

(4) Proposed Finding Documents

- April 26, 1993

**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


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, descent 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

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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 potlatches. 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 dignitaries 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 redbfish. 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 potlatches 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 auxiliaries 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 traditional 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 attempted 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 to 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 Superintendent 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 sometimes 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

throughout 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 constitution 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 practitioners 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, after the 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-Onís 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 fracas 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 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, Stillaguamish, 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. Huty Kanim) (15th); sub-chief St'hau-ai (a.k.a. Sthowie or Jim Kanim) (16th); Do-queh-oo-satl (19th); sub-chief John Kanim (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, Huty 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 Stillaguamish 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-gua-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 establishment 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).

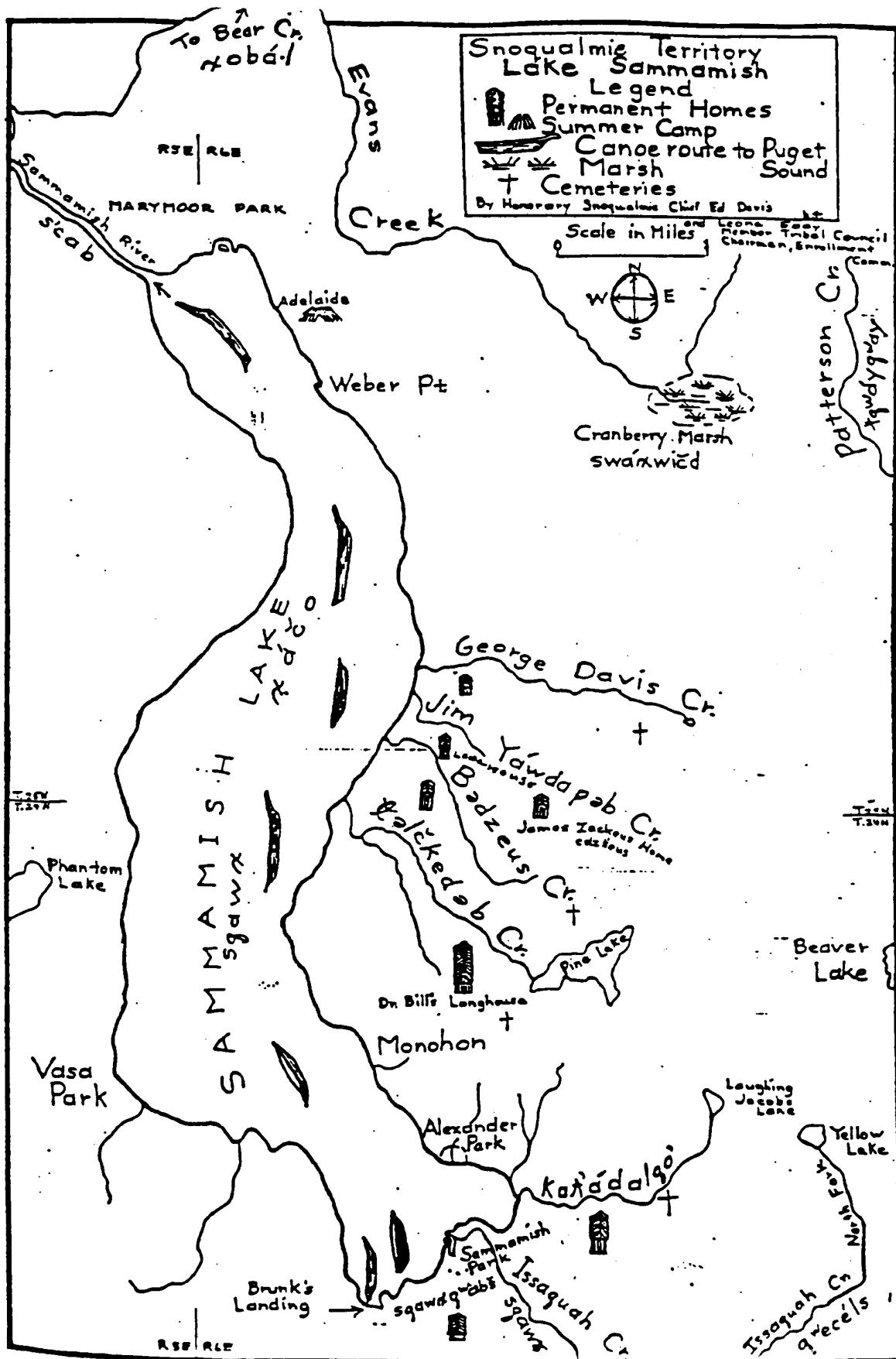
Between 1865-1870, several Snoqualmie people, including the Davis, Jack, and Bikk families, moved to the mouth of the Cedar River in the Georgetown area of Seattle to clear land for the new settlers. Here, in the traditional area of the Duwamish, to whom some of them were married, the Snoqualmie migrants 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 upstream 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).



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).

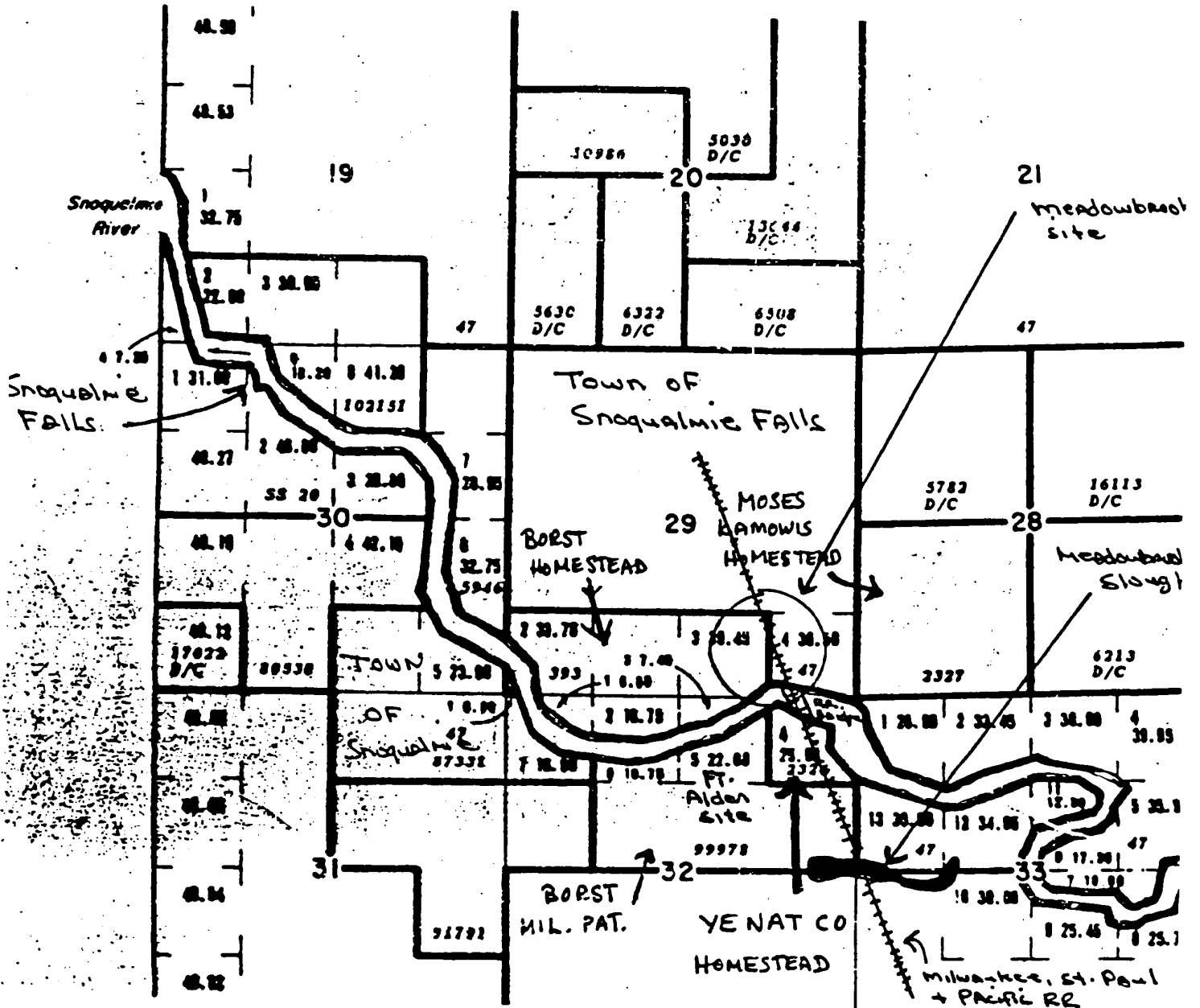
In his 1929 history of King County, local historian Clarence B. Bagley described Meadowbrook as being an addition to the town of Snoqualmie Falls (Bagley 1929, 782). The only landmark on modern maps that still bears that name is the Meadowbrook Slough, a body of water lying just east of the town of Snoqualmie 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 Innis, 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 Satlabged, 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 incorporated 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 Stillaguamish 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 candidates 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 drunkenness (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 1927b).

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 (Kennum & 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-in-law), 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 distinguish 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; Schwellenbach 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 decision, 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 and fishing 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, Stillaguamish, 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