqualmie had proven aboriginal ownership to the land it had ceded by virtue of the Point Elliott treaty. However, it denied the Snoqualmie claim on behalf of the Skykomish on the grounds that there were no living descendants of the aboriginal Skykomish. The case then proceeded to address the proof of acreage and values necessary for a final determination (Indian Claims Commission 1960, 48a-48b).

On January 27, 1961, the Western Washington Agency issued a report which included data on tribes in its region, including the Snoqualmie. This report, which may be assumed to reflect the perspective of the BIA, stated that the tribe had no constitution or charter and was not organized formally for "self-government." It concluded that the "Main object" of the tribe was "to press its suit" (Western Washington Indian Agency 1961). In a letter to Superintendent Ringey on March 14, 1961, Don C. Foster, the Portland Area Director, defined an "organized tribe" as "one that has a reservation and owns tribal property in which members have a beneficial interest" (Foster 1961).

The next STO meeting for which there are minutes was a

"special meeting" that took place at the Fall City Masonic Hall on July 14, 1962. This meeting was called to elect new council members and to discuss tribal issues with Chester J. Higman, a representative from the Western Washington Agency. Leona Eddy (of the Forgue family in Redmond) and Matilda Barr (from the Muckleshoot area) were elected to the council to replace Edward Moses and Leo Charles, who had died. Also, because of the death of long-time treasurer Helen Moses, the STO decided to make her daughter and tribal secretary Judie Moses the secretary-treasurer and to elect Emma Sweet (from Renton) to serve as an assistant secretary-treasurer. Among the topics discussed with Mr. Higman were hunting and fishing rights, tribal identification cards, and the potential settlement of the claims. Regarding the issue of enrollment, Higman explained that the Snoqualmie roll would not necessarily be the one which would be used for the distribution of a claims award. Various members then discussed the need to update the by-laws and tribal roll and the problem of poor attendance. The record indicates that there were 21 members who voted at this two and one-half hour meeting (STO 1962a).

An important topic discussed at the 1963 annual meeting, which was held again in Fall City on June 15, was the possibility of Snoqualmie students obtaining BIA scholarships for higher education. A resolution was passed requesting that the BIA make such grants to those enrolled tribal members who met the qualifications. As Hank Hawkins, the chief of the Snohomish, was the special guest, the topic of the claims was also discussed at length. Judie Moses described the process by which the STO voted to keep its present claims counsel. She stated that cards were mailed to members and "that out of the 50 cards sent out there were only 3 No's." Although the minutes do not indicate what the attendance may have been, elder Ed Davis stated that he was "happy to see the young people taking an interest" (STO 1963a). A listing of the STO's governing body for that year shows that Martha McDivett was elected to become the eighth (and perhaps alternate) member of the council (STO 1963b).

The special guest at the 1964 meeting at Fall City on May 9 was Charles Boome, chairman of the Upper Skagit tribe. After he stated that it had been many years since the Snoqualmie and Upper Skagit had held a joint meeting, 36 members voted unanimously to hold such a gathering on June 27 of that year at the Marysville State Park. Despite the presence of a representative from another tribal claims litigant, the focus of the two hour and twenty minute meeting was on educational needs and resources and, to a lesser extent, medical care (STO 1964a). The 1964 listing of council members shows that Elzina Freese and Juanita Carpenter were elected as alternates to replace Emil

Williams and Martha McDivitt (STO 1964b).

On August 13, 1964, the Indian Claims Commission issued an opinion determining the monetary compensation attributable to each of the several western Washington tribes who had cases before it. These were amounts to be charged as offsets against any eventual settlement award. The amounts determined for the Snoqualmie and Skykomish were $30,945.88 and $36,255.83 respectively (Indian Claims Commission 1964, 606b).

The next meeting of which there are minutes occurred on March 10, 1965 at the Fall City Masonic Hall. This was a special meeting called to vote on a contract extension for the claims counsel. By a vote of 16-1 the existing attorney contract was extended. Ronald Lauzon, who would become the STO chairman in 1990, represented Elzina Freeze at the meeting and voiced opposition against the present claims attorney because of the slow progress of the case. The minutes conclude by announcing that the annual meeting would be held on May 2 (STO 1965a). However, the minutes of that meeting are apparently no longer extant.

On May 7, 1965, the Indian Claims Commission issued a per curium opinion in the Snoqualmie case. It held that it had erred in its original 1960 findings of fact, opinion, and interlocutory order, in as much as it now found that the Snoqualmie Tribe had no right under the Indian Claims Commission Act to maintain a tribal claim on behalf of the Skykomish (Indian Claims Commission 1965, 308). Attorney Donald C. Gormley of the Wilkinson firm then appealed this decision to the U.S. Court of Claims. On February 17, 1967, that Court ruled that the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization had the right to present the Skykomish claim since there was substantial evidence of the existence of Skykomish descendants among the present-day Snoqualmie, and since the Snoqualmie petitioner had properly amended its original ICC petition to include the Skykomish claim (U.S. Court of Claims 1967, 570).

No Snoqualmie council minutes are available for 1966 and the listing of the STO governing body for that year shows that no changes had been made in its membership since 1964 (STO 1966). Thirty-one STO members returned to the Tolt/Carnation Eagle's Hall on July 8, 1967, for the annual meeting. Because of the deaths of Kiutus Tecumseh and Matilda Barr, a new election was required. Also, Emil Williams had decided to resign from the chairmanship because of health reasons (he died in 1968). Ed Davis and Helen Harvey were nominated to chair the tribal organization, but both declined. Robert Comenout was then chosen to serve as the temporary chair. Although Comenout was a relative

newcomer to STO activities, he was from an old Snoqualmie family, being a descendant of Sililus Dan, who was elected to the STO council of elders in 1930 (FD). Ed Davis was elected to replace Tecumseh as chairman of the council, Thomas Bean was reelected to take Davis's council seat, and Juanita Carpenter was chosen to replace Matilda Barr. Karen Boney, who would later serve as the STO chair, and Helen Harvey were elected to serve as temporary council members. For the first time, the STO then appointed members to education and enrollment committees. Leona Eddy and elders Ed Davis and William Martin were also selected to serve on the enrollment committee. The other business covered during this relatively short one-hour and twenty-minute meeting included taking votes to approve resolutions extending the contract of the claims counsel and the approval of legal expenses for a four-year period (STO 1967a; 1967b).

On May 18, 1968, at least 32 adult members gathered at the Eagle's Hall for the annual STO meeting of that year. The first item on the agenda was the election of a new chairman. Paul Jackson, Sr., was elected over Robert Comenout by a vote of 18 to 12. Comenout, however, was elected, along with Elzina Freese, to serve as alternative council members (STO 1968a). Jackson was the son of William Jackson, who had served on the STO council between 1943 and 1948.

After the election, the meeting focused on a discussion of the status of the ICC claims with two representatives from the Western Washington Agency, John Weddel, the acting Superintendent, and Chester J. Higman, the Enrollment Officer. They explained that it would not be advantageous for the STO to close its roll because the eligibility for settlement money would not be based on the Snoqualmie roll and because Congress would determine how the distribution of funds would be made. Nevertheless, Robert Comenout motioned that the tribal enrollment be closed within one year, and this motion was approved by a vote of 27-5. Comenout also asked Higman if the ICC settlement would include tribal rights such as hunting and fishing. He was told that it would only involve the value of the land, resources, and improvements and would not take into consideration such tribal rights (STO 1968a).

Weddel and Higman explained further that if the tribe wished to pursue a negotiated settlement as an alternative to accepting the ICC's findings regarding acreage and valuations, it could arrange for an independent appraisal. They advised that the BIA could provide a loan to cover the expense of such an appraisal, which they estimated to be $15,000 - $20,000. It was explained that the loan amount would then be deducted from any final judgment award, but would not have to be repaid if there was no award.

Regarding distribution of the money, Weddel and Higman stated that after judgment funds were appropriated by Congress they were usually awarded to a tribe to be distributed by its governing body according to a plan devised by the tribe and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. However, they said this would not be the case for the Snoqualmie, because it was not considered to be an organized tribe. They defined an organized tribe as one having a reservation, a constitution approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and a regularly elected tribal council. Because the Snoqualmie did not fall into that classification, they explained that the funds would instead be distributed in equal shares to individuals who could establish that they were descendants of the historic Snoqualmie or Skykomish tribes (STO 1968a).

After Emma Sweet gave the report of the education committee on the availability of BIA education and employment assistance programs, the meeting was adjourned, just two hours after it had begun (STO 1968a). Later that summer, on August 17, 1968, a special meeting was convened at the home of Ed Davis in Fall City. After the election at the annual meeting, it was discovered that the new chairman, Paul Jackson, Sr., did not have an approved enrollment in the tribe. In order to correct this situation, the six members present voted to have Robert Comenout return as temporary chairman until a general election could be held. The meeting then turned to the business of setting the time and place for a meeting with attorney Donald C. Gormley regarding the ICC claims settlement. During the discussion that took place, those present offered their views as to why the Snoqualmie was not a recognized tribe. Emma Sweet stated it was because they had no reservation, and Robert Comenout offered that if they could document the fact that "we were following the parliamentary procedure, they would have to recognize us and classify us as a recognized tribe" (STO 1968b).

A few days later, on August 21, the Western Washington Agency issued a press release announcing meetings of the Upper Skagit and Snoqualmie to take place at the Hillcrest Park in Mount Vernon on August 31 to consider the acceptance of proposed ICC claims settlements. The Claims Commission had determined that the Snoqualmie were entitled to an award of $257,698.29 for the loss of 224,000 acres of Snoqualmie land and 137,000 acres of Skykomish land, based on a value of 90 cents per acre at the time of taking. The tribe needed to approve the proposed amount before Congress could appropriate any funds. Interestingly, this press release made reference to the STO as the "Snoqualmie-Skykomish Tribe" and listed Ed Davis as the chairman (Western Washington Indian Agency 1968). This designation, of

course, reflected the linkage of the tribes in the ICC claims. The naming of Davis may also reflect a value judgment regarding who was the most influential Snoqualmie leader.

Despite the meeting place announced in the BIA press release, the minutes of the August 31 meeting, which was attended by 81 adults, show that it took place at the Eagle's Hall in Tolt/Carnation. During a morning session, Robert Comenout was elected unanimously to serve as the permanent STO chairman and the attorney's report on the claims settlement was read and discussed. After an adjournment for lunch, the meeting was addressed by Martin Sampson of the Swinomish Tribe and then by attorney Donald Gormley, who was accompanied by John Weddell and Chester Higman from the Western Washington Agency. After a nearly two-hour discussion of issues related to the judgment award, the STO members voted 36-16 to accept the claims settlement (Snoqualmie-Skykomish Tribe 1968).

On September 23, 1968, the Indian Claims Commission entered its final judgment in favor of the Snoqualmie, holding that the plaintiff was entitled to recover $257,689.29 from the United States (Indian Claims Commission 1968, 498). Funds to pay the claim were subsequently appropriated by Congress on October 21 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1968, 1198). Sometime thereafter, the Western Washington Agency prepared a Legislative Report on the Snoqualmie-Skykomish claims. This report is instructive of how the STO was then regarded by the BIA. It began by stating that the group had not been recognized as an organized tribe by the Federal Government and was considered only to be an "identifiable group entitled to bring a claim against the United States." The report noted that the group was not incorporated under State law and had no assets other than the mutual savings account it maintained for the deposit of membership fees and other collections. In discussing the number of people of Snoqualmie and Skykomish descent who were allotted and/or enrolled on the various reservations, it estimated that there were approximately 425 Snoqualmie descendants on the Yakima membership roll, but that there were only three group members still residing on the Tulalip Reservation. The report concluded that since the Snoqualmie descendants were so widely dispersed, reasonably accurate population figures were not available and population trends were unknown (Western Washington Indian Agency c.1968).

In its analysis of the STO membership, the report noted that while the 1940 enrollment had been 661, the number of people on the 1951 roll was only 144, and that the membership list of August 31, 1968, contained only 102 names. The report concluded that this decline was probably due to a "lack of

interest in activities of the Organization." Regarding its governing body, the report stated that the STO had been in existence for several years, but that it had been established for the purpose of prosecuting the claims and had "maintained itself solely for that purpose." It noted that the constitution of the STO was generally followed and that its leadership appeared to be competent enough to handle the "responsibilities involved in the limited affairs of the group." However, it also offered that the constitution had not been approved by the Secretary of the Interior because the tribe was not "recognized and individuals are considered descendants, rather than present day members of a successor tribe." In regard to the tribal and social affairs of the STO, the report stated that they had been limited to the "annual meetings and infrequent special meetings of the Council, or the general membership," and that attendance at these had been small in recent years, "usually 20-30," with the exception of the August 31, 1968, meeting at which a vote was taken on the claims settlement. The report also stated that it had no information about the participation of the STO in off-reservation or non-Indian affairs (Western Washington Indian Agency c.1968).

The report maintained that the Indians of Snoqualmie and Skykomish descent had not retained any distinct Indian culture, such as Indian language or secular ceremonies, although some participated in the activities of the Indian Shaker Church. Otherwise, it concluded that they were well integrated into the non-Indian communities. Regarding the receipt of Federal services as Indians, the report stated that data was not available on the number of Snoqualmie who received medical services at Public Health Service hospitals and clinics, or social services, education, housing, or employment assistance through BIA programs. Under the heading "Indian Complaints," the report noted that the STO members felt that they were being barred unfairly from the exercise of their treaty hunting and fishing rights even though it was the position of the Secretary of the Interior "that such rights are tribal rights and can be extended only to members of reservation-based, Federally-recognized treaty tribes." Finally, in light of all this information, the report recommended that legislation be suggested which would distribute the settlement award on a per capita basis to individual applicants who could establish Snoqualmie or Skykomish ancestry (Western Washington Indian Agency c.1968).

At the next annual meeting, at the Eagles Hall on August 9, 1969, Chairman Comenout spoke out against the settlement. He told the approximately 36 voting members in attendance that the claims had not been properly presented, that the settlement could still be rejected, and that the STO could

still present its claims "in a new light." He accused the claims counsel as acting contrary to the tribe's best wishes, and recommended hiring a new attorney to file a claim that would include land and mineral resources, Federal recognition, and other benefits. After elder William Martin expressed the view that the settlement should be accepted, and another member pointed out that if the fight was continued more elders would die without receiving any claims money, Comenout stated that "the older people are willing to accept anything they can get." He then suggested that someone make a motion to contest the settlement. This was done immediately and seconded, but ended up being withdrawn before a vote was taken, as more discussion was requested. Judie Moses indicated that she wished to resign as secretary-treasurer because she was opposed to contesting the settlement. However, she was convinced eventually not to resign (STO 1969a).

During his argument for contesting the settlement, Comenout proposed incorporating the tribe as a means of becoming "legally recognized." "If we incorporate," he stated, "we become a legally recognized Tribe in Washington and the United States." Another general meeting was scheduled for October 4 to further discuss incorporation and the claims settlement. The two-hour meeting was then adjourned after a discussion on the problem of council attendance. Judie Moses's closing notes on the meeting and the minutes of a subsequent meeting indicated that the minutes of this meeting were mailed to the membership. In them she thanked Emma Sweet for preparing the salmon bake which preceded the meeting and asked members for their suggestions and comments on the proceedings (STO 1969a).

At the scheduled October meeting in the Eagles Hall, the eligible voters present voted 25-7 to reconsider the previous acceptance of the settlement in light of the fact that hunting and fishing and mineral rights had not been considered. The issue of incorporating, which chairman Comenout again equated with recognition, was tabled for another meeting to be held in November. Prior to any discussion, secretary-treasurer Judie Moses handed out copies of the August minutes to those who did not receive them in the mail and read the four letters that had been sent in response to her request for comments. Among those present at this meeting were elder Dwenar Forgue, whose previous participation in STO meetings was rarely noted, and Arthur Freese, who would become the vice-chairman in 1990. Also present were James and Evelyn Enick, who had been absent from most of the meetings since 1963 (STO 1969b).

There are no external documentary sources, such as newspaper articles, which provide evidence of Snoqualmie social and

community activities during the 1960's. However, internal documents, such as the minutes of periodic council meetings, continue to reflect the social aspects of such ostensibly political gatherings. Tribal informants have also indicated that the Snoqualmie distribution network continued to remain intact throughout the decade. As in the past, the households of key families in towns throughout the region served as centers for the redistribution of food and clothing among members. The Forgue family household in Redmond served as the primary center of this activity until 1965, when Dwenar Forgue moved to the Snoqualmie valley town of Duvall. She and her daughter, Mary Anne Hinzman, then continued to manage the network from that location. Forgue reportedly maintained a regular food run in which she would deliver fish and fruit to distributor families in several cities, who would in turn share the resources with other member families in their vicinity (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 382; Woodinville Weekly 1984).

FOCUSING ON TRIBAL FISHING ISSUES: 1970-1979

The officers for the STO remained the same throughout the 1970's, with Robert Comenout as chairman, Evelyn Enick as vice-chairman, and Judie Moses as secretary-treasurer. Although Ed Davis also served as the chairman of the council for the entire decade, the relatively few changes of personnel on the council itself reflected a tendency to elect younger members who were also women. Karen Boney, who had been an alternate council member in the 1960's, became a permanent member (STO 1972a). Sharon Frelinger was elected to the council in 1971 or 1972, but apparently resigned sometime prior to 1975 (STO 1972a; STO 1975e). Earnest Barr, who would be elected as the chief of the Snoqualmie in 1986, was elected to the council in 1971 or 1972, probably as an alternative member (STO 1972a). He was made a permanent member in 1977, the same year in which Elmer Assman was elected to the council (STO 1977). In 1979, two young sisters in the Forgue family line, Shelly Burch and Colleen Bortvedt were elected to serve as council member and temporary tribal secretary respectively (STO 1979c). Of the 12 individuals serving as officers or council members at the end of the decade, one had been serving for more than 40 years (Ed Davis), one for more than 30 (Evelyn Enick), and another for more than 20 (Judie Moses), while 5 had been in office for more than 10 years (Leona Eddy, Robert Comenout, Juanita Carpenter, Karen Boney, and Helen Harvey) (STO 1979c).

The Western Washington Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to have a limited level of interaction with the STO during the 1970's, even though it was made much

clearer during that decade that the Snoqualmie were not considered to be a federally recognized tribe. Agency representatives attended STO council meetings and corresponded with its leadership, but most of this interaction was related to the ICC claims payment or to fishing rights litigation, in both of which the Government was also a party. Some exceptions, which indicate that the Agency was following the old pattern of treating the STO like any other tribe under its jurisdiction were the letters of December 13, 1973, and January 9, 1975, which Agency representatives sent to STO officers. The first requested information regarding the tribe's credit and funding needs so that "our Agency efforts are in accordance with the various projects that may be proposed by the Snoqualmie Tribe" (Benedetto 1973). The second invited the STO to apply for new grant monies made available through the BIA's Indian Business Development Program (Western Washington Indian Agency 1975).

In September 1975, the BIA's Portland Area Office issued a "Directory of Tribal Officials, Portland Area," prepared by its Tribal Operations staff. This directory listed the "Snoqualmie Tribe of Indians" as one of the 34 tribes "under the jurisdiction of the Western Washington Agency." In addition to listing the tribal council officers, the directory noted that the Snoqualmie membership was approximately 630, that the tribe had no constitution or formal organization, and that its annual meetings were "usually held in summer at Tulalip Reservation" (Portland Area Office 1975). This indicates that while the Area Office staff was aware of the STO and its current leadership, it did not have accurate information regarding its membership, governing documents, or the location of its annual meetings.

On September 18, 1970, the United States, on behalf of seven western Washington tribes, filed suit against the State of Washington in an effort to resolve the long-standing issue of treaty fishing rights. The list of plaintiffs in this landmark case of United States v. Washington did not include the Snoqualmie (U.S. District Court 1974a). Eventually, numerous other western Washington tribes intervened in the case for the same purpose of having their treaty-reserved rights to fish affirmed by the Court. Other intervenors included the Jamestown, Lower Elwha, and Port Gamble Clallam, and the Nooksack, Suquamish, Swinomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Tulalip tribes (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979c).

On July 23 1971, Congress and the President enacted legislation appropriating funds for the Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Upper Skagit, and Skykomish judgment award from the ICC. This statute directed the Secretary of the

Interior to prepare separate rolls of the lineal descendants of those who were members of these tribes in 1855 and to distribute the award on a per-capita basis among eligible applicants (U.S. Statutes at Large 1971, 83).

The first STO meeting of the 1970's for which there are minutes was called on October 10, 1971, at the Eagle's Hall. Judie Moses explained what she had learned about the claims settlement award from the Western Washington Agency. Martin Sampson, a Swinomish elder, discussed the idea of using the award to purchase land, and Leona Eddy advised that Jerry Kanim's property was then for sale and that it would be a good place to establish a land base. A report from the Organizing Committee indicated that it was working on a governing document by which it was hoped that the Snoqualmie might be able to organize under the IRA (STO 1971a). On December 4, 1971, the STO gathered again for a special meeting at the Eagle's Hall. Present were three representatives from the Western Washington Agency, Chester Higman, Bernice Parks, and Patricia Rudd, who explained the claims settlement award to the 45 members present (Moses 1971).

The record then skips to a council meeting that was held on March 18, 1972, at Leona Eddy's home in Redmond. The purpose of this meeting was to set an agenda and date for the annual STO gathering. Chairman Comenout remarked that the first order of business was to notify all of the members that they must file for the judgment award by the April 1972 deadline. He discussed further the need to fill vacancies on the council and establish more working committees. Also placed on the agenda was the idea of reorganizing the STO under a constitution and by-laws that might comply with BIA standards and a proposal to purchase land along the river at Fall City for tribal purposes. The possibility of affiliating with the Small Tribes of Western Washington (STOWW) and the Governor's Advisory Committee was discussed, as well as finding out more information about Federal funding sources for the medical, educational, and welfare needs of the members. Emma Sweet discussed the need for tribal committee members to keep a better record of the telephone expenses for which they expected to be reimbursed by the STO. Judie Moses offered that she no longer had a tribal roll, but merely a mailing list for sending out notices, and at one point told Comenout that "our main problem is the difference in opinions among the council members." The annual meeting was set for April 15 at the Eagle's Hall, and this planning session of the council concluded by listening to a tape of the chairman's remarks at a recent meeting or hearing on fishing rights (STO 1972a).

The only minutes available for 1973 are a partial record of a special meeting that was held on August 21 at an unknown location. The first topic of discussion, which was initiated by Ed Davis, was the number of Snoqualmie who were on the Muckleshoot Reservation. Other subjects included discussing the acquisition of a land base with Legal Services and finding out what happened to the Tolt Valley reservation that was promised to the Snoqualmie. Finally, by a vote of 5-0, the council approved the issuance of temporary fishing identification cards to tribal spouses for the sockeye salmon season on Lake Washington (STO 1973a).

The State Department of Fisheries permitted 14 Snoqualmie members or spouses of members to participate in the Lake Washington sockeye subsistence Indian fishery in July 1973 (Tollefson 1973a; Snoqualmie Fishing Committee 1973). However, the Department denied a tribal request to allow 26 Snoqualmie to fish for sockeye in Lake Sammamish in August because the salmon supply was judged insufficient to allow net fishing (Tollefson 1973b; Willoughby 1973a).

On August 16, 1973, the Department of Fisheries permitted Snoqualmie to conduct ceremonial fishing in Lake Washington. Charles Willoughby, chairman of the Snoqualmie Fishing Committee, later reported to the State that 96 sockeye (an estimated 400 pounds of salmon) were caught for the purpose of an intertribal salmon bake (Willoughby 1973b). In October, the Department allowed Snoqualmie people to join Muckleshoot and Duwamish netters for a week of sanctioned salmon fishing on a portion of the Duwamish-Green River (Robison 1973).

On February 12, 1974, Judge George H. Boldt issued a decision in United States v. Washington (U.S. District Court 1974a). His ruling, known generally as "the Boldt decision," reaffirmed the Government's historic pledge to secure fish for the treaty tribes. It held that the plaintiff tribes had definable rights to salmon, steelhead, and other fish, and that they were entitled to an opportunity to catch 50 percent of the harvestable fish that was destined to pass through their usual and accustomed off-reservation fishing grounds and stations. Judge Boldt also held that these tribes were entitled to regulate their share of the fishery. As the plaintiff tribes began to exercise their newly protected rights, the Boldt decision came under attack from non-Indian fishermen and State regulators, who supported an appeal of the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court (Marino 1990, 177).

Following the Boldt decision, the BIA decided to make an evaluation of the status of the nine unrecognized Indian groups in western Washington who claimed to be parties to

the same treaties as the fourteen treaty tribes in United States v. Washington. The purpose of this review was to determine which of the groups might be eligible for Federal recognition and, therefore, potentially eligible to exercise treaty fishing rights in the same manner as the plaintiffs in the suit. Because the three-member panel assigned to this task was headed by Peter P. Three Stars, a Tribal Operations Specialist in the BIA's Central Office in Washington, D.C., the evaluation became known, and is subsequently cited in this report, as the "Three Stars Study." The other panel members were Michael Smith, also a Tribal Operations Specialist in the BIA's Central Office, and John R. Weddel, the Tribal Operations Officer for the BIA's Portland Area Office. Although Three Stars and Weddel had considerable experience in tribal relations, Smith was the only panel member trained as a professional researcher, having earned a doctorate in history (Smith 1991; Weddel 1991).

The Three Stars Study judged whether the groups met 19 separate recognition criteria. The rating factors included the five broad considerations established in the the 1930's by Felix S. Cohen, then Assistant Solicitor for Indian Affairs, to determine whether groups seeking to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act were entitled to be considered tribes. These considerations, sometimes referred to as "the Cohen criteria," were published in his Handbook of Federal Indian Law in 1941, and in subsequent revisions and updatings of that work. They included:

(1) That the group has had treaty relations with the United States. (2) That the group has been denominated a tribe by an act of Congress or Executive order. (3) That the group has been treated as having collective rights in tribal lands or funds, even though not expressly designated a tribe. (4) That the group has been treated as a tribe or band by other Indian tribes. And (5) That the group has exercised tribal political authority over its members, through a tribal council or other governmental forms (Department of the Interior 1958, 460-61).

The other criteria used in the Three Stars Study included, but were not limited to, other factors such as:
1) does the group have a viable organization with elected tribal officials; 2) does the group have a constitution and bylaws; 3) does the group have a tribal roll; 4) does the tribal council of the group have regular meetings, elections and annual meetings; 5) does the group now receive Federal services, or has received such in the past; 6) has the group received assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs with special projects such as land acquisition, etc., clerical help for preparing meeting notices, reproducing copies of

minutes of meetings, and constitutions and bylaws; 7) has the group been active in pressing for its fishing rights with official resolutions, ordinances or other communications; 8) has the membership of the group been issued I.D. cards from the BIA for purposes of fishing, hunting, etc.; 9) has the group been active in other matters than judgment awards from the Indian Claims Commission; and 10) has the BIA had regular contacts with the group's officers or representatives at the Agency office or at the Indian community, by oral or written communications, and vice versa (Three Stars 1974c).

Over a two to three-week period, the Three Stars panel reviewed data already available in BIA files at the Portland Area and Western Washington Agency offices, including exhibits from relevant Indian Claims Commission cases. In addition, it considered documents collected by the panel during three days of researching historic BIA records accessioned to the Regional Branch of the National Archives in Seattle (Smith 1991; Weddle 1991). The Three Stars Study concluded that only four of the nine western Washington groups could meet the requirements for Federal recognition. These were the Snoqualmie, Duwamish, Snohomish, and Jamestown Clallam. Those found not meeting the criteria, "even when most liberally applied," included the Samish, Steilacoom, Lower Skagit, Aboriginal Swinomish, and Kikiallus (Three Stars 1974c).

The Three Stars Study submitted its findings regarding Snoqualmie for further BIA review on June 17, 1974. In his handwritten comments regarding the recommendation, Peter Three Stars noted that the supporting data was sufficient for a positive determination, and that the Western Washington Agency had reported "significant contact" with the Snoqualmie "in matters additional to claims activities" (Three Stars 1974a).

The Snoqualmie determination was based on a review of approximately 60 documents; copies of which were submitted with the Three Stars recommendation. Among these were the findings of fact from the ICC claim, the 1916 membership list, the 1929 STO bylaws, the 1948 constitution, and selected minutes of tribal meetings between 1948 and 1968. Also included were several examples of correspondence between BIA officials and Snoqualmie leaders. These letters evidenced such factors as the leadership of Jerry Kanim and the BIA's attempt to secure a reservation for the Snoqualmie (Three Stars 1974a).

Peter Three Stars stated in a 1986 affidavit supporting the petition of the Samish Tribe for Federal acknowledgment that the Three Stars study: was not intended to be an exhaustive

or definitive determination of tribal status, but merely to make a preliminary assessment that these tribes should be asked to provide us with any records they might have themselves, and I drafted letters to each of the tribes to that effect (Three Stars 1986).

Three Stars did in fact draft letters extending an opportunity for the Samish and the four other groups found to not meet the criteria to submit additional information for review and reconsideration (Three Stars 1974a; 1974h; 1974i; 1974 j; 1974k). However, the fact that he also drafted letters for the Secretary of Interior's signature which would have extended Federal recognition, "on the basis of the foregoing review," to the four tribes found to meet the criteria (Three Stars 1974b; 1974c; 1974d; 1974f) contradicts his later recollection that the study was not meant to be a "definitive determination of tribal status."

In a letter drafted on July 5, 1974, and intended to be sent to Snoqualmie chairman Robert Comenout under the Secretary's signature, Three Stars wrote that the BIA had concluded that the Snoqualmie met the criteria necessary "to support an administrative determination that it was entitled to Federal recognition as a tribe," and was therefore being officially recognized "as an Indian tribe and eligible for benefits accruing therefrom, such as treaty fishing rights...." The letter also summarized the criteria used by the Three Stars panel and its findings regarding the Snoqualmie. The panel's evaluators found that the tribe had had numerous contacts with BIA officials over the years, including regular correspondence; that it had received assistance from the BIA, including clerical and other services; that BIA officials had attended tribal meetings; and that Snoqualmie representatives had been invited to and included in BIA meetings with other tribes. The evaluators found further that the Snoqualmie had met regularly and had exercised powers of self-government; had maintained updated membership rolls; had been active in asserting treaty fishing rights; had been recognized as a tribe by other tribes; and had taken part in community activities as an Indian tribe. In regard to the Cohen criteria, the panel's evaluators found that the tribe met each criterion except denomination as a tribe by act of Congress or Executive Order (Three Stars 1974d).

Three Stars drafted similar letters to be sent to the other tribes found to meet the criteria - the Duwamish, Snohomish, and Jamestown Clallam. These draft letters, along with those to be sent to the five groups that did not meet the minimum considerations, were subsequently surnamed (approved) by officials at the top levels of both the BIA and the Office of the Solicitor (Three Stars 1974c).

However, on October 3, 1974, the Solicitor's Office returned the letters to the BIA without the Secretary's signature, and they were never sent forward again. Initially, further action on the recommendations of the Three Stars panel was suspended pending resolution of the request of the Stillaguamish Tribe for Federal recognition, an action which received the personal attention of Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton (Gay 1974). The attention focused on the recognition issue by the Boldt decision, the Stillaquamish petition, and other developments then caused the Secretary, in 1975, to ask the Solicitor and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to examine the criteria and procedures for Federal recognition. This request had the effect of suspending decisions on those recognition cases then pending before the Department of the Interior. This suspension remained in effect until October 2, 1978, when the Department's new Acknowledgment regulations became effective. The nine tribal groups reviewed by the Three Stars panel thus became subject to these regulations.

The Snoqualmie annual meeting for 1974, at which approximately 74 members gathered at the Eagle's Hall on May 11, began by reading and approving the minutes of the annual meeting of June 23, 1973. There followed reports from members of the various standing committees, including those for enrollment, health and welfare, education and employment, fishing, housing and urban development, and the organizing committee. Andy de los Angeles read a report drafted by the fishing committee which recommended that the Snoqualmie intervene in United States v. Washington (STO 1974a). Reportedly, this committee report had been endorsed by the tribal council on May 5 for presentation at the annual meeting (Snoqualmie Indian Tribe & Sennhauser 1975, 6). After some discussion, the general membership voted to accept the recommendation (STO 1974a).

As the annual meeting proceeded, Chairman Comenout again discussed the need to reorganize under a new constitution. The meeting was then turned over to Bill Black from the Western Washington Agency, who briefed those present on the status of the Boldt decision. Black explained that in order for the Snoqualmie tribe to maintain its fishing rights it needed to intervene in the case. He advised further that the STO would need to employ an attorney and establish, to the satisfaction of the Court, the usual and accustomed Snoqualmie fishing places which were protected by treaty. Black also stated that new identification cards with pictures on them would be required after June 1, and that the Federal judge would have to rule whether the tribal identification cards which Judie Moses had been issuing would still be acceptable (STO 1974a).

In response to questions regarding Federal recognition, Bill Black stated that the Snoqualmie would need to establish a land base and a constitution and by-laws which would meet the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and that upon such recognition a membership roll would be developed. When asked whether the current STO constitution might be acceptable, Black suggested that the council should submit it and find out. During the ensuing discussion of the need for a new governing document, elder Ed Davis urged the STO to maintain its continuity with the past. He lamented the fact that not many members could use "the native tongue" any longer and that many of the "big words" that were now being brought out at the meetings were something he would have to "study and learn." Obviously uncomfortable with the diversification of issues which the STO now addressed and the talk of reorganization, he urged the people to "stay with the organization which Jerry Kanim started - the foundation of your organization." "Stick to treaty rights - what Jerry Kanim started," he stated further, "live up to that and walk with it, then we will be recognized in time to come." Davis concluded his remarks with an expression of hope that "the next meeting we have will be better." He then said a prayer. He had likewise opened the meeting with a prayer, after which he had explained that the meetings had been lacking in that regard for some time (STO 1974a).

Vice-chairman Evelyn Enick then suggested that Bill Black review the previous governing documents with Ed Davis, since he was the last of the council members who helped draft them. The meeting then turned to a discussion of replacing William Martin on the council. Evidently, it was thought by some that Martin had died, but it was learned at the meeting that he had not. Chairman Comenout explained that since Martin had been elected for life he could not be replaced while living unless he resigned, in response to which someone stated that Martin no longer had the capacity to understand that. The membership then discussed the idea of erecting a monument to honor Jerry Kanim. Harriet Turner, an anthropology student at the University of Washington whose publication of an ethnozoology of the Snoqualmie was being sponsored by the STO, offered to donate $100 for this purpose, and the motion was passed by unanimous consent. Evelyn Enick stated that she was moved by this gesture to honor her father, but asked that her mother's name also be included since they had worked "side by side." A monument committee was then established to work on this project. Andy De Los Angeles, who would later become the STO chairman, then suggested that the various scattered Snoqualmie cemeteries might be established as tribal land, and that this might help in the bid for recognition. The nearly four-hour meeting then concluded with a discussion of the

possibility of holding salmon bakes to benefit the Jerry Kanim monument fund (STO 1974a).

In an effort to gain affirmation of its reserved treaty fishing rights, the Snoqualmie and four other non-federally recognized tribes (the Snohomish, Samish, Steilacoom, and Duwamish) filed motions in June 1974 to intervene in the United States v. Washington litigation. These five Indian groups, hereafter referred to as the intervenor tribes or intervenors, also sought to have their treaty-reserved rights to fish affirmed by the Court.

During the summer of 1974, the State Department of Fisheries again permitted the Snoqualmie to participate in the so-called Lake Washington Treaty Indian Sockeye Fishery. The STO received permission to conduct a special catch for ceremonial purposes on July 11 (Tollefson 1974). Tribal officers Judie Moses and Emma Sweet reported that Snoqualmie fishermen netted 49 sockeye, all of which were used for a salmon bake to raise funds for a new roof for the Shaker Church (their report does not specify which church) (Moses & Sweet 1974). On July 31, the Department reported that the Snoqualmie had caught an additional 2,729 Lake Washington sockeye for subsistence and/or commerical use during that season (Austin 8/02/1974). The STO also drafted an ordinance for participation in the Green-Duwamish River Indian Fishery during August and September (Snoqualmie Fishing Committee 1974), but it is not known if permission was given either for that or the Lake Sammamish fishery.

On September 13, 1974, the U.S. District Court granted the motion of the Snoqualmie and the other four intervenor tribes to intervene in United States v. Washington and referred the matter of the intervenors' tribal treaty status to a specially appointed Magistrate or Master. U.S. Magistrate Robert E. Cooper was ordered to hear evidence on the question of whether the intervenors constituted tribal entities entitled to share in the treaty fishing rights defined in the District Court's initial decision in the case, also known as Final Decision No. 1 (U.S. District Court 1974b).

On October 8, 1974, the District Court adopted an order establishing the procedure to be used by the intervenors to affirm their treaty fishing rights. The intervenor tribes had to present prima facie evidence and arguments supporting their claims to treaty status and proving their existence as political successors in interest to treaty tribes (U.S. District Court 1974c, 89-91). Pursuant to this procedure, the intervenors were allowed to present evidence at a three-day Master's hearing in December 1974. An additional hearing was held on January 3, 1975, and final arguments

were presented on February 13, 1975 (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979c).

The Snoqualmie and other intervenor tribes were opposed in this action by the United States, which had supported the treaty rights of the original tribal intervenors in the case. The intervenors were also opposed by the Tulalip, Lummi, Makah, and Suquamish tribes, and, of course, by the original defendant in the litigation, the State of Washington.

The Snoqualmie were represented in these proceedings by John Sennhauser of the Legal Services Center in Seattle. Mr. Sennhauser argued that the intervenor Snoqualmie Tribe was composed of descendants who were the successors in interest to the Snoqualmie who signed the Treaty of Point Elliot. He also argued at length that current Federal recognition was not a prerequisite to the ongoing exercise of treaty rights (U.S. District Court 1975b, 3-9). However, he presented no detailed ethnological or historical evidence to the Master, and submitted only one exhibit specific to the Snoqualmie; a copy of the 1948 STO constitution. Neither did the Master hear any testimony from any Snoqualmie leaders or elders. Instead, the magistrate was compelled to rely on the testimony of Dr. Barbara Lane, an anthropologist employed by the BIA to serve as a consultant and expert witness for this case, and Paul Weston, the Tribal Operations Officer for the Portland Area Office of the BIA, for additional information regarding the historic relationship between the Snoqualmie and the Federal Government. Dr. Lane concluded that the present Snoqualmie group was composed primarily of people who could trace their ancestry to the Snoqualmie Tribe of 1855 (U.S. District Court 1974c, 325). However, Mr. Weston stated that the modern Snoqualmie and other intervenor groups had no present Federal recognition as far as treaty rights and possessed no federally reserved land or federally approved membership roll or governing document. He concluded that they were organized "primarily for the prosecution of...claims...against the United States" (U.S. District Court 1974d, 166-169).

On March 5, 1975, the Master issued his report, recommending that the intervenor tribes were not entities entitled to exercise tribal treaty fishing rights. Pursuaded by the arguments of the United States and the other opponents of the intervenors, Judge Cooper concluded that these tribal groups were not the political successors in interest to the treaty tribes. Specifically in regard to the Snoqualmie Tribal Organzation, he found that it exercised "no attributes of sovereignty over its members or any territory." He found further that it was not recognized by the United States to be "an Indian governmental or political

entity possessing any political powers of government over any individuals or territory," and that "none of its organizational structure, governing documents, membership requirements or membership roll " had been federally approved "for the purposes of administration of Indian affairs" (U.S. District 1975c, 9).

Judge Boldt neither accepted nor rejected the findings of the Master on behalf of the District Court, but, at the request of the intervenor tribes' counsel, decided on July 2, 1975, to conduct a new evidentiary hearing. He thus advised the attorneys involved to devise a reasonable schedule for these new proceedings (U.S. District Court 1975d, 7).

In the meantime, the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization continued to hold meetings. Special guests at a May 10, 1975, STO council meeting at the Eagle's Hall were attorney Frank Wright from STOWW and Gousta Dagg from the Western Washington Agency. The primary topic of discussion was Federal recognition. Dagg opined that the STO should petition the Interior Department for recognition and to continue at the same time to collect information for its intervention in United States v. Washington. After a discussion on the pros and cons of joining STOWW, the council voted unanimously to direct the matter to the general membership. During the course of the debate on Federal recognition, Leona Eddy stated that the STO did not "meet often enough to get anything done" (STO 1975a). This comment may have been taken to heart, for an extant notebook containing sign-in attendance sheets for the period 1975-1981, indicates that the council met 20 times between July 1975 and October 1976. This notebook also shows that approximately 72 members attended the annual meeting on May 8, 1976, and that 46 were in attendance at an October 2, 1976, council meeting (STO 1975-1981). However, the minutes of these meetings are not available.

As the 1975 Lake Washington salmon season approached, the Snoqualmie again sought permission from the State Department of Fisheries for six days of ceremonial fishing. Tribal leaders wanted to conduct three salmon bakes that summer; in June to benefit the Indian Shaker Church, in July for an inter-tribal ceremony, and in August for a dinner to be opened to the public (Moses 1975). However, on the basis of the Master's Report to Judge Boldt, which concluded that the Snoqualmie no longer had treaty status, and predictions of a small sockeye run that season, the Department was compelled to deny the Snoqualmie request (Austin 1975).

Realization that a final resolution of the intervenor tribes' treaty status was going to be a lengthy process

prompted their counsel to request the District Court to adopt a procedure which would permit them to exercise limited treaty fishing rights in the interim. In response to this request, Judge Boldt issued an order on August 14, 1975, which granted conditional fishing rights to the Snoqualmie and the four other intervenor tribes until such time as the District Court could issue a final decision regarding their treaty status. These temporary rights included the right to fish without a State license and without regard to State limited entry laws, and to exercise other treaty fishing rights at the invitation and under the regulation of any of the tribes whose entitlement to treaty rights had been established by the District Court in Final Decision No. 1. The conditions placed on these special rights were that each tribe had to certify and file with the Court a list of its members eligible to fish and to issue photo identification cards certified by the tribal chairman to each eligible member. Prior to engaging in invitational fishing, the tribes had to furnish the Court with a copy of the terms and conditions of the agreement worked out with the inviting tribe, and a tribal declaration that all members who wished to fish would obey the regulations established by the inviting tribe. The intervenor tribes had also to provide the State Department of Fisheries with copies of all its identification cards, as well as a certification that all the eligible members had such cards (Boldt 1975; U.S. District Court 1978, 1057-58).

A list of the Snoqualmie eligible to fish under the special conditions was approved by the STO on August 17, 1975, (STO 1975b). Earlier that month, Chairman Robert Comenout had furnished the District Court with a list of 33 persons who were authorized to fish under STO fishing rights (Comenout 1975).

A tribal fishing ordinance was drafted on October 2, 1975. Among the provisions of these regulations was the establishment of tribal fisheries patrolmen to provide for enforcement, tribal boat numbers to be issued for gill net fishing, required daily catch reports, and judicial review by the tribal council. Violators could be fined and have their catch and/or gear confiscated, with all proceeds going to the STO general fund (STO 1975d). The Suquamish Tribe invited the Snoqualmie to fish in its fishing areas subject to its regulation. At a September 16, 1975, meeting, the STO council passed a resolution accepting the terms of this invitation (STO 1975c).

The Snoqualmie Tribe described and quantified its participation in the Indian fishery in answers to interrogatories filed with the District Court in October 1975. It stated that the total number of tribal fishermen

was about 70, all of whom relied on fishing to provide more than half of their income. Of these, about 10 tribal members were reported to rely exclusively on fishing for their livlihood. In addition, about 60 Snoqualmie families were reported to be dependent on the tribal fishery to provide them with salmon for their personal consumption. The Snoqualmie estimated that an annual average of 600 pounds of salmon per family had been caught in the tribal fishery during the previous five years (this totals 180,000 pounds of salmon from 1970-1975) (Snoqualmie Indian Tribe and Sennhauser 1975, 21-22).

Regarding regulation of the fishery, the Snoqualmie reported that they had issued licenses to 70 tribal fishermen during the previous five years. They stated further that they had designated officers to enforce tribal fishing regulations and that they had provided the services of a "Fish Patrol officer" since 1971 (Snoqualmie Indian Tribe and Sennhauser 1975, 8, 12, 15).

The Snoqualmie also responded to questions in the interrogatories regarding their social, political, and ceremonial activities. The respondent stated that the Snoqualmie conducted ceremonial fishing which was followed by ceremonial dinners and that social activities such as bone games were connected to these dinners. Other activities noted were funeral ceremonies for deceased members and potluck dinners. It was stated further that these activities were held in various locations and that "All of the Snoqualmie" were involved; "At least 100 people" (Snoqualmie Indian Tribe and Sennhauser 1975, 6-7).

The Snoqualmie were asked if they had conducted political activities during the previous 10 years which represented attempts to influence the decisions of any public body. The tribal respondent listed four such activities: (1) action to prevent desecration of Mt. Si; (2) attempts to gain administrative recognition from the United States; (3) action to effect changes in rules and regulations regarding foster children; and (4) efforts to obtain fishing rights. It was stated further that decisions regarding the conduct of these activities were made by the chairman, the tribal council, and by a "concerned group within the tribe." Stopping a quarry operation at Mt. Si and gaining permission for a tribal fishery from the State Department of Fisheries were listed as results of Snoqualmie political activity (Snoqualmie Indian Tribe and Sennhauser 1975, 7).

An October 5, 1975, council meeting at Leona Eddy's home was not called to order because there was not a quorum. The absense of six of the officers or council members sparked a discussion of attendance at meetings. The idea of demanding

either attendance or resignations was debated. A letter of resignation from Emma Sweet was read, and it was voted not to accept the resignation, even though this was not a legitimate council meeting. Chairman Robert Comenout learned from Sharon Frelinger that tribal fishing regulations drawn up by Charles Willoughby of the Fishing Committee had been sent in, perhaps to the State Department of Fisheries or the U.S. District Court, without council review so that a deadline could be met. Comenout requested that any action taken thereafter in regard to the regulations be approved by the council and the general membership. The meeting then ended with a discussion of reorganizing under a new constitution and bylaws (STO 1975e).

The new evidentiary hearing on tribal treaty status commenced before the District Court on October 28, 1975. All of the testimony and exhibits which had been presented to the Master were incorporated into the record before the Court. As he had done in the previous United States v. Washington litigation, Judge Boldt requested counsel for the parties to submit proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979d, 5). John Sennhauser again represented the Snoqualmie, as well as the intervenor Duwamish Tribe (U.S. District Court 1975e, 3). This time he submitted a total of 88 exhibits specific to the Snoqualmie (he had submitted only one specific exhibit before the Master). Included among these exhibits were copies of the then current governing document, membership list, and fishing ordinance. Also included was a considerable number of copies of correspondence between BIA representatives and Snoqualmie members written between 1933 and 1975 (U.S. District Court 1975f). However, the documentation did not include any minutes or attendance lists from Snoqualmie tribal meetings, descriptions of tribal activities, affidavits from the current or former chairmen or other political leaders, or any record which might validate the existence of a Snoqualmie political organization or social community prior to 1933. In this regard the documentary evidence presented by Sennhauser was less positive than that collected for the Three Stars Study, which had included references documenting the existence of a tribal organization from 1916 onward (Three Stars 1974a).

Snoqualmie tribal council members Ed Davis, Judie Moses, and Leona Eddy were called upon to testify during the first day of the evidentiary hearing. Davis mentioned the leadership of Jerry Kanim and the tribal council that Kanim had organized. However, he was vague in explaining the issues discussed in tribal meetings, and, in fact, discredited the attempt to prove Snoqualmie political influence by remarking that the tribe never did anything that affected anyone. Although he also mentioned the Snoqualmie settlements at

Lake Sammamish and in the Snoqualmie River Valley, Davis said nothing about the ongoing involvement of those people in political activities, food distribution networks, longhouse ceremonies or the Indian Shaker Church. Rather, he stated merely that those folks were now dead and that their children had scattered (U.S. District Court 1975e, 100-120).

Judie Moses testified that the 1948 constitution was adopted in anticipation of hiring an attorney and filing a claim before the ICC, thus giving the impression that the STO was merely a claims organization. She referred to a 1934 constitution, but made no mention of any earlier governing document. Although she also stated that the tribe had records going back to the late 1920's, it appears that attorney Sennhauser either did not have access to all of these records or did not think it necessary to submit this documentation to the Court as case exhibits (U.S. District Court 1975e, 121-23).

Leona Eddy testified that the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization met on a regular basis, averaging 10 meetings annually in recent years. She also explained that the tribal council most often discussed treaty rights and governed by virtue of the fact that tribal members brought their problems to it for resolution. She stated further that most members attended the annual meetings and paid their membership dues in advance. Regarding the existing membership roll, Eddy explained that it had been prepared without any discussion with personnel from the Western Washington Agency. She described how membership applications were verified and explained that the tribal council could reject applicants enrolled in other tribes. She also explained that the issuance of Snoqualmie fishing cards was not based on the tribal roll, but rather on applications from so-called "approved families" - those whose enrollment papers were on file in the tribal office. Applicants approved by the council were then issued fishing cards with an official tribal stamp. Finally, when questioned if the Snoqualmie group was formed to qualify as an "identifiable group" for the purpose of pursuing claims, Eddy replied that it was founded long before her time (U.S. District Court 1975e, 124-149).

The evidentiary hearing was concluded on October 30 and no further action was taken by the Court for three months. In the meantime, beginning in late 1975, the STO began hosting tribal dinners at Thanksgiving and/or Christmas. These gatherings, which have taken place annually since that time, have been held at the Grange Hall in Tolt/Carnation, as well as at various churches in Issaquah and, since the early 1980's, at the inter-tribal longhouse that was erected on

the fairgrounds in Monroe. Attendence lists from these events indicate that they generally attracted 50-100 individuals, including both STO members and visitors from other tribes (STO 1975-1989; FD).

Early in 1976, the STO appointed three tribal members Charles Willoughby, Bill Sweet, and Steven Harvey to serve as tribal fisheries patrolmen (STO 1976a). It also established new regulations for tribal fishing during the 1976 chinook and sockeye salmon season (STO 1976e).

Although it is not reflected in the minutes of the council meetings of this period, STO council member Helen Harvey wrote President Gerald Ford on February 5, 1976, petitioning the United States for Federal recognition of the Snoqualmie (Harvey 1976). In response, the BIA informed Harvey that the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to extend Federal recognition was then being reviewed and that no petitions would be accepted until that review was completed (Krenzke 1976). However, after the Federal acknowledgment regulations were published in 1978, the Harvey letter became the basis for the priority date given the Snoqualmie petition by the BIA. The February 5, 1976, date allowed the Snoqualmie to become the number 20 petitioner on the Acknowledgment priority list.

Meanwhile, in the ongoing United States v. Washington intervention litigation, post-trial briefs were filed on February 2, 1976, and final arguments were heard on February 12. However, prior to making a ruling, Judge Boldt, on March 19, asked the intervenor tribes to submit further factual data. He requested each to submit a current membership list with names and addresses, a list of the places where tribal members had established residency during their lifetimes, and a compiliation indicating the specific Indian blood quantum of members from each tribe (for example, 1/4 Snoqualmie, 1/2 Duwamish, 1/4 Samish). He also invited any party that desired to present further evidence regarding the subject of organized tribal structure to do so (U.S. District Court 1976a).

At some point during 1976, the Snoqualmie established a tribal office at Providence Heights in Issaquah, a town located about 15 miles southwest of Tolt/Carnation. Later grant monies allowed the STO to obtain office equipment, and clerical assistance was provided through the Federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program (STO 1978a; 1978c). In addition to serving as an administrative center for the STO, this office became the headquarters for the ongoing tribal distribution network, which provided surplus food and clothing to members thoughout the region. Dwenar Forgue's residence in Duvall,

which she shared with her daughter, Mary Ann Hinzman, also continued to be an important distribution center, especially for berries and fish. Hinzman, for example, has stated that she caught 750 salmon in 1976, of which she took 200-300 to Tolt/Carnation for distribution to some 40 or 50 members. In 1978, the STO also established a community project under the Federal Volunteers In Service to American (VISTA) program. The project has helped to provide elderly members with food, transportation, and housecleaning services, as well as to provide assistance to high school dropouts and the unemployed (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 393-94, 396).

There is evidence that at least part of the food distributed by the Snoqualmie during the 1970's was surplus salmon from State hatcheries. On September 15, 1971, Chairman Robert Comenout sent the Department of Fisheries information regarding the three tribal delegates responsible for distributing the fish (Carolyn Willoughby, Sharon Frelinger, and Andy de los Angeles), and noted that while some 20 persons had made requests to the tribal leadership, they were "anticipating many more" (Comenout 1971). On November 10, 1976, the Department sent Comenout an identification card to be used by the Snoqualmie representative when obtaining fish at a State Hatchery (Rideout 1976). On May 23, 1977, tribal secretary Judie Moses again requested permission to obtain surplus fish and informed the Department of the two tribal representaives responsible for that year's distribution. They were Charles Willoughby and Mary Anne Hinzman (Moses 1977).

The only meeting of 1976 for which there are minutes was held in Issaquah on October 23. An important topic at this meeting was the ongoing concern about having a tribal chief. After discussing the desired qualifications of a chief, Ed Davis was asked if he would accept the honor. However, he declined, stating that a chief should talk in the native language and that no one could understand that anymore. There was then a discussion about having Jerry Kanim's daughter, Evelyn Enick, become the chief. But it was mentioned that this would be against tradition since a woman had never been chief. Finally, it was decided to put the issue before the general membership, stating that the council had considered possible candidates but found none qualified (STO 1976c). At that point, it had been 20 years since Jerry Kanim's death. Yet, another decade would pass before the Snoqualmie could agree on a suitable candidate who would also be willing to accept the position.

Meanwhile, new developments regarding Federal recognition issues prompted the District Court to request, on November 3, 1976, that parties in the United States v. Washington intervention litigation file further supplemental memoranda.

Among the events brought to Judge Boldt's attention by the intervenors was the Secretary of the Interior's recent acknowledgment of the previously unrecognized Stillaguamish Tribe. Since the intervenor tribes contended that they were in the same or a similar posture as the Stillaquamish, they hoped that this might strengthen their case. Counsel for the intervenors had also discovered the individual reports of the BIA's Three Stars Study which had concluded that the Snoqualmie, Duwamish, and Snohomish tribes were eligible for Federal recognition. Consequently, these findings were likewise shared with the Court. The attorneys also wanted it to be known that the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians had passed resolutions reaffirming that these organizations considered the intervenor tribes to be the political successors in interest to the historic treaty tribes. Finally, the lawyers brought attention to the fact that the Snoqualmie and other of the intervenor tribes had successfully exercised provisional treaty rights through negotiated inter-tribal invitational fishing agreements during the 1976 fishing season. Thus, they argued, these tribes had complied with the requirements in Final Decision No. 1 in the same manner and with the same ability as the original tribes in the litigation (U.S. District Court 1976b).

Judge Boldt again heard arguments in the case on January 7, 1977 (U.S. District Court 1977). Finally, by April of that year, the matter was considered to be fully submitted to the District Court. Yet, several more months would pass before Judge Boldt could render a decision. Factors responsible for this delay included the extreme demands of the Court's time in implementing Final Decision No. 1. Enforcement and management of the fishery proved to be extremely difficult and culminated in further litigation by non-Indian plaintiffs (see U.S. Court of Appeals 1978 and U.S. Supreme Court 1979a, 1979b). Another factor was Judge Boldt's failing health. After becoming ill during the winter of 1977-1978, he never recovered sufficiently fully reassume all judicial duties in the case (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979c).

The STO and its Fishing Committee sponsored a joint meeting of the five intervenor tribes at Issaquah on April 17, 1977. Tribal representatives and attorneys from Evergreen Legal Services discussed strategies and contingencies regarding the pending United States v. Washington decision concerning their tribal status (Five Intervenor Tribes 1977).

In 1977, STOWW received a grant from the Office of Native American Programs of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now Health and Human Services).

This grant was to establish projects among member tribes to develop tribal government, sovereignty, or unity, and provide coordination between member tribes which would facilitate the decision making process. This project was to include 23 participants, including the Snoqualmie (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1977). The STO applied for and received a mini-grant through this STOWW project.

Only one page was found of the minutes of the 1977 STO annual meeting, which took place at the Tolt/Carnation Grain Hall. This page indicates that the rules were waived to allow the meeting to proceed without a quorum of the council, and that 16 members voted on the first two items of business (STO 1977a). However, in July of 1978, Judie Moses prepared a report for the membership outlining the developments that took place during the year after the 1977 annual meeting. This summary provides more details about that meeting. The key accomplishments of the annual meeting, attended by approximately 35 adults (STO 1975-1981), were that Earnest Barr was made a permanent council member and Elmer Assman was elected to replace William Martin on the council. Leona Eddy was also retained as the principal investigator for the STOWW mini-grant. A motion was passed to attach an agenda to all future notices of general meetings as well as the addresses of those individuals who could answer questions. The STO also decided to send a letter to Martha Murphy, who had authored a book entitled "Snoqualmie People," requesting that she meet with the council and explain her authority to do research and publication (STO 1978d).

At an August 5, 1977, council meeting, about seven violators of tribal fishing regulations who had been turned in by the Muckleshoot Tribe had their fishing rights suspended for two days and their identification cards and tags confiscated (This suggests that the Snoqualmie may have been treaty fishing under Muckleshoot sponsorship). A month later, on September 8, a mini-conference of the five intervenor tribes in the United States v. Washington litigation was held at the STO office in Issaquah. Shortly thereafter, one of the fish companies sent a check to the STO as payment of a 5 percent fishing tax. The council had to decide what to do with the check, and there was much concern that keeping it would indicate that the STO condoned the company's fishing activites. It was finally decided to return the check. On September 26, the council met with author Martha Murphy and convinced her to halt further publication of her book on the Snoqualmie (STO 1978d).

On November 14, 1977, the Western Washington Agency informed the Snoqualmie attorney, Emily Mansfield of Evergreen Legal

Services that all determinations of eligibility for the claims award had been made by the BIA and that distribution would occur as soon as all the appeals had been reviewed. It was noted that the STO had never requested a distribution to the Snoqualmie tribal entity rather than to just individual Snoqualmie descendants who may or may not be STO members (Western Washington Indian Agency 1977). By this time, the judgment fund had grown, with interest, to $418,252. It was disbursed over the following years to those on the approved roll at a rate of over $100 per capita (Tollefson & Pennoyer 1986, 387).

On January 28, 1978, a matter was brought before the council concerning a hunting violation by a tribal member. The STO decided to send a letter to the judge in the case asserting the tribe's hunting and fishing rights. In March of that year, council members Karen Boney and Leona Eddy attended meetings of Affiliated Tribes Inc. in Helena, Montana, and chairman Robert Comenout and council member Helen Harvey went to the annual conference of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in Nashville, Tennessee (where the proposed Federal acknowledgment regulations were discussed). The STO also applied for membership in both of these organizations (STO 1978d). Documents from that same period also show that Karen Boney was then serving on the Board of Directors of STOWW (STOWW 1977), and that Robert Comenout was a member of the Governor's Indian Advisory Council (Washington State Indian Affairs Task Force 1978).

During the spring of 1978, the tribal organization attempted again to find sponsorship for its treaty fishing, but was turned down by both the Muckleshoot and Suquamish tribes. The Fall City Cemetery Association notified the council that it was turning the Indian cemetery at Fall City over to the Snoqualmie. The STO then inquired of the BIA if the land could be brought under trust status and was informed that it could not. The council also discussed the idea of setting up a corporation for the purpose of obtaining grants. An economic planner from STOWW advised the STO about establishing an economic development plan, and a questionnaire related to this project was sent to all tribal members. A Legal Services attorney named Emily Mansfield was reported to have drafted a new constitution for the Snoqualmie, as well as a petition for Federal recognition. However, her representation was terminated for some reason and the STO, in conjunction with the other intervenor tribes in the fishing litigation, contracted with another attorney, Ian G. Millikan (STO 1978d).

Although minutes are not available for the May 20, 1978, annual meeting, an extant list of the guest speakers suggests that the primary topics were probably Federal

recognition and the fishing litigation. They included Kenneth Hansen from STOWW, Art Humphreys from the Lummi Tribe, Esther Ross, chief and chairman of the Stillaquamish Tribe, Bill Black from the Western Washington Agency and Tom Schlosser from Evergreen Legal Services (STO 1978b). The attendance notebook shows that approximately 55 people attended this meeting, not counting the guest speakers (STO 1975-1981). However, when a special general meeting was called a month later on June 17, the council lacked a quorum, although 31 people signed an attendance sheet. Thus, the meeting had to be treated as only an informational one. In her summary of developments mailed to the membership, Judie Moses asked if this signalled "the beginning of the end of our tribe," and asked those who were concerned to attend the next general meeting to be held that fall (STO 1978d).

Minutes of the June meeting (apparently misdated June 14) indicate that tribal member Andy de los Angeles, who was also a newspaper reporter, began the discussion by expressing his concern that the elders were disgruntled with the current tribal government. Evelyn Enick had apparently submitted a letter of resignation, and Juanita Carpenter had also threatened to leave the council. "I think that if we start losing our older people we'll be losing a lot of our younger people," de Los Angeles told chairman Robert Comenout, "and a lot of young people have left." "It will have a direct bearing on what the younger people are thinking when they hear Gramma Carpenter talking about resigning and Ed Davis not wanting to get involved . . . as we look up to our older people" (STO 1978c).

Comenout replied that he was reluctant to discuss internal council issues if de los Angeles was there in his capacity as a reporter, but de los Angeles assured him that he was only representing the views of the younger people of his age group. He stated that from their perspective the council was not doing enough to get involved in the critical issues, which he listed as being fishing, education, foster care, health care, employment, and housing. As the discussion proceeded, Helen Harvey asked de los Angeles if he would be interested in becoming a council member, to which he later replied: "If the tribal government can decide how they want to run the Council I could put my name in." Comenout then said that they could use the input of de los Angeles in developing a Code of Ethics for the council. He stated further that there needed to be a discussion of problems within the council "such as personal interest, attendance, [and] personal conflicts" (STO 1978c).

The major Snoqualmie social event during the 1970's, and one of the few for which there is documentation, other than the

social aspects of the annual meetings and the holiday dinners, took place on January 13, 1979. This was the dinner and service sponsored by the STO at the Indian Shaker Church at Tulalip to celebrate the birthday of elder Ed Davis. This celebration, attended by some 320 people, featured a ham and beef dinner and a large birthday cake as well as a "Midnite lunch" (STO 1979a). Minutes are not available from the annual meeting of that year, but the attendance notebook indicates that it was held at the Grange Hall in Tolt/Carnation on May 12 and was attended by at least 38 people (STO 1975-1981).

On February 7, 1979, Judge George H. Boldt announced that he had requested to be relieved of all duties in the United States v. Washington litigation due to his failing health (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979c). Knowing that there was no other justice who had Judge Boldt's knowledge of the issues involved, and fearing that his retirement might delay a decision for several more months, attorney Alan C. Stay of Evergreen Legal Services, who now served as counsel for the Snoqualmie and three of the other intervenor tribes, petitioned the District Court to allow Judge Boldt to rule on his clients treaty fishing rights. In response to a motion to this effect filed by Stay on February 15 (U.S. District Court 1979a), the Chief Judge of the District Court, Walter McGovern, ordered Judge Boldt, on March 14, to resolve the pending matter (U.S. District Court 1979b).

Minutes of a Snoqualmie tribal meeting held at Issaquah on March 3, 1979, indicate that the STO was making plans to exercise and regulate treaty fishing rights during the coming season (STO 1979b). However, three weeks later, on March 23, 1979, the District Court finally issued its findings of fact, conclusions of law, and decree regarding the status of the five intervenor tribes in United States v. Washington.

The ruling was not favorable to the intervenor tribes, for Judge Boldt had merely signed the order that had been originally proposed and lodged by the United States in March of 1976. The order was not retyped or changed in any way, although the District Court later (on April 3, 1979) corrected an error in the Findings of Fact which confused references to the Snoqualmie and Snohomish Tribes (U.S. Court of Appeals 1979c). The finding held generally that Federal recognition was required for an Indian tribe to establish and exercise treaty rights. Regarding the Snoqualmie specifically, it concluded that the tribe had not lived as a "continuous separate, distinct and cohesive Indian cultural or political community." It declared further that its members had no "common bond or residence or association" other than their voluntary affiliation with the

STO. It also concluded that tribe was not an entity which had descended from the tribal entity that was signatory to the Point Elliott Treaty, and that it had not maintained an "organized tribal structure in a political sense" (U.S. District Court 1979c, 1101).

Given the criteria used by the District Court to determine tribal status and the limits of the evidence before it, Judge Boldt's finding was reasonably sound. After observing that treaty rights were communal in nature, he devised a list of six considerations to be used in determining whether a group of Indians formed the requisite communal unit. These criteria included: (1.) the extent to which group members were persons of Indian ancestry who lived and were brought up in an Indian society or community; (2.) the extent of Indian governmental control over their lives and activities; (3.) the extent and nature of the members participation in tribal affairs; (4.) the extent to which the group exercised political authority over a specific territory; (5.) the historical continuity of the other criteria; and (6.) the extent of express acknowledgment of such political structures by Federal authorities (U.S. Court of Appeals 1981, 1372). While the conceptual substance of these considerations was essentially the same as the seven criteria established in Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations for the Federal acknowledgment of tribes by the Secretary of the Interior, the language used by the Court to articulate them was significantly different. Most notably, the regulations which govern the Federal acknowledgment process do not require political authority over a specific territory or previous acknowledgment by Federal authorities. The requirement in criterion 83.7(c) of the regulations for the maintenance of "tribal political influence or other authority" is also less rigid than the District Court's requirement of "Indian governmental control" over the lives and activities of tribal members.

The evidence before the District Court specific to the Snoqualmie was limited in a variety of ways. For example, the expert ethnohistorical testimony and special report submitted by Dr. Barbara Lane on behalf of the United States focused on the nature of the Snoqualmie Tribe during the treaty era. Unlike the present evaluation by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR), the Court did not have benefit of anthropological, genealogical, and historical field work focusing on the broad scope of the tribe's social and political existence. The exhibits before the Court included less than 100 documents specific to the Snoqualmie (in contrast to the more than 1500 pertinent documents reviewed by BAR researchers to date in evaluating the Snoqualmie petition for acknowledgment). The court exhibits and the testimony of the three Snoqualmie members were not

particularly well directed toward proving the continuity of a historic Indian community. Neither were they sufficent to counter the negative characterization of the intervenors projected by the United States and other opponents in the case. For example, Lewis Bell, counsel for the Tulalip Tribes, painted all of the intervenors as being merely "social or business groups" of ethnic descendants, similar in nature to the Sons of Norway, which organized in the 1920's, after a long hiatus, for the purpose of filing treaty claims against the United States. After the case before the Court of Claims failed in 1934 to result in a payment to the plaintiff groups, Bell maintained that their members disbanded again and went their separate ways until the advent of the Indian Claims Commission (U.S. District Court 1975e, 24-27). In response to these statements, counsel for the Snoqualmie did little or nothing to indicate the ways in which its client did not fit these generalizations; failing to establish that the Snoqualmie were reorganized prior to the 1920's and did not disband after 1934.

Judge Boldt's decision shocked the Snoqualmie and the other intervenor tribes. Consequently, their attorney, Alan Stay, filed a motion for reconsideration with the District Court on April 5, 1979 (U.S. District Court 1979d). Judge Boldt agreed to review further submissions until April 25, but then affirmed his previous decision on that date (U.S. District Court 1979e). Stay then proceeded to file an appeal with the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco on June 6, 1979 (U. S. Court of Appeals 1979b). In the meantime, on July 12, 1979, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld almost all of the Boldt decision of 1974 regarding the treaty fishing rights of the federally recognized tribes of western Washington (U.S. Supreme Court 1979a, 658).

On April 21, 1981, Circuit Judge Eugene A. Wright issued the opinion of Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals regarding the intervenor tribes. He held that the District Court had erred in stating that Federal recognition was required for the establishment and exercise of treaty rights, but agreed that a tribal entity must have maintained an "organized tribal structure" in order to exercise such rights. He concluded that the evidence supported the lower court's finding that the intervenor tribes lacked sufficient political and cultural cohesion to claim tribal treaty fishing rights. Circuit Judge Canby filed a dissenting opinion, stating that the criteria applied by the Court were attributes "necessarily dependent on Federal recognition," and that an application of the proper legal standard in this case required new evidence regarding the political organization of the intervenor tribes during the treaty era.

He concluded that the case should be remanded for a determination whether the tribes had maintained the degree of organization that had existed at treaty times, with reasonable allowances for changing conditions, and whether some "defining characteristics" of the original tribes had persisted in the intervenor tribes "as evolving tribal communities" (U.S. Court of Appeals 1981, 1376).

Attorney Stay and other counsel for the intervenor tribes then petitioned the Court of Appeals for a rehearing on May 1, 1981. After the Court denied this petition on June 5, the intervenors sought to petition the Supreme Court. On August 21, Associate Justice William H. Renquist entered an order extending the deadline for such a petition to September 11, and on that date the intervenors counsel filed for a writ of certiorari (U.S. Supreme Court 1981a). The petitioners argued that since the Court of Appeals had found an error in law, namely the District Court's requirement for Federal recognition, the case should have been remanded to the District Court for additional findings. They maintained further that although the Court of Appeals denied the relevance of Federal recognition, the criteria used by the District Court in establishing tribal status were still too rigid to be met by unrecognized tribes (U.S. Supreme Court 1981b, 7, 10).

In a brief filed in opposition to the petitioners, attorneys for the United States argued that the Court of Appeals decision did not warrant review. Among the points stated in this brief was that virutally no evidence had been introduced to the District Court regarding the status of the off-reservation Indians between the 1850's and the 1920's, and that the petitioners had failed to produce evidence to support their assertion that the "overwhelming percentage" of their members continued to occupy their aboriginal territory (U.S. Supreme Court 1981b, 3, 7, 11).

The Supreme Court declined to review the decision of the Court of Appeals. The temporary permission granted the Snoqualmie and other intervenor tribes to exercise treaty fishing rights expired and was not renewed.

FOCUSING ON FEDERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT: 1980 - 1990

Political Developments

The 1980's were a comparatively turbulent decade for the Snoqualmie governing body. The leadership was more frequently challenged and turned out of office. The tribal council became involved in more controversial issues,

including the imposition of sanctions against tribal officers and members whose behavior was viewed as not conforming to tribal standards or as betraying tribal interests. Disputes over issues and/or between factions were also more evident. Nevertheless, the council continued to exhibit much behavior which was characteristic of its past, such as its respect for and protection of elders and its general tendency to defer important decisions to the general membership.

Robert Comenout, who had been elected to serve as tribal president for life in 1967, was pressured to resign that office on November 8, 1980 (Moses 1981). Karen Boney, a Forgue family member who had also served on the tribal council since 1967, was elected to serve as the temporary president until the next annual meeting. At that meeting, which took place on May 9, 1981, the Snoqualmie adopted a revised constitution and by-laws which, for the first time, limited the terms of office of all tribal officers and council members. This revised governing document officially changed the title of tribal president to tribal chairman or chairperson and established a three-year term for that position. The other officers were thereafter to be elected by and from a nine-member tribal council similarly limited to two-year terms, which were to be staggered. The designation Snoqualmie Tribal Organization or STO was dropped in favor of simply the Snoqualmie Tribe, whose governing body was to be known as the Snoqualmie Tribal Council (ST 1981a, 1981b).

Karen Boney was elected as the permanent chairperson at a general membership meeting held on July 11, 1981. The 30 voters present also retained 7 of the 10 members of the previous Comenout council, including long-time members Ed Davis, Judie Moses, Juanita Carpenter, and Leona Eddy. New to the council were sisters Mary Anne Hinzman and Katherine Barker, who were the daughters of Dwenar Forgue, as well as Carol Lubenau and Richard Nelson. Not nominated to return, for reasons which are not known, were Jerry Kanim's daughter, Evelyn Enick, who had served as secretary and then vice-chairman since 1943, and Emma Sweet, who had served since 1962 (ST 1981f, 1981g). The election later of Lubenau as vice-chairperson, Judie Moses as treasurer, and Shelley Burch as secretary, meant that for the first time in its history all of the officers and seven of the ten total members of the Snoqualmie governing body were women. Five of these women (Boney, Burch, Barker, Eddy, and Hinzman) were also Forgue family members (ST 1982f).

Having served since 1955, Judie Moses subsequently left the council in 1982 (ST 1982f), after which Shelley Burch became the secretary-treasurer, and Burch's brother Nathan "Pat"

Barker, son of council member Katherine Barker, joined the council as its sixth Forgue family member. Juanita Carpenter, who had served since 1964, died in 1983. Her place on the council was taken by Dorothy Cohn, a descendant of Pat Kanim's alleged daughter Julia, who had only been a member since 1981. The office of treasurer was again established as a separate position in 1983, and was filled by Pat Barker (ST 1983b).

The Snoqualmie Tribe established a non-profit corporation in 1982 in order to initiate and manage a growing number of grant-supported tribal programs. This corporation, run by a board of directors which initially consisted of tribal council members, was officially titled the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization, the former name of the tribal entity, but became generally known as the Snoqualmie Non-Profit Corporation. The initial officers of the corporation were tribal chairperson Karen Boney as president, vice-chairperson Carol Lubenau as vice-president, and tribal secretary Shelley Burch as secretary-treasurer. The board consisted of tribal council members Ed Davis, Earnest Barr, Kathy Barker, Leona Eddy, and Juanita Carpenter (STO 1982). By 1984, the tribal corporation had an operating budget of over $68,000 and had successfully negotiated with the Evergreen State Fair in Monroe to establish and construct a longhouse salmon bake concession. It also had initiated a feasibility study for a salmon bake restaurant which would have a tribal arts and crafts concession. Also in the planning stages were programs of assistance for tribal elders and to revitalize the production of traditional arts and crafts (STO 1984).

Karen Boney also served as the chairperson of STOWW during part of her tenure as the Snoqualmie chair (ST 1982f). However, at the expiration of her term as tribal head in 1984, she was defeated by a wide margin in her bid for reelection by Andy de los Angeles, a relatively young political activist from the Zackuse family who had been nominated by Ed Davis. This took place at the annual meeting on May 12 attended by 53 members. Two of the other tribal council members were also replaced at this election, including Carol Lubenau, the previous vice-chairperson who had served since 1981, and secretary Shelley Burch, who had been on the council since 1979 (ST 1984g).

The combined changes between the Comenout council of 1981 and the de los Angeles council of 1984 (8 of the 11 positions), which allowed only Ed Davis, Leona Eddy, and Earnest Barr to have more than three years tenure in office, represented the largest known turnover of Snoqualmie leadership. Joining the new council as vice-chairperson was Phil Wahl, a son of council member Dorothy Cohn. Wahl was

adopted into membership at the same meeting at which he was elected to office. He was not admitted to full tribal membership until the following year. The new secretary was Nina Repin, the chairman's sister. The other new council member was Kenny Moses from the Upper Prairie Moses family (ST 1982f, 1983b, 1984g).

Karen Boney was returned to the tribal council in 1985, and James Zackuse was elected for the first time. Voted out of office in that year were Richard Nelson and Mary Anne Hinzman, both elected in 1981, and Dorothy Cohn, who had served for only two years (ST 1985e).

Although Shelley Burch was no longer tribal secretary in 1985, she continued to serve as secretary-treasurer of the non-profit corporation. The other corporate officers in that year were tribal council member James Zackuse as president, and tribal vice-chairman Phil Wahl as vice-president. The 1985 board members were Kermit Cohn, Mary Anne Hinzman, and Nina Repin, and tribal council members Leona Eddy, Earnest Barr and Francis de los Angeles, the tribal chairman's mother (ST 1985d).

After 30 years of attempting to find someone suitable to fill the role of tribal chief who would also agree to accept the position, the Snoqualmie finally chose Earnest Barr in 1986. Barr had the personality and experience which the membership sought, and lacked only the descendancy from Pat Kanim which many members had previously thought necessary or at least highly desirable. His selection thus broke the tradition of the Snoqualmie hereditary chieftainship. A chief's council, consisting of the tribal chief and four sub-chiefs was also established in 1986 to represent the tribe to the public and to other tribes and to serve a ceremonial and advisory role for both the tribal council and the general membership. The criteria for nomination included knowledge of the Snoqualmie people, their customs and language, and ability to communicate with both Snoqualmie members and representatives from other tribes. Selected as sub-chiefs were Ron Lauzon and tribal council members Kenny Moses, Pat Barker, and James Zackuse (STO 1986a; ST 1986e, 1986l; Jones 1986).

Francis de los Angeles was elected subsequently to take Earnest Barr's tribal council position (ST 1986g). Ed Davis was given the title honorary chief, but later declined to accept it (ST 1986d). Guidelines for the chief and sub-chiefs, established at the annual meeting on May 10, 1986, stated that they were subject to the tribal elders "for correction and guidance and answerable to them" (ST 1986e). The new chief's council was formally installed at a Snoqualmie Chief's Potlatch held at MacDonald Park in

Tolt/Carnation on August 3, 1986 (ST 1986l; Jones 1986).

The years 1986 and 1987 were particularly rancorous ones for the Snoqualmie council because of a number of controversial issues that came before it. In March 1986, the council issued a letter of reprimand to vice-chairman Phil Wahl for taking documents from the tribal office without authorization (ST 1986b, 1986c). In June, the issue of a divorce between two members whose families were well represented on the council and who had already received a separation decree from a civil judge was brought before the tribal council by one of the spouses. After much acrimonious debate, the issue was finally referred to the chief's council, which recommended that the divorce be granted and that the parties involved not be subjected to the "traditional outcasting" (ST 1986i). The tribal council later requested the civil court to remand the case to the tribe's jurisdiction (Repin 1986), but the judge did not agree to do so apparently. One of the spouses was banished from the tribe for failing to appear before the tribal council, but this suspension of membership was lifted at the 1987 annual meeting (ST 1987c). The other spouse was later banished for political misconduct (ST 1988c).

On September 19, 1986, the council voted to banish former chairman Robert Comenout for his continued interference in the financial affairs of a leading elder despite five years of council efforts to get him to desist. Banishment meant that a member was stricken from the tribal roll, prohibited from appearing at tribal social events, and restricted from voting at tribal meetings. However, banished members could still attend meetings and express their views as individuals (de los Angeles and Repin 1986). Comenout continued to do this (ST 1988c), but his banishment was never lifted.

Chairman Andy de los Angeles was reelected to office at the annual meeting on May 9, 1987, at which 42 members cast ballots (ST 1987c). By that September, however, he was accused of misconduct and abuse as a result of a confrontation with certain members, including a leading elder. After missing several meetings, de los Angeles submitted a letter of resignation to the council on October 8, claiming that he wished to leave for health reasons (ST 1987e, 1987f; de los Angeles 1987). The council asked that he reconsider this decision for 30 days (Boney 1987a). After he apologized for his actions at a special meeting on October 29, the council voted to issue him a letter of reprimand, which reminded him that he was "a visible role model for our people" and was therefore "expected to be above reproach" (ST 1987g; Boney 1987b). This incident behind him, de los Angeles continued to serve for the remainder of his term.

Karen Boney was also reelected and became the tribal secretary in 1987, and Mary Anne Hinzman was returned to the council. Elected to the council for the first time were Francis de los Angeles, the chairman's mother, and Gail Colby, another Forgue family member. Les Wahl, the vice-chairman's brother and another of the sons of Dorothy Cohn, had been elected to the council the previous year (ST 1987c).

On May 20, 1987, Ed Davis died, having been a leader of both the Snoqualmie Tribe and the Indian Shaker Church since before the reorganized council of 1916, and having served continuously on the tribal council since the 1930's. It was reported that representatives of tribes from throughout the Northwest attended his funeral at the Tulalip Indian Shaker Church near Marysville. The service was followed by a procession to the Snoqualmie cemetery in Fall City, where Davis was interred near the graves of Jerry Kanim, Dwenar Forque, and other notable elders of the past (Jarvis 1987).

During the summer of 1987, members of the Cohn and Posenjak families walked out of a stormy council meeting. These alleged descendants of Julia Pat Kanim, who had only been admitted to tribal membership in the 1980's, subsequently separated from the Snoqualmie Tribe. They were later identified as leaders of a group known as the Snoqualmoo Tribe of Whidbey Island, which filed a claim for 200 acres of land on that island. They reported that they broke from the Snoqualmie Tribe in part because it was not interested in pursuing a Whidbey Island claim (Muhlstein 1988b).

The Snoqualmie council learned that the historical report used to support the Snoqualmoo claim had been prepared by Louise Clark, an historian hired to work on the Snoqualmie acknowledgment petition. It also learned that this report was based on documents from the Snoqualmie office files which had been taken without authorization, presumably by Clark or Cohn or Posenjak family members. As a result, the Snoqualmie general membership voted at a special meeting held on February 28, 1988, to banish four members of the Cohn and Posenjak families, including Phil Wahl, the then current vice-chairman, and his mother, former council member Dorothy Cohn (ST 1988a, 1988c). Louise Clark was asked to return materials to the Snoqualmie files and to explain whom she had shared them with (ST 1988b; Dailey 1988). It is not known if her honorary Snoqualmie membership was withdrawn, but her employment by the tribe was eventually terminated (FD).

On June 14, 1988, the Snoqualmoo Tribe of Whidbey Island filed a petition for Federal acknowledgment with the BIA (Snoqualmoo Tribe of Whidbey Island 1988). Listed as the

chairman and vice-chairman of this group were Lon Posenjak and Ruel Cohn respectively, two of the individuals who had been banished by the Snoqualmie. Dorothy Cohn was likewise listed among the five council members composing the Snoqualmoo governing body (Sherman 1989). A review of the Snoqualmoo membership list reveals that it has many members who continue to be listed on the Snoqualmie roll.

On February 28, 1991, the Snoqualmoo Tribe submitted documentation supporting its petition for Federal acknowledgment to the BIA's Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) (Snoqualmoo Tribe of Whidbey Island 1991). These petition documents were reviewed by the BAR for obvious deficiencies and/or significant omissions (an OD review) preliminary to active consideration of the petition. The BIA sent a letter outlining deficiencies in the petition materials (an OD letter) to the Snoqaulmoo group on August 13, 1992 (Bacon 1992). As of the date of this historical report, the petitioner has not responded to the OD letter.

Council Activities

As for the Snoqualmie governing body, its historic concerns regarding land acquisition and the exercise of treaty rights became focused during the 1980's on the issue of Federal acknowledgment as a necessary first step. The initial documentation supporting the Snoqualmie petition for acknowledgment, which attorney Ian G. Millikan had helped to prepare, was received by the BIA on April 10, 1980 (Pennington 1980; Millikan 1980). These materials were given an OD review by the BAR, the results of which were sent to the Snoqualmie Tribe on February 16, 1981 (Canan 1981). Opposed to the petition, the Tulalip Tribes requested through their legal counsel, James H. Jones of the Bell and Ingram firm, to become an interested party to the case on November 17, 1982 (Jones 1982).

Outside consultants to the Snoqualmie Tribe also reviewed the petition materials, including Kenneth C. Hansen, chairman of the Samish Tribe, and Frank Porter III, director of the American Indian Research and Resource Institute at Gettysburg College (Boney 1983a; Porter 1984). On their advice, the Snoqualmie Tribe requested on February 7, 1984, that the BAR's active consideration of the petition be delayed so that further research could be conducted (Boney 1984b). Similar requests were also made on August 15 and December 14, 1984 (Wahl 1984; de los Angeles 1984). On May 12, 1984, Patricia Rudd and Donna Quempts from the Tribal Operations Branch of the BIA's Puget Sound Agency (the new name for what had been the Western Washington

Agency in Everett) attended the Snoqualmie annual meeting to discuss the issue of dual enrollment as it related to the tribe's petition for acknowledgment (ST 1984a).

Funding for supplementary petition research was granted to the Snoqualmie Tribe by the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) of the Department of Health and Human Services, by STOWW, and by the United Methodist Church (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1982; STOWW 1984; Thompson 1986). Federal money made available under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) allowed the tribe to hire two individuals to provide clerical support for the petition work (ST 1983a). Louise Clark, a local historian, was hired to direct a tribal oral history project, which she began on February 14, 1983 (Clark 1983). Subsequently, two professors from Seattle Pacific University, Kenneth D. Tollefson and F. Douglas Pennoyer, were employed to conduct and assemble a detailed cultural continuity study of and for the petitioner. The results of this work were submitted to the BAR on June 12, 1986. Further supplementary materials were also received by the BAR on November 14, December 16, and December 23 of 1986, and on January 15 and March 31 of 1987 (Johnson 1987a, 1987b). The BAR requested copies of and/or clarified references to documents on which the Tollefson and Pennoyer study was based on March 9, 1989 (Little 1989). The Snoqualmie petitioner submitted additional materials prior to June 2, 1989, and was subsequently notified, on April 17, 1990, that its petition would soon be placed under review (Eden 1990). Active consideration of the petition began on May 21, 1990.

Despite its focus on proceeding through the Acknowledgment process, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council did not entirely suspend its efforts to gain trust land. A clause in the revised tribal constitution mandated the council to seek trust status for all newly acquired tribal lands. Thus, the governing body unanimously passed a resolution on October 23, 1986, expressing its desire to have the Department of the Interior place in trust the 1.6 acres of burial grounds recently conveyed to the Snoqualmie by the Fall City Cemetery Association (ST 1986n).

The tendency of the new Snoqualmie leaders toward political activism in the 1980's was demonstrated by their willingness to stage organized protests. At the June 26, 1980, council meeting, for example, Sharon Frelinger, chairperson of the tribal fishing committee, proposed that the Snoqualmie hold a protest fish-in during that season's Muckleshoot fishery. After councilwoman Karen Boney cautioned that the protest would have to be orderly and that tribal members would have to go quietly when arrested, the council endorsed the plan

enthusiastically (STO 1980). A few years later, chairman Andy de los Angeles developed a strategy to protest the plans of subsidiaries of the Puget Sound Power & Light Company to further develop the resort lodge at Snoqualmie Falls, a place of significant cultural and religious importance to tribal members (Corsaletti c.1985). After several small Indian artifacts were found under topsoil at the Fall City Community Park in 1984, tribal leaders asked King County officials to preserve the site, either by excavating it or prohibiting further development there (Talevich 1985).

In July 1990, chief Earnest Barr, chairman Ron Lauzon, and former chairman Andy de los Angeles led more than 20 tribal members in a demonstration at the Falls to protest Puget Power's diversion of the spill at night in order to generate more power from its hydroelectric turbines (Murfin 1990). Later that summer, tribal leaders protested plans by the city of Snoqualmie to develop lands which once comprised the Jeremiah Borst homestead in the old Meadowbrook area. They also expressed opposition to the city of Redmond's proposal to erect a shopping center on lands which once served as a gathering place for Indians from throughout the region (Corsaletti 1990b).

In 1991, the tribal effort to protect the Falls was joined by the Church Council of Greater Seattle and other groups, and an alliance known as the Snoqualmie Falls Preservation Project was created. This project was co-chaired by tribal chairman Ron Lauzon and by a physician named Richard M. Briggs (Snoqualmie Falls Preservation Project 1991). A statement released by the Washington Association of Churches declared that
ecumenical leaders of the Northwest stood "in solidarity with the Snoqualmie people in the efforts to preserve Snoqualmie Falls as a place for spiritual renewal for all people in the generations to come" (Washington Association of Churches 1991). On February 23, Christian denominational leaders from throughout the region were scheduled to join tribal members in a gathering at the Falls to pray for "one of the state's foremost sacred landscapes" (Corsaletti 1991).

The Snoqualmie governing body and tribal non-profit corporation took advantage of a growing number of grant programs during the 1980's in addition to the funding received to prepare an acknowledgment petition. In 1983, for example, the Snoqualmie used monies granted by the Washington Commission for the Humanities to establish native language classes and a public lecture series on Snoqualmie history and culture (Washington Commission for the Humanities 1983). During the prior year, the tribe had

sponsored cultural classes and craft workshops in Dwenar Forque's home in Duvall (STO 1982a). In 1985, the non-profit corporation used grant money provided by the U.S. Department of Education and the State Commission for Vocatational Education to establish a learning center. This center was created to increase the basic academic and vocational skills of adult tribal members and others (Long 1985; U.S. Department of Education 1985; STO c. 1985). This training allowed several members to obtain a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), and/or to learn vocational skills, such as electronic assembly (ST 1987a). At first, the Snoqualmie Learning Center, which was open to the public, operated out of the tribal office, a community center, and private homes (STO c. 1985). By 1988, however, it was moved to an office space within the Quadrant Business Park near Redmond (Weeks 1988 STO-97).

During the summer of 1982, the tribal office was relocated from Issaquah to Duvall (Burch 1982). By the next summer, the office was moved to its present location in Redmond (Elbert 1983). Because of the expansion of grant-supported tribal programs in the 1980's, the office was utilized almost every weekday and the council usually met there on a monthly basis. However, the facility was not adequate to accommodate annual meetings or other gatherings involving a large number of members. These kinds of events were held elsewhere, most often at the Grange Hall in Tolt/Carnation or at the Evergreen State Fair longhouse in Monroe.

Besides adopting a new constitution, other self-regulatory activities of the Snoqualmie council during the 1980's included the establishment of guidelines for the chief, sub-chiefs, and tribal chairperson, and the adoption of a tribal law and order code (ST 1986e, 1986o, 1987c). This code was described as providing the council with a "little more teeth" in dealing with members who break the law, while at the same time protecting the individual rights of members (ST 1987a). The council also adopted regulations and ordinances defining the status of honorary and adopted tribal members (ST 1986f). In order to "establish a continuous and consistent tribal membership," the Snoqualmie passed a resolution at the 1987 annual meeting providing that any member who relinquished membership or applied to another tribe for membership would have to wait for 10 years before they could re-apply for Snoqualmie membership (ST 1987c).

The Snoqualmie council was advised during the 1980's by 20 different standing committees consisting of 1-8 members each. These included committees for education and employment, law and order, enrollment, health and welfare,

housing and urban development, acknowledgment, monuments, fishing, history, VISTA, alcohol and drug abuse, land (cemeteries), language, youth activities, the non-profit organization, fundraising, special functions, salmon bakes, cemetery cleanup, and chief research and guidelines (STO 1980d; ST' 1981i, 1982g, 1983c, 1984h, 1985i; 1986p).

Snoqualmie leaders were interactive with a wider range of governmental agencies during the 1980's. In 1980, for example, Robert Comenout was invited by the U.S. Forest Service to take part in a land and resource planning meeting for the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest. Representatives from the BIA and from other tribes were also in attendance (Campbell 1980). In 1986, Andy de los Angeles was consulted by the State Department of Social and Health Services regarding a child adoption involving a Snoqualmie member (Merrival 1986). Because of its interest in preserving historic sites and monitoring land development, the tribe managed to gain representation on both the King County Landmark Commission and the Snoqualmie Valley Citizens Advisory Committee (Talevich c. 1984).

In addition to seeking out so-called "soft money" sources for tribal programs, such as Federal grants, Snoqualmie leaders attempted to explore business opportunites which might serve to provide economic self-sufficiency. Although such ventures as a bingo enterprise and the purchase of an Issaquah hatchery were discussed in council meetings, the tribe enjoyed its greatest commercial success by relying on its traditional fundraiser - the salmon bake. Tribal salmon concessions were organized and coordinated around the schedule of annual summer community celebrations in the region, such as the Evergreen Fair. In addition, the Snoqualmie contracted to cater at least two major dinners each year, the biggest of which was the Boeing Corporation's employee's banquet (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 394).

Social and Community Activities

The Snoqualmie continued the tradition of socializing at their meetings through the sharing of meals. At least in the early 1980's, food for meetings was provided through the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Commodity Services Administration (CSA). Thus, the main entree for the 1981 annual meeting, for example, was sliced turkey and spaghetti rather than the traditional salmon (STO 1981c). The tribe also returned more regularly to the practice of opening and closing their meetings with an Indian Shaker prayer, usually given by Ed Davis or Robert Comenout.

More consistently than in the past, members were kept

informed of tribal activities by means of periodic newsletters. These publications summarized recent developments and accomplishments and announced the times and dates of upcoming events, such as general meetings, food distributions, and holiday dinners. Meeting notices were sometimes also published in local newspapers (Ellen 1984)

The annual tribal holiday dinners continued throughout the 1980's, although in at least one year, 1981, they were not held at both Thanksgiving and Christmas. These events were held at either the Grange Hall or the Sno Valley Multi-Purpose Center in Tolt/Carnation during the early years of the decade (ST 1981g, c.1983), but were usually held at the longhouse on the Evergreen State Fair grounds in Monroe after that facility was completed in 1984 (ST 1984k, 1985d; STO 1986b). A highlight of the Christmas dinners was the appearance of an "Indian Santa" (ST 1984k). Toys and food baskets were distributed to those present (ST 1985d), and tribal members who had an adequate food supply for the winter were asked to bring whatever they could spare to give to less fortunate members (ST 1984k). Notes from the 1985 Christmas dinner indicate that it was opened with an Indian Shaker ceremony by Ed Davis, and was followed by a tribal meeting (ST 1985g). A sign-in sheet from the 1982 dinner indicates that it was attended by at least 40 adults, including a special guest, Cecile Maxwell, chairperson of the Duwamish Tribe (ST 1982e). As a measure of tribal participation, this number could be compared with the 72 adults who signed-in at the 1984 annual meeting (ST 1984b).

The tribe sponsored dinners to honor elders, such as the ones celebrating the birthdays of Ed Davis in 1980 and Dwenar Forgue in 1982. Representatives from the Duwamish and Chinook tribes attended the Davis recognition dinner, held at the Tolt/Carnation Grange Hall on April 12, 1980. Among the gifts presented to the honoree was a Pendleton blanket to which a check for $1,000 was attached. A raffle was also held at this event to raise funds for the repair of an Indian Shaker church. This may have been the church at Muckleshoot, where Davis had conducted a wedding ceremony the previous day (STO 1980b). The July 17, 1982, gathering in celebration of Dwenar Forgue's 84th birthday was a potluck held at her home in Duvall (STO 1982b).

The inuaguration of Chief Earnest Barr and his sub-chiefs in 1986 was accompanied by a series of social events. A Chief's dinner, featuring traditional singing and dancing was held on July 26, 1986 (ST 1986j), and a Chief's Potlatch took place on August 3. The potlatch, held at MacDonald Park in Tolt/Carnation, also included a dinner, as well as spiritual ceremonies, dancing, and a give-away of blankets and other gifts (Jones 1986; ST 1986l). The next year, on

May 2, 1987, Chief Barr married a Puyallup woman named Christina Moses. This wedding, which was also held at MacDonald Park, was another community activity which the tribe and its non-profit organization sponsored (ST 1987b). Aprroximately 150 people from various tribes and a few non-Indians attended this event, including five men who signed the Guest Book as "drummers" (Barr-Moses Wedding 1987). A week later, at the annual meeting of May 9, it was voted to establish an annual assessment of up to $10 per member in order to help defray the tribe's costs in sponsoring social functions (ST 1987c).

The funerals of tribal elders were the occasion for sadder gatherings. Following the death of Dwenar Forgue at age 85 on December 26, 1984, for example, traditional services were held at the Indian Shaker church on the Muckleshoot Reservation on December 29. The next day, services in the Redmond community were held at a local funeral home. Burial was in the Snoqualmie cemetery in Fall City (Woodinville Weekly 1984). The previously described funeral of Ed Davis in 1987 also represented one of the larger community gatherings of the decade.

The petition describes only one social gathering in the 1980's which was sponsored by a member family rather than the tribe itself. In November 1984, Leo and Catherine Daniels hosted a give-away to commemorate the death of their son and grandson and to celebrate their 50th wedding anniversary. Members from several regional tribes were formally invited to attend the event, which took place at the Center Hall on the Muckleshoot Reservation. Leo Daniels began the gathering by singing his spirit song, after which the table was "opened in the Indian Shaker way, with a ringing of bells, singing, and thanksgiving prayers. Testimonials were given by guests and a traditional feast was served, after which a quantity of gifts were distributed. It was reported that the Daniels family spent several thousand dollars on this give-away (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 306-307).

Some of the grant monies received by the Snoqualmie in the 1980's were used to fund cultural programs. The tribe sponsored a series of workshops at the Dwenar Forgue home in Duvall from February 28, 1981, until at least May 15, 1982. These were designed to permit younger members to learn traditional arts and crafts, such as beading, shawl-making, basketry, and leather craft, from Snoqualmie elders. Meals for these workshops, which were attended by as many as 14 members, were also provided through the CSA Direct Feed program. Products of the workshops were displayed at the 1982 Duvall Days celebration (STO 1981c, 1982a).

Funding received from the Washington Commission on the Humanities and the Lake Washington Vocational Technical Institute permitted the tribe to sponsor a Snoqualmie language project, beginning in 1983. Classes were taught by Evelyn Enick and Earnest Barr and were given, at least initially, in the Sno Valley Multi-Purpose Center at Tolt/Carnation. However, the precise time span of the instruction (i.e., the years in which it was offered) and the level of member participation is not known. Part of the humanities grant was also used to sponsor a public lecture series on Snoqualmie history and culture (ST 1984k; The Valley Record 1984a). In 1987, the tribe began offering "drumming" classes (ST 1987a), and by the end of the decade a traditional Snoqualmie dance troupe began performing at public events. These dancers reportedly resurrected tribal dances which had not been done in 30 years (Issaquah Salmon Days Festival 1990).

The Snoqualmie office continued to serve as the primary center for the redistribution of surplus goods. A food and clothing bank was open at the office three days a week. This program was run during the 1980's by the tribal non-profit corporation. Donations were solicited from various sources, including commercial suppliers. Volunteers then arranged to pick up commodities from donors and deliver them either to the tribal office, to the site of tribal dinners, or directly to members (ST 1986a, 1985e; FD). An undated tribal newsletter (probably distributed around October 1984) noted that the food bank had supplies of chicken backs and necks, 100 pounds of various kinds of flour, dried pinto beans, and a few canned goods. It also stated that turkey hindquarters would be available for Thanksgiving, and that those who could not attend the tribal dinner at the Monroe longhouse could arrange to have foodbaskets delivered to them (ST 1984k). The January 1986 newsletter thanked 15 tribal staff members and volunteers, including non-members Bill Barker and Verna Hupton, for the energy, time, and money they had donated toward the distribution of food and toys during the 1985 Christmas season (ST 1986a). An undated newsletter, thought to be from around 1983, noted that the tribe had held several yard sales in order to raise funds for its Elderly Food Program (ST c.1983).

In the tradition of her mother Dwenar Forgue, Mary Anne Hinzman continued to be instrumental in maintaining the tribal distribution network. The January 1986 tribal newsletter indicates that Hinzman was officially designated as the Tribal Food Bank Coordinator (ST 1986a). She and her family were likewise reported in 1984 and in 1987 to have taken on the responsibility for maintaining the Snoqualmie cemetery (Varosh 1984; ST 1987a). During this same period

(1986-87), Hinzman also took Ed Davis into her home and nursed him during the last few months of his life (Weideman 1987).

The Snoqualmie have had much more of a public presence in the 1980's and 1990's. The tribe took a more active role in events and issues involving the larger community. Consequently, it received more attention from local media during the decade. As one reporter put it: "The Snoqualmies...are becoming more active in government to fight for their interests - a sharp departure from their cocoon-like ways of the past (Talevich c.1984). A number of articles focusing on the Snoqualmie and/or its individual members appeared in various newspapers throughout the region. Some of these pieces focused only on specific tribal issues, such as the protest against the diversion of Snoqualmie Falls (Murfin 1990), or specific tribal events, such as the 1986 Chief's Potlatch (Jones 1986). Others highlighted individual members, such as a 1986 series of articles on the Indian Shaker Church in the Pierce County Herald which focused on Ed Davis and Robert Comenout (Rommel 1986a, 1986b, 1986c). Other articles offered general background information on Snoqualmie history and culture (Weeks 1988). In addition, Snoqualmie leaders were also interviewed by the broadcast media (Boney 1983c).

The Snoqualmie played a much more visible role in community celebrations throughout the region: hosting salmon bakes at the Evergreen State Fair and elsewhere, and taking part in parades and exhibiting traditional arts and crafts at such annual events as Duvall Days, Sky Valley Founders Day (near Monroe), the North Bend Torch Parade, Fall City Derby Days, etc. (ST 1984d; Monroe Monitor/Valley News 1989a, 1989b). In 1983, the tribe established a historical display at Pier 70 in Seattle in order to increase public awareness, and also set up a booth and display at the Evergreen State Fair that year (ST c.1983). However, the greatest level of tribal participation was during the 1990 Issaquah Salmon Days. The Snoqualmie were the special honored guests at this festival, which celebrates the annual return of salmon to the Issaquah hatchery. Chief Earnest Barr was honored as grand marshal of the parade, and was accompanied by elder Leona Eddy. Other Snoqualmie features of the celebration were tribal dances performed by the newly-organized dance troupe, story-telling, and arts and crafts (Issaquah Salmon Days Festival 1990, 5 ,12, 14, 16). Earlier that summer, the Snoqualmie had participated in festivities surrounding the Goodwill Games, held in Seattle between American and Russian athletes. The tribal dancers performed and Snoqualmie runners joined those from other tribes in the "Talking Stick" relay which opened the games. Snoqualmie leaders also came up with the idea of distributing a

statement on tribal letterhead which welcomed the Soviet quests and summarized for them in Russian the history of the Snoqualmie Tribe (Rommel 1990; Buxton 1990; ST 1990c).

Ethnologists measuring the continuance of traditional religious expression among the Snoqualmie found in the 1980's that there had been a revival of such practices as spirit questing, ritual bathing, and renewal ceremonies. A number of Snoqualmie Indian doctors were reported to have acquired spirit powers, to collect resources for ceremonial use, and to conduct ceremonies and rituals at various locations. It was observed that some Snoqualmie retained such traditional practices as the burning of cedar boughs with a deceased person's clothing and the use of cedar smoke and/or water in which Dogwood flowers had been boiled to purify a home. It was also found that traditional remedies were still being used to treat such medical problems as cataracts and nasal congestion, and to aid in recovery from surgery (King, Catton, and Tillotson 1990).

Tollefson maintains that three contemporary expressions of native religious practices persist among the Snoqualmie; smokehouse religion, the household "power dream," and the Indian Shaker religion. Stressing spirit acquisition and spirit renewal ceremonies, the smokehouse religion is a modified form of the traditional Snoqualmie longhouse religion which has evolved into a congregational and church-like organization. The name refers to the practice of conducting dances and ceremonies in longhouses filled with smoke from open fires (Tollefson 1992, 48). Anthropologist Pamela Amoss has described the smokehouse religion as a synthesis of various prior Indian ceremonial activities, and has termed this religious complex "The Indian Way" (Amoss 1978, 87). Tollefson estimates that 25-30 Snoqualmie are practicioners of the smokehouse religion (Tollefson 1992, 48).

Adherents of the household power-dream believe that the spirit power which adolescents once sought in the woods can now manifest itself in the homes of those who wait passively for spirit dreams. If one receives the same dream-song three times, the spirit of that song becomes their spirit power. The family then hosts a dinner for friends and relatives, at which the youth shares his dream and song experience, much like previously done in the Snoqualmie longhouse religion. According to Tollefson, as many as 15 youths have received power dreams in the last decade, and about 120 Snoqualmie participate currently in this form of nativistic religious expression (Tollefson 1992, 48).

Tollefson estimates that some 30 Snoqualmie members continue to practice the Indian Shaker religion. He concludes that

taken together, the adult adherents of the three native religious practices compose about 40 percent of the adult Snoqualmie membership and hold most of the elected tribal leadership positions (Tollefson 1992, 48-49).

GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE SNOQUALMIE TRIBE

This report summarizes the review of the Snoqualmie Tribe's petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe. The review is based not only on the petition and supporting evidence submitted by the Snoqualmie Tribe, but also on additional research done for the purposes of analyzing the petition. The Snoqualmie Tribe will be referred to in this report as the petitioner.

Current Membership

The current membership totals 313 members. The members appear on the August 1990 list of members submitted by the petitioner. Not included in the 313 total, but also appearing on the list, are 34 members who are deceased, four honorary members, four former members who have been banished from membership, and eight individuals whose applications for enrollment are pending (ST 1990a).

Membership Criteria

The membership criteria is described in Article II of the 1981 constitution, the petitioner's current governing document:

Section 1. The membership of the Snoqualmie Tribe shall consist of the following:

a. All persons of Snoqualmie Indian blood and those whose names appear on Charles Roblin's schedule of Unenrolled Indians as of January 01 [sic], 1919.

b. All descendants of persons who qualify for tribal membership under Article II, Section I, subsection (a); provided that such descendants possess at least one-eighth (1/8) degree Snoqualmie Indian blood to qualify for tribal membership.

c. Any person who is adopted in accordance with resolutions or ordinances adopted by the tribal council and approved by the tribal membership. Any person so adopted shall have those qualities and incidents of membership as expressly bestowed upon him/her.

Section 2. LIMITATIONS. No person shall qualify for membership in the Snoqualmie Tribe who is a member of any other organized tribe, band, or Indian community

officially recognized by the Secretary of the Interior or not so recognized, unless he/she has relinquished [sic] in writing his/hers [sic] membership in such tribe, band or community (ST 1981a).

The petitioner provided a further explanation as to the interpretation of section II(1)(a) regarding Roblin's Schedule of Unenrolled Indians. This schedule was prepared in 1919 by Charles Roblin, special agent of the Office of Indian Affairs, and included not only Snoqualmie, but other Indians of Western Washington (Roblin 1919). According to the petitioner, any person who appears on Roblin's schedule will be eligible for membership provided that the person can prove Snoqualmie ancestry (ST 1991a).

In 1984 there was discussion regarding the provisions of Section II(1) (b) wherein the one-eighth Snoqualmie blood quantum is required. It was proposed that the blood quantum requirement be lowered which would allow those who did not meet the requirement to be included (ST 1991a). Instead of lowering the blood quantum the membership agreed to accept those members not meeting the one-eighth requirement under the provision for adoption.

Regarding section II(1)(c), the general council voted in 1986 to accept regulations for adoption. Included in the regulations is that all persons seeking adopted status be sponsored by a member, provide full ancestry and enrollment forms, and be recommended by a quorum of the Tribal Council for approval by the general membership. It was also voted upon in 1986 to grant adopted members full voting privileges 30 days after the ratification (ST 1986a). There was no explicitly stated requirement for an adopted member to be of Snoqualmie descent. The 1986 adoption regulations imply the adopted member should descend from Snoqualmie ancestry. The general council voted in 1987 to require that all adopted members be placed on a five-year probationary period before conferring any membership privileges (ST 1987b). Again, in 1987 there is no stated requirement that an applicant for adoption must have any Snoqualmie blood quantum.

Enrollment Process

The enrollment process followed by the petitioner has been in existence since at least the early 1950's and evolved from enrollment procedures that were first developed in 1929. An applicant for membership must first obtain and complete an application form. The same form has been in use since at least the early

of the Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington (Roblin 1919). Twenty percent of membership (63 members) have been determined to be enrolled in a federally recognized tribe, and therefore, technically are prohibited from membership until the member has relinquished membership in the tribe.

Table 1
Evaluation of the membership under the membership criteria

Members who are 1/8 or more Snoqualmie blood	256
Members who are less than 1/8 Snoqualmie blood & have been adopted	38
Members who are lineal descendants, but have no information regarding their Snoqualmie blood degree	5
Members whose descent from the historical tribe has not been established	11
Members who are non-Indian and have been adopted	3
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	313 *

*63 members are enrolled in a federally recognized tribe

Descent from the Historical Tribe

Ninety-six percent of the petitioner's 313 members have established or can be expected to establish descent from the Snoqualmie, a signatory tribe to the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott (Kappler 1903-41, 2:669-673). The remaining four percent of the membership consists of 11 members who have not satisfactorily established Snoqualmie descent. Of the 313 current membership, three are non-Indian, but who have been adopted as members (Table 2). Two of the three are married to Snoqualmie members. The relationship of the third individual to the petitioning group is unknown.

Table 2
Descent from the historical tribe

Members who have established descent	
Members who appear on Docket 93 judgment roll	265
Members whose descent has been verified by BAR research	4
TOTAL	269
Members who are expected to establish descent	
Members who are closely related to a member who appears on Docket 93 judgment roll	27
Members who are closely related to a member whose descent has been verified by BAR research	3
TOTAL	30
Total membership that have or are expected to be able to establish descent	299
Members who have not satisfactorily established descent	11
Members who are not Indian	3
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	313

Those members who do not appear on the Docket 93 judgment roll, but whose descent has been verified, are descendants of three of the 27 families represented in the current membership (Kate Borst, Nellie Sinclair, and James Percival). None of the three families were represented on the Docket 93 judgment roll (Western

Washington Agency 1978).

Docket 93 Judgment Roll

This roll of Snoqualmie and Skykomish descendants was authorized in 1971 by the United States Congress and was prepared by the Western Washington Agency (now known as the Puget Sound Agency). The roll was used to disburse on a per capita basis the funds which were appropriated to pay the monetary judgment awarded to the Snoqualmie and Skykomish Tribes in Indian Claims Commission docket 93 (U.S. Statutes at Large 1971).

To be included on the judgment roll, an individual must have been born on or prior to and have been living on June 23, 1971, have been a lineal descendant of the Snoqualmie and Skykomish Tribes as they were constituted in 1855, and have filed an application with the agency postmarked on or before midnight April 23, 1972. An applicant was required to submit documentary evidence, primarily birth certificates, to establish descent (Office of the Federal Register 1979).

The agency grouped the applications for inclusion on the judgment roll by a common ancestor shared by a group of applicants (Western Washington Agency n.d.a, n.d.b). This grouping is the basis for the families referred to in this report. (Those families who descend from Mary Lewis, Jennies Purse, and Elizabeth Kanum qualified for the judgment roll under another common Snoqualmie ancestor that they shared.) Roblin's Schedule of the Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington was the primary source used by the agency to determine whether the ancestor was Snoqualmie (Roblin 1919). For those ancestors who did not appear on Roblin's schedule, the agency used available Bureau records such as probate records, individual history and marriage cards prepared on Indians during the first two decades of this century, school records, and social service records to determine the ancestor's tribal affiliation (Western Washington Agency n.d.a). The original applications for inclusion on Roblin's schedule were not available to the agency at the time the agency was preparing the Docket 93 judgment roll.

Roblin's Schedule of Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington

The 1919 schedule was prepared by Office of Indian Affairs special agent, Charles E. Roblin. Roblin was instructed to make an enumeration of all Western Washington Indians who were not enrolled with an agency. His schedule included families who had applied to be included on his schedule and did not appear on any agency Indian census roll. No further action was taken by the Office after the schedule was submitted to Washington, D.C. (Roblin 1911-19).

Roblin identified 34 families as Snoqualmie on the schedule (Roblin 1919). Seventy-two percent of the current membership (224 members) have or are expected to be able to establish descent from at least one of the families identified as Snoqualmie on Roblin's schedule (Table 3).

Table 3 Families identified as Snoqualmie on Roblin's Schedule	
Common Ancestor	**Members**
Kate Boast	3
Lucy Rose Davis	5
George Davis	30
Mary Jimmicum	3
Elizabeth Kanum	22*
James Kimball	13
Mary Lewis	47**
Lyman Martin	2
George Moses	34
Julia Patkeenum	24
Jennies Purse	1**
Nellie Sinclair	2
Nellie Tomallum	33
Louisa Williams	5
TOTAL	224

*Members also share descent from Mary Jimmicum

**Members also share descent from another Snoqualmie ancestor that the agency used as the qualifying ancestor for the docket 93 judgment roll

An additional eleven percent (35 members) have or are expected to be able to establish descent from two families identified as Duwamish on the schedule (Table 4) (Roblin 1919). The applications for inclusion on Roblin's schedule show that the two families were part-Duwamish and part-Snoqualmie (Roblin 1911-19).

Table 4 Families identified as Duwamish on Roblin's Schedule, but applications shows that the families were part-Snoqualmie	
Common Ancestor	Members
Dan Selalius	9
James Zackuse	26
TOTAL	35

Western Washington Indians' Applications Files

Six members have established their descent from families identified as Snoqualmie in the files containing the original applications for inclusion on Roblin's schedule (Table 5). The applications were rejected because the ancestor appeared on an agency's Indian census roll (Roblin 1911-19).

Table 5 Families identified as Snoqualmie in the Western Washington Indians' application files, but not enumerated on Roblin's schedule	
Common Ancestor	Members
Jennies Kanim *	3
Dan Hoptowit	1
James Percival	2
TOTAL	6
*She is also an ancestor of Mary Lewis' descendants	

Other Snoqualmie Families

Eleven percent of the membership (34 members) have or are expected to be able to establish descent from Snoqualmie families which apparently did not apply to be included on Roblin's schedule (Table 6).

Table 6 Other Snoqualmie Families	
Common Ancestor	**Members**
California Jim	2
Martin Jimmicum	4
Charlie Kanim	14
Old Jackson	7
Henry Steve	2
Stephen Tetabe	1
Dick Williams	1
Matilda Williams	6
TOTAL	37

Martin Jimmicum, Old Jackson, Henry Steve, Stephen Tetabe and Dick Williams were allotted on the Tulalip reservation and identified as Snoqualmie or part Snoqualmie (Upchurch 1932). The other remaining ancestors were identified as Snoqualmie in the Bureau records collected by the Western Washington (now Puget Sound) Agency while preparing the docket 93 judgment roll (Western Washington Agency n.d.a).

Enrollment in Federally Recognized Tribes

The evaluation of how many of the petitioner's members were enrolled in a federally recognized tribe was concentrated on those tribes serviced by the Puget Sound Agency. Some members descend from ancestors who were allotted on one of the reservations in the area. Other members have a variety of tribal ancestry mostly derived from tribes that had historically inhabited the Puget Sound area based on the ancestry charts submitted for them by the petitioner (ST 1987d, 1991b). Although historically some of the families represented in the petitioner's current membership had ties with the Yakima reservation, none of the petitioner's members were found to be enrolled with the Yakima Tribe (Yakima Agency 1991).

Members enrolled in a tribe

Approximately 20 percent of the membership (63 members) can be identified as being enrolled in one of the federally recognized tribes serviced by the Puget Sound Agency (Puget Sound Agency 1990). Technically these members do not meet the petitioner's criteria for membership, because the petitioner's constitution and bylaws prohibit dual enrollment (ST 1981a, 1981b). A breakdown by tribe was made to determine the basis for membership of the petitioner's members who are also enrolled in another tribe (Table 7).

Table 7
Dual Enrollment

Tribe	Members
Lummi Tribe	16
Muckleshoot Indian Tribe	9
Nooksack Indian Tribe	3
Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe	3
Suquamish Indian Tribe	1
Tulalip Tribes	29
Upper Skagit Indian Tribe	2
TOTAL	63

Membership in the Lummi Tribe, Nooksack Indian Tribe, Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe, Suquamish Indian Tribe, and Upper Skagit Indian Tribe is based on the member's descent from a non-Snoqualmie ancestor who was affiliated with the tribe. Membership in the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe is based on the member's descent in another line from an ancestor who was allotted on that reservation.

Tulalip Tribes

Twelve members who are enrolled in the Tulalip Tribes are descendants of Snoqualmies allotted on the Tulalip reservation. Three members enrolled in the Tulalip Tribes descend from families enumerated on Roblin's

Schedule of the Snoqualmie Tribe, but also descend in another line from Tulalip reservation allottees. Snoqualmie ancestry has not been documented for three members who are enrolled in the Tulalip Tribes.

Three Snoqualmie families that descend from Roblin's schedule of Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington have appeared, beginning in the 1920's, on the Tulalip Agency's Indian census rolls for the Tulalip reservation (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1885-1940). Two families had inherited trust property in this period, which may account for their enumeration by the agency on the census rolls (Western Washington Agency n.d.a, file T-147; Western Washington Agency n.d.c). Eleven members from the three families are currently enrolled in the Tulalip Tribes. Nine of these 11 members appear on the tribal base roll (Western Washington Agency 1965). Only one of the nine members who appeared on the tribal base roll has descendants enrolled in the tribe.

The intent of the federal regulations in prohibiting dual enrollment is so the acknowledgment process will not break up existing tribes. In this case the number of dual enrollees is not significant enough to pose a problem since there are seven (as opposed to one) recognized tribes involved. There is no evidence that suggests these 63 individuals represent a faction or factions who are attempting to break away from their tribe.

Former Lists of Members

Eighty-five percent of the current membership either appears, or have direct ancestors who appear, on one or more of the eight former lists of members either submitted by the petitioner or already on file with the Bureau (Table 8) (Womack 1916; STO 1934, 1940, 1951, 1968, 1974b, 1975a, 1976). The only families not represented on the former lists of members are the descendants of Julia Patkeenum and Elizabeth Kanum. The Julia Patkeenum descendants did not become members until 1977 and later. The Elizabeth Kanum descendants have only recently become members. Previously these Elizabeth Kanum descendants were affiliated with the Snohomish Tribe of Indians whose petition for Federal acknowledgment is still pending a final determination (the proposed finding not to acknowledge this group was published in 1983). BAR had determined during its evaluation of the Snohomish Tribe's petition that the Elizabeth Kanum descendants were Snoqualmie and did not

have any Snohomish ancestry.

Table 8 Former lists of members	
Year list prepared	**Members**
1916	291
1934	495
1940	650
1951	134
1968	107
1974	307
1975	286
1976	285

The lists prepared after 1940 reflects the dropping off of previous members who were enrolled in one of the reservation tribes created under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. A 1944 letter to the Tulalip Agency's Superintendent concerning the 1940 list stated that some of the members have been written to twice [probably about retaining membership] and that "a lot of them" were deceased. The letter goes on further stating that "some of the people have been taken out as they belong to another tribe. The new enrollment will be much better when we get it" ([Kanim?] 1944).

Previous membership criteria

Except for the 1916 list, all the lists were created under the membership provisions of the 1929 bylaws and the 1948 constitution and bylaws (STO 1929, 1948b). The 1929 bylaws were basically adopted as the 1948 constitution and bylaws and remained as the governing document until 1981. (Although there is mention made of a constitution and bylaws "going back to 1934," the 1948 minutes which adopted the constitution and bylaws clearly indicate that the 1929 bylaws were still in effect (STO 1974a, 1948a). No governing document dated in the 1930's has been found). The constitution and bylaws adopted in 1981 changed the official name from the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization to the Snoqualmie Tribe, and made major changes in the membership criteria and governing process (ST 1981a). The 1981

constitution and bylaws, with subsequent amendments, are the current governing documents of the petitioner.

The membership criteria in the 1929 and 1948 governing documents stated that membership was open to "all persons who are descended from Snoqualmie blood." The membership was divided into five classes--active, Indian associates, associate, junior, and honorary, but these categories are vaguely or not defined at all in the governing documents (STO 1929, 1948b). The membership lists created under the 1929 and 1948 governing documents do not identify the members by category. The majority of members appearing on the lists appear to be lineal descendants.

Enrollment Process

The 1929 bylaws required that all persons desiring membership apply to the organization's Secretary and the Secretary would submit the application to the organization's President (STO 1929). Membership was approved by the Chief and a council of elders (Williams 1934). Those admitted to membership were recorded in a special enrollment book which is still in the petitioner's possession (Eddy n.d., STO 1929-60, Eddy 1975). It was from this book that the 1934 and 1940 lists were compiled.

About 1944, Chief Jerry Kanim began instituting a new enrollment procedure that the petitioner still follows (Kanim 1944). Any member who desired to retain membership and all future members were required to complete an application form. The form's title included the word "renewal", and the form is still used by the petitioner (STO n.d.). The council of elders still continued, but became known as the enrollment committee.

Lists prepared after 1950 are based on the accepted enrollment applications. The 1968 list is titled "Snoqualmie Tribal Mailing List" and may not be a complete list of members (STO 1968). Although the 1975 and 1976 have about the same number of members, each list includes about 75 people who do not appear on the other list. The 1974-1976 lists include members who were not formally admitted to membership until after 1976 (STO 1975a, 1976).

1975 Boldt survey

The petitioner also submitted a copy of the 1975 "Judge George Boldt Survey," apparently compiled for U.S. v. Washington (STO 1975b). Only 14 families are represented in this survey. There are 265 individuals listed in the survey; 113 of these individuals do not appear on the membership list submitted for acknowledgment purposes. Some individuals are not recognizable as being associated with the families represented in the petitioner's membership. Others are children of members, but these children have never obtained membership.

Potential Membership Expansion

Recent newspaper articles have indicated that there are 800 to 1400 members (Corsaletti 1990, Gates 1991). Probably several thousand individuals could claim descent from the historical Snoqualmie tribe. Over three thousand individuals, who were living in 1971, were found to be eligible to share in the per capita payment made to the descendants of the Snoqualmie and Skykomish treaty tribes (Western Washington Agency 1978). There are Snoqualmie descendants who have been affiliated with the reservation tribes for several generations and have not maintained any relationship with the petitioner for several decades. There are Snoqualmie families on Roblin's Schedule of the Unenrolled Indians of Western Washington who have never appeared on any of the petitioner's lists of members. Snoqualmie families represented in the petitioner's membership have also had descendants who have never appeared on any of the petitioner's lists of members.

"Minor Enrollees"

Although the petitioner's governing documents do not explicitly state it, a member must be over the age of 18 years to be eligible for membership. Therefore, with two exceptions, children do not appear on the list of members. BAR requested a list of children who might be eligible for any benefits or services should the petitioner become federally recognized (Johnson 1988). In response to this request, the petitioner submitted a list entitled "minor enrollment" (ST 1990b). The minor enrollers will not automatically be admitted to membership when they reach the age of 18 years. They are required to apply for membership. The minor enrollers are children or grandchildren of members who

can establish descent from the historical tribe. The minor enrollment list also includes eight children of pending applicants.

Former members

There is a possibility of readmitting those members who were banished or whose names have been removed from the membership lists (ST 1988). Four former members had their membership divested in 1988. The divestiture of membership, or banishment, was a disciplinary action taken against the four members whom the petitioner believed acted in violation of Article VIII(j) and (m) of the 1981 constitution. According to the regulation concerning expulsion, the four members who have been banished will not be able to regain membership rights for at least ten years followed by a five-year probationary period (ST n.d.). All four members can establish their descent from the historical tribe.

Since 1981 when the petitioner submitted its documented petition for Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner has periodically submitted updated lists of current members (STO 1980, ST 1986b, 1986d, 1989). There are 47 individuals who have appeared on at least one of these lists, but were omitted on later lists. At least 33 of the removed individuals have been identified as being members of a federally recognized tribe (Puget Sound Agency 1990). These members were probably removed from the membership list by the petitioner because they were enrolled in another tribe. The question concerning those members who were known to be enrolled in another tribe was brought up in a 1986 council meeting. According to the minutes of that meeting, it was voted to notify each member known to be dually enrolled to advise the member to "clarify your intentions," or be dropped from the petitioner's membership list. The minutes suggest that this action may have been taken as a result of the petitioner's concern over meeting the Acknowledgment criteria, than the fact that the governing documents prohibit concurrent membership in another tribe (ST 1986c).

The 1986 council minutes which voted to remove those members who were dually enrolled state that "after reconition [sic] we will send each person an invitation to make a decicision [sic] on Tribal Affiliation" (ST 1986c). The following year a resolution was adopted which would require any individual who had relinquished membership through either "the relinquishment process or by application for membership to another tribe"

would be required to wait ten years before re-applying for membership (ST 1987c).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT

ON THE

SNOQUALMIE INDIAN TRIBE

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General Summary

At the time of the Point Elliott treaty of 1855, the Snoqualmie consisted of 18 or more winter villages under the leadership of Chief Pat Kanim. The Snoqualmie were divided into two portions along the Snoqualmie River, the Upper Snoqualmie above Snoqualmie Falls, and the lower Snoqualmie. the Snoqualmie may not have constituted a single political unit in the sense of having an overall leader until the emergence of Pat Kanim as chief between 1843 and 1847.

The major portion of the historical Snoqualmie tribe remained off-reservation after the Point Elliott treaty and the establishment of the Tulalip Reservation in 1860. Snoqualmie villages were disrupted by whites taking over the land in the 1860's, but the Snoqualmie re-formed several settlements which maintained ceremonial longhouses and the traditional ceremonial cycle. An additional settlement was formed at Lake Sammamish in the 1870's. These settlements were centered on areas where wage work was available, although fishing, hunting and gathering remained an important part of subsistence. Although there were economic changes, the traditional culture and language were by and large retained by most of the Snoqualmie throughout this period. Marriage within the tribe continued be common along with, as was characteristic of the traditional culture of the tribes of the region, frequent intertribal marriages which established and maintained a larger network of relationships.

After Pat Kanim's death in 1858, until 1914, the Snoqualmie were lead by a variety of local leaders. Most prominent of these was Sanawa, chief of the Upper Snoqualmie under Pat Kanim. Sanawa's authority was recognized by the Federal government. He lived until 1875 and was suceeded by his son John Senaa. The exercise of political influence was also carried out through informal leaders, community meetings and the cooperative effort necessary to construct and maintain community longhouses and communal religious ceremonies. The existence and maintenance of culturally and territorially distinct communities is further evidence that political influence through either formal or informal leaders or group decision-making processes was maintained throughout the latter part of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century.

The population of the distinct Snoqualmie settlements gradually dispersed after the turn of the century in response to economic pressures and by 1914 the settlements had largely ended. Some families remained at one of the settlements until the 1930's. Many families moved to Tulalip, Muckleshoot and other reservations in the first three decades of the 20th century. The Snoqualmie were consistently identified by the

Federal government as a distinct social community between 1914 and 1956. Most remained within the traditional Snoqualmie area, in neighboring areas, or on the reservations just to the north and south.

There continued to be a socially and culturally distinct social community even after the settlements ended. Kinship ties were close as a result of intermarriages. A substantial portion of the membership maintained cultural differences from non-Indians and continued to speak Snoqualmie. Authorities outside the Snoqualmie identified them as a distinct social community.

Between 1914 and 1916, a political reorganization of the Snoqualmie tribe took place under Jerry Kanim. Kanim was installed by the tribe as Head Chief in 1914 and led the establishment of a more formalized governing structure with an elected council and general membership meetings to elect officials and decide political issues. The Snoqualmie Tribe, as it was reorganized under Jerry Kanim was composed of three main elements. These were Upper Snoqualmie that had remained off-reservation, the Lake Sammamish community, and Lower Snoqualmie families centered around Jerry Kanim's kinship group. It also included many Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservation residents that were Snoqualmie.

Some Snoqualmie had moved onto the Tulalip Reservation in the 1870's and 1880's, reportedly forming a separate village from those of other tribes settled on the reservation. A number of Snoqualmies were allotted on the Tulalip Reservation between 1888 and 1909. Others moved to the Muckleshoot Reservation after 1900. Those who moved onto reservations did not immediately and automatically became a distinct social and political group from those residing off-reservation. The Snoqualmie Tribe and its leadership, as reorganized in 1914, included both reservation and non-reservation Snoqualmie.

There has continued to exist an off-reservation centered Snoqualmie political body from treaty times up until the present, notwithstanding the fact that over time many Snoqualmie families shifted residence and then social and political affilation to one of the recognized reservation tribes. The latter has largely occurred since the 1930's, with the organization of reservation governments under the Indian Reorganization Act. There was a major shift in enrollment around 1940, with many families enrolling with the reservations and dropping enrollment with the Snoqualmie tribe. There remains some degree of overlap of the Snoqualmie with the reservation tribes as to formal enrollment and also social and kinship ties with reservation Snoqualmie as well as with other reservation Indians.

Jerry Kanim provided strong political leadership, dealing extensively with the Federal government concerning hunting and fishing rights, and the need for a landbase as well as issues concerning the individual welfare of members. He was widely and knowledgeably recognized as an influential leader. From the beginning of his leadership to the end, he was closely allied with another leader, Ed Davis, an Indian Shaker Church minister originally from the Lake Sammamish community. Davis remained an important leader until his death in 1987.

Snoqualmie were no longer recognized by the Federal government after the period between 1955 and 1961. This was the result of policy changes in treatment of non-reservation tribes.

Chief Jerry Kanim died in 1956. After his death, Snoqualmie political activity lessened for about a decade. Kanim had not prepared a successor and many of his activities did not continue. There were no individuals considered eligible and qualified who were willing to accept the position of chief. Several important political figures remained, including Ed Davis. The general council continued to function as a decision-making and review body. The chairmanship position, which had existed during Kanim's tenure but was overshadowed by the chief's position, became the central political office. It did not immediately become a strongly influential position, however.

The chairman's position became a strongly influential one in 1968 with the election, for the first time since Kanim's death, of a strong figure, Robert Comenout. Another change in the Snoqualmie political system which led it to become more active was the large turnover in council positions around the same time. The election of a new chairman and the change in council positions was part of a movement by a younger generation to become politically active as many of the generation that had come in under Jerry Kanim died or became too old to serve.

Although the Snoqualmie again appointed a chief in 1986, the role is considerably different than that of Jerry Kanim or 19th century chiefs. It was not determined that the chief in fact plays a significant political role.

The general membership meeting has played a major role in Snoqualmie political processes from at least the 1960's to the present. It is the final arbiter of political issues and conflicts. The general council reviews tribal council decisions and also elects the chairman and the council members. Attendance at meetings ranges from 10 to 35 percent of the membership, depending in part on the importance of the issues to be discussed.
There is good evidence, consistent over a long period of time

(1960's to the present), that opinion and concern over the actions of the Snoqualmie leadership and the form of that leadership have existed at large among the membership. These have been evidenced from time to time by generational differences concerning the Snoqualmie leadership and the form of government.

Generational conflicts over political issues have been evident in Snoqualmie political processes since the 1968 election of Comenout. A strong demonstration of internal political influence occurred in 1980 when community opinion was mobilized to oust the chairman, whose behavior in this role violated community norms.

Hunting and fishing rights have been a consistent concern addressed by the Snoqualmie council and leadership throughout the period between 1956 and the present. Regaining hunting and fishing rights is one reason voiced for seeking Federal acknowledgment. It is likely that fishing remained an important part of Snoqualmie subsistence until World War II, and for some time later for some Snoqualmie. There is good evidence that public opinion among the Snoqualmie up until the present has remained strong concerning the loss of fishing rights.

Six major family lines and six minor lines, comprising about 77 percent of the membership, have been particularly active in Snoqualmie social interaction and political relationships. Within these family lines, participation in general council meetings was broadly distributed. These families are socially recognized as distinct units with differing characteristics and well-known histories of relationships with each other. Other family lines enrolled in the Snoqualmie are less active.

About one-fifth of the current membership participates in an Indian religion. Only a few individuals still speak Snoqualmie. There was limited evidence for the maintenance of other cultural differences from non-Indians.

Kinship ties between family groups rest on marriage ties created no later than the 1920's. Kinship ties are still a factor in social and political relationships but are presumed to have diminished in significance in comparison with previous eras because they are no longer as close. Marriage within the Snoqualmie was common until the 1920's and marriage with other Puget Sound Indians (a traditional practice) until the 1950's. Most marriages of the contemporary generation are with non-Indians.

There are no distinct Snoqualmie settlement areas. The great majority of the popuation lives within the area from Monroe on the north to Auburn on the south, east of Seattle. Social

interaction with non-Indians is extensive, with no barriers to intermarriage. Social interaction with other Puget Sound Indians is extensive, based in part on kinship relationships with them.

The Snoqualmie have maintained a membership requirement of 1/8 Snoqualmie blood. Most also have other local Indian ancestry, as a result of the traditional practice of intertribal marriage. Individuals of less than the required blood degree must be adopted. The blood degree and adoption rules and practices serve to establish a social boundary for membership.

I. Early Historical Contact to 1860

I.A Early Historical Background

The Snoqualmie have historically been located in the Puget Sound region of present-day western Washington state. First contact with Europeans was with the expedition of Captain George Vancouver in 1792. Extensive, sustained contact did not begin until 1833 when a trading post was established by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Nisqually at the southern end of Puget Sound. Extensive settlement by non-Indians in Puget Sound began in the late 1840's, with settlement in the inland areas occupied by the Snoqualmie being somewhat later.

The Snoqualmie are classified by anthropologists as Puget Sound or Southern Coast Salish, a subdivision of the Coast Salish. The Coast Salish comprise a group of linguistically and culturally closely related tribes who inhabited the Puget Sound region.

The descriptions in the following section of Snoqualmie social and political organization refer to the culture during the initial period of contact, the several decades preceding and including the treaty-making period of the 1850's. This will be referred to here as the "contact-traditional" culture, i.e., the traditional culture as influenced by the powerful forces of the earliest period of contact with Europeans. These influences include a sharp decline in population as a result of epidemic diseases, new trading opportunities, European technology, animals and crops, and probably increased raiding by Indian tribes to the north. Little is known concerning the truly "aboriginal" culture, and its character is not relevant for evaluation of the Snoqualmie under the acknowledgment regulations.

I.B Territory and Population

The Snoqualmie are a tribe who lived inland from Puget Sound, within the drainage of the Snoqualmie River above the point near Monroe where it joins the Skykomish River to form the Snohomish River. They also occupied the drainage of the Tolt River, a tributary of the Snoqualmie. At the time of the Point Elliott Treaty in 1855, Snoqualmie permanent winter settlements were located along the river, extending from the mouth of the Snoqualmie to above Snoqualmie Falls near the present city of North Bend, Washington (Baenen 1981, 443). However, the Snoqualmie tribe used and claimed the lands further upstream to Snoqualmie Pass as well, so that their territory formed an elongated rectangle which was oriented northwest by southeast and extended along both sides of the

Snoqualmie River. Within this area were several environmental zones providing a rich variety of natural resources.

The Indian Claims Commission, based on the findings of fact and the evidence of the record of the case, found that the lands exclusively used and occupied by the historic Snoqualmie Tribe included:

> Commencing at the northeast corner of the townsite of Monroe, Washington; thence southwesterly to the headwaters of Tuck Creek; thence south by southeasterly to the town of Kerriston, Washington; thence southeasterly to Annet Lake; thence northeasterly to Snoqualmie Pass; thence northwesterly to the mouth of the Creek on the east shore of Lake Hancock; thence northwesterly to and including all of Lake Hannan; thence northwestward to place of beginning (Indian Claims Commission 1960, 432).

Historical accounts describe the location and population of the Snoqualmie in the 1840's and 1850's. William F. Tolmie, chief trader of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Nisqually, included the Snoqualmie in a census of various Indian tribes taken in the autumn of 1844 (Tolmie 1844). Tolmie's census of the "Snoqualmook," said to be residing "between Olympia and Na-wau-kum River," lists 373 Snoqualmook including 122 men, 153 women, 65 boys, 25 girls and 8 slaves. Governor Joseph Lane, in an 1849 report on the number of Indians in Oregon, included 350 "Snoqualamick" living north of the Columbia River (Lane 1849).

In 1852, Mr. E.A. Starling reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that 225 "Snoqualamuk" lived on the "south fork of the Snohomish river, called the Snoqualamuke river" (Starling 1852). An 1853 report from the Steilacoom Barracks, Washington Territory, of a census of Indian tribes which came directly under its jurisdiction stated that there were 225 "Snoqualamick" living on the "south fork of the Snohomish river, called Snoqualamick river" (Jones 1853). In 1854 Governor Isaac Stevens compiled a census of the Indian tribes in Washington Territory west of the Cascade Mountains (Stevens 1855). Stevens listed 195 Snoqualmook living on the "South fork, Sinahomish river."

Also in 1854, George Gibbs filed a report on the Indian tribes of the Territory of Washington. In an estimate of Indian tribes in the Western district of Washington Territory, in January, 1854, Gibbs listed 195 "Snoqualmook" as living on the "South fork, north side of the Sinahomish river" (Gibbs 1967, 42). Gibbs also reported:

> Above the Clallams are the Chimakum, formerly one of the most powerful tribes of the Sound, but which, a few years since, is said to have been nearly destroyed at a blow by an attack of the Snoqualmoos.
>
> Above them [the Sinahomish tribe], and upon the main branch of the river, is another band, not under the same rule, the Snoqualmoos, amounting to about 200 souls. Their chief, Pat-ka-num, has rather an evil celebrity among the whites, and two of this brothers have been hung for their misdeeds (Gibbs 1972, 37-38).

Another report by Gibbs, written in 1855, though not published until 1877, gives a higher population figure. This report refers to the somewhat artificial groupings of Puget Sound groups under the Point Elliot Treaty (see below), stating:

> The Snohomish, with whom are included the Snokwalmu, Skiwhamish, Sk'tah-le-jum, Kwehtl-ma-mish, and Stolutswhamish, living on the Snohomish and Stolutswhamish Rivers. The Snohomish tribe itself occupies only the country at its mouth and the lower end of Whidbey Island; the upper part of the river belonging to the Snokwalmu, &c. They number 441 souls, and the other bands, collectively, 556. At the time of the treaty they were all placed under Patkanam, the chief of the latter. It is observable that though the connection between them is most intimate, the Snohomish assimilate in dialect to the next tribe, the Skagit, while the Snokwalmu speak the Niskwalli in its purity (Gibbs 1877, 179).

I.C Economy

The contact-traditional Snoqualmie settlements were located in two main regions, the upstream or "prairie" settlements above Snoqualmie Falls, and the downstream settlements below the falls. The prairie settlements were found along the Snoqualmie River's broad flood plain. These relatively level lands were conducive to agriculture, allowing the Snoqualmie to take up potato cultivation soon after European contact around 1800. Elk and black-tailed deer were numerous. Haeberlin and Gunther (1930, 4) reported that in summer the Snoqualmie went to Snoqualmie Prairie to gather roots and berries and hunted throughout the Cascade Mountains.

Salmon, the region's staple, did not migrate above the falls of the Snoqualmie, so that the prairie Snoqualmie had to

travel below the falls to fish for salmon. The prairie Snoqualmie used horses, which probably reached the region from the Great Basin during the later part of the 18th century. Horses were utilized to maintain trade with the Sahaptin-speaking peoples to the east.

The lower Snoqualmie living in downstream settlements relied extensively on fishing, especially all five species of Pacific salmon, which they trapped, netted, speared, and hooked in abundance during the spawning seasons. While they also gardened and gathered plants, their greater dependence on fish resources differentiated them from Snoqualmie living upriver (Lane 1973, 4).

I.D Southern Coast Salish Social Organization

Considerably more detail is available concerning the social organization of the Southern Coast Salish in general than for the Snoqualmie in particular. A general description of Southern Coast Salish social organization is provided below, followed by specific information on the Snoqualmie.

Southern Coast Salish social organization in the "contact-traditional" period was characterized by fishing-hunting-gathering as a subsistence base, nucleation of population in winter villages, dispersion of population in summer for subsistence activities, preferential marriage outside the village or tribe, bilateral kinship, hierarchical social classes, control of access to important natural resources and control over use and occupancy of the land.

Suttles and Lane describe the winter village as follows:

> The basic residential groupings were the village, the household, and the family. The village consisted of one or more big plank houses and perhaps one or more smaller structures; the household consisted of the families that shared a plank house during the winter; and the family consisted of the occupants of one section of the plank house. The family was usually a man and his wife or wives and their children, but it might include another unmarried relative or two and, for the wealthy, one or more slaves. (Suttles and Lane 1990, 493).

The household was composed of as many as ten nuclear families.

The winter villages of these fishing-hunting-gathering people were economic and social units, centered around longhouses, and situated along the rivers (Suttles and Lane 1990, 493-

495). During the winter, populations were nucleated, subsistence activities were at a minimum, and religious and ceremonial activities were at a maximum (Guilmet 1991, 3). Certain ceremonial forms (feasting, gift-giving, the winter spirit dance, the potlatch) involved a number of village communities. Winter was the season for "intra- and inter-settlement ceremonies and manufacturing tasks" (Lane 1973, 8). While some ceremonies might be shared with other villages, the settlements basically acted autonomously, according to Lane.

Spring and summer residence was dispersed and seminomadic as families exploited a broad range of resource areas within a wide territory (Guilmet 1991, 3). Important foods included several varieties of salmon and other fish, animals hunted in the surrounding forests, collected vegetable materials, and traded food stuffs. The Snoqualmie, living inland, were perhaps more affected by seasonal variations in the availability of resources than coastal, saltwater groups (Baenen 1981, 445).

Inter- and intra-tribal trade networks existed throughout the Puget Sound area. These extensive trade networks redistributed foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods not available locally (Lane 1973, 2).

Lane (1973, 8) also notes that the native societies in western Washington had a hierarchical "class" system with an "upper class, commoners, and slaves." Tolmie's 1844 census, of the Snoqualmie, indicates that the Snoqualmie had eight slaves (Gibbs 1967, 40; Tolmie 1855).

Class was expressed in the ceremonial potlatch and in marriage alliances. Upper class individuals both gave and received a greater number of goods at potlatches than did commoners, and participated more in ceremonial activities. They also attempted to marry individuals of similar or higher rank. According to Elmendorf (1960, 356), who has written extensively on Southern Coast Salish, status within the local group very much depended on the character of one's own and/or family's inter-village and intergroup relationships. Forging a number of alliances with families in other villages and participating in inter-village ceremonies was a means to gain in status.

Widespread marriage alliances enabled prominent families or leaders to consolidate or expand their influence not only within their own group but also with surrounding tribes. They utilized the alliances between kin groups which had been formalized by marriages to provide a path of relationships along which goods, resources and aid could be shared and extended. In this way kinship and marriage ties underwrote

the system of intra- and intertribal trade networks in which resources and items not readily available in one environment became available throughout the region in a regional exchange system (Lane 1973, 2).

Suttles, in describing the social organization of the Coast Salish in general states that, "It appears that at the time of white settlement the whole area formed a social continuum within which the village was only one of several equally important social groupings." He further states that villages were composed of a group of houses "occupying a short stretch of beach or river bank and sharing a common name and identification with territory." He notes, however, that nonlocalized, property-holding kinship groups, or their head, rather than any of the territorial groups, "owned the most important ceremonial rights and the most productive natural resources" (Suttles 1963, 513).

Suttles goes on to describe the network of social relationships that extended throughout the region, stating that:

> ...the village was certainly not a self-contained social unit. Individual and family ties were as strong between villages as within the village. Individual and family status was as dependent upon ties of marriage and kinship with other villages as upon economic rights and traditional identity with one's own village (Suttles 1963, 513).

Historical accounts provide confirmation of the ethnographic descriptions. Gibbs describes the character of ties between tribes based on intermarriage, stating:

> Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives among other tribes than their own--whether from motives of policy or an indistinct idea of physiological propriety, it is difficult to say; more probably the former. It seems to be a matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. The expression, "I am half Snokwalmu, half Klikatat," or some similar one, is of everyday utterance. With the chiefs, this is almost always the case (Gibbs 1877, 197).

Jones' 1853 report provides a different perspective on kinship ties, also noting the importance of ties to the home village:

> Ties of blood seem with them to be exceedingly strong. Members of the same family, however distantly related, claim the hospitality of each

> other whenever they happen to meet, and it is rarely refused. Their attachment to the place of their nativity is very marked, and they always seek to return to the home of their birth to pass the last days of life (Jones 1853, 7).

Gibbs reporting on the property concepts of the tribes of western Washington stated that:

> As far as I can gather the views of the Sound tribes, they recognize no individual right to land except actual occupancy....Tribes are, however, somewhat tenacious of territorial right, and well understand their respective limits; but this seems to be merely as regards their title, and they never, it is believed, exclude from them other friendly tribes. It would appear also that these lands are considered to survive to the last remnant of a tribe, after its existence as such has in fact ceased (Gibbs 1877, 186).

Suttles describes "tribes" for the North Coast subdivision of the Coast Salish as being "generally composed of several villages occupying a longer stretch of shoreline or a drainage area [than a village] and sharing a common name and, to some extent, forms of speech, subsistence methods, and ceremonial procedures" (Suttles 1963, 513). A similar definition can be applied to other Coast Salish. A more specific characterization of the Snoqualmie as a tribe is provided in the following section.

The nature and extent of political authority, and the degree of formal organization of political leadership among the Coast Salish has been subject to varying interpretations, even by the same ethnographers writing at different points in time. Different positions are taken concerning whether village or tribal level leaders existed in a formal sense, as opposed to more informal, leadership based on specific tasks and situations and as also opposed to influence by heads of kinship groups that were not territorially localized.

According to a 1973 report by Lane, there is little evidence that political leadership existed above the level of household head (Lane 1973, 8). She states, "native Coast Salish political organization in the Puget Sound area was not well understood by non-Indians" (Lane 1973, 14). She also states that leaders were difficult to identify, and that although "they clearly existed, yet there were no village chiefs nor was any man chief over more than one village" (Lane 1973, 15). In another report she states, "The winter village had no 'head chief' or 'village council.'" Lane states that leadership and authority tended to be task-oriented with the appropriate

specialist exerting authority according to the occasion, whether leading a hunting trip, communal fish drive, raiding foray, or ceremony (Lane 1973, 8).

Suttles provides a similar view, stating that:

> within a winter village, people might co-operate in food-getting, exchange labor, and join in potlatching and mutual defense, but they were not obliged to do so by any formal village organization. There was no office of village chief and no village council. Cooperation was *ad hoc*. Leadership was for specific purposes and exercised by virtue of specific skills, property rights, or supposed superhuman powers (Suttles 1963, 513).

Specific statements about Snoqualmie leadership are discussed in the following section.

Elsewhere, and more recently, however, Lane and Suttles state that "the wealthiest house head was the acknowledged leader of the village" (Suttles and Lane 1990, 494). This is in accord with some other writers on Coast Salish social organization who conclude that political leadership, while somewhat dispersed and informal, did include specific leaders of territorial units (Riley n.d.).

Statements made by contemporary observers provide additional evidence concerning leadership during the treaty period. Simmons in a 1858 report comments about the nature of "chiefs" in the western Washington area. He states that a head chief does not have the influence that a chief should have and "this is a characteristic of all the Indians west of the Cascade mountains," and "there are none that actually deserve the name of chief" (Simmons 1858, 232-33).

According to Lane (1973, iv), Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens was instructed by the Federal Government to make as few treaties as possible and to quickly extinguish Indian title to the land. Lane holds that Stevens was told to unite what was thought to be 40 or 50 separate bands into six or eight large tribes and to appoint chiefs of the large units in order to obtain their signatures on the treaties of land cession (Lane 1973, iv). Stevens and his assistant Simmons, according to Lane, chose the head chiefs and the subchiefs and other leaders. Men were selected sometimes with the aid of the head chiefs (Lane 1973, 28). The appointment of these chiefs, according to Lane, has obscured understanding of pre-treaty leadership among the Southern Coast Salish, tending to make historians and anthropologists assume that leadership over village and tribal units was a pre-treaty phenomenon.

However, it appears that the individuals "chosen" by Stevens, while probably not occupying political positions as broad and as definite as his designations would have them, were also not randomly chosen but reflected a pre-existing degree of political influence. The evidence relating to the Snoqualmie indicates that this was true for the Snoqualmie leader, Pat Kanim, who was a clearly identifiable leader for at least for 10 years preceding the treaty. Specific evidence concerning Pat Kanim's leadership is discussed in the following section. It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss whether leadership on the tribal level for the Snoqualmie existed before the period of significant contact with non-Indians. Tollefson and Pennoyer, the authors of the narrative section for the 1986 documented Snoqualmie petition, have presented a model for the Snoqualmie political system for the time just before and after the Treaty of Point Elliott that differs from that of most ethnographers of the area and from the interpretations outlined above. Their model is of a highly centralized and formalized political system. They outline "Three distinct levels of political organization: the village; the district; and the chiefdom" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 1).

It is not the purpose of this review to resolve the issue of the exact nature of early Coast Salish political structure since the acknowledgment regulations do not require demonstration of a particular form of political organization but only that political influence or authority is being exercised. Further, the report will specifically address the available information on the tribal level of organization of the Snoqualmie, and the historical evidence concerning its operation at a given point in time.

I.E Snoqualmie Villages

By one estimate, before treaty times there were some 18 Snoqualmie winter villages scattered at various places in the Snoqualmie River Valley. There were a total of about 58 Snoqualmie longhouses in these villages. The largest village was located at modern-day Fall City, in lower Snoqualmie territory, where approximately 18 houses stood (Martin 1933). A different estimate is that of Barbara Lane, who concluded that "In 1855 there were perhaps between 20 and 30 different villages in the Snoqualmie watershed" (Lane 1975b, 87). She identified the two largest villages as those at Tolt and Fall City (Lane 1975a, 29). Lane outlined these villages based on testimony taken in the 1920's from Ed Davis, a leader of the Snoqualmie from as early as 1914 until his death in 1987 (see section III.A and VI.G) and Watson Martin, also a leader in the 20th century (Lane 1975a, 27).

I.F Snoqualmie Political Organization in the Treaty and Immediate Pre-Treaty Era

Army Lieutenant Floyd Jones noted specifically concerning the Snoqualmie and their leadership in 1853 that:

> The organization of all these tribes, as I have said, is exceedingly imperfect, and in many of them it is difficult to ascertain whom they regard as the chief or head man. In some, however, I found that they have but a single leader, whose authority they all acknowledge. This is particularly the case with the Snoqualmish, a well-organized and restless tribe residing on the Snoqualmish river. Their chief Pat-cha-nim, is a wily, shrewd fellow, and they are better able to give us trouble than any other tribe on the Sound. They subsist more than any other tribe by the chase, and many of them are well skilled in the use of fire-arms. It is this tribe that had difficulty with the Puget's Sound Company in 1849 (Jones 1853, 6).

This indicates a single, overall leader (see also discussion of other evidence of this in the following section).

Lane has given a clear characterization of the tribal organization of the Snoqualmie that they were a single, distinct unit, although she concluded they were not a political one in the sense of having an overall leader. She stated that "All spoke the same dialect or the same language, and they all had similar culture, and they were intimately related by marriage and other kinds of ties, and they cooperated in one way or another for particular purposes, but they didn't constitute a single political organization or single political structure until they were so treated by the U.S." She notes that are group now considered part of the Snoqualmie, "the Sk-tah-le-jum, a Tolt River group of Snoqualmie," were separately named in the list of tribes in the preamble of the Point Elliot Treaty (Lane 1973, 10). This suggests that this group may have been somewhat distinct, probably politically, from the rest of the Snoqualmie tribe in the sense of tribe described by Lane above.

Lane elsewhere does note the existence of leaders over more than village. She notes that those from the Snoqualmie Falls area (Upper Snoqualmie) were under the leadership of one man, while those from villages around Tolt (Lower Snoqualmie) were under the leadership of a different man (Lane 1975b, 87). She stated further that there were "leading men who had authority and had followings" but stressed that some forms of political authority might cross-cut village lines, a reference to non-localized kinship units that exercised control over important

economic resources.

I.G Snoqualmie Political Leadership in the Treaty and Immediate Pre-treaty Era

Pat Kanim:

Patkedib, later Pat Kanim, was considered by representatives of the United States to represent the Snoqualmie and other tribes when he signed the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott (Kappler 1904, 420). The signatures of the Snoqualmie representative on the treaty included, "Pat-Ka-nam, Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish, and other tribes, his X mark," and Squush-um, or the Smoke, Slat-eah-ka-nam, St'hua-ai, and John Kanam, Subchiefs of Snoqualmoo Tribe; Do-queh-oo-satl, Klemsh-ka-nam, Noo-heh-oos, Hwek-uk, Yim-ka-dam, Luch-al-kanam, S'hoot-kanam, Sme-a-kanam, Sad-zis-keh, members of Snoqualmoo Tribe.

Historical references to Pat Kanim as Snoqualmie chief predate the 1855 treaty and the negotiations preceding it. As noted above, Jones characterized Pat Kanim as the chief of the Snoqualmish, singling him out as an example of a leader whose authority was acknowledged by an entire tribe and characterizing the Snoqualmie as a "well-organized tribe" (Jones 1853). George Gibbs in his 1855 report on "Indian Tribes of Washington Territory" mentions that there were about 200 Snoqualmie who were headed by Pat Kanim (Gibbs 1967, 432).

Pat Kanim lived around Tolt. In a deposition taken in 1923, Bill Kanim (Pat Kanim's nephew) states, "Pat Kanim's old home was away up there by Tolt. Salmon used to be good up there. The Indians have a house up there. That is the place where they drive the salmon. Pat Kanim claimed that place" (Bill Kanim 1923).

Between 1843 and 1847, Pat Kanim emerged as an important leader of the Snoqualmie, with regional influence beyond the Snoqualmie as well. There is clear evidence that Kanim was a recognized leader by Indians as well as non-Indians. The exact extent and nature of Pat Kanim's authority is not clear, and it appears to have changed over time. He may have had strong authority as a recognized leader, or "chief," or have exercised influence more as an eloquent spokesman who, by persuasive speech, was able to mobilize individuals and/or families from his and other tribes for specific purposes.

Indian wars broke out in the Puget Sound area in 1855 as a result of the increased settlement by Americans immediately before the treaty signings. During this conflict (1855-58), Pat Kanim, who only a few years before had urged his fellow

Indians to attack Fort Nisqually, was employed by the Federal government to fight other Indians. Michael T. Simmons, Indian Agent of Puget Sound, reported that Pat Kanim and 60 warriors took to the field and fought the rebellion's leader Leschi, who led 150 followers. The Indians who fought under Kanim at times included warriors from other tribes. On one occasion, Pat Kanim was reported to be accompanied by 175 of his own people and 75 Skequamsh allies (Phelps 1970, 41).

There is also specific evidence of Pat Kanim's influence as a speaker. In 1848, he attended an intertribal council at Penn's Point on Whidbey Island to discuss possible responses by the local tribes to European encroachment in the area. This meeting was very large, including some 8,000 Indians according to A.B. Rabbeson's account (Rabbeson 1848). Pat Kanim, whom Rabbeson identified as Snohomish, delivered the first speech. In it he urged those present to combine, attack, and destroy the Hudson's Bay Company station at Nisqually at the southern end of Puget Sound. Promising that the warriors could divide the post's goods and stock, Kanim encouraged them to kill or drive off the "King George" men. There is no documentary evidence that such an attack ocurred. Later, at negotiations for the Treaty of Point Elliott, Pat Kanim was also one of the speakers.

There is some evidence that Pat Kanim eventually lost some of his prestige and power, apparently over the issue of whether to support the Americans against the Indian rebellion. While Pat Kanim was visiting the Snoqualmie up the Snoqualmie River in November 1855, he attempted to convince various disaffected Indian leaders to join with the Americans and to return with him downstream. A letter written by a military officer at a fort on the Snohomish River reports that Kanim had problems controlling his people and that Kanim, who was at the post, was afraid to return to the Snoqualmie upriver (Hansen 1982, 26, 32).

In November 1856, Indian Agent Nathan D. Hill's monthly report to Governor Isaac Stevens stated that Pat Kanim was making himself quite "obnoxious" to a large number of his people, and Hill said that this would eventually result in Kanim's being disowned by the majority and probably killed. Hill added that he would support Kanim in his authority as long as he were to use it rightly (Hill 1856d).

The January 21, 1859, issue of the Olympia, Washington, Pioneer and Democrat Newspaper reported that in the previous months Pat Kanim and John Taylor, who were described as "chiefs of the Snoqualmie," had died. Thus Pat Kanim died before Congress ratified the Point Elliott Treaty on March 8, 1859.

Sanawa:

In addition to Pat Kanim as overall leader of the Snoqualmie, the historical record refers to a specific leader of the prairie or Upper Snoqualmie. The name of this leader, Sanawa, does not appear among the Snoqualmie signatories to the Point Elliott treaty, but is listed by Nathan Hill in 1856 as a subchief to Pat Kanim (Hill 1856a). Although there are other names of Snoqualmie "chiefs" or "subchiefs," as designated by the whites, in the documentary record of this period, Sanawa is the only clearly defined leader of a subgroup of the Snoqualmie at the time. Little is known about the others mentioned, such as those who signed the treaty. Sanawa's role is well-described, however (Martin, 1926).

The relationship between Sanawa and Pat Kanim isn't entirely clear. Watson Martin, a nephew of Sanawa, testified in 1927 that there had been two head chiefs of the Snoqualmie, Pat Kanim from Tolt on down and Sanawa from Tolt up (Watson Martin 1927). A granddaughter of Sanawa phrased it that Pat Kanim was "head chief and Sanawa was chief of the Upper Snoqualmies" (McDevitt 1961, 29).

Regardless of the possibly broader extent of Pat Kanim's authority, Sanawa appears at points to act independently, e.g., in refusing to move his band to a temporary reservation in 1856. Like Pat Kanim, however, he was allied with the Americans during the Indian rebellion that began in 1855 and lasted until 1858. In 1855, when the disturbances broke out in western Washington, the Federal government tried to speed up the process of placing the treaty Indians on reservations and away from the seat of war (Stevens 1855b). Sanawa, when ordered to bring his Snoqualmies to Whidbey Island in March 1856, refused to do so. He sent out a message saying that there was a lot of land in his area and if the whites wanted to come and live near him that was all right, but he was not interested in moving to a reservation (Simmons 1858, 234). Jim Graham, a Snoqualmie born at Tolt before the treaty, testified that Pat Kanim's people went to the reservation but that Sanawa's did not because he kept them where they were (Senaa, Senaa and others 1926). According to a 1926 affidavit there were eight longhouses in Sanawa's village (Martin 1926).

In 1858 Michael T. Simmons, Indian Agent, reported:

> There is a portion of the Indians of my district whose homes are high up on the rivers, principally on the Nisqually, Puyallup, and Snoqualmie....Part of those Indians--those living on the Nisqually and Puyallup--were the most formidable we had to contend against during the late war. The others,

the Snoqualmies, were our faithful allies, particularly Son-a-wa and his band.

On the Snoqualmie river, above its falls, is a tract of prairie country supposed to contain some ten thousand acres. This is the country of the Son-a-wa, an old chief nearly related to the Klikatats. During our past Indian difficulties he was our firm friend, and then expressed a desire that white people should settle in his country. Until this spring no one has thought it prudent to move there. Now, however, two men have gone at his request and taken claims.

Mr. J.H. Van Bokkelin, deputy collector of customs, writes me upon the subject as follows: "Son-a-wa and the other Indians tell them that they want the whites to settle there; that they can take all the prairies but a small one, and he wants the 'Bostons' to reserve that for him and his family and allow no person to take it from him."

This old man Son-a-wa I consider one of the very best Indians in my district; you see how modest his requests are, and yet neither I nor any other person here can secure to him this small patch of ground for his potatoes to grow in. He doubtless thinks he is the rightful owner of all ten thousand acres, but is willing to claim only one; and in all probability he will be kicked off of that before the crop now in the ground is ready to harvest (Simmons 1858, 224, 234-235).

II. Post-Treaty to Early 1900's

II.A Population Movements to Reservations

The Treaty of Point Elliott provided, among other things, for the cession of land. In return, the tribes not only would be assured certain rights including hunting and fishing in accustomed places, but in addition land would be set aside exclusively for their use. It was initially planned to eventually concentrate all of the Indians on one reservation, at Tulalip Bay. Other, temporary reservations under the treaty, at Swinomish, Lummi and elsewhere, were eventually made permanent. In September, 1860, condemnation of Tulalip lands under the treaty began and in 1861 the Tulalip Agency was created (Buchanan 1917). The first annuity goods under the treaty were issued in the following month to 2,300

Indians, including Snoqualmie (Lane 1975a, 5).

Agent Robert C. Fay, who traveled constantly to visit the Indians because they were scattered all over the country and continually on the move, described the way of life of the area Indians in June 1860. He stated:

> ...the Indians say that liquor is a problem because bad Bostons [traders] bring it, and if they bring it they can not help but drink it. Potato production is down to half the quantity raised in former years. The Indians [are] getting into the habit of working for the farmers during harvest securing their pay in wheat, pease, Turnips and Potatoes thereby furnishing themselves with food by their labor ... instead of raising it themselves. They also work for money for land ... purchase flour, bread, and Molasses especially about the settlements. Last winter was [a] very hard winter for them. Many of them [are] destitute of food and clothing. I assisted some of the sick and aged that came to me for assistance but they were not many in comparison to the numbers who really needed it. Every little tribe or band wants the reservation on their land and do not like to move from it. The Indians are rapidly decreasing in numbers, owing probably to the too free use of strychnine [sic] whiskey, and the exposure of many of them (Fay 1860).

In the fall of 1861, the Tulalip superintendent commented that, a few days before a recent visit, the Indians had received their annuities and all had then left the reservation except for a few at the Catholic mission. Wage employment also contributed to the Indians' reluctance to move onto the reservations. The superintendent wrote:

> These Indians ... do not care to remain on the reservation, but scatter after payment to the various portions of the sound where they have always lived, and worked for the whites as servants and as laborers at various avocations (Kendall 1862, 305).

Two years later in 1864, Agent Howe at Tulalip stated that the Indians "had shown more disposition this past year to reside on the reservation than ever before," but that that they couldn't be expected to adopt new habits all at once (Howe 1864, 213).

However, in 1877, Mallet, Special Agent for the Tulalip Agency reported, "Fewer than one-half of the Indians live on the

reservation; whole tribes have persistently refused to remove to the reservations assigned to them" (Mallet 1877, 198). According to an 1875 document, the Tulalip agent was pressuring the Indians in the area to settle on the reservation. This document, a petition signed by 13 Indians, unidentified as to tribe, requested the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting him to direct the agent to leave them unmolested because they were content to stay where they were living and working at that time (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 238).

One reason for resistance to moving to the reservations was that reservations such as Tulalip were outside the traditional territory of many tribes, such as the Snoqualmie, and also in a different economic environment. Tulalip was located in traditional Snohomish territory, and included the site of a traditional Snohomish village (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930). The Snohomish lived along the Snohomish River and the mouth of this river is just to the southeast of Priest Point which is in the southeast corner of Tulalip Reservation. Lane (1975a, 7) cites Indian Agent Simmon's opinion given in 1858 that the upriver Snoqualmie and similar tribes would not join harmoniously with the "salt water" tribes.

Although it was contemplated by the treaty that the Snoqualmie were to move to the Tulalip Reservation, Indian agents in 1856 and 1858, even prior to the creation of that reservation, had recommended that a separate reservation for Snoqualmie Indians under the leadership of Sanawa be established (Simmons 1858, 235).

Many, probably the majority, of the Snoqualmie remained off-reservation in the decades between the establishment of the Tulalip Reservation in 1861 and 1900. The off-reservation settlements are described in the following section. According to later testimony, Sanawa kept the Upper Snoqualmie from moving to the reservation. He is reported to have told the people that they had a reservation there (Senaa, Senaa and others 1926). The Tulalip agent in 1917 stated that that some Snoqualmie refused to go onto reservations and that many at that time lived along the Snoqualmie River Valley, where some had taken public domain allotments (Buchanan 1917).

Some Snoqualmie did move to Tulalip during the decades after the establishment of the reservation. Before the reservation was allotted, the Snoqualmie are reported to have had a separate village at what is now Totem Beach on Tulalip Bay (Buchanan 1917; Dover 1975, 351). Allotment began in the 1880's. The 1880 Federal census shows some Snoqualmie were then living on the Tulalip Reservation (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 310-11). These include Pat Kanim's two sons, Louis and Bob. Others from the Pat Kanim line had also moved to

Tulalip. Agency records show that Bob Kanim received pay as a reservation policeman. But there were more Snohomish on the reservation than any other group (see below), and Snoqualmie probably made up only a small fraction of the total Tulalip population.

Although Tulalip Reservation was originally intended as the reservation for all of the tribes in western Washington, it came to be predominantly inhabited by Snohomish in the decades after it was established. In 1890, Agent Talbott reported that there were 144 families at Tulalip, presumably residing on the reservation and not merely falling within its jurisdiction (Talbott 1890). The Tulalip Reservation was allotted between 1883 and 1909, with essentially all of the available land being allotted (Buchanan 1914). By 1915, after all of the Tulalip lands had been allotted, approximately 23 percent of the allotments had been given to individuals who were principally Snoqualmie in ancestry as compared to 44 percent of the allotments which were given to Snohomish (Lane 1975b). The balance were from many other groups, including the Duwamish, Stillaquamish, Skagit, Puyallup, Kickiallis, Tkwaythbubsh, Pilchook, Claclayous, Clallam, Nisqually, Sktahlejim, and Skaywhahmish. The Snohomish are the largest portion of the present membership (Dover 1975, 396).

There is some evidence of Snoqualmie leaders on the Tulalip Reservation in this period, through the first decade of the 20th century. Bob Kanim was listed as part of a five-chief petition to Washington in 1890, the others being Snohomish or other tribes (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 311). A Snoqualmie is also listed among leaders at a reservation council in 1903 (Tulalip Indians 1903), although not specifically designated as a Snoqualmie leader. Testimony in U.S. v. Washington in 1975 also indicated there were Snoqualmie leaders on the reservation in this period, among them Jim Snoqualmie, Bill Kanim and possibly Bill Steve. The testimony does not provide any specific details about their leadership (Dover 1975, 364). There was no indication in the limited available materials that these were specifically designated by the Federal Government as Snoqualmie leaders. In contrast, Federal Government specifically recognized Snohomish chiefs on the Tulalip Reservation in the latter 19th century. These included Club Shelton from 1862-77 and Charles Jules, beginning in 1883 and extending well into the 20th century (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 311).

II.B Snoqualmie Off-Reservation Settlements and Economic Changes 1860 to 1914

At the time of Pat Kanim's death, the Snoqualmie were living in their villages along the Snoqualmie River. Within a fairly

short time, during the 1860's, the Snoqualmie settlements were disrupted by white settlers. Sanawa's granddaughter testified that the "white people come and shoot at them and everything else, order them out of there, their villages houses" (McDevitt 1961, 29). Watson Martin gave more detailed testimony in 1926, stating that the whites took the land and "used it because it was already cleared." He described specific acts, stating that John Senaa was driven way from the Tolt River, and that other settlements that the Snoqualmie were driven away from were the big Fall City village, settlements at Tokul Creek and Raging River, and several others (quoted in Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 207).

The Snoqualmie were able to reestablish distinct settlements within a fairly short time. Three primary settlement areas emerged. One was in the Upper Snoqualmie area, including a settlement named Meadowbrook. A second was in the Lower Snoqualmie area, in the area of the aboriginal villages at Tolt and Fall City. A third settlement was formed in the 1870's at Lake Sammamish, adjacent to but outside traditional Snoqualmie territory. This settlement incorporated some Duwamish, with whom the Snoqualmie there were intermarried. These settlements were centered on areas where wage work was available.

Although wage work had quickly became important, subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering continued to be economically important well into the 20th century. Snoqualmie found work as loggers and hoppickers especially. It is not clear whether there was a significant decline in the overall Snoqualmie population, although such a decline was characteristic of the Puget Sound Indian population between 1860 and 1900.

The 1870 census listed Sanawa as head chief of the Snoqualmie Tribe. The tribe was enumerated at 301 individuals, including 133 men, 95 women, and 73 children (Lane 1975a, 9-10). Lane concludes from the nature of the census that the count referred to off-reservation Snoqualmie only.

Tollefson and Pennoyer report that sometime between 1865 and 1870 several Snoqualmie families moved to the mouth of Cedar River at the southern tip of Lake Washington to work for settlers clearing land. Soon after their arrival, they constructed a large cedar-plank ceremonial longhouse to hold their winter dances and provide shelter during the cold weather (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 209). The families that relocated included the Davis, Jack, and Bill families. This area is within traditional Duwamish territory.

George Davis, who married a Duwamish woman in the 1860's, is reported by Tollefson and Pennoyer to have then moved into his wife's community on the lower Cedar River. It is not clear

whether this was a different community than the one described above. The Zacheus (Zackuse) family, another Snoqualmie family with Duwamish links, also worked in the area.

In the Upper Snoqualmie area, a Snoqualmie village named Meadowbrook grew up near the farm of Jeremiah Borst, a white man who moved into the Snoqualmie Valley in the late 1850's and subsequently had several marriages to Snoqualmie women (cf. below). Snoqualmie were attracted by the wage-labor opportunities in the area. Many of the Indians living in Meadowbrook worked on the Borst farm clearing land and later, when the hop farming was introduced, they cultivated and picked hops. Tollefson and Pennoyer estimate Meadowbrook was occupied for about 25 years, or about 1870 to 1895. It was reported in 1890 to be the largest Indian village in the Snoqualmie Valley, with 100 or more Indians (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244). At Meadowbrook certain elements of contact-traditional life such as winter ceremonies, guardian spirit dances, traditional households, and subsistence activities persisted. There were reportedly two ceremonial longhouses at Meadowbrook and another at a second Snoqualmie settlement at nearby Tanner.

Two homesteads under Indian homestead laws were gained by the Upper Snoqualmie in the prairie area. These were located adjacent to or near Meadowbrook and the Borst lands (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244; Lane 1991, 4). In 1881, Yenatco, a grandson of Chief Sanawa, applied for land neighboring the Borst homestead. Yenatco was an older brother of Watson, Lyman, and Ida Martin, important Snoqualmie members in the 20th century. Also in 1881, Moses Kamowis secured a homestead opposite the Yenatco homestead. His son George Moses inherited this land and members of the Moses family remain one of the major Snoqualmie families today. Part of the Moses Kamous lands are now in fee status and part is in Federal trust as Indian land (Lane 1991, 5). Jeremiah Borst assisted Ye-nat-co in obtaining his homestead and probably assisted Moses Kamous in his homestead application since the applications of these two Indians were for lands close to each other and both patents were issued the same day.

Jeremiah Borst staked out a claim for 152.75 acres about two and one half miles above Snoqualmie Falls on the north side of the Snoqualmie River in the late 1850's and in 1867 was issued a patent (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 240; Lane 1991, 3). In 1875 he acquired a homestead patent on 148.20 acres across the river from his existing patent (Lane 1991, 3). Borst married a Snoqualmie woman, Mina, and had a daughter, Alice Borst (Rachor 1917). Upon Mina's death in 1870 (Krischel 1917), Borst married another Snoqualmie woman, Kate Kanim, who was half sister of Jerry Kanim, the man who became chief of the Snoqualmie in 1914 (Lane 1991, 4). Thus Borst, who became a

wealthy landowner in the Upper Snoqualmie area, established close relations with the tribe.

A Snoqualmie settlement was established on the east side of Lake Sammamish, in traditionally Duwamish territory, just west of the traditional Snoqualmie area sometime in the 1870's (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 212). The families were attracted by wage work which was provided by hop farms that existed between the 1860's and 1890's and by logging. The settlement eventually included the Davis and Zacheus (Zackuse) families, that had been on Cedar River in the 1860's. Other settlers included Johnnie Louie, Dr. Bill, Jim Graham, Julie Side, Charlie Monohan, Tom Josh and others. Several of these families, such as the Siddles, were had Duwamish as well as Snoqualmie ancestry, and some couples may have been Snoqualmie married to Duwamish. Some, like Jim Graham, were Upper Snoqualmie. Individual family houses rather than a traditional communal longhouse were built. However, the community subsequently jointly constructed a longhouse for ceremonial purposes. This was occupied for a four to six week ceremonial dancing season.

Tollefson and Pennoyer report that the lower Snoqualmie in the valley along the Snoqualmie River below Snoqualmie Falls were less economically successful than in the other two areas. They state that the Snoqualmie in the lower valley were more dispersed than was the case with the Upper Snoqualmie and Lake Sammamish areas. Four families are named, that of Jerry Kanim, as well as the Peter, Entrasol, and Purser families. However, their report also refers to post-treaty longhouses at Tolt as well as "Tolt Johnny's longhouse" on the Raging River near Fall City (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 257). These are described as being some of the longhouses among which the Snoqualmie made their ceremonial rounds, meeting in different years in different settlements (see below) (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 244). It is possible that post-treaty settlements were initially formed but later become dispersed.

Regular Federal census returns for 1870, 1880 and 1900 do not indicate these Snoqualmie settlements, showing only a few Snoqualmie individuals in these areas (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880, 1900). Special Federal Indian census schedules, not reviewed for this report, may show families not listed on the regular schedule. Other documentary sources make clear that there were a large number of Snoqualmie in these areas. Affidavits taken by Agent Charles Roblin in 1916 and 1917 from individual Snoqualmie make reference to parents and grandparents living in Tolt, Fall City and the similar areas in the 1870's and 1880's (see Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 316-17; Roblin 1911-1919).

As the century closed, the Snoqualmie were living in three main areas off-reservation: the prairie, below Snoqualmie Falls and at Lake Sammamish. An additional number were resident on the Tulalip Reservation, with some probably on the Muckleshoot Reservation.

According to oral histories, the Snoqualmie participated in winter ceremonial activities at the ceremonial longhouses located at Tolt and Fall City and, after the move to Lake Sammamish, at the longhouse that was established there. Moses Kamous, whose homestead was near the Meadowbrook Snoqualmie settlement, lived in a longhouse. In this house the beds lined the walls with the center open for ceremonial dancing; winter ceremonial dancing was held in the Moses house between 1880-1911. Each year during the winter ceremonial season the Snoqualmie would meet, meeting in different years at different longhouses. At the end of the winter ceremonial dancing season, it would be decided where to meet the following year (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 235).

Dwenar Forgue (b. 1898) describes attending, as a young girl of 8 or 10, gatherings of the Lake Sammamish community, and also intertribal gatherings. The exact nature of these is not clear from her description, but some appear to be social and/or ceremonial in nature:

> When I was young, we used to have the gatherings. Well, my mother used to have gatherings at her house at certain times. I went myself when I was younger. And then, when I was real small, the Indians along Lake Sammamish had their gatherings. The first one I went to was my grandpa's, George Davis, around 1905. He had the great big log house and great big kitchen. George Davis' place used to have a Snoqualmie long house on it. About six families lived there. That's across the creek from where Ed Davis lives now.
>
> The next gathering place was real small and my grandmother used to take us there, maybe a week at a place. This was before Jerry Kanim was chief, but after Pat Kanim was gone. That's when they had the gatherings along the lake there.
>
> All the tribes gathered for potlatches at Green Lake and different places....Sometimes we'd go to Tulalip and sometimes to Muckleshoot, Marymoor. Marymoor was a regular campground for the Indians.
>
> I know different tribes used to come in the fall when the red fish come and they used to stay with use at Lake Sammamish and catch their limit, what

they wanted to dry (Forgue 1978, 1,2,5).

Forgue also described what appear to have been political meetings. She stated that when she was seven or eight, "all the Indians would go to Carnation to talks" (Forgue 1978, 7).

The genealogies of present Snoqualmie members indicate that before 1900 marriages between Snoqualmies were common and there were also many marriages with members of other area tribes, following traditional cultural patterns. Marriages with non-Indians were uncommon before 1900 (see section III.F below).

II.C Leadership and Political Process

Chief Sanawa survived until at least 1870, when he was listed on a Bureau of Indian Affairs census (as "Son-a-wa) as chief of the Snoqualmie Tribe (Lane 1975a, 10). Sanawa died around 1875 (Liza Sam testimony). Oral histories record that he was succeeded by his son, John Senaa (also known as John Skadaway) (Lane 1975a, 15). Watson Senaa (Martin), John Senaa's nephew, testified in the 1920's that John Senaa had become chief after Sanawa had died (Senaa, Senaa and others 1927). He further testified that after the John Senaa died, "nobody became chief. His mother kept the papers." This may refer to papers officially designating a tribal chief, as was done by the Federal Government in the 1870's and 1880's. No such papers have been located. The date of John Senaa's death was not determined.

Watson Martin was also known as "Sanowa." A turn of the century reference identifies him as a "leader of the community" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 318). Martin's testimony that nobody became chief apparently means that the Federal Government did not officially designate a chief after John Senaa, rather than that there were no leaders. However, other than the reference to Martin, there is no information naming specific leaders of the Upper Snoqualmie between John Senaa and the chieftainship of Jerry Kanim which began in 1914.

No specifically named leaders are known for the lower Snoqualmie between the 1860's and 1914. Whether Sanawa's and John Senaa's leadership extended beyond the Upper Snoqualmie to other off-reservation settlements could not be determined. However, other, less formal leaders and political processes apparently existed in all of the Snoqualmie settlement areas. One individual testified that before Jerry Kanim became chief in 1914, "the Snoqualmie gathered at different homes" (Carpenter 1977). Snoqualmie leader Ed Davis remembered visiting various communities with his parents to attend

Snoqualmie meetings in the 1890's. Dwenar Forgue also recalled such meetings shortly after the turn of the century (see above). When a problem arose, the community leaders called a meeting of the elders, which included all those in their late teens and older, to deal with it. Decisions were made through discussion and reaching a consensus. These community meetings might last all day (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 232). When the Jerry Kanim developed his formal council in 1916, there was a large body of older Snoqualmie that he consulted with for several days (see III.A). These presumably were influential individuals, including informal leaders.

The Snoqualmie constructed communal longhouses, maintained settlements and held complex community ceremonies during this period. All would have required community decision-making and cooperation. At least one longhouse, "Tolt Johnnie's longhouse," is referred to in an individual's name. This probably referred to an influential individual, most likely the the leader of all the families living in the longhouse.

There were Snoqualmie political leaders resident on the Tulalip Reservation in the late 19th century (see II.B). Since the reservation and non-reservation populations were not known to be very distinct socially and politically, their influence may have extended to non-reservation residents, although there is no specific information available concerning this.

III. The Jerry Kanim Era--1914 to 1956

III.A Political Reorganization Under Chief Jerry Kanim

Beginning in 1914, the Snoqualmie underwent a major political reorganization. A chief was named once again, and under his leadership, a formally organized governing council was instituted.

A man named Jerry Kanim was installed as the head chief of the Snoqualmie at a meeting held at Tolt in 1914 (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 331). Jerry Kanim (c. 1870-1956), who would serve as the Snoqualmie chief for some 42 years, was born and raised near Tolt/Carnation where his father had also lived and died before him (Jerry J. Kanim 1917). He had the proper lineage to become a leader of the Snoqualmie since he was a nephew of chief Pat Kanim. As a young man, Jerry Kanim had participated in the longhouse religion. As a young adult, Kanim moved from place to place looking for wage employment.

By 1914, Kanim had moved back to the Tolt/Carnation area where

he became a member of the recently organized Snoqualmie congregation of the Indian Shaker Church (see also section III.E). According to some accounts, he had led a dissolute life to that point (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 331) and, like many who joined the church, his behavior became greatly reformed. He became a traveling missionary (i.e., preacher) for the church. He teamed up with Ed Davis, a Shaker minister, and with new-found motivation, he became active in tribal affairs.

According to Tollefson and Pennoyer, based on the statements of Ed Davis, Kanim was an articulate man and knowledgeable about traditional Snoqualmie life. They further state that the Snoqualmie sought Kanim out on the Muckleshoot Reservation where he was living and over the course of several years came to regard him as a leader who could fill the position of chief of the tribe. He was installed as chief in a meeting and large celebration at Tolt (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 332). Tollefson and Pennoyer date this only as "sometime around 1914," but presumably it did not occur until after Kanim became a Shaker in 1914 and underwent the personal reformation mentioned above.

Kanim himself described his position as "somewhat different" from the historical chiefs, without elaborating on this (quoted in Lane 1975a, 18). Tollefson and Pennoyer describe Kanim as the agent of a revitalization and reformulation of Snoqualmie political insitutions (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 330).

Jerry Kanim also became active at about the same time with the Northwest Federation of American Indians, an organization that was founded in 1914 at Tacoma, Washington by Thomas Bishop (Northwest Federation of American Indians 1914). There was no information whether Kanim's involvement began before or after he became chief. A major effort of the organization was to obtain land for landless Indians in western Washington. By 1914, all available land had already been allotted on the Tulalip, Muckleshoot, and Puyallup Reservations. Although some Snoqualmie obtained allotments, many of the non-reservation Snoqualmie population were among those who could not obtain allotments. A second major aim of the Northwest Federation was to pursue monetary or other claims based on the treaties signed with the United States.

Kanim's experiences with the Northwest Federation and the Duwamish organization influenced his thinking about political organization. He reportedly was influenced by a two-day long Duwamish tribal meeting that he attended with Ed Davis, who at that time was affiliated with the Duwamish (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 331-332). Davis was part Duwamish and part-Snoqualmie, and married to a Snoqualmie. Kanim concluded that

the Snoqualmie tribe needed a formal system of tribal government in order to pursue Snoqualmie claims against the Federal Government. Kanim obtained Thomas Bishop's advice on reorganizing the Snoqualmie system of government (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 337).

In 1916, Jerry Kanim called a meeting of the Snoqualmie elders at Tolt/Carnation to consider a new form of government for the Snoqualmie. Some 50 to 60 people came to the meeting. They ate and slept at the Kanim home for almost two weeks while they discussed the concept and the nature of a tribal government and finally reached agreement (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 333). A formal tribal council was to be established, along with an annual meeting of the membership for the purpose of deciding issues.

Following this meeting, Kanim visited elders to determine who he thought were qualified to be on the Snoqualmie council. On June 2, 1916, approximately 77 Snoqualmie gathered at Tolt/Carnation and elected a group to life terms as council members (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 335). A membership list was compiled which included 326 individuals (Snoqualmie Tribe 1916).

Those elected as council members included Andrew Kanim (1878-1944), age 39, who had a Marysville address; Bill Kanim, age 66, with a Tulalip address; George Luke, age 44, who lived at Enumclaw; and Jim Graham, age 85, who lived at Issaquah; Snoqualmie Charlie, age 66, whose address was not given. Also elected were Edna Perceval, Solomon George, and Ed Perceval, for whom ages and addresses were not given. Of the seven councilmen, three had allotments at Tulalip. The list of Snoqualmie members in 1916 included a total of ten (the three councilmen and seven others) with allotments at Tulalip. An additional member was a spouse of a Tulalip allottee. No determination was made whether any of the members were Muckleshoot and Puyallup Reservation allottees.

III.B Social Community between 1914 and 1956

The Snoqualmie Tribe as it was reorganized by Jerry Kanim in 1916 was not a group of non-reservation as opposed to reservation Indians, but included both, without evident distinction. This group was later referred to as the "Jerry Kanim Band" by Indian Service agents.

There were three major elements composing the Snoqualmie Tribe at this point. The Upper Snoqualmie are one element, including the Sanawa/Martin, Moses and other families. The second is drawn from the Lake Sammamish settlement, especially the Davises, Zackuse, Louie and other families. Several of

these had Duwamish as well as Snoqualmie ancestry and links with the Duwamish group and with the Muckleshoot Reservation population. The third element, centered around Jerry Kanim's line, are drawn from the lower Snoqualmie, especially those who, like Kanim, remained off-reservation. Other families closely related to one or another of these three elements were resident on the Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservations but were socially and politically part of the Snoqualmie.

A variety of kinship ties and other relationships linked these elements. One of the links was the political alliance between Ed Davis and Jerry Kanim. A good portion of the Snoqualmies who were part of the tribe at the time of the reorganization of the political system in 1916 were interlinked by key marriages with members of the Pat Kanim line, Jerry Kanim's line and a lower Snoqualmie family.

Lower Snoqualmie included, in addition to Jerry Kanim's immediate family line and close relatives, other parts of the Pat Kanim line. A second major line was the Davis line, which included the Ed Davis, Monohan and Johnnie families. The Davis line was linked to the Kanims through the marriage of an individual in an earlier generation of the Davises.

Upper Snoqualmie were from the Lyman Martin and George Moses lines. The Martin line traces directly to Chief Sanawa. Available evidence on kin ties shows only indirect links of these Upper Snoqualmie families with Jerry Kanim's family line in post-treaty times. It may be expected that they were also linked by more distant kinship ties, no longer known, deriving from contact-traditional times, i.e., before the 1855 treaty.

There were also several family lines (Zackuse, Tomallum and Jimmicum families) for which there was not enough information to clearly establish the existence of kinship links with either the Pat Kanim/Jerry Kanim line or Sanawa's group of Upper Snoqualmie.

The distinct Snoqualmie settlements had largely broken up by 1914, although some families remained at Lake Sammamish until the 1930's, some of the Moses family remained on their allotment lands above Snoqualmie Falls, and some of the Martins also remained in the prairie area. The Snoqualmie became somewhat more dispersed throughout the counties in or bordering the Snoqualmie contact-traditional territory. Much of this dispersal was due to labor migration. At Lake Sammamish, the logging and hop-picking jobs largely ended, and whites bought out Indian land owners. Many of the Snoqualmie from this settlement moved to the Muckleshoot Reservation in the 1930's (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 237; Davis and Forgue 1983). According to the petition, many of the Upper Snoqualmie on the prairie were forced out in the 1920's by the

Indian Agency (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 246). There was no supporting data to verify this conclusion. Attendance lists at annual meetings between 1916 and 1940 showed concentrations of Snoqualmie in Tolt/Carnation, on and near the Tulalip Reservation, on or near the Muckleshoot Reservation, with smaller concentrations at the Yakima Reservation and on or near Lake Sammamish (Snoqualmie Tribe 1916, 1929, 1940e). Tolt/Carnation remained the political center, where Jerry Kanim lived, while Ed Davis had a house and Shaker Church in nearby Fall City.

A secondary source reports that some time between 1900 and 1905, the prairie Snoqualmie were burned out. Tollefson and Pennoyer (1986, 246) speculate that the families from this area are among the 39 families that came onto the Muckleshoot Reservation about that time. No additional data to verify or elaborate on this has been found.

Indian agency reports between 1917 and 1954 identify a distinct social community of Snoqualmie Indians, resident off-reservation. Although not a distinct settlement, they are identified as Snoqualmie, as a group, and distinct from non-Indians. The Snoqualmie are generally listed throughout this period as a non-reservation or "public domain" tribe under agency jurisdiction (Tulalip Indian Agency 1924, 1929, c. 1941; Upchurch 1940b).

In 1917, the agent at Tulalip described the distribution of Snoqualmie both on and off that reservation. The agent's letter stated that before allotment took place, the Snoqualmie as well as the Snohomish maintained villages on the shores of Tulalip Bay. It stated that "until 1900 or thereabouts approximately half or more than half of the land on this reservation was unoccupied and it was not possible to induce the Indians to go on it (Buchanan 1917). It noted that the reservation was fully occupied and allotted, and listed Snoqualmie allottees living on their allotments. The letter observes that some Snoqualmie refused to go onto reservations and many lived along the Snoqualmie River Valley, "particularly in the neighborhood of the town of Snoqualmie and the not too distant town of Tolt..." It went on to say that "Some of the non-reservation Snoqualmies and others have taken up lands on the public domain and this is true in the neighborhood of Tolt and also of Snoqualmie."

In 1919 the Snoqualmie were reported as an off-reservation tribe by Charles Roblin, a special Indian Agent, in a narrative which gave an overview of the populations listed on the roll of "landless Indians" he compiled in 1916-17 (see Genealogical Report, 7) (Roblin 1919a). Roblin in this narrative makes clear that he considers many of those he enrolled to be culturally and socially assimilated with non-

Indians, but goes on to identify non-reservation Indian communities which had persisted as distinct. Roblin stated:

> There are a certain number of full-blood Snoqualmie Indians in Snohomish and King Counties, Washington, around Tolt, Falls City and the towns in that district. This is a mountainous district, and the Indian settlements have not been completely eliminated. While these Indians could have been provided with homes on the Tulalip Indian Reservation in the early days, they preferred to stay in their ancient habitat, and they have done so. They have some few small land holdings, but the majority have none. They live by working in the logging camps and the saw mills (Roblin 1919b).

The annual report of The Tulalip Indian Agency of 1922 reported that "a considerable number of unattached Indians in King County near Tolt and Snoqualmie and Auburn" (Dickens 1922).

In 1929 the Superintendent of the Tulalip Indian Agency, described the character and status of nonreservation Indians, including, presumably, those Snoqualmie not resident on a reservation and, consequently, not listed on an agency census. He stated that:

> Due to their habits; mode of making a living and their natural love of travel, the various small tribes in the State of Washington are badly intermixed and scattered....The underlying cause of this nomadic life is mostly due to their search for a livelihood in the apple orchards, berry fields, logging camps, canneries and fishing camps. This condition is more prevalent in the Sound Country than any where else in the State.
>
> These citizen and unallotted Indians seldom come to this Agency unless they are compelled to do so by reason of sickness, old age, poverty or crime. And in nearly all these cases, it is an urgent request for assistance (Duclos 1929).

Additional references to a distinct Snoqualmie group by the agency in 1937, 1939, 1941 and 1944 are described below in section III.C.

In 1953, the Western Washington Agency stated of the Snoqualmie tribe that, "Individuals of this band, in a majority, live on non-Indian land and are land owners and pay taxes and in reality are full citizens." It further stated that, "Ever since the treaty, this band has endeavored to

obtain a reservation for themselves to be located in the vicinity of Carnation along the Tolt River." Finally, it noted that, "Assimilation of this band has not been very rapid; the past and present generation marrying Indians of other tribes rather than non-Indians" (Bitney 1953c).

The Snoqualmie were linked together by kinship ties between families. The previous section describing the composition of the Snoqualmie outlined the most basic and important kinship links between family lines and subgroups among the Snoqualmie. Further information is presented in section III.F below, which describes historical patterns of Snoqualmie marriage within the group and within the larger body of Coastal Salish tribes.

The Snoqualmie were still culturally distinct from non-Indians during this period. As late as the 1930's, interpreters were used in Snoqualmie meetings to explain the issues to those who did not speak or only poorly understood English (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1932a). The Snoqualmie included a congregation of the Indian Shaker church (see Sections III.A and III.E).

Social and ceremonial events regularly brought many Snoqualmie together. From the 1920's on, Jerry Kanim sponsored an annual Fourth of July get-together at Tolt, which drew large crowds of Snoqualmie who remained for several days. Ed Davis also sponsored a Memorial Day gathering at Fall City, which included a Shaker Church service (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 275-8). The Snoqualmie have held an annual meeting of the membership since 1916, except during World War II. While their primary purpose was to discuss tribal concerns, they were also social and family gatherings (FD), often lasting a couple of days. The petition reports that 300 to 600 people attended, which would be almost all of the membership, if all attendees were members (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 348). The agency superintendent in the 1940's estimated that 50 percent of the members attended annual meetings (cited below). At these meetings, either a lunch or dinner would be served, prepared by some of the women.

III.C Leadership and Political Process in the Jerry Kanim Era, 1916-1956

Introduction:
The following section provides a description of Snoqualmie political organization and the actions of chief Jerry Kanim between 1916 and 1956. The first subsection provides a detailed listing of examples of actions by the tribal organization and by Jerry Kanim himself which provide evidence concerning the exercise of political influence. The second

section lists examples of external recognition of political authority. The sections give a selection rather than an exhaustive listing of the available examples.

Snoqualmie Political Actions Between 1916 and 1956:

In 1917 Jerry Kanim wrote to an Office of Indian Affairs official:

> Dear Sir: I received your welcome letter. I was very glad you wrote me this letter. I will answer and tell you what I want. I was born and raised in Snoqualmie Valley. My father lived and died there before me. No other tribe or people claimed. We hunted in the forest, fished in the streams and planted in the prairieland. The white people came and wanted to live with us. We were good friends with the whites. The white people took our lands until none was left for us. The Government gave the land to the white people.
>
> The government gave us nothing. We had no land and no place to live. No place to hunt. No place to fish. No land to plant. We were poor. The government didn't ever give me or my people land. I want a home. My people want land to live on. We want to live in Snoqualmie Valley, the land of our fathers. We want as much land as the government gave some Indians on reservations or money enough to buy land.
>
> My people who have not been helped by the government have held meetings and selected a committee to act for them. I am one of that committee. What I want for myself I want for my people.
>
> Our committee has made a contract with Jesse Simmons a lawyer at Tolt, Washington, to represent our people and make a settlement with the government for us. We will be glad if you will help him. From yours sincerely, Jerry J. Kenum (Jerry J. Kanim 1917).

In 1920, Jerry Kanim sent a letter to the Superintendent of the Cushman Agency giving a list of aged and infirm Indians who were needy; he states that the names and information were "taken before the committees of the Snoqualmie Tribe" and that the old people "herein mentioned were present at the meeting" (see also discussion below in this subsection) (Keenum 1920b). In March, 1925, the Snoqualmie Tribe and "allied tribes and

bands" passed a resolution appointing five men to be their legal representatives in connection with pursuit of claims under the Act authorizing the Duwamish et al. claims suit (Snoqualmie Tribe 1925a).

On advice from attorney Arthur E. Griffin, Jerry Kanim called a meeting of the council of the Snoqualmie in April, 1929, "to perfect a Snoqualmie Tribal Organization." The meeting was held at the Shaker Church on the Muckleshoot Reservation and by-laws were approved and temporary officers selected (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1929a). The bylaws were accepted by the general membership at a meeting on May 26, 1929 (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 354).

In March, 1930, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council met in Tolt, Washington and selected a council of old people who were "the judges of the Snoqualmie tribesmen" (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1930c). The council of old people included Watson Martin, Jerry Dominic, Bill Kenam, William Bagley, Elisa Steven, Maggie James and Sililus Dan. Several of these were from the Tulalip Reservation. The meeting was also to "reorganize the upper and lower Snoqualmie," apparently in response to Watson Martin's complaints that he, and by implication other Upper Snoqualmie, were not being kept informed of the council's actions. A meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization assembled at Andy Kanim's home on January 9, 1932; letters of the Department of Fisheries and Game were read and interpreted to the old people (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1932a).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization met at the Grange Hall in Tolt, on March 25, 1933, to approve an attorney contract, elect a treasurer, and collect money to pay for the hall (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1933). On April 14, 1934, Jerry Kanim sent a letter to John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, containing a resolution of the Snoqualmie Tribe of American Indians in opposition to Senate Bill S-2755 (which became the Indian Reorganization Act); a Tribal Council Meeting held at Chief Kanim's residence in Tolt on April 14, 1934, had voted on the resolution (Kenum and William 1934a).

In 1937 Jerry Kanim wrote to Superintendent Upchurch regarding the "reservation that you are trying to get for my people of the Snoqualmie Tribe," and informed him the tribe would hold its annual meeting at the Grange Hall at Tolt on May 29th and "I would like you [to] come if its possible" (Kenum 1937). The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held their 1938 Annual Meeting at the home of Ed Davis, at Fall City, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1938). In 1939 Jerry Kanim wrote Upchurch, "Letting you know I'm going to call my Tribe together again this year. We'd like to have a little news from you at our meetings concerning what you know of the

Snoqualmie Tribe and the proposed Reservation. The meeting will be May 13th here at Tolt" (Keenum 1939a). A few months later, Jerry Kanim wrote Upchurch, "Just a few lines asking you if you ever heard from the commissioner about our next meeting. We are so anxious to get started on our claim" (Keenum 1939a). Upchurch replied that he had heard nothing relative to the claim, but had made some progress toward "the reservation but no announcement is ready at this time" (Upchurch 1939d).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held a meeting at Tolt on January 27, 1940, to select an attorney (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1940a). Mr. Upchurch attended the meeting and was asked about "people who intermarry with other tribes, can [they] register here," and Mr. Upchurch responded in the affirmative.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council held a meeting on March 15, 1941, in Tolt to discuss among other business, lawyer's fees, claims against the government, correspondence, and the fact that the tribal secretary was intending to resign (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1941a). In October, 1943, the tribal secretary received a letter from Mr. Upchurch requesting the names of the new council of the Snoqualmie Tribe (Enick 1943). In 1944 there was a flurry of correspondence between Kanim and Upchurch regarding "final enrollment of the tribe," in effect a revised and more definitive enrollment. Letters concerned whether Kanim should call "the Tribe together or just the Council" (Keenum 1944a), the status of tribal enrollment (Kenum 1944b); an announcement of a council meeting on February 27 (Kenum 1944c); and a request for more questionnaires [for enrollment] and an announcement of the annual meeting date of May 28 in Tulalip Potlatch Hall (Kenum 1994e).

The Snoqualmie held a tribal meeting on March 8, 1946 (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1946). Jerry Kanim wrote Mr. Gross of the Tulalip Agency announcing a special meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribe at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall on June 8, 1946 and extending an invitation to attend (Jerry J. Kanim 1946b). The Snoqualmie Tribe held a meeting on May 17, 1947; the tribal claim was the major topic of discussion (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1947b). On May 7, 1948, William Martin, President of the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization, sent a letter to fellow tribesmen announcing that the tribe's annual meeting would be held at the Tulalip Potlatch Hall and Smokehouse on May 29, 1948, to go over an attorney contract, discuss the by-laws of the Snoqualmie Tribe, and serve a salmon bake to all those who attended to defray the expense of the meeting (William Martin 1948).

On May 29, 1948, the Snoqualmie Tribe held their annual

meeting and Superintendent Fred Gross attended; members asked questions about the attorney's contract and the membership elected delegates to sign the attorney's contract (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1948d). The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met in the Muckleshoot Community Hall in 1949 to discuss the approved attorney's contract and the need to levy a membership assessment (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1949b). The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met at Jerry Kanim's home on November 19, 1949, to discuss enrollment of members in both the Tulalip and Snoqualmie Tribes (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1949d). This meeting discussed a request from the Indian agency, concerning dual enrollment between the Snoqualmie and Tulalip Tribes. Several Snoqualmie attended an All Tribal meeting at Tulalip on December 3, 1949, to discuss treaty rights and rules about the taking of fish (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1949e).

In 1950, Jerry Kanim wrote to lawyer Kenneth Simmons advising him of the Annual Meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribe at Carnation; the purpose of the meeting was to consider a suit against the State of Washington to protect treaty fishing rights (Kenneth Simmons 1950a). In 1951 Kanim wrote Simmons advising of the progress he was making on enrollment matters (Kenneth Simmons 1951).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held a special meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council on November 21, 1953, in the home of Johnny James, to discuss the possibility of acquiring waterfront lots on the Tulalip Reservation for the Snoqualmie (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1953b). On May 12, 1956, the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held an annual meeting at the Masonic Hall in Fall City and discussed, among other business, problems with their lawyer and claims on the Tulalip Reservation (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1956a).

Treaty rights, including fishing, hunting, and a land base were frequent topics at annual meetings during the Jerry Kanim era (Eddy 1975b). The membership authorized Jerry Kanim to represent them on those issues, and Kanim addressed these issues in dealing with the Federal government on behalf of the Snoqualmie. Other topics at annual meetings and council meetings included elections to fill vacancies on the council, needs of the elderly, tribal finances, and special projects.

There is evidence from various points throughout his tenure that Kanim mediated disputes between individual members and served as an intermediary for individual Snoqualmie with outsiders on various matters. If the disputes arose between two Snoqualmie (usually non-reservation), they would take their case to Jerry Kanim for resolution. If the dispute was between a Snoqualmie and a reservation Indian (whether Snoqualmie or not), Kanim would go to the reservation in

order to resolve the problem (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 339). Evidence of Kanim's stature as a leader is that he was also called upon to intervene in disputes between Indians not part of the Snoqualmie (FD).

Kanim also dealt with external authorities concerning the needs and welfare of individuals. He acted on behalf of the Snoqualmie elderly with the Federal Government. Special funds had been appropriated in 1920 by Congress for "The Aged and Infirm Indians living in the western district of the State of Washington." Kanim wrote to the superintendent of Cushman School Agency in May of that year and attached a list of 17 aged or infirm Indians to his correspondence (Keenum 1920a). On March 7, 1920, he sent another letter with additional names and indicated that the names had been taken before the "committee" (Keenum 1920b). The Bureau sent two agents to the field to investigate and review those individuals and families Kanim had listed. The investigators, after their visit, sent checks to three or four and noted that the Indians were quite old but they seemed to be well taken care of by relatives (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 342).

In 1947 Kanim accompanied family members and a member of the Tulalip Agency on a visit to the parole board at Washington State Reformatory on behalf of a member who was incarcerated at that institution (Ryan 1947). In the 1950's, Jerry Kanim requested assistance from the Superintendent at Tulalip for help in alcohol-related problems of Snoqualmie members. In a specific case, the Tulalip Superintendent wrote to the Washington State Liquor Control Board which responded by sending inspectors to the field to review the situation (Jerry J. Kanim 1950b; Ajax 1950b).

The relationship between Kanim and the tribal council and general council is not described in detail in the petition and has not been analyzed extensively for this report. Similarly, his relationship with other leaders, and what their role was, is known only in general outline. Kanim was the contact point for external authorities and was the initiator of special general council meetings to deal with external issues (FD). He also played a very strong political role within the Snoqualmie and within its governing institutions. An indicator of his influence is that individuals who served on the council or in other positions, in later years at least, described Kanim as having put them there (FD). However, the general council of members was still called upon to review issues and ratify decisions. Throughout his career, Ed Davis was perhaps his major political ally and lieutenant. Some accounts describe Kanim as informally consulting with council members in advance of meetings where decisions were made. One account describes an individual as having "written down all the concerns" and bringing them to the council where they

would be discussed between Jerry Kanim and the council members (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f). Thus decision-making was at least to some degree consensual, despite Kanim's powerful influence.

Recognition of Tribal Political Influence by the Federal Government:

This subsection describes examples of external recognition of the political influence of Jerry Kanim and/or the Snoqualmie council. External authorities, principally the Indian Service, were knowledgeable about the Snoqualmie tribe and dealt with it on a regular basis on a variety of matters. These authorities dealt with the Snoqualmie leadership on the basis that it represented, and exercised political influence on, the Snoqualmie. Because the Snoqualmie were a recognized tribe during this era, such examples were frequent.

In 1935, the Superintendent of Tulalip Agency wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, providing a "list of the members of the Tribal Councils under this jurisdiction," which included two members of the "Snoqualmie Council" (Upchurch 1935). In 1937, E.M. Johnston, Land Field Agent, prepared a preliminary report on the "Chief Keenum Band of the Snoqualmie Tribe Project," in which he stated,

> In the vicinity of Snoqualmie Falls and Fall City, along the Snoqualmie River, there is resident a small band of Snoqualmie Indians under the leadership of Chief Jerry Keenum, a total of 211 enrolled individuals, who are unallotted on any reservation and who have been living by day labor in logging camps, on farms and wherever employment was obtainable for the past generation (Johnston 1937).

In 1939, Superintendent Upchurch wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and stated,

> The Snoqualmie Tribe, of which Chester Williams is executive secretary, have filed the enclosed notice of intention to negotiate with an attorney as provided in Section 16 of the regulations governing execution of attorneys' contracts with Indian tribes.
>
> Several members of the Snoqualmie tribe were allotted on the Tulalip Reservation in company with the Snohomish. Other members were unallotted by reason of insufficient amount of land (Upchurch 1939b).

In 1940, Superintendent Upchurch supplied a list of chairmen of Indian Councils to a political campaign and included Jerry Kanim, Carnation, as Chairman of the Snoqualmie Indian Council (Upchurch 1944b). In 1941, Upchurch wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to clarify the status of the Snoqualmie,

> In clarification of the status of the Snoqualmie Tribe, it should be noted that a majority of the Snoqualmie Indians united with the Snohomish Tribe to occupy the Tulalip Reservation. There was insufficient land however to accommodate all the Indians of both tribes and a small band headed by Jerry Kanim received no allotments and little or no other treaty benefits (Upchurch 1941b).

In 1944, Superintendent Upchurch reported election results to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and stated, "A correction on the Snoqualmie Tribal council roster furnished the Office in September--Alex Young and Andy Kanim should be stricken from the list and added thereto, James Enick,...Carnation, Washington" (Upchurch 1944c). In his "Report of the Planning Committee of Tulalip Indian Agency, Washington, 1944-1954," Superintendent Upchurch stated,

> The Snoqualmie Tribe, together with the Snohomish Tribe, were expected under the Treaty to remove to the Tulalip Reservation. A considerable band of the Snoqualmie Indians, however, never removed to the reservation for the apparent reason that when the reservation was allotted, there was not sufficient land to grant to them the amount specified in the Treaty which provides compliance with the terms of the Omaha Treaty. As a consequence, Chief Jerry Kanim's band of Snoqualmie Indians are non-reservation, and in a large measure, landless Indians. We have record of only 5 Snoqualmie Indians who received public domain homesteads. This band of Snoqualmie Indians maintained a roll of their own in which are listed 120 families of 629 Indians, 352 females, 277 males. A number of these Indians are enrolled at the Tulalip Agency and some of them have lands or interests in lands on the Tulalip Reservation. The exact number of landless Indians and whose families have never had the benefit of allotments and lands contemplated in the Treaty is not definitely available. It may be assumed, however, that an important percentage of the persons which this organization has enrolled are entitled to fulfillment of the Treaty of 1855 and that a reservation sufficient to assure them a home should

ir equity be secured for them (Upchurch 1944b).

In 1953, the Western Washington Indian Agency produced a "Questionnaire on Tribal Organization of the Snoqualmie Tribe Organization, Washington." This questionnaire, which appears to have been done for each recognized tribe under the agency's jurisdiction, stated in part,

> The Snoqualmie Tribal Council has no fixed tribal headquarters, the Chairman resides in Sedro-Wooley and the other members of the Council residing in the Fall City, Carnation and Snoqualmie Falls, Washington, area. Annual meetings are usually held at Carnation or Tulalip, Washington.
>
> Approximately 50% of the members of voting age participate in tribal elections. There are approximately 400 members of this tribe of voting age...Total membership amounts to approximately 629 - 352 females and 277 males; the majority of these people do not reside on a reservation.
>
> The heads of families of this band derive their income mainly from employment in the logging industry; however, a small portion seek and gain employment in the other industries in this area as laborers and semi-skilled laborers.
>
> The general attitude of the membership appears to be against release from wardship at this writing as they feel the Government has not lived up to its obligations as set forth in the Point Elliott Treaty of January 22, 1855, in which they participated. Until such time as the Government makes a satisfactory settlement, this band is definitely against release from wardship.
>
> Individuals of this band, in a majority, live on non-Indian land and are land owners and pay taxes and in reality are full citizens.
>
> Ever since the treaty, this band has endeavored to obtain a reservation for themselves to be located in the vicinity of Carnation along the Tolt River.
>
> Assimilation of this band has not been very rapid; the past and present generation marrying Indians of other tribes rather than non-Indians (Bitney 1953).

In 1954, Tulalip Agency Superintendent Bitney wrote to the Area Director requesting information at the request of Chief

Jerry Kanim, relative to the matter of a member of the Snoqualmie Tribe fishing off the reservation (Bitney 1954e).

III.D Relationship With the Tulalip Reservation

Some of the Snoqualmie reservation residents who were listed on the reservation census either at Tulalip or Muckleshoot in the 1920's and 1930's continued to strongly identify as Snoqualmie and to participate in the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization. Some served as officers and/or attended meetings of both the Snoqualmie and governing body of the reservations. However, not all reservation Snoqualmie were involved with the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization at this time.

The first enrollment list of Snoqualme, the 1916 list of people that formed the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization, included some families allotted on, and in some cases resident on, the Tulalip reservation (Snoqualmie Tribe 1916). Many of these were active as officers or council members and continued their participation from 1916 through the 1930's. Among these were the Percevals, linked through marriage with the Charlie Kanim-Mattie Kanim branch of the Pat Kanim line, and John James, father of Cyrus James, linked with Jerry Kanim through the Bill Kanim-Pat Kanim-Magdeline Kanim branch.

Snoqualmie resident on the Muckleshoot Reservation also had close kinship links with the non-reservation families. One group, the Loziers and the Luke's, were linked through Jerry Kanim's sister. Other links to Muckleshoot were through descendants of Jennie Hern deriving from her two marriages before Jerry Kanim. At least one Snoqualmie council member in 1916 was a Muckleshoot allottee. Muckleshoot Reservation Snoqualmie also included Stillmans.

Prior to the establishment in 1930 of a single Tulalip Reservation council, there were Business Committees which represented specific tribal groups at the Tulalip Reservation. In April, 1929, the agency farmer reported:

> In conformity to Circular No. 2565 relative to tribal organizations on the Tulalip Indian Reservation, the following are the members and officers of the Business Committee representing the Snoqualmie Tribe on the Tulalip Reservation:
>
> Jerry Kanim, Pres. Tolt, Wash.
> Wilfred Steve, Vice Pres. Marysville, Wash
> Solomon George, Sec. Tulalip, Wash.
> John Johnson, Treasurer, Monroe, Wash

BUSINESS COMMITTEE:
George Luke Tulalip, Wash.
William Bagley
Joseph Charles
Alex Young
Andrew Kanim

All officers are elected to serve until recalled or until they resign (Tulalip Agency Farmer 1929).

This list clearly includes non-reservation as well as reservation Snoqualmie. Jerry Kanim, Snoqualmie chief, is president. There is no evident distinction made at this point between reservation and non-reservation Snoqualmie, even though the intent of these councils was to deal with trust, i.e., reservation land issues.

In 1930, a single council was established that represented the entire Tulalip Reservation and all the groups located on it. The superintendent at Tulalip, August F. Duclos, called a meeting of Indians residing on the Tulalip Reservation on March 29, 1930. He pointed out that on other reservations in the area there were tribal councils to assist the Superintendent in dealing with tribal issues. He asked the Tulalip Indians to select five members to assist him in solving tribal problems relating to the reservation. At the Suprerintendent's suggestion, this was limited to residents of the reservation. Snoqualmie Wilfred Steve was elected temporary chairman at this ad hoc meeting and later elected chairman of the committee to advise the superintendent (Tulalip Reservation Committee 1930). Two days later, on March 31, 1930, Wilfred Steve was participating in a Snoqualmie Tribal Council meeting held at Tolt/Carnation and made a motion for the Snoqualmie Tribe to have a council of old people. This was approved and the Snoqualmie Tribal Council elected seven people to this council of elders (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1930c).

In 1949, the Indian agency transmitted a request from the enrollment committee of the Tulalip Tribes to meet with the Snoqualmie council or its membership and enrollment committee. The Board of Directors of Tulalip was preparing an offical roll and had found "the names of numerous Indians who are either enrolled or affiliated with your tribe or with other tribes in the State of Washington or elsewhere" (Gross 1949e). It requested that the superintendent call a meeting of the "several council representatives" to deal with the matter efficiently.

III.E Snoqualmie Participation in the Shaker Church and in Traditional Religion

The Indian Shaker church first arose in the Puget Sound in 1882, as a result of a revelation by John Slocum, a Squaxin Indian. It is generally regarded as a synthesis of traditional Indian religions and Christianity (Gunther 1977). It spread rapidly among the Puget Sound Indians at a time when the traditional culture was changing and there was extensive social and economic disruption. The church was incorporated with the State of Washington in 1910, which gave it legal protection and a more secure status. This allowed Shaker ministers to legally conduct marriage and funeral ceremonies.

The increased popularity of Shakerism on the Northwest Coast reservations did not go unnoticed by the Indian Affairs Office. Superintendent W.F. Dickens reported in 1922 that he believed that the Shaker religion was a problem because he saw it as a continuation of traditional Indian religion, which he opposed, and as preventing the adoption of Christianity. Yet even Dickens had to admit that the Shaker religion had positive influences on its adherents. He noted that "some of the worst characters, those who formerly drank and used tobacco" had reformed and become very religious (Dickens 1922).

A Snoqualmie congregation of the Shaker church was established in 1912. Several prominent early Snoqualmie leaders such as Jerry Kanim and Ed Davis were members of the Indian Shaker Church. Davis joined the Indian Shaker church in 1912 and Kanim in 1914. The Snoqualmie petition indicates Snoqualmie participation was widespread but does not give a precise description of the extent (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 275-8). As late as the 1930's, the Fall City Shaker Church continued to conduct funerals for Snoqualmie.

Even as Shakerism gained many adherents among Snoqualmie, ceremonies of the traditional Snoqualmie religion continued. Such gatherings continued into the 1930's. Jerry Kanim himself continued to practice some traditional ceremonies. From about 1931 to 1935, Snoqualmie couple Amelia Brown Zacheus (1877-ca 1944) and John Enick (d.1935) hosted winter ceremonials, attended by Snoqualmie as well as other Indians including some from as far away as Yakima (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 238). In addition to these winter ceremonials, the Lake Sammamish Snoqualmie observed their traditional rites of passage: the giving of names, the public confirmation of marriage, and the distribution of a deceased person's possessions (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 265-266).

III.F Historical and Present-Day Patterns of Snoqualmie Marriage

Historic and present marriage patterns of the Snoqualmie were

reviewed to determine changes in the extent of marriage within the tribe, with other Puget Sound Indians and with non-Indians. The analysis was conducted as one measure of the maintenance of community, i.e., social ties, among the Snoqualmie and to determine how this may have changed over time. Marriages within a group create kinship relationships which are typically an important, or even the most important, social ties within a tribal community.

Among the Coast Salish, marriage with other Puget Sound tribes was extensive in the contact-traditional period, at least among higher-ranked families, creating a network of kinship links, social obligations and rights to resources extending widely throughout the Puget Sound area (see section I.C). In general this traditional pattern of intertribal marriages and consequent social ties and opportunities for descendants to affiliate with different groups has continued up until the present among Puget Sound Indians. As a consequence, it is interpreted for the purposes of this report as indicative of maintenance of social ties within the traditional Indian society of the area rather than as a dilution of social ties within a group. Thus it is significant to the maintenance of a social community.

By contrast, marriage with non-Indians reflects a decrease in social distinction between Indians and non-Indians. While a high frequency of marriages, and hence the likelihood of important kinship links, with non-Indians does not automatically mean a less socially cohesive community, other evidence must be provided to demonstrate that significant social ties are maintained within the group and that significant social distinctions from non-Indians remain.

The analysis presented here examined the marriage patterns of eight major family lines among the Snoqualmie membership today, those with the most members enrolled currently (see also section V.C). The family lines were defined in the same manner as used for the genealogical report. These eight lines represent approximately 77 percent of the current membership. Within these lines, only sublines (i.e. branches) with at least one individual currently among the Snoqualmie membership were reviewed. This analysis was based on the body of genealogical materials submitted by the petitioner or developed by BAR researchers.

Marriage patterns were approximated by generations and by sublines of each family line. In the discussion below, the term "local Indians" is used to refer to marriage with Puget Sound Indians or Yakima Indians, i.e., groups with whom Snoqualmie marriages were traditionally common. Marriages with other Washington State Indians were uncommon and are lumped here with marriages with Indians from other states and

Canada.

Five of the main family lines, Moses, Hern, Davis, Charlie Kanim and Zackuse, comprise about 60 percent of the current membership. Of these, the initial generation studied (the last generation born before 1900) was almost entirely married to other Snoqualmie or to local Indians.

The marriages of the next generation, those born approximately in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, showed a mixture of marriages with local Indians (usually not Snoqualmie by identification) and non-Indians. These patterns show considerable variation between family lines, with increased outmarriage to non-Indians occurring later in some sublines than in others.

Information on the marriages of the succeeding (third) generation was extremely limited, but most of the known marriages were with non-Indians. However, this information may not entirely accurately represent Snoqualmie marriage patterns. The data, and hence these results, may be somewhat skewed by including almost all Snoqualmie marriages with non-Indians, while excluding many Snoqualmie marriages with members of recognized tribes. Where a Snoqualmie is married to a member of a recognized tribe, it is likely that the children are enrolled with the latter, in order to have access to benefits, without reflecting what their social affiliation with the Snoqualmie may be.

The marriages of the second generation are described in more detail in this and the following paragraphs. In one subline of the Jennie Hern line, four of six children born between the years 1918 and 1935 married non-Indians, one married a local Indian, and one married a non-local Indian. (Marriages are presumed to have taken place sometime between 1938 and 1955). For the children of the other two sublines, born 1927 to 1958, there were four marriages to Indians and four to non-Indians. All of the limited number of marriages of the subsequent (third) generation for which there is information were to non-Indians.

Only one Zackuse subline provided usable information. All five children of the (second) generation born between 1934 and 1943 married non-Indians. No information was available for subsequent generations.

In one subline of the Davis line, with children born 1909 to 1923 (and married sometime between 1929 and 1943), two children married non-Indians, one married a Snoqualmie, and one married a local Indian. Some of the subsequent (third) generation married local Indians, while others married non-Indians.

In one subline of the Moses line, the generation born between the years 1919 and 1946 had one non-Indian marriage, one marriage to a Snoqualmie, one to a Canadian Indian and eight for whom there was no information. In a second subline, the generation born 1913 through 1936 had one or two marriages to Snoqualmie, four to other local Indians, one to other Indians, and three to non-Indians. There was no usable information about a third line, which is mostly enrolled with the Tulalip tribe.

Of the one subline of the Charlie Kanim line with members enrolled in the Snoqualmie Tribe, three of the generation born 1912 to 1934 married local Indians, one a non-local Indian and one a non-Indian. There was no information available on marriages in the subsequent (third) generation.

The other three family lines with a large number of members are the Tomallum, Julia Patkeenum, and Elizabeth Kanim lines. Two of these lines had no marriages with Indians of any category after an initial early pioneer marriage between an Indian woman and a white man. In the Tomallum line, the woman was born in 1850, before the treaty, and married around 1870. The Julia Patkeenum line derives from a pioneer marriage around 1850. The Elizabeth Kanim line derives from the 1893 marriage of a Snoqualmie woman and the son of an Indian-white marriage. The latter two lines were added to the Snoqualmie membership recently, in the past 12 years.

The described patterns can be considered only approximate insofar as they are based on data on the marriage patterns of present members and their ancestors, rather than all of the past Snoqualmie tribal members. It was not possible for this analysis to review the character of Snoqualmie families that are no longer part of the tribe at all but were previously within its membership, e.g., families now largely enrolled with Tulalip and Muckleshoot tribes. In addition, of the family lines that were studied, the sublines with no currently enrolled members are not included in the current review because of limitations of time. These may or may not exhibit different patterns from the sublines studied. Also omitted from this study are the many (18) family lines (23 percent of the membership) which are "small" only in the sense of having only a few members presently enrolled with the Snoqualmie Tribe (see section V.C). These are in some instances quite large families, many more of whose members may have been members of the tribe in the past. Some are still quite large, but are mostly enrolled in one or another recognized tribe. Collectively, there is a high degree of intermarriage with local Indians among the "small" families.

Overall, marriage to non-Indians among most of the major family lines studied did not become significant until the

1940's and 1950's, when there was a mixture of marriage to non-Indians and to Indians (mostly Snoqualmies and local Indians, as well as other Indians). In the generations previous to that there was almost exclusive marriage within the Snoqualmie or with other local Indians, a continuation of traditional patterns among the Coast Salish. There was insufficient information to fully determine marriage patterns of the most recent generation, although there is increased marriage with non-Indians. Because of the past marriages within the group or with other local Indians, there remains a high degree of kinship ties within the group and with the neighboring tribes the Snoqualmie have traditionally been involved with.

IV. After Jerry Kanim --1956 to 1980

IV.A The Process of Political Transition After Jerry Kanim's Death

Jerry Kanim's death in 1956, at the age of 85, represented a major change in the Snoqualmie political system. Under Kanim, the council had been largely reactive, responding to and approving actions initiated by Kanim. He had been a very charismatic leader. He also had great legitimacy with other tribes in the area as well as with non-Indian officials. His stature and credibility could not be immediately replaced. There was no immediate reaction to the chief's death in the sense of new people being brought in or action from the general membership.

Descriptions by individuals who were on the council or in other positions at the time of Kanim's death describe a sharp decline in activity. Evelyn Enick, Kanim's daughter and tribal secretary, characterized the period after Jerry Kanim's death as one in which she "tried to keep things together" (FD). These comments largely referred to the formal activities of the organization, without providing much information concerning whether less formal political influence was exercised or not.

Kanim had not prepared anyone to be his successor. Several attempts were made to fill the chief's position (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 412; FD). Jerry Enick, grandson of Kanim and son of Evelyn Enick, was considered an appropriate successor, based on lineage, but for personal reasons and because he choose to join his father's tribe, the Sauk-Suiattle, could not fill the position. Ed Davis, Kanim's "assistant," declined the position on the grounds that he was not of the lineage of Pat Kanim, a reflection of traditional views of the position of chief. Kiutus Tecumseh, chairman of the tribal council (see below), also declined the post, on the same

grounds. Evelyn Enick herself was apparently rejected, even though she, as Jerry Kanim's secretary, knew a lot about what Kanim did, because it was not at that time considered appropriate for a female to hold the position of chief.

In the end, the Snoqualmie did not put anyone in the position of chief following Jerry Kanim's death. The Snoqualmie remained without a chief until 1986, when the position was recreated in a different and more limited form and within a different political context (see VI.C below).

The tribal chairman during Kanim's period as chief had played a relatively secondary role, and there is no indication that after Kanim died this role immediately changed to one of activity and influence equivalent to that of the chief. There was no evidence that certain political functions carried out by Jerry Kanim such as taking care of the poor or interceding with the authorities for individuals continued. In the same year as Jerry Kanim died, long-time tribal chairman William Martin was replaced by Emil Williams. This change was perhaps in anticipation of Kanim's death, since the latter had been ill. Williams remained in office until his death in 1967.

In 1955, immediately previous to Kanim's death, Kiutus Tecumseh was elected to the newly created position of Tribal Council chairman, a position within the Tribal Council. It differed from that of chief as well as from tribal chairman or president (which was associated with the general council) (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1955d). The exact character of this office is unclear and there was no evidence whether the office-holder exercised significant political influence.

There remained on the council after Kanim's death individuals who, based on earlier and later periods, can be considered to have been of considerable influence. Two such individuals, Ed Davis and Kiutus Tecumseh, were offered the chieftainship but declined. Ed Davis was a close political ally of Kanim's. Although declining the chieftainship, he probably continued to be influential as a person who could speak about past values and whose word clearly carried weight on this basis. Judging by the major role he played in later periods, he would have carried considerable influence, although his activity in this regard for the first ten to 20 years after Kanim's death has not been demonstrated by documentary or field data (see section VI.G).

On the other hand, at the time of Kanim's death, many of the council were quite old or even invalids, and under the constitution of the time, appointments were for life. The tribal officers' ages ranged from 20 to 70 with an average age of 48 but if the youngest, who was the secretary, were to be

excluded in the calculations, the average would rise to 55. The council members' ages ranged from 41 to 67 with the average age of 56.

New individuals did not begin to come into leadership until the 1960's, with a strong chairman did not coming into office until Robert Comenout was elected in 1968. The political transition of the late 1960's is described in the following section.

IV.B Political Activity and Leadership from 1956 Until 1980

This section describes the actions of the Snoqualmie tribal council, general membership council and leaders, including issues addressed, influence on members' behavior and relationships with external authorities. The section also discusses internal political processes within the Snoqualmie, including conflicts over particular issues and how different groups sought influence.

After 1956, there was no longer external recognition of leaders or political influence--that is, there were no instances found of recognition of Snoqualmie leaders and council which were authoritative and knowledgeably premised on the exercise of significant political influence as had been the case in previous eras. Thus this form of evidence of political influence was not available after 1956. This change in external relations was partly the result of the loss of Chief Jerry Kanim, who was not replaced by a leader of equal fame and influence. It also resulted from the Snoqualmie no longer being federally recognized after a point some time between 1955 and 1961. Agency dealings with them after that are not distinguishable from the limited relationships established with organizations which were dealt with primarily in relation to settlement of claims.

The chairman and the tribal council began to handle some of the external relations which formerly had been dealt with by Jerry Kanim. Issues were still brought before the general council, and replacements on the tribal council were voted upon by the general council. The Snoqualmie meetings and leaders dealt with some of the same kinds of issues as had been the case under Jerry Kanim, i.e., land claims and hunting and fishing rights.

The annual general council meetings continued after Jerry Kanim's death. In some years more than one meeting was held, as required by issues needing decision by the general membership. The Snoqualmie state that meetings were held regularly, although one or two may have been canceled because of deaths (FD). The schedule of events at the meetings was

not highly structured and varied from year to year. Generally the tribal council would meet in the morning and then the general council in the afternoon. The hall was paid for by taking up a collection. The annual meetings were organized by the secretary together with the council, and did not require a major organizational structure to arrange (FD).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held its 1960 annual meeting at the Masonic Hall, Fall City, on May 28, and discussed claims, attorneys, the need for prayers before every meeting and a suggestion that the meeting send a spray "for one of our older members, who passed on" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1968a). The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held a special general membership meeting at the Masonic Hall, Fall City, on July 14, 1962, to elect "council members to replace those no longer with us" (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1962a). The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held its 1964 annual meeting on May 9, 1964, and discussed education, dental care, claims, and how important it is for "people to work together" (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1964a). The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held a special general membership March 20, 1965 to discuss claims (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1965a).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held an annual meeting at Eagles Hall, Carnation, on July 8, 1967. The membership elected tribal officials, voted members onto committees, and discussed the attorney contract (see below) (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1967a). The 1968 Snoqualmie Tribal Organization annual meeting was held at Eagles Hall, Carnation, on May 18, 1968. The membership elected tribal officials, discussed claims and enrollment, among other business (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1968a). The Docket 92 Claims settlement was accepted by a two to one vote at an August 31, 1968 general council meeting (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1968b).

The beginning of significant leadership change came at the July 8, 1967, annual meeting when the general council was faced with replacing three of their long-time leaders -- Matilda Barr, Kiutus Tecumseh, both of whom had died, and Emil Williams who was seriously ill (Snoqualmie Tribe Organization 1967a). Juanita Carpenter and Thomas Bean were elected to the council. Ed Davis was elected tribal council chairman, the position held by Kiutus Tecumseh before his death. At this time Karen Boney and Helen Harvey were elected to the council temporarily. Robert Comenout was voted in as a temporary chairman of the general council.

Further change came during the special meeting of the general membership held in August, 1968, attended by 81 adults. At this meeting, Robert Comenout was unanimously elected permanent chairman of the tribe (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1968b). Comenout provided strong leadership

again, after the twelve-year period following Kanim's death. His election reflected a generational change. Comenout was relatively young and had a following among a new generation of tribal members who were better educated than most of their parents and elders (FD). Some of these had been elected at the previous annual meeting.

The issue of Federal recognition was raised often by Comenout during his twelve-year tenure, beginning as early as 1969 (see following paragraphs). Comenout also pushed the Snoqualmie toward rewriting their constitution and bylaws. He urged the group to become incorporated because he incorrectly believed that an incorporated tribal entity would be recognized by the Federal government automatically.

In addition to fishing rights, recognition was an issue to the Snoqualmie because it had become apparent to the group that the judgment funds awarded for the Snoqualmie claim before the Indian Claims Commission would be distributed on a per capita basis rather than paid to the tribe. This was because the Snoqualmie were not recognized. The Snoqualmie were also concerned because the funds would be paid to non-members with Snoqualmie ancestry.

Younger tribal members became increasingly active within the Snoqualmie council and general council during Comenout's tenure. Some of these were influenced by the political activism of the 1960's in American society in general and in Indian affairs in particular. One member was present at Wounded Knee in 1973 and had participated in other Indian movement protests (FD). They were interested in promoting treaty rights, but also social issues such as health, education and employment, for which they urged the tribe to develop programs (FD). The formal organization of the tribe becaming increasingly active in these during the 1970's and 1980's.

An October 2, 1971, meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization at Carnation, included discussions about claims, education, organization (federal recognition), the By-Laws, committee memberships and the tribal secretary's request to resign (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1972a). Chairman Comenout raised the recognition issue, arguing that the tribe should reorganize, which would increase their chances of recognition. In the discussion Andy de Los Angeles, one of the younger leaders, remarked that if they were recognized, they could undertake programs to help the young and old. A draft reorganization plan was defeated and a new organizing committee was elected to continue work on tribal reorganization. A suggestion was made during the discussion preceding the election of this committee that the committee have some elders on it.

At the March 18, 1972, tribal council meeting reorganization again appeared on the agenda, and Chairman Comenout suggested that the tribe develop articles of association and later write a constitution and bylaws. He stated that reorganization was discussed at the two previous meetings and urged that the issue be resolved (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1972a).

The importance of fishing rights as a political issue in this era is discussed at length in section VI.F. Internal political differences over how to approach the issue are discussed briefly later in this section of the report. Records indicate that a "fish-in" was planned as a protest during the era when fishing rights protests were occuring throughout the Puget Sound region. There was no information whether this was carried out or how broad support may have been within the Snoqualmie. The Snoqualmie exercised sanctioned fishing rights from 1971 to 1978 in connection with the U.S. v. Washington litigation (see Historical Report). In this period, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council, working with their fishing committee, distributed fishing cards which the BIA prepared from a list of eligible members provided by the Snoqualmie Tribal Council. To be assured that the fishing was conducted within the framework set by the court, the tribal council and its fishing committee approved a set of regulations governing fishing and policed fishing by tribal members, reviewing violations and administering punishment (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1975d, 1976e).

The general council meeting on May 11, 1974 was attended by about 50 tribal members (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1974a, 1974b). Chairman Comenout reminded the group that they were still not a formally recognized tribe. Snoqualmie member Art Humphreys said that recognition was always brought up at meetings whether the discussion concerned hunting, fishing or anything else. Mr. William Black from the Western Washington Agency at Everett explained that to be recognized, a group had to have a land base (true at the time) and a constitution and bylaws. It also had to have an approved membership roll. Also discussed at the meeting were committee reports from the Enrollment, Health & Welfare, Education & Employment, Fishing, Housing & Urban Development, and Organizing committees. In addition, tribal council and committee replacements and a monument for Chief Kanim were discussed.

Later in the meeting, the existing constitution and bylaws were discussed and Comenout said that they were of no effect since they were recognized neither by the state nor Federal government. Ed Davis opposed changing them, urging the group to stick with what Jerry Kanim had started. At the end of the discussion, Andy de los Angeles, one of the younger members, made a motion that the council draft or update the constitution and bylaws. Seconded by Karen Boney, another

young member, the motion carried.

These meetings reflect the concern older members expressed during Comenout's tenure over proposals to revise the governing document and procedures. Older members referred to the advice and teachings of Jerry Kanim, and cautioned against moving too fast into new forms and activities that they (the Snoqualmie) might not fully understand. Ed Davis urged conservatism at the May 11, 1974 meeting, saying, "live up to that and walk with it, then we will be recognized in time to come" (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1974a/b). Emma Sweet, who had been a council member or officer since the 1950's, said in 1972 that, "reorganization is tearing down what many of the older people have worked for, and it's taking away a lot of what they have stood for" (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1972a).

Interviews confirm that generational differences had been an issue throughout the 1970's, with a focus on the issue of "modernizing" tribal structure and as well as differences over how to address the fishing rights litigation in U.S. v. Washington. Individuals who were active in the 1970's indicated that there was conflict over whether, when and how to participate in the litigation. At a major meeting where a decision was made there were generational differences and also differences of some kind over whether to support or oppose the actions proposed by Chairman Comenout (FD). The exact nature of this meeting, which apparently occurred in the early 1970's, was not clear. No documentary record to substantiate or clarify the nature of this event was located.

Generational differences over how the Snoqualmie were governed during the 1970's were clearly evident again at a June 14, 1978, tribal council meeting (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1978c). Effectively, the youngest generation and the "elders" aligned themselves against the generation that had come into power in 1968 with Robert Comenout. Andy de los Angeles visited the council meeting and asserted that the council should become more active, take initiative, and make or create programs, themes that the younger members had been pushing throughout the decade. He stated that, "As a representative of the younger people in my age group, the goals [for the tribe] are fishing, education, foster care, health care, employment and housing." De Los Angeles stated that failure of the council to act would mean that "it will disinterest the younger people and that's where you will lose a lot of membership," stating that alot of younger people had already "left." He characterized himself as a "representative of the younger people." At the same time, he stated his and the younger generation's concern about the threatened resignations of elders Juanita Carpenter and Evelyn Enick, and about Ed Davis "not wanting to get involved," because of "how the

council was being run." He noted that he wanted Ed Davis to know how "the young people look at the tribal government."

The exact concerns over how the tribal government was run are not clear from the available information, although issue of revising the governing document is evident. Attendance problems, personal conflicts, and the need for a code of ethics are mentioned in the record of the discussion. In 1977, the tribal secretary had expressed concern over the lack of attendance at recent general council meetings. Specific conflicts with Comenout over his style of leadership are likely to have played a role as well.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Organization held a council meeting at Eagles Hall, Carnation, on May 10, 1975, and met with Frank Wright of the Small Tribes of Western Washington (STOWW) and Gosta Dagg from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Everett, to discuss tribal recognition (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1975a). In March 3, 1978, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council met and discussed a meeting of the Affiliated Tribes scheduled for mid-March, 1978, the National Congress of American Indians meeting scheduled for late March, 1978, the need for more funding, the tribal fishing tax, and other business (Snoqualmie Tribe 1978g).

On June 26, 1980, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council held a meeting in Issaquah, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1980d). The council discussed funding, fishing, and the work of the Snoqualmie's attorney.

In 1980 and 1981, major shifts in leadership again occurred when Chairman Robert Comenout resigned under pressure and new leaders came into power. These were accompanied by a restructuring of the leadership system to provide for regular elections of the council and chairman rather than life-time terms.

At a special meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribe on November 8, 1980, attended by more than fifty members, Robert Comenout resigned as Chairman of the Snoqualmie Tribe and the Snoqualmie tribal members present elected Karen E. Boney temporary chairperson (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1980g; Judie Moses 1981). Reportedly a petition signed by Snoqualmie members was brought to the council as pressure to force Comenout to resign (FD). A number of actions that had been taken by Comenout over a period of years brought the reaction that he was too "high-handed," and, in effect, was taking actions without proper consultation with the council and the membership (FD). It was later stated that such actions had brought the reaction from council members and younger people as to "why couldn't they do it" (i.e., act without getting council or leader approval) (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f). The

immediate event preceding the resignation was his involvement in a lawsuit against the American Lutheran Church in October 1980 (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1980i). The tribal council disclaimed Comenout's statements to the press about the lawsuit and stated that he was acting as a private citizen and the action was outside his duties as chairman of the tribe (Enick 1980).

The conflict concerning Comenout was followed by a major change in Snoqualmie political organization when a new constitution and bylaws were adopted in 1981 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981a, 1981b). This constitution provided for limited terms for officers, a significant change from the life terms of the past. This change may have been in part a reaction to the conflicts with Comenout and the lack of a mechanism to replace a chairman holding a lifetime office. At about the same time, there was additional turnover in officers and councilmen.

Although changes in leadership occurred in the late 1960's and again in the early 1980's, some council members and officers continued who had been active for a very long time. The continued activity of Ed Davis, Jerry Kanim's political ally and friend, is discussed elsewhere. Leona Eddy, who is currently a member of the council, has been enrollment officer since 1950 and was first elected to council in 1962. Jerry Kanim's daughter, Evelyn Enick, served as secretary not only to her father but also to the Snoqualmie Tribal Council. She served on the Snoqualmie Tribal Council from 1943 to until the 1980's. Judie Moses served in the combined office of Secretary-Treasurer from 1962 to 1980, having served earlier as council secretary, and continuing as treasurer until May 1983 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1983d).

IV.C Community and Social Organization between 1956 and 1980

This section outlines the available evidence concerning social relationships and social interaction among the Snoqualmie during the period between 1956 and 1980. Information which specifically concerns social relationships and community social organization is fairly limited. Available information, such as that concerning membership requirements and cultural differences, demonstrates the continuation of social patterns that are more clearly established for the modern community (after 1980) and for the 1940's and 1950's. Detailed information is available concerning the maintenance, functioning and change in Snoqualmie political processes. This information, which was discussed in the preceding section, indirectly provides evidence for the existence of a social community. A brief review of membership and attendance lists indicates that the Snoqualmie continued to reside in approximately the same areas and did not become significantly

more dispersed geographically. Geographic distribution is approximately the same before and after the 1956-1980 period.

There was limited interview data that indicated some social ties continued among the older generation which were derived from the period when distinct settlements existed and the period immediately following. Because many among the older generation were still alive after 1956, a certain degree of social ties existed which were founded in the experiences of this older generation living and growing up in the territorially distinct traditional communities at Lake Samammish and other locations which existed until around 1914. These social ties were based on a period when people lived in the same settlement and longhouses, and when they had undertaken social and ceremonial events together. The ties loosened to some degree as the older generation died off. A larger portion of the membership had lived in the 1914-1956 era, when there continued to be group ceremeonies and frequent major social gatherings of the tribe.

Based on earlier and later periods, a significant degree of traditional culture was still maintained, although probably by a declining portion of the membership (see III.E and V.G). The last generation of fluent speakers of Snoqualmie was born in the 1920's, and language usage has been in decline since then. By the 1940's, translators were needed at meetings because the young people did not understand Snoqualmie-speaking elders.

Large-scale community gatherings such as the Fourth of July celebration held by Jerry Kanim and the Memorial Day gathering at Ed Davis' house in Tolt were no longer held after the 1950's. There is at least one reference to some sort of Thanksgiving event being held in 1956, but whether these were frequent and whether there was continuity between this 1956 dinner and earlier social gatherings at Dwenar Forgue's house was not established. Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners sponsored by the Snoqualmie council have been held since 1978. These are described in section V.E. There was no other information concerning informal social gatherings during this time period.

The annual and other general council meetings of the Snoqualmie continued regularly during this period. These served a limited social function in addition to a political one, in that they brought together Snoqualmie tribal members. The meeting included a potluck dinner and other opportunities to socialize.

There was limited information indicating that an informal Snoqualmie system of distributing food to needy Snoqualmie operated in this time period, as it had since the 1920's and

1930's and continues today (see section V.E). The primary person operating this was Dwenar Forgue, although there is evidence that others also provided food-sharing to needy families (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 382-3, 391-3). Food was distributed to whomever was in need wherever they lived, "from Auburn to Tulalip" (FD). This distribution depended in part on knowledge of the needs of particular families, which appears to have been gained through informal social contact.

Marriage within the Snoqualmie was common until the 1920's, and within the traditional Puget Sound Indian society until the 1950's (see section III.F). As a consequence, there remained numerous social ties based on kinship within the Snoqualmie population of the 1956 to 1980 era. One indicator of the level of these kinship ties is that although the Snoqualmie added a specific blood degree requirement for membership in the late 1940's or early 1950's of one-eighth degree Snoqualmie blood, there were few members with only the minimum blood degree (see also Upchurch 1934b). The average Snoqualmie blood degree was probably considerably higher, based on the genealogical materials in the petition. Further, most if not all, had a significantly higher degree of Indian blood, based on ancestry in other Puget Sound tribes, which was almost universal.

IV.D Relationship to Tulalip and Other Reservation Populations

The enrolled membership of the Snoqualmie had narrowed considerably during the 1940's and probably continued to do so in the 1950's as the social and political affiliation of some Snoqualmie with reservations increased. The overlapping of Snoqualmie membership between reservation residents and non-reservation residents decreased sharply as reservation residents gave up membership in the Snoqualmie and their participation decreased.

Many Snoqualmie families, both those who had moved onto reservation lands in the 19th century and those who had moved in the first three decades of the 20th century, had for many years remained socially and politically part of the Snoqualmie tribe. Bureau of Indian Affairs' policies more narrowly focused on reservation Indians after the early 1940's. By 1961 the landless "public domain" tribes such as the Snoqualmie were no longer recognized. The reservations offered Snoqualmie social, economic and political benefits unattainable by non-reservation Indians. At the same time, reservation enrollment became more important as tribal governments organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Distinctions between reservation and non-reservation Indians increased, as reservation membership became more

formalized, excluding non-reservation Indians from access to resources that came with reservation enrollment. Dropping Snoqualmie tribal membership in favor of reservation membership became an option which many Snoqualmie chose. It is more difficult to evaluate the degree and the speed to which social distinctions came to follow formal distinctions in enrollment.

There was a major shift in Snoqualmie enrollment in 1944, with the institution of a new enrollment procedure by Chief Jerry Kanim (Kerum 1944d). The 1940 list had 650 members (children and adults); the 1950 list had 134 (all adults). Besides the omission of children, the difference is partly the result of former members, who were now enrolled with a reservation, no longer being on the Snoqualmie rolls (Anonymous 1944) (Genealogical Report, 12). Some of the difference in numbers may have been the result of the earlier roll not being kept up to date by removal of deceased individuals.

Not all reservation-oriented Snoqualmie relinquished their membership in the Snoqualmie Tribe in the 1940's. In the 1950's, lists of council members show a few reservation-oriented family lines. For example, Cyrus James from the Tulalip Reservation was Vice Chairman in 1961, his last involvement before he withdrew from Snoqualmie activities (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1960b). Another example is Edith Parks, also from Tulalip, who was secretary until the 1950's (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1951a). The Snoqualmie claim that some individuals changed membership as a result of the 1975 Boldt decision on fishing rights (FD). The specific individuals referred to were not identified. Some families at Yakima who were members fairly recently, such as the Hoptowits, had apparently dropped Snoqualmie membership by the time the group petitioned for Federal acknowledgment in 1976.

After 1981, the Snoqualmie prohibited dual enrollment with the reservation tribes. No specific information was developed concerning how many individuals may have relinquished Snoqualmie membership as a result. Despite a present ban on dual enrollment, about 20 percent of the current membership is enrolled in a recognized tribe (Genealogical Report, 10).

V. Present-day Community

V.A Introduction

This section of the report reviews the available evidence concerning the maintenance of a distinct social community among the present-day Snoqualmie. It reviews the kin relationships of Snoqualmie tribal members, the geographic distribution of the membership, the nature of family groupings, and interaction at Snoqualmie social functions. This section also reviews social boundaries with non-Snoqualmies, including membership requirements, as well as maintenance of distinct culture and relationships with other Puget Sound Indians.

Additional information relevant to demonstration of community is found in the subsequent section (VI) on political influence, which includes evidence of maintenance of social contact between members which is part of a political context or provides the foundation for political processes.

V.B Geographic Distribution of the Membership

The following description of the geographic distribution of the membership provides a baseline for reviewing evidence of the maintenance of social interaction and social relationships among the Snoqualmie. The Snoqualmie are not so concentrated, i.e., living in exclusive or nearly exclusive settlement areas, that the geographic patterns are evidence in themselves of a significant degree of interaction. The Snoqualmie petition itself notes the effect of geographic dispersion on limiting day-to-day interaction within the group (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 409). A high percentage of the membership for which there are addresses do live within a limited geographic radius, and to this degree geographic patterns are supportive of other evidence suggesting a significant degree of interaction among the membership. However, because addresses were missing for about a quarter of the listed membership, the pattern described can only be approximate.

The geographic patterns are presented from two perspectives. The degree of concentration or dispersion of the overall membership is discussed first. Following that, the geographic distribution of individual family lines is briefly described.

Currently, members of the Snoqualmie live in various towns and villages in western Washington. They are concentrated in western King County with additional members found in neighboring southern Snohomish and northern Pierce Counties.

Relatives mentioned in interviews as outside the immediate area were often at the Yakima Reservation, in Tacoma, Olympia or elsewhere in the state of Washington. The available interview data did not indicate substantial numbers of relatives who were more geographically distant (FD). Most mentioned were close relatives of the interviewee. A few were mentioned in Oregon and northern California. Few enrolled members have moved outside of Washington, and those who have lived temporarily in other states because of military service or school tend to return to the state.

The names of those without addresses was reasonably consistent between the three lists reviewed below which date from 1986 to 1990. A brief review of the names of those listed on the 1990 roll with no address indicates that they are widely scattered among the family lines making up the Snoqualmie membership. Of the five most socially active large lines (see discussion of the character and status of Snoqualmie family lines in section V.C, below), three had almost none with no address and the other two (Moses and Tomallum) were missing less than 20 percent. Those missing in the Moses line appear to reflect families that are dually enrolled with a reservation tribe. The balance of those with no addresses is primarily drawn from twelve small lines which maintained significant social and political relationships until the 1950's and 1960's, and from one larger line which maintained such relationships until the 1970's. Information on their present social affiliation with the Snoqualmie was limited, but most are lines which have become more affiliated with the reservations in recent decades. The consistency from list to list of those without addresses suggests that their contact with the Snoqualmie is presently limited, rather being the result of a temporary failure to notify the Snoqualmie office of a change of address. Signup sheets at General Council meetings and other functions are used as one means of gathering updated addresses, presumably from individuals in sufficient social contact to have heard about the function despite having moved (FD).

The Snoqualmie enrollment list of 1986 includes a total of 502 Snoqualmie (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986d). This list, in contrast to the 1989 and 1990 lists discussed below, included minor children, who are technically not considered enrolled members. The list includes the address of 391 of the members; the list does not include the address of 111 members, 22 percent of the membership. A review of 1986 members' addresses by town reveals that 335 members, or 67 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns within 50 air miles of Tolt/Carnation. Only 56 members, or 11 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns beyond 50 air miles from Carnation, often described as the "heart" of Snoqualmie territory. If the members with unknown addresses

are not included in computation, 86 percent of the members with known addresses are in towns within a 50-mile radius of Tolt/Carnation.
Enrolled Snoqualmie members resided in the following western Washington towns in 1986: Arlington (13), Auburn (11), Darrington (10), Duvall (18), Everett (44), Issaquah (12), Monroe (21), Redmond (8), Renton (18), Seattle (51), Snohomish (24), Snoqualmie (7), Tacoma (20) and Woodinville (16). The analysis of place of residence indicates that until recently, the Snoqualmie tended not to live in the larger cities of Seattle and Tacoma.

A second enrollment list, from 1989, includes a total of 310 enrolled Snoqualmie (Snoqualmie Tribe 1989). The list includes the addresses of 233 of the members; the list does not include the address of 77 members (26 percent). A review of 1989 members' addresses by town reveals that 189 members, or 61 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns within 50 air miles of Tolt/Carnation. Only 44 members, or 14 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns beyond 50 air miles from Tolt/Carnation. If the members with unknown addresses are not included in the computation, 81 percent of the members with known addresses are in towns within a 50-mile radius of Tolt/Carnation. Only 10 members with known addresses resided outside the state of Washington.

Enrolled Snoqualmie members resided in the following western Washington towns in 1989: Arlington (7), Auburn (8), Darrington (10), Duvall (12), Everett (17), Issaquah (10), Monroe (10), Renton (9), Seattle (26), Snohomish (12), Snoqualmie (6), Tacoma (12) and Woodinville (8).

A third list, the Snoqualmie enrollment list of 1990, includes 313 enrolled Snoqualmie, excluding deceased, banished or pending members. The list includes the addresses of 218 of the members, or 70 percent. The list does not include the address of 108 of the members, approximately 30 percent. A review of 1990 members' addresses by town reveals that 189 members, or 60 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns within 50 air miles of Tolt/Carnation. Only 29 members, or 9 percent of the total membership list, have addresses in towns beyond 50 air miles from Tolt/Carnation. If the members with unknown addresses are not included in the computation, 87 percent of the members with known addresses are within a 50-mile radius of Tolt/Carnation. Only 13 members with known addresses resided outside the state of Washington.

Enrolled Snoqualmie members resided in the following western Washington towns in 1990: Arlington (11), Auburn (7), Darrington (7), Duvall (14), Everett (23), Issaquah (9), Monroe (10), Renton (9), Seattle (26), Snohomish (10),

Snoqualmie (7), Tacoma (11) and Woodinville (6).

Certain western Washington towns contain clusters of closely related Snoqualmie families. In general, the Snoqualmie tend to live in family line clusters in neighboring communities. A review of a map of Washington reveals that these families are within easy commuting distance of one another. Darrington, in Snohomish County, contains families whose members are descendants of Nellie Tomallum. These families include the Beauchamp, Freeze, Rassmussen, and Strotz families. Duvall contains families whose members are descendants of Dwenar Forgue (1898-1984). These include the Applebee, Forgue, Hinzman, and Moraga families. Forgue lived for 67 years in the nearby town of Redmond before moving to Duvall in 1965 (Woodinville Weekly 1984). Other families descended from her live in Monroe, only a few miles from Duvall, including the Barker, Burch, Johnson, and Mathis families. George and Elizabeth (Betsy) Davis left families with descendant members in Renton, Washington and other nearby locations. These include the Donyes, Sweet, Willoughby and Wyatt families.

V.C Family Composition and Ancestry of the Current Membership

The Snoqualmie membership traces its ancestry to 26 historic Snoqualmie families. The membership as of August 1990 totalled 313 members, not including 4 former members who were banished and 8 individuals whose applications were pending (Genealogical Report, 1). Ninety-six percent of the petitioner's members have established or can be expected to establish descent from historic Snoqualmie (Genealogical Report, 5). Only 4 percent of the membership of the petitioning Snoqualmie group have not established Snoqualmie descent, including 11 members who have not satisfactorily established Snoqualmie descent and four individuals who are non-Indian, honorary members of the Snoqualmie Tribe (Genealogical Report, 5).

There are eight family lines which will be defined here as "large" lines. These each comprise between five and fifteen percent of the total membership. The eight lines total 77 percent of the total membership. Eighteen smaller lines together comprise 23 percent of the enrollment, none having more than nine members and some having only one or two. The 18 small lines are "small" only in the sense of having only a few members presently enrolled with the Snoqualmie Tribe (see Genealogical Report, 7-9). Some are in fact quite large, but are mostly enrolled in one or another recognized tribe. In some instances many more of members of these lines were socially as well as formally enrolled members of the

Snoqualmie in the past than are now. Looked at as a group, there is and has been a high degree of intermarriage with local Puget Sound Indians among the "small" families.

Of the large family lines, that designated as the Mary Lewis line has 47 descendants; that of George Davis has 30; James Zackuse has 26; and Nellie Tomallum has 33. George Moses has 34 descendants on the membership list and Julia Patkeenum has 24. Two other relatively large lines are that of Charlie Kanum, with 14 members and Elizabeth Kanim, with 22. As noted, many Snoqualmie family lines, as defined genealogically, are relatively small: 59 members trace descent from 18 separate family lines (Genealogical Report, 7-9).

Six of the large family lines, together with six of the small lines, have been the predominant families in numbers and activity among the Snoqualmie since the 1950's. Together these constitute about 69 percent of the currently enrolled membership.

The largest of the large lines is the line designated in the genealogical reports as that of Mary Lewis, comprising about one-sixth (16 percent) percent of the current membership. Two small lines, though defined as separate for purposes of the genealogical analysis, are closely related. These are the Kate Borst and Jennie Kanim Hern lines. The overall group will be referred to here as the Jennie Kanim Hern line, because this conforms more with Snoqualmie usage and because members of the Mary Lewis line also share ancestry from Jennie Hern (Genealogical Report, 7). Most of the current Snoqualmie from the Jennie Hern line are the descendants of Dwenar Forgue, born in 1898. The Forgue subline has been often prominent in the council and other leadership positions since the late 1970's. Several individuals are active in the Shaker church religion. There are two other, small, sublines, those of Jerry Kanim himself and of Henry Nelson. Kanim, Forgue and Nelson were half-siblings, children of Jennie Hern and three different fathers. The immediate family line of Jerry Kanim included his daughter Evelyn Enick, who was influential among the Snoqualmie in the decades after his death (Enick died after research for the review of this petition was completed). Others individuals who are part of the Jerry Kanim and the Nelson sublines are enrolled with other tribes rather than with the Snoqualmie.

The second largest group is composed of the families descended from George Davis. They presently constitute approximately 10 percent of the membership. This group included the prominent leader Ed Davis. This family was a major one at Lake Sammamish and has a high degree of recent Duwamish as well as Snoqualmie ancestry. Several members are active in the Shaker church. A closely related small line is that of Lucy Rose

Davis.

The Zackuse line, descended from James Zackuse, comprises 8 percent of the membership. Like the Davis line, the Zackuse line has a high degree of recent Duwamish ancestry as well as Snoqualmie. It is a lower Snoqualmie family line. Several members, including former chairman Andy de Los Angeles, are active in the Indian Smokehouse religion.

The only remaining large family line which is derived primarily from the Upper Snoqualmie is the Moses family line. This constitutes about 11 percent of the membership. This family had public domain allotment land above Snoqualmie Falls, some of which is still held in Federal trust (see Section II.B). Kenneth Moses is an important leader of the Indian Smokehouse religious movement.

The Tomallum line, about 11 percent of the membership, is the only one of the six active large lines without a long history of intermarriage with other Snoqualmie or other local Indians. In the Tomallum line, the woman who is the "founder" was born in 1850, before the Point Elliot Treaty, and married to an non-Indian around 1870. The Tomallum line has had a long history of relationships with the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization. Members from this line appear on the first enrollment, made in 1916. It does not appear to have been as highly connected socially as the other most active large family lines in the past. It was not determined that presently, or in the 20th century, individuals from the line have active in the traditional culture or other distinct cultural activities, such as the Shaker Church. Family line members have served on the council since at least the 1960's, and participated in Snoqualmie events since Jerry Kanim's time. The current chairman and vice-chairman are from the Tomallum line.

There are three other small lines which are active and socially well connected with the Snoqualmie have been quite important to Snoqualmie community and political organization in the past thirty years. One of these is the Lyman Martin line, with only two present members, the remnant of a formerly important Upper Snoqualmie family. Two others are the Matilda Williams family line, which includes present chief Ernie Barr, and the Selalius line, which includes former chairman Robert Comenout.

The sixth large line, derived from Charlie Kanim, makes up about 5 percent of the Snoqualmie members. It is closely related to Jerry Kanim's family line. It has appeared on the enrollment lists of the Snoqualmie since the first one in 1916, and has had a high degree of intermarriage with Snoqualmie or other local Indians in the past. Many of those

enrolled with the Snoqualmie are also enrolled in the Lummi Tribe and live on the Lummi Reservation. Other sublines, mostly not enrolled with the Snoqualmie, are intermarried with Indians from other local reservations such as Tulalip. It could not be established whether members of this line have been closely involved socially with the other main families in the past ten to twenty years. Although some have participated in annual meetings and been council members, these families may have shifted their affiliation somewhat towards their respective reservation communities.

Two large lines only became part of the Snoqualmie membership recently, since approximately 1980. There was no evidence that either of these two lines have had or have now close social relationships with the main body of the Snoqualmie, despite the short-lived involvement of some on the Snoqualmie council.

One of the two recent lines is the Julia Patkeenum line, with about 8 percent of the membership. This line derives from a pioneer marriage, about 1850, between a sister of Pat Kanim and a non-Indian man. There have been no further marriages with Indians, with the exception of a controversial marriage in 1985 between a member of this line and one of the Forgues. Members of this line were formally added to the membership around 1984, but have been active in the Snoqualmie organization since about 1981 (see Section V.I). According to the Snoqualmie petition, this group had no awareness of the Snoqualmie and had had no previous contact with the Snoqualmie (since the 1850's) (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 402). After a political conflict in 1986 and 1987, and the banishment of four of its members, this group no longer participated in Snoqualmie activities, although many still appear on the Snoqualmie membership list. The banished individuals established a separate group, designated the "Snoqualmoo of Whidbey Island," which petitioned for Federal acknowledgment in 1988 (see Historical Report). The degree of membership overlap between the Snoqualmie and the Snoqualmoo was not determined. There may also have been more recent withdrawals from the Snoqualmie that do not appear on the 1990 membership list used for these reports.

The other line added to the membership in the 1980's is the Elizabeth Kanum line, constituting approximately 8 percent of the membership. The Elizabeth Kanim line derives from the 1893 marriage of a Snoqualmie woman and the son of an earlier Indian-white marriage. Many of its members were previously enrolled with the Snohomish petitioner. The proposed finding against acknowledgment of that petitioner, issued in 1983, concluded that this family was of Snoqualmie ancestry, and had no Snohomish ancestry (ASIA 1983). Subsequently, many of this family became enrolled with the Snoqualmie. No final

determination has been made on the Snohomish petition for acknowledgment. The family is not usually mentioned by Snoqualmie as among the main families when listing Snoqualmie families. There was no information indicating significant contact with the Snoqualmie before the 1980's. Several individuals from the family have been elected to the board of the Snoqualmie non-profit organization.

Twelve other small lines collectively make up fifteen percent of the membership. Information was relatively limited concerning their current social relationship to the main six major and six minor lines. On the basis of limited investigation, most of these are "remnants" of family lines that maintained significant social and political ties with the Snoqualmie until at least the 1950's or 1960's. Some members participated in the Snoqualmie General Council, a major political forum (see Section VI.D), and the Snoqualmie Christmas dinner in the late 1970's and early 1980's. They do not appear to be highly active presently in formal events of the Snoqualmie. Many are affiliated with Tulalip Reservation. Until the 1950's or considerably later in some cases, more members of these families were enrolled with the Snoqualmie. Their kinship ties to the main Snoqualmie family lines were not determined in detail. Based on limited information, almost all of these family lines appear to have remained a part of Puget Sound Indian society.

Groups of related Snoqualmie are recognized by the Snoqualmie in some social and political contexts. Descriptions of Snoqualmie "families" and of Snoqualmie politics tend to recognize the five biggest and most active family lines (Hern, Davis, Zackuse, Moses and, to some degree, Tomallum) or major sublines of them as units, indicating they have some social reality as groups and are not solely genealogical constructs. This recognition of kinship appears to be partly the result of the closeness of relationship within these lines. There was no indication that these are highly organized units (see V.D below). Smaller groupings within a line may be referred to in some contexts. Thus in some circumstances the Davises will be referred to (by members of that family line or by others), while in other circumstances, a subset of the Davises, the Willoughby's, will be referred to. The Forgues are almost always distinguished from the Jerry Kanim and Nelson sublines. The term "families," as used by the Snoqualmie, thus has a different scope of reference at different times.

The family lines are not large groups of distantly related individuals. The largest, the Jennie Hern line, has less than 50 (enrolled) individuals. The generational depth to the common ancestor, for a young adult, for the five largest and most important family lines is either three or four generations. In other words, they share a grandparent or

greatgrandparent, who is therefore someone they are likely to know or know something about. Thus, these are fairly closely related blocks of individuals.

On the other hand, the group's membership, as currently defined, does not have kinship links between lines that are based on current or recent marriages. There are no current marriages between enrolled members. The "Jerry Kanim band" of the 1920's and 1930's (see section III.F) had important kinship links between the major families, as well as, characteristic of the area, there were as many marriages to other groups as within. The kinship links between the surviving Snoqualmie family lines are based on these same marriages--not on more recent ones. There are still many surviving older individuals who are the children of such marriages and thus have particularly strong awareness of kinship ties.

Marriages with other Snoqualmie essentially only continued until around 1920. The largest part of the continued Snoqualmie marriage with Indians until roughly the 1950's was with non-Snoqualmie (some were with part-Snoqualmie now affiliated with other tribes). Thus the Snoqualmie have kin ties with other Puget Sound Indians as frequently as with other Snoqualmie outside of their own kinship line.

As a result, kinship ties with Indians outside the group are as important as those within, as was traditionally the case (FD). Many Snoqualmie have extensive social links with various reservation groups, especially Yakima, Muckleshoot, Tulalip and Lummi, through those portions of their kinship networks which link them with reservation residents and members (see also section V.H). They interact with these individuals and have extensive knowledge about them and their circumstances. Some older Snoqualmie lived portions of their earlier lives on one or another reservation as a result.

V.D Petitioner's Family Socio-Political Organization Model

The Snoqualmie petition researcher Tollefson argues that current Snoqualmie socio-political organization is based on interaction of historic treaty families (Tollefson c. 1990, 11). He states, without elaboration, that there are six such families (not specifically named) and describes them as clearly defined groups he terms "lineages" which meet periodically. "Lineages" apparently consist of those individuals who recognize lineal descent from a common ancestor and who socially interact with other kin. He also describes these units as in close social communication. The focal point of the group is a surviving elder and common ancestor so that when this elder dies, the group may split

into smaller "lineages." Tollefson reports that each family (i.e., lineage) has its own system of communication and organization (Tollefson c. 1990, 14-15).

Tollefson describes these units as operating in a highly organized fashion to discuss "tribal issues" and to review and/or nominate candidates for office. Related families are stated to meet periodically at potlucks which last most of the day (Tollefson c. 1990, 11-12). Tollefson states that "One elder usually takes the initiative in calling one of the historic treaty families together and serves as its informal organizer. Information is generally passed around the family through an informal chain of command either by telephone or by word of mouth" (Tollefson c. 1990, 14-15).

While Tollefson's description is presented as a generalization, his discussion indicates that there is considerable variation between family lines that has not been described. He states that "each extended family differs according to size, geographical dispersion, type of leadership, frequency of meetings, proximity to the Snoqualmie Valley, and level of tribal political participation" (Tollefson c. 1990, 14). There was little information in Tollefson's description to indicate how far back in time the system he describes is supposed to have operated.

Tollefson's description of a highly organized "treaty family" system was not supported by the available data. The available information does support a conclusion that there is a significant level of division into family lines which affects Snoqualmie social and political interaction (see previous section) but based on the available information it is far less formally organized and active than what Tollefson describes. The information available concerning the nomination and election of political candidates did not indicate that there was an organized, family-based system of nominating political candidates. With minor one exception, no information was found indicating regular meetings of family lines. One individual described his particular family as holding family meetings and get-togethers once a month (FD). "Family" here meant four related nuclear families, considerably less than this individual's "treaty family." There was no information to allow extending or generalizing this example.

V.E Social Interaction and Social Events within the Community

Social Contact:

Based on limited interview data, Snoqualmie generally display an in-depth knowledge of each other, their histories and families. They also display a sense of involvement with each

other which appears to reflect a long history of interaction. Individuals are well aware of the present living, family and economic circumstances of other people, whether from their family line or not (FD). This has been true even concerning individuals who were no longer "active" in the sense of holding office or attending meetings, thus demonstrating social contact not based on formal organizational activities. For example, the circumstances of former chairman Robert Comenout, even though he theoretically was "banished" from the Snoqualmie, are known in detail. Similarly, the circumstances of the former tribal secretary are well-known, even though she was considered to be "keeping to herself" and had not been an officer for 15 years. There was a similar level of knowledge of Evelyn Enick, Jerry Kanim's daughter, before her recent death, even though she was then housebound and living at some distance from most of the Snoqualmie. Another indicator of closeness of relationship is that some individuals refer to "Gramps" Jerry (Kanim) and "Uncle" Ed Davis, even though they are at best distantly related to those individuals.

Weddings and Funerals:

Interview data indicates clearly that weddings and funerals are not usually attended by individuals from outside of the family line of the principals involved (FD). While ordinary weddings and funerals do not normally involve Snoqualmies from outside the immediate family lines of the principals involved, there have been some special occasions in the past decade and a half which have drawn somewhat larger numbers and broader participation. Specific figures on attendance were not available for all events. Some occasions were sponsored by the Snoqualmie council.

One social occasion drawing large numbers of Snoqualmie was the May 1987 marriage of Earnest Barr, Head Chief of the Snoqualmie Tribe, to Christina Moses. There were over 100 wedding guests, many of them Snoqualmie tribal members (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987b; Barr-Moses Wedding 1987). In 1979, the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization sponsored a birthday dinner and cake for Ed Davis, Snoqualmie elder, at the Tulalip Indian Shaker Church, Tulalip Washington. Plans called for the dinner to serve approximately 320 people, and a Shaker church service (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1979a). In 1980, a recognition dinner for Ed Davis' 92nd birthday was held at the traditional meeting place of the Snoqualmie people in the Tolt/Carnation area (Snoqualmie Tribe 1980b).

Dwenar Forgue, Snoqualmie tribal elder, died in 1984 at the age of 85. Traditional services were held in the Indian Shaker Church in Auburn and services in the Redmond community were held in a funeral home; burial was at Fall City Cemetery (Woodinville Weekly 1984). Ed Davis, tribal elder died on May

20, 1987, in Snoqualmie, Washington (Journal American 1987). About 60 people attended funeral services at the Tulalip Indian Shaker Church on May 23, 1987, including Snoqualmies and members of other tribes.

Food Bank:

The Snoqualmie have operated a food bank as a tribal program since 1978. When the Snoqualmie nonprofit organization was formed in 1984, the food bank became one of its functions. The primary source of food and other items presently is from Federal Government programs, donations from farmers or from various business organizations. A small portion is donated by other Snoqualmie. Presently it serves between 60 and 110 families, not all of them Snoqualmie, however (see below).

The food bank is considered by the Snoqualmie to be a continuation of informal patterns of redistribution of food among the Snoqualmie dating to the 1930's (see Historical Report). Dwenar Forgue, until her death in 1984, had regularly gathered food from other Snoqualmie as well as other sources. She then took it to those in need (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 391-3; FD). She was assisted by her daughter, Mary Ann Hinzman, who later took over the Snoqualmie food bank program. The Snoqualmie petition also describes examples of provision of food, especially berries, salmon and other traditional subsistence items, by other Snoqualmie than Forgue living across the region (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 382-3, 391-3).

The degree to which the foodbank depends on informal communication and on the awareness of individual Snoqualmie of the situations of others is essential in determining whether its operation demonstrates the existence of a social community among the Snoqualmie or whether it is simply a formal program run by a Snoqualmie organization. Systematic data on this question was not available. Field and documentary data provides some support for the existence of informal patterns of communication supporting the foodbank, but mostly in the form of generalizations which provide no basis to estimate the frequency and extent of it. One individual stated that the Snoqualmie Foodbank works because "people would call" about who needed food, about people who were not working or needed money. "People share out of their gardens; if someone is in need, you just "passed it on" (FD). People reportedly knew which families were needy because of the "Indian grapevine"(FD). The coordinator of the food bank program since 1986 stated that she learns of those in need from telephone calls to the tribal office from the friends or relatives of those requiring assistance and sometimes the family needing assistance itself (FD). Council members have

also provided names of families needing help (Snoqualmie Tribe 1991c).

Council meetings and general membership meetings often involve feeding attendees and collecting food or clothing to redistribute to those in need. The conjunction of meetings and redistributing goods to people in need is a continuation of a Snoqualmie tradition (FD).

The food bank as currently operated is not limited to providing food to members of the Snoqualmie. The coordinator in 1991 indicated this was a matter of principle, and not solely the result of the conditions under which food is obtained from Federal programs (FD). The director of the nonprofit organization, however, has strongly objected to this, taking the position that it should be exclusively for Snoqualmie (FD).

Christmas and Thanksgiving Dinners:

The Snoqualmie council has sponsored Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners for tribal members and other guests since about 1978. These are basically social occasions, although sometimes "political issues" are discussed or announcements made about them (FD). In most but not all years both a Thanksgiving and a Christmas dinner was held. These gatherings, because of their size, have been held in churches in Issaquah, or at the Grange Hall in Tolt/Carnation, and the Long House at the State Fair grounds in Monroe. As few as 35 to as many as 107 members have come from as far north as Everett and as far south as Puyallup. Guests, excluding the spouses, have included individuals who are Duwamish, from the Tulalip and Muckleshoot Reservations, Nez Perce, Nooksack, Chippewa, and Rosebud Sioux.

Lists of specific names were available for only four of the dinners, one each in 1978, 1979, 1982 and 1984 (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1978f, 1979d; Snoqualmie Tribe 1982e, 1984n). Some were clearly incomplete in comparison with the headcount taken of those attending. Only 42 names were on the Christmas dinner 1984 list, in comparison with a headcount of 107, although all listed were adult enrolled members. All but a handful of the attendees at each of these four dinners, based on the lists, were from the Hern (usually Forgues) or the Davis line. Former chairman Robert Comenout (Salalias line) and now chief Ernie Barr (Matilda Williams line) also attended. Some individuals on the 1979 list could not be identified.

Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners are described below chronologically, with information on attendance based on the

documentary record. Some other council sponsored social events such as dinners are also described in this section or are described in the following section.

Snoqualmie members in attendance at the Christmas party held in 1978 at Saint Joseph Catholic Church, Issaquah, Washington, came from the towns of Bothell, Duvall, Everett, Fall City, Issaquah, Kent, Monroe, Renton, Seattle and Woodinville. Attendees included members of Applebee, Barker, Boney, Carpenter, Comenout, Davis (Ed), Eddy, Forgue, Hartman, Hinzman and Johnson families (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1978f).

On December 17, 1979, the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization sponsored a Christmas party honoring the youth and elderly of the Snoqualmie Tribe. The party was held at Saint Joseph Catholic Church, Issaquah, Washington. A list of Snoqualmie members who attended included members from Bothell, Everett, Duvall, Fall City, Issaquah, Kent, Lynnwood, Monroe, Redmond, Renton, Puyallup, Seattle and Woodinville (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1979d). Attendees in both 1978 and 1979 were, as noted, almost entirely from the Kanim and Davis lines. In 1979 they included members of the Applebee, Barr, Barker, Boney, Burch, Carpenter, Comenout, Davis, Eddy, Forgue, Hartman, Johnson and Willoughby families, all from these two family lines.

The Snoqualmie Tribe sponsored a direct feed Christmas dinner on December 20, 1980 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1980h). A total of 102 people attended, including 52 adults. On February 28, 1981, in Duvall, Washington, the Snoqualmie Tribe supported a Snoqualmie Tribal Dinner and Workshop (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981a). This workshop was held to bring elders together with young people so that the young people could learn tribal arts and crafts. Fourteen participated in the workshop.

The Snoqualmie Tribe sponsored the Annual Christmas Dinner for all Snoqualmie tribal members on December 19, 1981, at the Grange Hall, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981e). Fifty-seven members attended.

The Snoqualmie Tribe sponsored the fourth Annual Snoqualmie Tribe Thanksgiving Dinner on November 20, 1982, at the Sno-Valley Center, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1982d). The tribe requested members to bring old photographs or newspaper articles which had to do with the tribe's past and announced it would accept donations toward Christmas food baskets at the dinner. The Snoqualmie Tribe sponsored the Annual Snoqualmie Tribe Christmas Dinner on December 18, 1982, at the Sno-Valley Center, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1982e). Over thirty tribal members attended the dinner and came from the following towns: Duvall, Everett, Fall

City, Issaquah, Monroe, Redmond, Renton, Seattle, Snoqualmie, Sultan and Woodinville. Attendees included members of the Applebee, Barker, Boney, Covey, Davis, Eddy, Forgue, Hartman, Hinzman, Johnson and Moses families.

The annual Christmas party in 1983 was held December 18 at the Sno-Valley Multi-Purpose Center in Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe c.1983). The newsletter announced plans for the 1984 Annual Thanksgiving Dinner at 12 noon on November 17 at the Evergreen State Fairgrounds Longhouse. The newsletter also announced plans for the Annual Christmas Dinner on December 15 at the Evergreen State Fairgrounds Longhouse in Monroe. This was the first Christmas dinner at the Longhouse. One hundred and seven people attended the dinner, including Snoqualmie tribal members from the towns of Duvall, Everett, Marysville, Monroe, Redmond, Seattle, Snohomish, Sultan, and Woodinville (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984n).

The September 1985 newsletter announced the time, date and place of the Annual Thanksgiving Dinner, November 23, and Annual Christmas Dinner, December 21, both in the Longhouse at the Monroe Fairgrounds (Snoqualmie Tribe 1985d). The Snoqualmie tribal newsletter of January, 1986, included a note of thanks from the Foodbank coordinator for all the people who came to the Christmas party in Monroe at the Longhouse on December 21, 1985 (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1986a, 2).

The Snoqualmie tribal newsletter of November, 1986, included an announcement of the Thanksgiving Dinner at the Longhouse in Monroe on November 22, and the Christmas Dinner at the Longhouse in Monroe on December 20 (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1986b). Also in 1986, the Snoqualmie Tribe and the Snoqualmie Tribe Non-profit Organization sponsored a Chief's Dinner on July 26, 1986 in honor of the newly elected chief Ernie Barr (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1986a, 2).

Other Council-Sponsored Activities:

Some other activities sponsored by the council are less clearly social and do not necessarily involve contact between a large number of members. In the mid-1980's, the council sponsored or encouraged Snoqualmie participation in parades and the like. The extent of participation and interest in these was not determined. Classes in aspects of Snoqualmie culture were also held frequently in the 1980's. Attendance generally was between 10 and 15 people. Salmon bakes are a tradition and and also were a common fundraiser in Jerry Kanim's time. They were revived in the 1980's and are presently used as fund-raisers for the tribe (FD). They do not, however, appear to require or receive broad community

involvement (FD).

V.F Survey Data

The petition materials contain the results of three questionnaire surveys of the Snoqualmie membership. The first was conducted in 1985, as part of a "cultural continuity" study. The results appear in the main narrative volume of the petition and will be referred to here as the "petition survey" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986). A second survey, conducted in 1989, is described as concerned with the maintenance of community. The results appear in a draft of an article entitled, Cultural Persistence of the Snoqualmie Indians (Tollefson c.1990). The third survey, conducted in 1990, was concerned with attitudes toward, and traditional cultural uses of, Snoqualmie Falls (Tollefson and Abbott 1991).

These surveys included questions which would potentially provide information concerning the maintenance of community among the Snoqualmie, the degree and nature of Snoqualmie social interaction with non-Indians, retention of traditional Snoqualmie culture, the existence of other cultural differences from non-Indians, and political processes among the Snoqualmie. The petition materials use the results of these surveys to assert that the Snoqualmie have maintained a considerable degree of traditional culture, a distinct identity, attitudes and beliefs different from those of the general non-Indian population, participation in tribal political processes, and a significant degree of social interaction within the group.

There are, however, serious deficiencies in these surveys which severely limit their value in providing reliable information about the Snoqualmie membership. Many of the questions are vague or use terms whose meaning is unclear. This makes the meaning of the responses difficult to understand or leaves the meaning of the question open to a variety of interpretations. For example, a question about discussing "tribal business" was uninterpretable because there was no indication what the term "tribal business" meant to the individuals responding. A question concerning Snoqualmie weddings and funerals did not distinguish between participation in such occasions when they involved the respondent's family line (i.e., close relatives) versus with other Snoqualmie. It thus provides no information about social contact outside the immediate kinship group. Some results conflicted strongly with information from interviews and the documentary record. Thus, the number of individuals claiming in a survey to have voted regularly was much much higher than the number shown in the documentary record to have voted at General Council meetings, even if the responding sample was assumed to include all the voters in the

membership. The number responding that they held "tribal office" or had held such office in the past was similarly much higher than is likely, given the number of offices in the Snoqualmie organization.

Each of the three surveys was responded to by a fairly large percentage of the total Snoqualmie membership of 313, between one and two-thirds of the total. They thus represent the responses of a major portion of the group. The petition survey was sent to 155 individuals, with 77 responses. The Snoqualmie Falls survey was administered to the 196 adult members, with 88 responses. No indication is given concerning why the survey distribution was limited to less than the full membership in these two cases, or how a selection was made of who would be surveyed. A total of 114 adults responded to the cultural persistence survey but no indication is given whether a complete survey of the membership was attempted.

No attempt is made in the three reports to correlate differences in responses to particular questions with presumably relevant sociocultural characteristics of the population. Thus, even though the second and third surveys made considerable references to "treaty families," and, based on other data, the family lines clearly differ in social character, no results are presented by family line. Similarly, no results are presented by age or blood degree.

The texts discussing survey results provide no comparisons between the characteristics of those responding to a given survey and the characteristics of the overall Snoqualmie membership. Some information is provided, however, which can be compared with the characteristics of those on the Snoqualmie membership roll. The petition and Snoqualmie Falls surveys provide a partial summary of the character of those responding in terms of family line, blood degree (as reported by the individual), age and sex. The cultural persistence survey indicates little about the character of those responding, although, by inference, it suggests that most of the respondents were from four of the five major family lines (see below). The summaries of the character of the respondents to the other two surveys suggests that they were individuals who were more likely than the membership as a whole to have maintained strong social ties and have maintained some degree of distinct culture. The summaries indicate that, in comparison with the membership as a whole, respondents were older, had a higher blood degree, and were more likely to practice traditional religion. They were also more likely to be female than was the overall membership. Four of the main family lines, Hern (Forgue-Kanim-Nelson), Davis, Zackuse and Moses were strongly represented in the petition and cultural persistence surveys. A fifth, Tomallum, had relatively few responses in comparison with its numbers.

This is consistent with other data that it is less strongly socially connected than the other four lines.

This report will describe only those few survey results where the meaning of the question is reasonably clear, definitely relevant to demonstrating the existence of community and political processes within the meaning of the regulations and the results are not directly contradicted by interview and documentary information. Responses to the numerous questions whose meaning and validity is problematical or which do not provide useful information will not be discussed here, nor does space allow for presentation of a discussion of their specific deficiencies.

Because the number of responses is a large proportion of the total membership, they provide some useful supporting evidence concerning a major part of the Snoqualmie group. They show directly, for example, that at a minimum a significant minority of members retains some traditional cultural beliefs. As discussed above, there is evidence that those responding tend to be from four of the main family lines, relatively older and of a higher Indian blood degree than the overall Snoqualmie population. It thus represents a very large portion of this important part of the Snoqualmie group.

The petition survey reported that 6 percent of those responding said they participated in the Smokehouse religion and 12 percent in the Shaker religion. This is consistent with interview data (FD) and also the petition narrative volume, which indicates that while these religions have prestige within the membership, there are relatively few actual practitioners. Recently, Tollefson has estimated that there are some thirty Shaker participants currently (approximately 9 percent of the current membership) and 25 to 30 Smokehouse religion adherents (7 to 8 percent) (Tollefson 1992, 48). These results are consistent with the petition survey. Fifty-four percent of the respondents to the petition survey reported Catholic or Protestant church as their religious preference, while 19 percent were unspecified "others."

Tollefson in a recent articles refers to a "household power-dream complex," viewing it as a third form of traditional religious belief (Tollefson 1992, 47-48). This refers to receiving "spirit power" as a result of dreams, which Tollefson interprets as a modification of traditional spirit-seeking which requires a retreat into the woods. In this article he estimated 120 participants in this belief. In an earlier draft article, he stated that 12 to 15 youths had received such dreams in the past decade, suggesting the phenomenon is much less widespread (Tollefson c. 1990, 18). Tollefson also states in this article, which reports the

second survey, that 46 percent of the survey respondents said that they knew Snoqualmie youths that had had such dreams (Tollefson c. 1990, 24). There was no interview data to support the report of the existence of this complex of beliefs and practices or provide a basis for evaluation of the nature of the "power dreams." Therefore, it could not be established whether this provides additional evidence that a significant portion of the Snoqualmie maintains significant cultural differences from non-Indians.

Several other survey questions indicated some degree of actual cultural differences from non-Indians as opposed to the use of cultural symbols to assert identity (see also discussion in section V.G). Questions concerning participation in particular Indian religions were discussed above. In addition, 53 percent of the respondents in the petition survey reported that their parents or grandparents had taught them a Snoqualmie skill, story, song or arts and crafts. In the petition survey, 21 individuals (34 percent) reported they or their relatives had suffered "soul loss," a traditional explanation for illness which is also part of Shaker beliefs. Many questions on the questionnaires referred to, or could refer to (without further information) either actual or symbolic cultural differences, but could not be interpreted without further information. Because they do not provide clear evidence of actual cultural differences, the responses to these questions are not discussed here.

In the petition survey, 70 percent of individuals indicated that in school they had been identified as Indian. No information was collected by the survey concerning whether the responding individuals were specifically identified as Snoqualmie. A question concerning having experienced discrimination did not produce useful information because there was no indication of what the respondents considered constituted discrimination, or when, how often or in what contexts it had occurred.

The questions about social contact among the Snoqualmie for the most part did not provide usable information concerning whether social contact exists among the members beyond normal contact among close kinsmen. A question about "best friends" in the cultural persistence survey was the most useful. The results were that 46 percent had at least one best friend within the Snoqualmie but outside their family line. Fifteen percent reported all their best friends within their line. The remaining 39 percent reported all their best friends were outside the tribe. However, the latter data did not indicate whether these friends were non-Indians, or were other Indians in the Puget Sound area which could be expected from other data (see section V.H). In addition, no background discussion of what was meant by "best friend" was provided. The term

does not appear to differentiate between relatives and friends who are not close relatives.

All but one respondent in the cultural persistence survey reported that they had attended "extended family meetings." This is presumably intended to refer to the kinship group meetings that Tollefson describes in detail, based on ethnographic evidence, in the article where the results of the survey are reported (Tollefson c. 1990). This result does not provide useful information because the referent to "extended family meetings" was ambiguous, i.e., could mean the kind of organized political event claimed by Tollefson, or just an ordinary family get-together of a few closely related nuclear families.

The surveys contained relatively few questions, and little useful information, concerning political processes. As noted, the number responding to the cultural persistence survey that they voted regularly or held "tribal office" or had held such office in the past was too high to conclude that the response was valid. As a consequence, it could not be concluded that the response of 80 percent of those survey that they had discussed "tribal politics" was valid. In addition, the meaning of the term "tribal business" was not explained.

V.G Degree of Distinct, Shared Culture

There is good evidence that the Snoqualmie maintain significant cultural differences from non-Indians. The most important evidence is the continuation among a significant minority of the membership of religious practices which are distinctly Indian and part of the Indian culture of the region. Although these practitioners are a minority of the group, they have traditionally held leadership roles and appear to have high prestige. They play an important role in defining distinct Snoqualmie and Puget Sound Indian culture for the Snoqualmie. A recent estimate by the petition researcher is that there are currently some 30 Shaker participants (approximately 9 percent of the membership) and 25 to 30 Smokehouse religion adherents (7 to 8 percent) (Tollefson 1992, 48). These results are consistent with the petition survey and with interview materials. The others attend Catholic or Protestant churches. (Section V.F, above, on survey materials, provides additional discussion of the extent of Indian religion among the Snoqualmie).

The Indian Shaker Church has played an important part in Snoqualmie social, political and cultural life. Many prominent Snoqualmie leaders were and are Shakers, including Earnest Barr, Robert Comenout, Ed Davis, Leona Eddy, Jerry Kanim. When Ed Davis died in 1986, his funeral was held at the Tulalip Indian Shaker Church near Marysville (Journal-

American 1987). Davis joined the Indian Shaker Church around 1912; he was a Shaker minister at Tulalip on Saturdays and maintained an altar in his home (Pierce County Herald 1988). The present Chief, Ernie Barr is a practicing Shaker and attends services at Shaker Churches located in the Puget Sound area (FD). The Snoqualmie tribe often supports the Indian Shaker Church activities and beliefs. For example, tribal council meetings have been opened following Shaker patterns--a candle was lighted which burned during the meeting and there was a Shaker prayer to open the meeting.

Some Snoqualmie participate in the Smokehouse religion, which has curing and naming ceremonies. The Smokehouse religion is a relatively recent revival and reformation of traditional Salish religion which has become widespread among Puget Sound Indians. Snoqualmie participants include a former chairman and a former councilman, both of whom served in the 1980's. These two Snoqualmie tribal members are recognized spiritual leaders of this religion and travel to homes or longhouses throughout the region to conduct ceremonies and minister to patients (FD).

There are several Snoqualmie members who still speak the language. Although there was no precise information, the best estimate is that only a small minority still speak it. The language was last used in Snoqualmie meetings in the 1940's. In 1983, the tribe, through its nonprofit corporation, began conducting Snoqualmie language classes. There was no information to indicate what effect these may have had on the number of speakers.

There are many expressions of Snoqualmie identity which use cultural symbols. To be meaningful as evidence of cultural differences from non-Indians, activities and practices should be shared items of belief, social organization, etc., not simply symbolic expressions of identity. The latter are often recently learned or revived, and practiced primarily in "show" contexts such as meetings, parades or demonstrations to the public rather than as part of the fabric of everyday life. Examples are practices such performance of a version of traditional dances which are for the purpose of asserting tribal identity but do not represent actual differences from non-Indians in beliefs and practices. The Snoqualmie in recent years have performed traditional dances, songs, and naming ceremonies. They also use dance paddles, drums and button blankets in some of their dances. The Snoqualmie dance team is considered, at least by some Snoqualmie, to be a revival of a tradition for show, rather than a restoration of traditional culture (FD). A traditional naming ceremony was recently performed (FD), and may validly represent a traditional cultural practice. Information on these various dances and ceremonies was too limited to provide an adequate

basis that they represented significant cultural differences with non-Indians.

A significant degree of knowledge about the past culture remains among at least some of the older Snoqualmie. This is derived at least in part from their own experiences, in earlier decades of this century, when more extensive cultural differences from non-Indians existed (Carpenter 1981). It is to this extent more than symbolic culture. Two "Snoqualmie elders" provided detailed information in 1981 for a cultural resources survey about sites within traditional Snoqualmie territory that are used for ceremonial, educational, gathering or recreational purposes. The report identifies seven sites in the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest used for spiritual, gathering, hunting or fishing purposes (Baenan 1981, 455). The report also states that some traditional religious practices associated with materials collected from sites in their ancestral homeland have been maintained, but gives no indication if they are practiced by more than a few individuals.

The petition materials imply that there were cultural differences from non-Indians which are widely shared among the Snoqualmie membership (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 405-6). There was little information to support or disprove this. There is some support in the form of limited evidence from the surveys of the Snoqualmie membership that there exist differences in cultural beliefs among at least a portion of the membership. For the most part, the survey materials which the petition interprets as demonstrating significant cultural differences was not reliable or useful information (see discussion in preceding section).

V.H Relationships with Other Puget Sound Indians

Puget Sound Indian society historically has and continues to be characterized by a broad, fluid network of individual relationships linking members of the different tribes. This is much more intense and extensive than is characteristic of intertribal relations of Indians in most regions of the country. The traditional Coast Salish pattern of extensive intermarriage between tribes and ease of change of tribal identity has continued to influence the organization and affiliation of the area's Indians today. This pattern has been modified somewhat with the addition of formally organized reservations which are distinct political entities with legally defined memberships.

This form of social organization creates the likelihood of multiple identities as well as the possibility of shifting identity and affiliation with considerable ease. This affects the character as well as the composition of the group. In

addition, a given individual may participate in an extensive network of social ties throughout the region, ones which may differ from those of other Snoqualmie members.

Many individual Snoqualmie presently participate in the network of social relationships throughout the region. It could not be determined from the available data what percentage of the current membership of the Snoqualmie participates in this network, but a rough estimate is that at least a sizeable minority does not. This interaction occurs largely on the eastern side of Puget Sound, from Lummi Reservation in the north to Puyallup Reservation in the south. It also includes the Yakima Reservation to the east.

Many Snoqualmie have extensive social links with reservation residents and members on various reservations, especially Yakima, Muckleshoot, Tulalip and Lummi, through their kinship networks. They interact with these individuals, and have extensive knowledge about them and their circumstances (FD). Many of the "small" Snoqualmie families are in fact quite large, but are mostly enrolled in one or another recognized tribe. These Snoqualmie members are linked by kinship to large numbers of individuals in these recognized tribes.

An example of multiple ties is the present Snoqualmie chief, Earnest Barr. He has relatives enrolled at the Yakima as well as the Muckleshoot Reservation and in Snoqualmie itself. Chief Barr lives on the Muckleshoot Reservation where he is a member of the Muckleshoot Housing Committee, helping decide the distribution of housing on the reservation. Nonetheless, Chief Barr is part of the Snoqualmie, maintaining informal social contact as well as attending council meetings at Redmond and Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners.

Through the Shaker church and Smokehouse religion activities of prominent Snoqualmie, the Snoqualmie are associated with people from many of the Puget Sound tribes. Snoqualmie members of these religions participate in congregations which are intertribal and attend funerals or weddings in various locations throughout the region. When a Shaker Church member dies, the funeral is attended by Shakers from various places. For example, when Snoqualmie Ed Davis (1880-1987) died, his funeral was held in the Tulalip Indian Shaker Church and grave-side services were held at Fall City Cemetery. More than 60 people came to the small church at Tulalip (Jarvis 1987). In addition to the Snoqualmie and Tulalip Indians in attendance, there were Shakers from Lummi, Yakima and Puyallup.

Recently, secular events such as powwows or the Snoqualmie Salmon Bake held at the long house built on the Evergreen State Fairground in Monroe, Washington, have promoted

interaction of Snoqualmie with Indians in the Lake Washington or Puget Sound area. Snoqualmie salmon bakes often attract Indian visitors from the reservations (FD).

Intermarriage with other local Indians was common among the Snoqualmie until the late 1950's (see section III.F). It has since declined sharply, although this may reflect in part an overall increase in marriage with non-Indians among Puget Sound Indians in general. The diverse ancestry of Snoqualmie members attests to the extensiveness and time depth of this interaction. It is not uncommon for a Snoqualmie individual to have, in addition to their Snoqualmie ancestry, ancestors from other groups or tribes. Snoqualmie tribal members have ancestors from groups including the Duwamish, Snohomish, Skykomish, Yakima, Wenatchie, Sauk-Suiattle, Skokomish, Suquamish, Swinomish, Puyallup, Lummi, and Skagit.

The relevance of the nature of the Puget Sound network to identity and affiliation is that a person may be enrolled on a reservation, and thus be legally a member, without participating socially in that group. Alternatively, because many reservations are multitribal in background, a person may be enrolled, and socially affiliated with a reservation, but espouse a particular tribal identification as well, e.g., Snoqualmie. Further, in the particular case of Snoqualmie, as discussed earlier, some reservation Indians identifying as Snoqualmie do not consider themselves part of the petitioner and, apparently, have no significant social interaction or affiliation with them, while, in the past at least, many reservation Snoqualmie were both socially and formally members of the petitioner. Families with Snoqualmie ancestry are found in which a woman is enrolled at one reservation, her son at another, and her grandchildren at yet another.

Because of multiple tribal ancestry, and the traditional character of tribal identity, changes of affiliation from one ancestral group to another has not been uncommon. Past membership lists and lists of attendees at the annual meetings contain the names of people who were once part of the group but who have since opted to join or enroll with other groups. Some of the Snoqualmie members were also on rolls elsewhere when they first appear on the Snoqualmie lists. These members were from reservations such as Tulalip, Muckleshoot, Lummi and Yakima. Although these people are no longer eligible to be enrolled with the Snoqualmie due to the dual enrollment provisions of the Snoqualmie, some still strongly identify with the Snoqualmie group (FD).

Sixty-three members (20 percent) are also enrolled with a recognized tribe (Genealogical Report, 10). Of these, the largest number, 29, are enrolled with the Tulalip Tribes, while 16, mostly from one family line, are enrolled with the

Lummi Tribe. Nine were enrolled at Muckleshoot, and the remainder at Nooksack, Sauk-Suiattle, Suquamish, and Upper Skagit. Except for those at Tulalip, most were enrolled in these tribes on the basis of non-Snoqualmie ancestry (Genealogical Report, 10). The 1981 Snoqualmie constitution forbade dual enrollment, and efforts were made subsequently to require dually enrolled individuals to choose. In 1987, the Snoqualmie council passed a resolution which stated that a member who relinquished would be required to serve a 10-year waiting period before being eligible to reapply (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987c, 1987k).

There are a variety of factors are involved in an individual's change of group affiliation. Some may have social reasons, which are difficult to determine. Some individuals have economic reasons; by being a member of a reservation, the individual may have received land or be eligible for social or health services (FD).

A frequently cited example of changing tribal affiliation, and the relationship between reservation enrollment and tribal identification, is that of Ed Davis. Davis, who considered himself Duwamish early in life and participated in Duwamish meetings, changed to Snoqualmie after his move to Fall City, the center of Snoqualmie territory. A more recent example is that of Jerry Kanim's grandson, Jerry Enick. Enick, after being active with the Snoqualmie organization, decided to enroll in the recognized Sauk-Suiattle Tribe, based on his ancestry through his father, because his children could get an education there (FD). He nonetheless is socially a part of the petitioning group, although no longer enrolled.

V.I Membership Boundaries

Snoqualmie membership requires more than simply a demonstration of Snoqualmie ancestry, however distant. It presently requires meeting a blood degree requirement, which establishes a requirement for maintenance of at least a minimum degree of kinship (and thus social) ties. For those without sufficient blood degree, there has evolved an adoption process which effectively substitutes other requirements for the blood degree. The Snoqualmie do not solicit members, i.e., seek to locate and identify individuals of Snoqualmie ancestry to enroll (FD).

The Snoqualmie since the late 1940's or early 1950's have required demonstration of 1/8 degree Snoqualmie blood for membership (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1951a). Membership is reviewed by the enrollment officer and then passed on by the tribal council, and in some cases by the General Council as well. The issue of whether the blood degree should be

lowered has been raised a number of times in the past 20 years. Elders such as Chief Ernie Barr and Ed Davis have opposed lowering the blood degree, citing tradition going back to Chief Jerry Kanim (FD).

The issue of maintenance of a blood degree requirement was discussed at length at the May 13, 1984 General Council meeting. One of the main rationales for raising the issue in 1984, stated by Leona Eddy, the enrollment officer, was that with continued marriage outside the group, the blood degree was dropping and eventually descendants of current members would be ineligible for membership (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984a). She further noted that other tribes in similar situations were "lumping up" their requirements, looking at the total degree of Indian blood rather than the specific tribal blood. At the meeting, it was decided to adopt new members on an individual basis rather than address the issue of lowering the requirement.

Minutes of the 1984 meeting state that the council had reviewed past actions for precedent and found that individuals had been adopted in 1940 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984a). It was thus viewed that there was some precedent for adoption. However, there is little evidence that there were more than a very few adoptions before those in 1984. Beginning in 1984, individuals of 1/16 blood degree have been adopted into membership by action of the tribal council and in some cases the General Council.

The first group of adoptions, in 1984, occurred in the context of a push by members of the Patkeenum line to become involved in the Snoqualmie tribe. Most of the 15 adopted at that meeting were from this line. Subsequent to their adoption, after significant political conflicts arose between the Snoqualmie and members of this line, adoption requirements were considerably tightened.

A total of 38 individuals, about 13 percent of the present membership, have been adopted into membership (Genealogical Report, 4). In more recent cases, after 1984, the adoptees have been adult children of members. These presumably have some degree of on-going ties to the group.

Adoption of individuals of less than 1/8 Snoqualmie blood degree is provided for in the 1981 Snoqualmie constitution. There are no stated criteria for adoption. In 1986, the General Council voted to require persons seeking adopted status to be sponsored by a member and be recommended by a quorum of the tribal council for approval by the general membership. Voting privileges were specified as being effective 30 days later, rather than immediately. In 1987, the 30 days was changed to a five-year probationary period

(Genealogical Report, 2).

In the 1980's, members from two family lines, which did not have significant social ties with the group previously were admitted to membership. These were the Patkeenum and Elizabeth Kanim lines (see above). However, most of the larger family line (Julia Patkeenum) has since withdrawn or been banished from membership. Some of the members of these families were added through adoption.
The minutes of the 1984 meeting adopting the Patkeenum line members (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984a) does not state specific reasons why these individuals were being adopted. They had been active in some fashion since at least 1981, when they attended an annual meeting, and one senior member, who had the requisite blood degree, had become a member a few years earlier. The action was supported by influential Snoqualmie such as Leona Eddy, Mary Ann Hinzman and Andy de Los Angeles, who was elected chairman as the same meeting. There were fifteen adoptees, of 1/16 Snoqualmie and 1/16 Nisqually blood degree, for a total of 1/8 degree Indian blood. The statement was also made that "Their family ancestry goes way back to Pat Kanim."

The Patkeenum (Snoqualmoo) line's involvement with the Snoqualmie was limited in time though intense at least as far as organizational participation. Family members attended the 1981 General Council meeting, although not yet members. One member, Phil Wahl, was voted vice-chairman in 1984, immediately after being adopted. Several others served on the council. Conflicts with the Patkeenum group led to its breaking away in 1988 (see V.G). One of the issues was the pursuit of land claims on Whidbey Island (in Island County), where this family is centered. This claim was opposed by the Snoqualmie Tribal Council (Herald 1988)

In addition to the Patkeenum group, members of the Elizabeth Kanim line were admitted to membership in the 1980's. They had the requisite blood degree but no history of association with the Snoqualmie in the 20th century (see section V.C).

In addition to the adoption of individuals of Snoqualmie descent but less than 1/8 Snoqualmie blood degree, between 1984 and 1987, four individuals were "adopted" into the Snoqualmie who were not of Indian descent (Snoqualmie Tribe 1991a). One of these, Wilma Forgue, claimed that she had been earlier "adopted" by Jerry Kanim (Forgue c. 1987). Three of the individuals, including Forgue, were spouses of Snoqualmie. The Snoqualmies these individuals were married to were very active in Snoqualmie political offices and in the food and other programs being operated by the Snoqualmie and their non-profit organization. The fourth individual was one of the petition researchers. In addition, a fifth individual was

listed as having his application still in process. This individual could not be identified. These are the only instances of adoption of spouses or other non-Indians.

No specific records were found of the meetings where these adoptions were accomplished. There is some indication from a review of Snoqualmie adoptions and granting of honorary memberships that clear distinctions have not always been made between honorary membership, adoptions which are effectively honorary memberships, and "regular" adoptions. A review of Snoqualmie records does not indicate that these inviduals have participated in Snoqualmie political processes or as community members other than as spouses of Snoqualmies. A 1987 statement by an adopted spouse makes a clear distinction between "blood" members and adoptees (Forgue c. 1987). It indicates that adoptees were originally strictly honorary members, i.e., that the two were equivalent but that subsequently, probably when the adoption process was established as a regular process in 1984, the distinction became blurred There is considerable indication that there is a distinction made between spouse adoptees and adoptees of Snoqualmie descent, who are distinguished as "tribal members who were adopted" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1991a).

There is no evidence that such adoptions have continued after 1987, when the adoption rules were tightened and to some degree clarified. Adoptions of any kind do not confer automatic membership on children of the adoptees.

There is some evidence that older Snoqualmie make a further social distinction beyond simply blood degree. A council member who is older and very influential considers being "raised as an Indian person" and being "married by an Indian person" as identifiable indicators of being Indian; the elder clearly considers herself and the council as Indian, referring to "us Indian people" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986i). However, she is categorizing similarly a grandchild of Dwenar Forgue who is very active in Snoqualmie organizational affairs as not being Indian, and a member of the Patkeenum line. Another senior Snoqualmie member recently characterized the Patkeenum line as "those white guys," an indication that he didn't consider ancestry sufficient to be considered Indian (FD).

Another kind of distinction is made by the Snoqualmie between Snoqualmie who are members of the group, and others who are known as Snoqualmie who are not. The latter are usually members of reservation communities, which include Snoqualmie from families no longer affiliated with the Snoqualmie tribe (FD).

In addition, a Snoqualmie can be "Snoqualmie" (in the sense of being a member of the group) even while living with another

tribe in the Puget Sound area or even while enrolled in a recognized tribe (although formally dual enrollment is not allowed, 20 percent of the current membership was dually enrolled with a recognized tribe). Jerry Enick, explaining that he wanted his children to have fishing rights, stated, "My heart is still Snoqualmie" and is still regarded as socially a member of the group (FD). Snoqualmie tribal members, when discussing individual Snoqualmie who live on reservations or are enrolled in consolidated tribes, state that the Snoqualmie lives or is enrolled there because of job opportunities, or inheritance of land. Some Snoqualmie live on other reservations to obtain assistance available through Federal programs (Anonymous 1986).

V.J Social Interaction with Non-Indians

The Snoqualmie are identified by non-Indians as a group which is distinct from non-Indians. Examples include the deeding of the Fall City Snoqualmie cemetery to the Snoqualmie (Fall City Cemetery Association 1978), participation in a cultural resources study (Baenen 1981) and newspaper articles reporting on the deaths of key figures and on Snoqualmie events ((Jarvis 1987; Forgue) (See also more detailed discussion of group identification in the Historical Report).

Limited information from interview data indicate that Snoqualmie are often identified by non-Indians as distinct from non-Indians in social interactions (FD). In one survey of Snoqualmie members included in the petition, 70 percent of individuals responding indicated that in school they had been identified as Indian (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, v). The survey didn't indicate whether these individuals were specifically identified as Snoqualmie, or just as Indian. Because of the scattered nature of the population, few live near traditional areas of settlement and it is difficult to determine the likelihood that individual Snoqualmie living eslewhere are identified by their specific tribe by non-Indians.

The Snoqualmie interact extensively with non-Indians (FD). This in part is a result of their scattered residence pattern. The petition states that:

> the Snoqualmie generally live in white neighborhoods, attend mostly white schools, play with white children and establish ties with many white families. Geographical distances prohibit the Snoqualmie people as a tribe from interacting with the same degree of intensity and frequency as they do with their closer relatives. Much of the Snoqualmie interaction is through family elders and

centers of food distribution (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 408-9).

The same section of the petition also notes that the Snoqualmie "spend most of their quality time with other Indian tribes attending weddings, funerals, pow-wow, and tribal celebrations" (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 408).

The majority of Snoqualmie, according to the survey data, attend non-Indian churches (see section V.F). There was little other usable data in the surveys concerning interaction with non-Indians. The most recent generation is largely married to non-Indians, although this is a relatively recent phenomenon (Section III.PF.

There was little direct description or information indicating whether or not social distinctions from non-Indians are stronger than simply identification per se. The existence of significant cultural differences on the part of some of the population probably produces some degree of social distinction. Membership boundaries maintained by the group were described above, and probably contribute to some degree of distinction.

Interview data which directly concerned social distinctions was not extensive or systematic. There were anecdotal reports of negative comments about being Indian, but no indication of systematic patterns of discrimination (FD). There was little feeling expressed that marriage with non-Indians results in negative reactions from in-laws or that the Snoqualmie themselves presently looked unfavorably on such marriages. A survey question concerning whether the individual had experienced discrimination did not produce useful information because there was no indication of what the respondents considered constituted discrimination, or when, how often or in what contexts it had occurred (see Section V.F).

VI. Present-Day Political Structure and Process

VI. A Formal Governing Structure

The Snoqualmie presently have a Tribal Council which consists of nine members who are elected to serve staggered two-year terms, and a chairman who serves a three-year term. Both are elected by the General Council, which is a meeting of the adult membership at large.

Following the elections at the annual meeting, the chairman meets with the newly elected council, and the group elects a vice chairman, a secretary and a treasurer from within the

council. The council may appoint other officials and committees as necessary (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981a). The Snoqualmie Tribal Council is also empowered to fill vacancies on the council if they become vacant during the year, but at the next annual meeting of the General Council this person has to be affirmed or a new person elected. While the 1981 constitution and bylaws contradict each other in stating how the officers are elected (Art. IV, Sec. 3, and Art V, Sec. 1 of the constitution and section 4.1 of the bylaws) this contradiction is based largely on the confusion of the term "Tribal Council." The terms General Council and Snoqualmie Tribal Council are not defined in the document and "tribal council" is sometimes used in the constitution to refer to both bodies.

Snoqualmie Tribal Council meetings are exclusively Snoqualmie (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1978c). Any Snoqualmie tribal member may attend and vote at the meetings of the General Council (constitution Art. III, Sec. 2). Non-Snoqualmie, including spouses, are excluded from council meetings (FD). Non-Snoqualmie may attend the General Council but may not vote or hold tribal office (constitution Art. III, Sec. 1, 2).

Several committees assist the tribal council, including Economic Development, Education, Enrollment, Historical, Fund Raising, Acknowledgment Review, Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Land, Language, Cemetery, Monument, and Youth committees. Members of the committees meet to discuss and research the issues under their charge. The committee either reports back to the council and/or takes action if action has been delegated. The Cemetery committee was charged originally with negotiating the return of the Indian portion of the Fall City cemetery to the Snoqualmie Tribe. After being successful in this endeavor, they now oversee and periodically clean the Indian portion of the cemetery.

On April 1, 1982, the Snoqualmie Tribe established a non-profit organization which was incorporated under Washington State law. The members of the non-profit organization are members of the Snoqualmie Tribe and there is only one class of members (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1982). The non-profit organization also has the right and the requirement to adopt members. Those who do not become members of the Snoqualmie tribe but are members for purposes of the non-profit incorporation (FD). While theoretically non-Snoqualmie may become members, there was no evidence that any have done so. The nonprofit has a board of 11 directors which have usually included various members and officers of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council as well as others from the general membership of the Snoqualmie. The organization has its own set of bylaws based on those bylaws adopted by the Snoqualmie General Council. The non-profit board is administratively under the Snoqualmie

Tribal Council and is expected to report to it. Nonprofit board members are elected at General Council meetings. In the last several years, there has been some controversy over control of the non-profit organization which is based on conflicts between several leaders and their followers over political power in general (see below).

It is through the non-profit organization that the Snoqualmie tribe operates programs supported by grants and funds from outside sources. Through this system, the Snoqualmie have established a successful learning center where Snoqualmie and others can enroll to study and prepare for their examinations for their General Equivalency Degree (GED). More than 700 people, 200 of whom were Snoqualmie descendants, have entered the program the learning center program. The non-profit office has received some substantial grants such as $134,000 from the U.S. Department of Education as well as a Block Grant of $15,000 from King County, Washington (FD).

The non-profit branch operates the food bank, which also provides clothes and other items (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1984). Through the food bank the Snoqualmie non-profit issues food vouchers, which are funded by outside sources. By law, these are not limited to Snoqualmie, but Snoqualmie members in need are encouraged to apply. Food and other items are collected from various business organizations or donated by other Snoqualmie.

VI.B Tribal Council and General Council Activities between 1980 and 1988

The following section describes chronologically major issues and activities of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council and general council between 1980 and 1988. These provide supplementary information, illustration and context for the discussions of political actions and decisions in other sections of this report.

On March 18, 1981, two members of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council met with Jim Baenen to discuss an inventory of Native American religious interests in the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest in order to provide information on spiritual, gathering, hunting or fishing sites within the forest (Baenen 1981, 456; Sweet 1981).

At a Special council meeting on March 31, 1981, held in Everett, Washington, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council passed a resolution rejecting plans of the Everett Community College which "will reflect only the Tulalip Indians and not the aboriginal Snoqualmie Indians" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981k). The resolution demands a project done "in such a way to tell the

entire story of the aboriginal Snoqualmie people...."

On May 9, 1981, the Snoqualmie Tribe held its Annual General Council Meeting in the Grange Hall, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981d). Over 40 tribal members attended (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981e). A direct feed dinner was held in conjunction with the meeting.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met on July 11, 1981, at the Grange Hall in Carnation (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981f). Seven council members were present and agreed on the agenda for the general meeting which followed. Thirty tribal members attended the general meeting and elected a new chairperson and 11 council members (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981f). The Snoqualmie Tribe sponsored a direct feed dinner in conjunction with tribal elections (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1981c).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met on November 8, 1981 and the minutes of the the October 10, 1981, meeting were read (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981g). The council discussed fundraising, a senior tribal leader signing over personal power of attorney, Christmas dinner plans, grants, taking over the Issaquah fish hatchery and other business.

In November 1981 a Snoqualmie Tribal Newsletter began to bring tribal members up to date on tribal news, programs that were available to members and what the tribal council was doing (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981j). The newsletter announced that the Snoqualmie had started fundraising projects and would accept donations. The newsletter announced programs available to tribal members including emergency food vouchers for enrolled members, medical and dental care through the Seattle Indian Clinic, direct feed dinners, arts and crafts classes for tribal members, garden seed and the Christmas party and dinner. The newsletter ended with a request for volunteers for several committees.

On April 1, 1982, the Snoqualmie Tribe filed Articles of Incorporation with the Secretary of State, State of Washington, and created the Snoqualmie Tribal Organization (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1982). The address of the initial registered office of the corporation was in Issaquah, Washington; the corporation had one class of members, "tribal members, as defined by the laws and rules of the Snoqualmie Tribe," and listed an initial board of directors including eleven directors: Karen Boney, Alderwood Manor, WA; Carol Lubenau, Federal Way, WA; Katherine Barker, Woodinville, WA; Mary Anne Hinzman, Duvall, WA; Leona E. Eddy, Redmond, WA; Juanita Carpenter, Renton, WA; Richard Nelson, Seattle, WA; Judy Moses, Snoqualmie, WA; Ed Davis, Fall City, WA; Ernie Barr, Auburn,WA; and Shelley Burch, Monroe, WA.

On May 7, 1983, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council met in Redmond, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1983d). The council voted to accept the resignation of Judie Moses from her position as treasurer of the tribe and as council member. The council set a new date for the General Council meeting. The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met on September 12, 1983, and discussed CETA employment openings, a STOWW (Small Tribes of Western Washington) assessment, fiscal year demands, postponing approval of the minutes of the last meeting, and other business (Snoqualmie Tribe 1983e). A February 28, 1983, letter from the Chairperson of the Snoqualmie Tribe to Judie Moses requests return or access of tribal papers in her possession.

A Snoqualmie tribal newsletter in announced plans for the upcoming Annual Meeting and Potluck at the Sno-Valley Multi-Purpose Center in Carnation and discussed group concerns about effects of various water projects on the Snoqualmie River (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984i). Another tribal newsletter in announced that the tribe's Foodbank was open at the tribal office (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984k). The newsletter included information about a clothingbank and Snoqualmie language classes offered at the Lake Washington Vocational Technical Institute taught by Evelyn Enick and Ernest Barr.

The Snoqualmie Tribe held its Annual Meeting May 12, 1984, at the Sno-Valley Multi-Purpose Center, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984a). Fifty-three members were present (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984b). An employee of the Puget Sound Agency (BIA) talked about dual enrollments (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984a). The general membership, the governing body of the Tribe, voted to adopt 15 new members into the Tribe. The general membership elected Andy de los Angeles as Chairperson as well as new council members.

The council meeting of October 13, 1984, in Redmond, Washington included discussions of education projects through Lake Washington Vocational Technical Institute, the Cedar Falls Lake Project, the City of Bellevue Dam, formulating a management plan for the tribal office, a report on a State Inter-tribal Conference (how tribal governments work), the Longhouse Project and other business (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984e). The Snoqualmie Tribe held a council meeting November 2, 1984, in Redmond, Washington, which included discussions of business development, committee reports, the Indian Child Welfare Act and other topics (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984m).

The Snoqualmie Tribe held a Council Meeting on May 25, 1985, in Redmond, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1985a). The agenda for the meeting included discussions of enrollment, adoption procedures, ordinances, tribal resolutions, the need to have an emergency meeting and other business.

The council meeting of October 16, 1985, in Redmond included discussions of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) Conference in Oklahoma, an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) conference, Thanksgiving preparations, permission for Kenneth Tollefson to do a survey, an education conference report, and new business (Snoqualmie Tribe 1985e). Also on October 16, 1985, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council sent a letter to Robert Comenout objecting to his relationship and behavior toward a senior tribal leader and issuing due warning and notice to cease and desist said behavior immediately (Snoqualmie Tribe 1985f). The Council warned Robert Comenout that, "Should you choose to ignore this notice the Tribal Council shall exercise all remedies available to it, including removal of your name from the Tribal Roll."

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met on April 25, 1986, in Redmond, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986d). The agenda for the meeting included discussions of Public Law 280 (in relation to the divorce of tribal members), whether Ed Davis would accept the title of Honorary Chief, the Snoqualmie bank account, and other business. The council meeting of on May 30, 1986, in Redmond, Washington, included discussions of the acknowledgment petition, tribal resolution #05-86, and a letter of apology to the council from the chairman (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986g).

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council met on June 20, 1986 in Redmond, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986i). The only item on the agenda was discussion of a domestic dispute between tribal members which one council member states, "has taken 99 percent of our time [and] we have set aside all our other priorities that have been set out for us, we are not going forward on economic development and other activities, everything has come to a dead halt because of this." The council, after much discussion, referred the matter to the chief and subchiefs. They recommended that the council grant the divorce at issue (a decree had been obtained in state court and one spouse wanted that decree invalidated by the Tribal Council) and not consider the traditional outcasting of the two members of the tribe. These recommendations were accepted by the council.

At a September 19, 1986, meeting, the Snoqualmie Tribal Council voted to banish former chairman Robert Comenout from the tribe socially and politically (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986m). This was the result of long-term discontent with his behavior dating from the time of his chairmanship (FD). An immediate issue of widespread concern within the membership was Comenout's alleged attempt to gain power of attorney over the lands of one of the most senior tribal leaders, who was quite aged by this time. This concern, significantly, crossed family lines, coming not just from the elder's family but included, for example, several influential figures from

another major family line. Comenout's actions in this case were seen as an affront to certain families. Previously, the Tribal Council had ordered Comenout to stay away from the elder and had also demanded that he explain his actions.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council held a meeting on December 11, 1986, in Redmond, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986o). The agenda for this meeting included discussions of concerns about a golf course being built on sacred land, further concerns about the senior tribal leader, ANA recommendations, more problems with the divorce of two tribal members, and other business. The Snoqualmie Tribal Council, on the same date, sent a letter to the Evergreen District Court requesting that the court dismiss a case relating to the divorce of the two tribal members (Snoqualmie Tribe 1980i). The council also voted to remove dually-enrolled members as of December 12, 1986.

The Snoqualmie tribal newsletter for February 1987 announced the successful conclusion of a 15-year negotiation over ownership of the Fall City Cemetery. It also described the programs of the Snoqualmie Learning Center, and provided information about a Clothingbank program (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987a). Two items on the agenda of the July 6, 1987, special Snoqualmie Tribal Council meeting concerned the Federal Acknowledgment process (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987d). Other topics on the same agenda were a homeless Snoqualmie child, land research, an Indian Child Welfare Act resolution, and a game department report.

The Snoqualmie Tribe held its Annual General Council Meeting on May 9, 1987, in the Grange Hall, Carnation, Washington (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987c). The meeting heard an appeal on banishment of the Forgue family member who had been divorced and reversed the banishment. It also acted on elections for council members and chairman and discussed tribal resolutions, assessments for social functions and memorials, and other business.

The Snoqualmie Tribe held a regular council meeting on September 15, 1987 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987j). The agenda for the meeting included discussions about the tribal historian, problems with the behavior of a council member, the acknowledgment petition, and other business. The council meeting of October 8, 1987, included a discussion on moving tribal burial grounds, including the High Chief's grave, discussion of acceptance of the chairman's resignation and other business (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987e). The council reviewed the letter of resignation and decided to give the chairman time a limit of thirty (30) days for further reconsideration. On October 29, 1987, at a special council meeting of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council, the council voted unanimously that

a letter of reprimand be sent to the chairman (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f).

The Snoqualmie Tribe held a special council meeting on February 21, 1988 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1988a). The agenda for the meeting included discussion of the events of the last council meeting when a tribal member was expelled from the position of vice-chair of the council and from the council member position he held at the time. Also discussed was the acknowledgment petition, the work of the tribal historian, and other business.

The Snoqualmie Tribe also held a special general membership meeting on February 28, 1988 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1988a). The agenda for the meeting included a discussion of the banishment of four members from the tribe. The general membership voted to banish all four members and to seek an injunction against the four to prevent them from using the Snoqualmie tribal name. The four were from the Patkeenum line, which later in 1988 formed a separate petitioning group.

VI.C Chiefs and Subchiefs

At a council meeting in 1976, the issue of selecting a chief to fill the long-vacant position was raised, but was not resolved (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1976c). The issue of choosing a chief for the Snoqualmie was again brought before members in December 1985, at a combined meeting and Christmas dinner (FD). Earnest Barr and Kenneth Moses were nominated for the position. The members present at this meeting were told that in two or three months there would be a special meeting of the General Council and elections would be held. At the specially called meeting of the General Council on March 8, 1986, the Snoqualmie elected Earnest Barr as chief.

The new position of chief differed from that of Jerry Kanim, in part because it represented a shift from the traditional selection of a person who had the specific ancestry to qualify for the position of chief (see section IV.A) to one requiring any chief to meet formal qualifications established by the tribe. The position was also consciously different in character, with chiefs functioning in more of a mediator and cultural resource role than a powerful leader (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986e). A 1986 newspaper account of the "Snoqualmie Tribe's Potlatch, held at MacDonald Park at Carnation," stated that the potlatch was a "celebration of the tribe's new chief and new sub-chiefs, and a deeply spiritual ceremony to invoke help and strength for the tribe...." (Anonymous 1986).

At the time the chief was elected, the group also established

subchiefs. Presently holding these positions are Kenneth Moses, who serves the members in the north, Ron Lauzon, who serves members in the south, James Zackuse whose constituency is in the Issaquah drainage, and Patrick Barker in the Snoqualmie drainage. Some documents indicate that Ed Davis had been one of the original subchiefs, briefly, until he became honorary chief, probably on April 25, 1986 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986d).

The Snoqualmie consistently describe the function of the subchiefs as a chief's council (FD). They state that when an individual has a personal problem or a dispute that requires assistance, they can go first to their subchief for assistance. The system as described is that if the individual's problem can not be solved at that level, then it is taken to the chief's council for discussion and action. If the issue is still not resolved then the matter can be taken to the Snoqualmie Tribal Council for discussion and resolution. If it is not resolved at that level, then it can be taken to the General Council whose decision is final. There is no obligation of the members to use this system and they can go directly to the Snoqualmie Tribal Council with their problem. Subchiefs are also expected to keep in touch with all the families in their area (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f).

It was not possible to establish whether the system of chief and subchiefs has actually functioned to resolve problems and mediate as described. The role of the chief as cultural resource is much clearer. Snoqualmie informants, in discussing how the system has specifically operated, universally refer to the divorce and child custody case involving two tribal members, discussed above, as in effect a model for how it could be used. No other specific examples of the use of the chief and subchief with regard to any question could be obtained (FD). Further, the particular example cited did not involve a problem initially brought to the chiefs. The divorce case began about the time the system was set up, and the issue was brought first to the tribal council, who consulted with the chiefs (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986i).

Although the chief-subchief system is described in ideal terms as separate from the tribal council, one of the four subchiefs, Ron Lauzon, is also chairman and another, James Zackuse, was on the tribal council in 1991, when field research was conducted. Several were on the council at the time the system was first established.

VI.D General Council and Its Functions

The General Council in a formal sense dates from 1916 when annual meetings were instituted as a part of the

reorganization of the Snoqualmie political system by Jerry Kanim. The tradition of the great annual meetings held at Carnation by Jerry Kanim is frequently cited by Snoqualmie today (FD). However, the General Council meeting has probably become more important since the 1960's, in line with other changes after Jerry Kanim's death.

In political contexts, the term "general council" is most frequently used, although "annual meeting" is sometimes used as well. Up until the 1970's there was usually only one General Council meeting a year, the annual meeting. However, additional General Council meetings are called, and have been called since Jerry Kanim's time (FD), concerning special issues if it has been felt by the leadership that information needed to be distributed and decisions were needed on particular issues. In recent years, a regular second General Council meeting has been instituted as the governing structure has become more active (FD).

When the May 9, 1981, constitution and a revised set of by-laws were adopted, these documents stated, phrased as a reaffirmation of past practices, that the power of the group resides in the General Council while the Snoqualmie Tribal Council acts as the governing body. The stated purpose of General Council meetings is to elect or recall members of the Tribal Council and to declare the will of the General Council (Article III, Sec. 3(d)) (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981a).

Because many older Snoqualmie attend General Council meetings, these meetings provide a source of continuity and stability to Snoqualmie political processes. Continuity has been provided by the nature of the General Council, since it has the ultimate say about issues brought before it. Information on year of birth was available for 31 of the 46 members attending the May 1981 General Council meeting in Carnation, Washington when the 1981 Constitution was adopted (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981e). Twelve of the 31 were born before 1931, and were, therefore, more than 50 years old. An additional six were born before 1941 and therefore in their forties.

Election of Snoqualmie Tribal Council members takes place during the annual meeting of the General Council which is held in May or June. Nominations are taken from the floor for chairman and for any council positions that are open. Names are submitted and seconded and nominations are closed. Voting is by secret ballot. Interim appointments made by the council are voted upon in the General Council meeting. Before the 1981 constitution, elections were also held at General Council meetings, but terms were indefinite, with positions vacated as a result of death or resignation.

Descriptions of the importance of the General Council or

general membership meeting indicate clearly and consistently that it plays a central role in resolving conflicts, as well as making or ratifying decisions of a wide variety (FD). This goes beyond what is formally stated in the 1981 constitution. Snoqualmie leaders view the General Council as the court of last resort.

The General Council acts as the ultimate decision-maker on a variety of issues, even when these are not spelled out in the constitution. Many of these are mentioned in the chronological reviews of the actions of the tribal council and General Council betwen 1956 and the present (see Sections IV.B and VI.B). In general, the practice is to refer fundamental decisions and issues that are controversial or that the council does not for one reason or another feel comfortable with to the General Council for that body to either decide or to ratify a council decision (FD). For example, the system of chief and subchiefs established in 1986 was ratified at a General Council meeting, which also voted on individuals to fill the offices. When a new subchief had to be found after Ed Davis moved up to Honorary Chief, the tribal council discussed various aspects of the criteria for a subchief, a position which was new at that point and decided to "bring it back before the General Membership and let them vote..." [on who the next subchief should be] (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986d). The General Council also reviewed the banishment of the two individuals involved in the divorce issue (see above), reversing the wife's banishment after she appealed the tribal council's decision, but upholding the husband's banishment (see also VI.F) (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f).

A recent conflict over control of the non-profit board strongly illustrates the role of the General Council (FD). The conflict over control of the nonprofit organization was between its director, who was also on the council, and Snoqualmie chairman and the rest of the council. Various parties anticipated the General Council meeting would serve as a forum to air the issues and resolve control of the board. The meeting was also seen as a way of putting public pressure on the director. One individual from the same family line as the director, and active in various Snoqualmie programs including the establishment of the nonprofit, reported that she had asked the director, "do you want to shame this family by having to go before the General Council?" (FD).

General Council meetings are viewed as characteristically contentious, with conflicts common (FD). One individual characterized the 1987 General Council meeting as "like past ones," i.e., "nothing but yelling and screaming matches" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987e). In part, existing conflicts between families are seen as coming out at General Council meetings (FD). One leader urged that a dispute involving him and the

family of one his rivals be settled at the council meeting at which he was speaking because otherwise "...at the next general membership meeting, we will be pulled apart" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f).

Detailed information concerning how widespread knowledge and concern with the issues dealt with at a General Council meeting are in advance of the actual meeting was not available. An agenda is set by the tribal council, and has been since the days of Jerry Kanim (FD). The agenda is not distributed in advance. It tends to reflect "business" issues generated by the council's activities. One leader said that members also call in and request issues to be put on the agenda (FD). There was no clear indication of the nature of these issues or of how often these requests were made. Individual and general issues, not on the agenda, are from time to time addressed to the council members during the General Council meeting (FD).

Interviews indicated that council candidates did not usually come to the fore as the result of lobbying and politicking in advance of the General Council meeting. Officers and others describe candidates as emerging on the basis of having participated at General Council meetings, on committees or in other activities. Candidates are described as people who had demonstrated an interest and having time and resources to serve, and were therefore nominated (FD). Individuals are frequently placed in office as interim members by the tribal council to fill vacancies, and then their position is ratified by election at the General Council meeting.

In contrast to the interviews, however, there is some evidence that candidates have come to the fore as a result of public opinion within the Snoqualmie. Important evidence of this is the "youth" movements of 1968, 1978 and after, where council membership changed and individuals indicated they were representing broader elements of opinion among the membership than themselves (see detailed discussion in section IV.B). Shifts in chairmanship since 1981 also seem, based on limited evidence, to reflect public opinion beyond the immediate council members about the approach and effectiveness of the chairman. In addition, the senior leader Ed Davis played a role in influencing the choice of other leaders (see VI.G). Whether other leaders have exercised such influence couldn't be determined from the available data.

Between 1968 and 1988, the number of Snoqualmie adults (i.e., eligible voters) participating a general membership meetings ranged from 31 (short of a quorum) to 81 (at the meeting where Robert Comenout was elected chairman), based on available figures. Attendance figures and lists of participants were not available for all meetings. The median number was around

45 individuals, which would be about 15 percent of an adult membership that ranged around 300 in these two decades. No measure was made of what percentage had attended at least one meeting in the 1976-88 time span that was examined in detail (see below). The percentage of the voting membership which attends General Council meetings is thus not a high one, although it increases substantially for meetings where major issues are expected to be discussed. Because attendance is broadly distributed within several of the family lines (see following paragraphs), this indicates a broader involvement than level of attendance based solely on numbers per se. This is based on an assumption that the nuclear or immediate extended (defined as grandparents and the nuclear families of their adult children) families that have had at least one individual attend a General Council meeting are connected with this political institution. This would indicate the involvement of a substantial portion of the membership, though well short of 100 percent.

The lists of attendance of adult members were examined for three General Council meetings, one each in 1976, 1981 and 1986 (Snoqualmie Tribe 1981e, 1986s; Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1976f). This is not a large enough body of information to definitively determine the character of attendance. The lists are consistent enough, however, that their analysis, together with a cursory examination of other lists, supports some general conclusions. The analysis is based on the names of those appearing on the lists. It was not determined whether significant numbers of members attended whose names did not appear on the signup sheets. The figures are also approximate because the family line of about 10 percent of the names on the lists could not be readily identified.

The attendance lists for these three meetings were analyzed to determine which family lines attendees came from and how attendance was distributed within each line. The number of attendees from the five most important of the major lines tended to be in proportion to their numbers in the membership, except that the Jennie Hern line had a disproportionately high attendance (mostly from the Forgue subline) and the Zackuse attendance was disproportionately low. There was a large Zackuse attendance at the 1986 meeting but few in 1976 and none in 1981. The Patkeenum line only attended in 1981, reflective of their brief but intense involvement with the Snoqualmie. There were some attendees from several of the "little" family lines in 1976, but none after that except for Robert Comenout and Earnest Barr and their families. These attendance patterns reflect the political predominance of the five most active major family lines, and is consistent with the field and documentary data concerning the Snoqualmie political system.

For two of the five most active and important of the major family lines, regular attendance (measured by being shown as attending at least two of the three meetings) was broadly distributed within the line, indicated by the fact that most nuclear family groupings within a line had at least one person attending. The broadest distribution was within the Jennie Hern line. Davis participation was also broad. Zackuse participation was broad in 1986, but not in the earlier two meetings reviewed. Tomallum participation was the least well distributed across families, with Moses also not uniformly well distributed.

There was some correlation between having served on the council or as an officer and attendance of that individual's nuclear or extended family at General Council meetings. The correlation was by no means a complete one, however. In addition, the years of council membership and attendance from his family lines were not necessarily the same.

VI.E Family Lines in Relation to Political Processes

Snoqualmie politics is seen by the Snoqualmie as partly revolving around "families" and there is significant evidence that Snoqualmie politics actually functions to some degree in terms of "family," i.e., groups of related families in the same line. "Family" as used by the Snoqualmie in these discussions does not always refer to entire lines, i.e., "family" conflicts often involve smaller groupings (cf. below). Family groups are, however, only one element in Snoqualmie political processes, and not necessarily a predominant one, since generational differences and other, sometimes idiosyncratic, elements also play a role.

Existing conflicts between families sometimes come out at General Council meetings (FD). Several individuals referred to conflicts between families as a prominent element during General Council meetings, indicating that they are and have been some of the lines along which contention has taken place (FD).

An example which demonstrates the significance of families in Snoqualmie politics is the statement of former chairman Andy de Los Angeles that "I moved amongst the tribal family politics to establish a standard of education and professionalism," in referring to his efforts to establish newer, more aggressive economic programs and other changes (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987e). In another instance, members of one family line clearly referred to the "Forgues" as a bloc whose opposition they were concerned to avoid (FD).

The subchief system is described as based on geographical

coverage, and no reference is made to family affiliation. However, each of the four current subchiefs is from a different line, i.e., Moses (Kenneth Moses), Hern (Pat Barker), Zackuse (James Zackuse) and Tomallum (Ron Lauzon). A fifth major line, Davis, originally though briefly was represented by Ed Davis as a subchief, until the latter became honorary chief.

The petitioner's materials (Tollefson c. 1990, 12) indicate that large kinship groups function as organized units for political purposes. Interviews with Snoqualmies gave no indication that the regular meetings of family lines and systematic discussion of political candidates within families as part of a nomination process took place (FD) (see also discussion under General Council). One individual indicated that four related nuclear families in his line did get together regularly (FD). This is only a small portion of the line and the available data indicated that such gatherings were not generally characteristic of the Snoqualmie family lines as a whole.

VI.F Tribal Council and General Council Powers and Issues

This section discusses in detail some specific issues dealt with and actions taken by the Snoqualmie tribal council and General Council in the past two decades. Discussion of other issues dealt with by the Snoqualmie leaders appears in section IV.B and VI.B of this report and a more extended discussion of issues which have been dealt with by Snoqualmie leaders and councils is included in the Historical Report.

Fishing has remained an important concern of the Snoqualmie up until the present. The loss of fishing rights is often mentioned by middle-aged and older Snoqualmie as a major concern (FD). Fishing remained an important part of subsistence for many Snoqualmie until World War II, and even later for some families. Stories of subsistence fishing in the rivers until World War II or a bit later are common. In at least one family, subsistence fishing or attempts at it continued considerably later (FD). The loss of subsistence fishing is attributed to both increased enforcement of State laws and to encroachment of settlement upon fishing areas. Regaining hunting and fishing rights is one reason voiced for seeking Federal acknowledgment, a primary issue dealt with by the council in the past 12 years.

Snoqualmie leadership has played an important role in maintaining the importance of this as an issue. The leader Ed Davis consistently taught that fishing was a traditional right that members should continue to fight for. His political teachings as well as those of Jerry Kanim are still strongly

felt by the current as well as recent leadership (FD). Individuals still remember the exhortations of Jerry Kanim at annual meetings and elsewhere about how the whites had promised land but never provided it and that the Snoqualmie may have sold their land but not their fishing rights. The stories of Jerry Kanim's and Ed Davis's fights over fishing rights in the 1930's are well-known.

The exact amount of subsistence or commercial fishing conducted between the late 1950's and 1971 could not be determined. In 1975, the Snoqualmie submitted to the court in U.S. v. Washington an estimate of sixty families who were dependent on tribal fishery for subsistence, catching an estimated 600 pounds of salmon per family a year. The total number of tribal fisherman was estimated at 70 (Comenout and Sennhauser 1975, 21-22). The Snoqualmie also did some fishing which was authorized for ceremonial purposes. There was no information available concerning the amount of this. Important examples occurred in 1974 and 1975, when several days of ceremonial fishing were conducted in the name of the Snoqualmie Tribe to support a salmon bake to raise funds for a church building at Tulalip for Ed Davis' Shaker congregation (Moses and Sweet 1974; Moses 1975).

From 1971 to 1978, the Snoqualmie conducted commercial fishing under tribal regulation, which in turn was under state authority (see Historical Report). Lists of individual Snoqualmie seeking to do commercial fishing during this era ranged between 20 and 30 individuals, including spouses. These were drawn primarily from the Davis family line, along with some Zackuse line individuals (Snoqualmie Tribal Organization 1975b; Thor Tollefson 1973b, 1973c).

Another perspective on the importance of the fishing issue is provided by political conflicts within the Snoqualmie over how to deal with fishing rights. Karen Boney, a former chairman and council member, characterized as "one of the hardest times for our tribe--the battles over fishing" (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f). This refers to conflicts within the Snoqualmie in the 1970's. These were mentioned by several leaders and former leaders, who voiced very strongly felt sentiments that the wrong approach had been taken to the Snoqualmie position in the U.S. v. Washington fishing litigation. Conflicts within the Snoqualmie over different positions on the issue occurred at several council meetings and probably at least one General Council meeting (FD).

The Snoqualmie tribal council has cooperated with the courts in community service programs. It has assumed the responsibility of overseeing some of their members community service which a judge had meted out (Snoqualmie Tribe 1984e). This is in keeping with Jerry Kanim's assistance to members

who have been involved in various legal problems.

In recent years, the Snoqualmie council and General Council have acted to "banish" members. According to the petition, this is based on precedent, possibly based on descriptions by Ed Davis concerning how the tribe had historically dealt with individuals who had done great wrongs (Tollefson and Pennoyer 1986, 8). There is no indication that "banishment" had occurred any time in the 20th century before. "Banishment" is described by Snoqualmie as removal of a person's name from the tribal roll and loss of the right to vote and participate at General Council meetings (FD). It was stated that social participation is still allowed (FD). It is not clear, however, that there is a consistent system of procedures and rules governing banishment and its consequences. One individual said there were two forms of banishment (FD).

The use of banishment appears to have initially developed as a result of the conflict over the divorce of two individuals from the Patkeenum line and the Forgue subline. It also appears to have been related to the conflicts between the Patkeenum group and the rest of the Snoqualmie that led to the Patkneenum line forming a separate petitioning group a year or two later. The issue of banishment first arose when the husband, a Patkeenum descendant, tried to have the Snoqualmie tribal council overturn his divorce, and asked that his wife's name be stricken from the tribal rolls (Snoqualmie Tribe 1986g). When neither of the couple complied with Snoqualmie Tribal Council requests, they were banished by the council but had the right to appeal to the General Council. The General Council sustained the Snoqualmie Tribal Council's decision in the case of the husband but reversed the wife's banishment (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987c).

Since this initial instance, banishment has been imposed three additional times. In 1986, former chairman Robert Comenout was banished (see above). In 1987, four of the Patkeenum line, including former vice-chairman Phil Wahl, were banished as a result of their political conflict with the rest of the Snoqualmie. In 1992, former chairman Karen Boney and some of her children were banished, as well as some other individuals, as an outgrowth of the political conflict concerning control of the non-profit organization (FD).

VI.G The Political Influence of Ed Davis and Jerry Kanim

This section examines in greater detail the political influence exercised by Ed Davis after the death of chief Jerry Kanim, until his own death in 1987. It also looks briefly at the continued effects of Jerry Kanim's leadership on political influence in the present-day community.

Two of the biggest remaining family lines among the Snoqualmie today, Jennie Hern and Davis, are those of the key leaders Jerry Kanim and Ed Davis, respectively. Contemporary Snoqualmie leaders from these two lines frequently refer to "gramps" Jerry or "Uncle" Ed Davis. This is evidence of the importance of kinship ties to these two leadership figures and their continuing influence on the orientation of present-day Snoqualmie social and political organization.

Ed Davis exercised long-term political influence as a relatively conservative force. He had sufficient stature in 1956 to be offered the office of chief, although he declined it on the grounds he was not of the right lineage (see section IV.A). Although for part of the 1960's he occupied the position of tribal council chairman, and was otherwise on the tribal council for many years, the important role that he occupied from at least from the 1970's onwards was to serve as an authoritative figure providing guidance on the traditional culture, in particular in relation to governing the Snoqualmie. Tribal council minutes indicate that he judged whether or not the actions of the tribal organization were in keeping with past Snoqualmie values and culture and urged caution or objected to change. His advice had significant influence on other Snoqualmie leaders. One older person stated that Davis (and Jerry Kanim also) had "a way of speaking to the community so that everyone understood what their needs were" (FD). For example, in 1987, after Davis' death, a requirement for unanimity at council meetings was justified by reference to Davis' advice that it was required by tradition (Snoqualmie Tribe 1987f). Cited in the previous section was the influence of his admonishments in keeping concern strong among the membership over the loss of treaty fishing rights.

There is also evidence that Ed Davis exercised political influence of a more direct kind. In addition to his role as a source of advice on political issues and cultural traditions relating specifically to leadership, Davis in some important instances is known to have played a direct role in the choice of individuals to fill political positions. Davis played a role in pushing forward Andy de Los Angeles as a leader and later as chairman, even though the latter was a voice for the interests of a younger generation (FD). In 1956, after Jerry Kanim's death, Davis had based his refusal to accept the office of chief on the grounds that he was not of the proper lineage. In 1986, Davis supported the new form of chieftainship that was set up. Davis provided legitimacy for the chief's position being filled by someone from a different family background than that of Jerry Kanim. Davis also reviewed the qualifications of each of the individuals who became subchiefs when that system was set up in 1986.

Jerry Kanim's leadership also left considerable imprint on Snoqualmie political processes which is still discernible today. Several individuals who are still active first came into office in the early 1950's as a result of Kanim's urging and influence. They guide their roles in part according to what Jerry Kanim had taught them or they heard at Kanim's big annual meetings when they were young (FD) (see also IV.F).

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