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Cultural Survival of the Snoqualmie Tribe

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INTRODUCTION

The aboriginal Snoqualmie tribe inhabited the Snoqualmie River valley between the present cities of Monroe and North Bend, Washington. They were basically a riverine tribe who traveled to the shores of Puget Sound to obtain seafood and across the Cascade Mountains to obtain products from eastern Washington. E. Huggins[1] (3 February 1855), an early pioneer, reported that the Snoqualmie, under chief Pat Kanim, were "the most warlike on the Puget Sound, and the terror of the other tribes. Often in armed bands they made raids upon the other Sound Indians, and murdered, plundered, or made slaves of all those captured alive."

Oral and documentary sources suggest that the Snoqualmie controlled a major trade route[2] with the plateau Indians, that they had a monopoly on the trade in flint stones, that they had a good supply of horses by the nineteenth century, and that they were well equipped for defending themselves. Haeberlin and Gunther state, in their survey of the Puget Sound tribes, that "[f]lint arrowheads were bought from the Snoqualmie, who were the only tribe that made them."[3] The majority of the Snoqualmie never moved to a reservation,[4] and, in a 1919 survey by special Indian agent Charles Roblin,[5] they were identified as an off-reservation tribe.

The historic Snoqualmie tribe has survived to the present as a

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distinct Indian community. In fact, they were selected to serve as the Washington State Centennial Indian Dance Group in 1989 by the Washington State Centennial Committee. This study seeks to ascertain how the Snoqualmie Indians were able, in the absence of government economic assistance or political protection, to persist as a landless tribe in the face of severe pressures to assimilate.

Long-term tribal survival is based on some enduring values and symbols. Spicer refers to this as "a persistent identity system" and explains that the continuity of a people consists in the growth and development of a picture of themselves that arises out of their unique historical experience.[6] Three significant elements of Spicer's identity system are shared historical experiences, common symbols of identity, and a perception of community. Royce contends, "No ethnic group can maintain a believable (viable) identity without signs, symbols, and underlying values that point to a distinctive identity."[7] Nash adds, "The cultural dispersion of groups . . . is largely taken up by a set of symbols that define and mark off the group from other groups."[8]

This study traces the symbols, perceptions, and experiences that guided the Snoqualmie tribe in the process of maintaining its cultural identity system from the signing of the Point Elliott Treaty in 1855 to the present. This study is divided into three time periods based on politicoeconomic considerations: a postcontact cultural period from 1855 to about 1900, a transitional cultural period from 1900 to about 1956, and a contemporary cultural period from 1956 to the present.

POSTCONTACT SNOQUALMIE CULTURE 1855–1900

Traditionally, the Snoqualmie resided in some ninety-six longhouses located in fourteen permanent winter villages.[9] Villages contained from one to eighteen longhouses and were located along the confluence of two salmon streams. These cedar-plank longhouses ranged in size from forty to two hundred feet long by about thirty to fifty feet wide.[10] During the summer fishing season, families constructed small cattail mat houses along streams. These temporary shelters were little more than mats tied to a pole frame.

If the longhouses averaged between thirty and forty residents each, then the aboriginal population of the Snoqualmie could have been as high as three or four thousand. This population estimate may seem high, given the fact that Mooney's projection for the

whole Puget Sound was 5,175,[11] Kroeber's was 6,000,[12] and Taylor's was 10,300,[13] but it is based on a tangible historical criterion—longhouses. Jacobs explains that the early population projections are highly questionable given their gross neglect of the "early decimation all over the continent."[14] Boyd's later aboriginal population projection for the Puget Sound revised the 1839–42 Hudson Bay census from 5,479 to "at least 11,835."[15]

Population estimates are important, because they indicate something about the competition for scarce resources and the level of social complexity needed to integrate the people. A Snoqualmie population of upwards of three thousand, in control of a major trading route and forced to compete for the resources of the central Puget Sound, suggests a situation that may have contributed to the warlike characteristics attributed to the Snoqualmie under Chief Pat Kanim.

Postcontact Economy

The lifeline of the Snoqualmie Indians has been the Snoqualmie River system, which supplied them with salmon and served to connect them, through travel and trade, with coastal beaches and upland prairies. Their main sources of subsistence were hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening wild plants.[16] They hunted deer, elk, goats, bears, raccoons, river otters, martens, porcupines, rabbits, muskrats, beavers, and chipmunks. They also bagged many species of birds, including ducks, geese, and grouse. They caught five species of salmon, steelhead trout, Dolly Varden, suckers, and several other kinds of fish. They gathered roots, berries, herbs, nuts, fruits, and seeds. They removed small trees on the prairies and used digging sticks to stir up the soil around selected plants to increase the production of edible roots and bulbs. And they traveled to beaches on the Puget Sound to obtain clams, mussels, oysters, octopuses, and several species of bottom fish.[17] Subsistence resources that were not immediately consumed were dried or smoked for future consumption or for trade.

The Puget Sound region included five ecological niches: island, coastal, delta, riverine, and upland. These ecological niches produced not only different products, but similar resources at different times of the year.[18] Thus, an active trade developed among the various tribes of the Puget Sound. Marriages were initiated to create and promote trade, since no family could visit more than a

few resource sites each year.

The Snoqualmie controlled a major trade route over the Cascade Mountains that stretched from Penn Cove on Whidbey Island, through the Snohomish-Snoqualmie rivers, and up to the summit of the Cascade Mountains, where it connected on the other side of the mountains with the Plateau region.[19] This trade route served to integrate the five ecological niches into a large economic system that enhanced the resource diversity within each ecological zone.

Postcontact Politics

Aboriginally, villages reportedly contained one or more longhouses, with eight or ten families or more per longhouse. Each longhouse included a council of adults, presided over by a leader who made decisions concerning hunting expeditions, local marriages, the timing of potlatches, and the settlement of household disputes. Descent was bilateral but with an emphasis on the father's side, since residence was basically patrilocal. Marriage ties created kinship and trading bonds among the villages.

A longhouse leader's authority was symbolized by "the exclusive right to carve his guardian spirit on the house post, in contrast to other residents who were restricted to carving their spirit powers on small portable family poles."[20] Village longhouse leaders formed village councils, which coordinated intracommunity concerns. Each village council had "a prominent man as a leader."[21] In addition to serving as managers of their group's territorial resources, household heads also directed the distribution of food from their local longhouse communal food storage resources.[22]

A district consisted of two or more villages located along the same section of a subdrainage system. The Snoqualmie were divided into four such districts (commonly called *bands* in the literature): Monroe, Tolt, Fall City, and North Bend. Each district was headed by a subchief, who generally was related to the head chief. At the time of the treaty, the four subchiefs were Hutty Kanim at Monroe, Jim Kanim at Tolt, John Kanim at Fall City, and Klamish Kanim at North Bend.[23] For example, the North Bend district consisted of three villages: Bobwab (eight longhouses), Tswodum (five longhouses), and Sotsoks (five longhouses).[24] Although most Puget Sound tribes may not have had this form of political organization, the Snoqualmie and Duwamish tribes pre-

sumably did.[25]

Haeberlin and Gunther explain that tribes had centralized tribal councils whose members "did not live in one village but were scattered throughout the tribe."[26] Chief Martin Sampson, a Skagit Indian, states that each tribe in the Puget Sound area was "governed by a chief, sub-chiefs, [and] . . . a council."[27] The existence of chiefs, subchiefs, and central councils is reported for several Puget Sound tribes.[28] The Snoqualmie central council consisted of chief Pat Kanim, assistant chief Cush Kanim, and the four named subchiefs. This Council of Chiefs held meetings in the *halalt*, or tribal educational center, at their ranking village of Tolt.[29] Waterman identifies this old village site as "the principal settlement of the Snoqualmie people" and suggests that the word for the meeting house means "house with designs or patterns."[30] Chief Pat Kanim of the Snoqualmie was described as the "most powerful leader" in the Puget Sound.[31]

Postcontact Religion

According to tradition, the Snoqualmie universe was permeated with spirit power, including plants, animals, the physical forces of nature, and the elements of the earth and sky. Consequently, the whole universe was considered to be sacred and worthy of respect. It was believed that individuals could indeed contact spirits and from them receive special power to perform routine and specialized tasks such as hunting, fishing, carving, basket making, weaving, and curing diseases, and to succeed in warfare.[32]

Youths customarily received special instructions from their elders on how to seek spirit power, known as *sklaletut*.[33] At about twelve years of age, Snoqualmie youths were sent alone into the woods to fast and meditate for several days for the purpose of acquiring spirit power, which would prepare them for assuming adult responsibilities. Acquisition of spirit power depended on several factors: the focusing of the mind on one or more specific spirit powers, the family's social standing in the tribe, the projected type of work the individual planned to do within the family household, the determination of the person to get a powerful spirit, and the willingness of spirit power to respond to human need.[34]

Winter months were considered to be a sacred time of the year, when the spirits wandered over the earth. During this sacred

season, those individuals who had received a helping spirit were expected to sing and dance in honor of that spirit; if they were negligent, they could expect to suffer sickness and the loss of spirit power as a consequence. The interior of a longhouse was cleared for these dances, and people gathered from other longhouses and other villages to participate in the ceremonies by singing, drumming, or serving food. Dancers usually performed from one to four nights, or until "their spirits were properly honored."

Individuals who received powerful *xwdab* spirits became spirit doctors. They were believed to possess special power to cure diseases, to find lost things, or to lead warriors into battle. Spirit doctors fasted to prepare their minds for spiritual contact, danced and sang their spirit songs to honor and attract their spirit helpers, and followed their spirits' instructions to treat patients.[35] The families of the patients rewarded the spirit doctors for their efforts with horses, canoes, furs, shells, wives, and later money.[36]

Snoqualmie Falls was considered to be the birthplace of the Snoqualmie tribe. The first Snoqualmie Indians were created there, and thus the falls became the religious center of the tribe. According to tradition, Snoqualmie Falls was once a large fishing weir that was supernaturally transformed into "a lofty cataract."[37] A powerful spirit, who inhabited the pool at the base of the falls, was believed to provide spirit power to those who successfully sought it. The spirits of various resources of the Snoqualmie River valley and the spirits of the prairie met at the falls, forming a very sacred site for seeking spirit power.

Changes in Postcontact Economics, Politics, and Religion

Throughout the semitraditional period of 1855–1900, the Snoqualmie continued to hunt, to fish, to gather, and to garden the prairies, but they harvested these subsistence resources in decreased amounts and on reduced areas of land, because a large influx of settlers was rapidly acquiring aboriginal Indian land. In an effort to augment their decreasing supply of aboriginal food resources, the Snoqualmie attached themselves to wealthy landowners for economic employment and political protection.

Puget Sound Indians were never forced by legislative decree to move to reservations.[38] In fact, the Tulalip Reservation was grossly inadequate to accommodate the prescribed land allotments designated in the Point Elliott treaty. Indeed, the small Tulalip Reserva-

tion was densely covered with timber, was mostly low wetlands, was largely unfit for agriculture, and gave very little opportunity for employment. Many of those who moved to the reservation were later forced to leave or face starvation.[39]

Therefore, thousands of Puget Sound Indians chose to remain in their aboriginal territories to pursue their aboriginal lifestyle.[40] The Indians who remained off the reservations formed small enclaves of Indian communities, continued their subsistence lifestyle as settlers permitted, obtained part-time jobs in the timber industry, cleared land for settlers, or worked in the harvest fields.[41]

Ed Davis, a Snoqualmie centenarian, has explained that in the 1850s, when the government asked the Snoqualmie to move to the reservation at Tulalip, the Snoqualmie people "met under Pat Kanim to discuss their course of action. Some of the people followed the order and left their ancestral homeland; others decided to stay where they had always lived. Those who remained said, 'No, we don't want to go there. That is the land of the saltwater people. We are river people. We are going to stay where we were born and raised.' The people who shared that kind of thinking didn't move to the reservation."[42]

Ethnologist George Gibbs acknowledges that the Puget Sound Indians had strong political and religious aversions to living on the soil of another tribe. Gibbs observed that "[l]ocal attachments are very strong . . . and they part from their favorite grounds and burial places with the utmost reluctance."[43] Arthur Ballard's *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* states that the Creator-Transformer placed each tribe in its own river valley and told the people, "Fish shall run up these rivers; they shall belong to each people in its own river."[44] It was believed that the people and the spirits in each river valley spoke the same language; therefore, to be away from one's territory was to be separated from one's spirit power. Consequently, the Snoqualmie did not want to move to a coastal reservation.

During the early posttreaty period, many Snoqualmie families were employed clearing the land around Lake Union in Seattle, in Georgetown south of Seattle, and on the Carnation Farms in the Snoqualmie River valley near Tolt. Bagley states that "at least twenty-five Snoqualmie families" were "living in the Snoqualmie Valley in 1872."[45] Later, many of these same people were recruited to work for local hop farmers.[46]

According to legal affidavits, some of the early white settlers drove the Snoqualmie off their traditional village sites, burned

their longhouses with their possessions, and used village clearings for their farms.[47] Many Snoqualmie continued to live in longhouses at such traditional sites as Cherry Creek, Fall City, and Tolt. Remanent families from burned-out villages joined together to form new villages and to construct new longhouses near the hop fields at Meadowbrook above Snoqualmie Falls and along the eastern shores of Lake Sammamish near Issaquah. In the 1860s, William Castro, George Tibbetts, Bob Wilson, and many other settlers moved to the Issaquah Valley to farm the rich fertile land.[48] Hop farming was a profitable as well as a labor-intensive industry and required a source of cheap labor. Several Snoqualmie Indians were recruited for part-time hop employment, and some of them settled along the shores of Lake Sammamish. Craine described this village as a peaceful Indian community composed of "shacks and hovels at the head of the lake"; she suggested that these Indians were "quite industrious" and "worked for whites" but wanted "to be left alone to hunt and fish."[49] This new symbiotic relationship permitted the Snoqualmie Indians to acquire needed subsistence resources from the lake and to earn part-time wages under the protection of a powerful farming community.

The Lake Sammamish Snoqualmie constructed nuclear family homes along the lake as well as a large longhouse for communal winter living and ceremonial dancing. They fished the lake and surrounding streams in dugout canoes; hunted in the nearby woods for meat and furs; gathered clams, berries, and herbs much has they had done for generations. But they also worked as farmhands and loggers to gain the security, support, and protection of powerful settlers. Indians also traded fish and berries for beef, bacon, salt, and sugar from the whites.[50]

The Lake Sammamish Snoqualmie continued to send their youths into the woods in the spring to acquire spirit power and then held winter dancing ceremonies to honor their spirit powers. Around the turn of the last century, Dwenar Forgue attended many winter dancing ceremonies for honoring spirit power and winter canoe spirit ceremonies for returning souls stolen by residents from the Land of the Dead. She states that "each person had a different song and a different dance."[51] These winter dancing ceremonies were rotated among the various Snoqualmie settlements. When the Snoqualmie elders gathered for a wedding or a funeral, they used the occasion to conduct tribal affairs such as deciding where the next winter ceremonies would be held. Ethnologists George Dorsey[52] and T. T. Waterman[53] document the use

of the spirit canoe ceremony by the Snoqualmie tribe well into the twentieth century.

Attendance at these traditional religious ceremonies was forbidden by the federal government, and those who attended were subject to stiff fines and jail sentences of up to thirty days. Many traditional customs were banned in order to force the Indians to live like whites. Nevertheless, many Snoqualmie chose to ignore the threats and to suffer the consequences. Since it was difficult for Indian agents to enforce the Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations against the attendance of off-reservation Indians at these traditional curing ceremonies and winter ceremonies, they were well attended into the twentieth century in these isolated settlements.[54]

I have suggested in this section that during the postcontact period, the Snoqualmie acquired part-time employment to supplement their dwindling subsistence resources. Although many of their villages were destroyed and the people were forced to regroup, they accommodated themselves to new government regulations when they were forced to and chose to ignore those regulations that conflicted with traditional customs and could not be readily enforced. Their most blatant form of resistance was their participation in spirit dancing and their attendance at Indian doctoring ceremonies. Several cultural symbols of ethnic identity seemed to persist throughout this period: (1) The Snoqualmie continued to identify with the Snoqualmie River valley as their homeland; (2) they continued to take their children to Snoqualmie Falls to seek spiritual power to be healed, to experience comfort in bereavement, and to obtain guidance in making decisions; (3) the Kanim family continued to serve as the ranking family of the tribe, maintaining the lineage of the head leader or chief; (4) the elders continued to meet and discuss tribal affairs, to schedule winter dance ceremonials, and to conduct traditional funerals. This configuration of symbols, in fact, constitutes a persistence of cultural traits that could be considered more or less traditional Snoqualmie culture.

TRANSITIONAL SNOQUALMIE CULTURE 1900–1956

Around the turn of the last century, several factors converged to impact the economic activities of the Snoqualmie tribe. An infestation of hop lice devastated the crop west of the Cascade Mountains; decreased logging activities in local areas forced some to

seek new sources of employment; and an increase in white migration into the region resulted in fewer subsistence areas for Indian hunting, fishing, and gathering. On the other hand, the rapidly increasing population due to foreign immigration into the Puget Sound region contributed to a growing market for fruits, vegetables, and berries. Once again, the white farmers of the Puget Sound turned to the local Indians as a cheap source of labor to assist in the harvests.

Transitional Economy

Jerry Kanim, nephew of the Snoqualmie chief Pat Kanim, who fought with the white troops during the Indian uprising in 1856, became the acknowledged leader of the Snoqualmie at the turn of the century. Since he was born and raised near Tolt, the tribal center of the Snoqualmie Indians, he was familiar with the streams, lakes, and prairies in the area.[55] He earned his living by hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering, much as his ancestors had done; now, however, he was forced to do so under the growing threat of arrest from fish and game officers, who attempted to deprive the Indians of their treaty rights of hunting and fishing in their "usual and accustomed areas." He continued to make bows and arrows for hunting or for trading and was always on the lookout for good chipping flint. He was also a noted native woodcarver, who specialized in carving canoe paddles and spirit boards, which he sold to help finance tribal activities.

As chief of the Snoqualmie, Jerry Kanim assumed responsibility for the economic plight of his people. He formed a harvest crew and negotiated employment with several Puget Sound farmers. The Kanim seasonal harvest circuit began with strawberry and raspberry picking on the Halbrick farm near La Conner, Washington, with housing in migrant workers' cabins. The picking season continued in fields near Conway, Washington, where the Snoqualmie stayed in tents and picked loganberries and blackberries. Berry-picking was followed by the harvest of peas and other vegetables at various Puget Sound locations. The Snoqualmie ended the season in Yakima, harvesting hops, apples, and potatoes. Snoqualmie men generally preferred logging—when work was available—to harvesting crops, because of the higher wages, but they would join the women and children in the harvest circuit as time permitted.

In 1916, Charles E. Roblin was commissioned by the Office of Indian Affairs to conduct a general enrollment and study of the landless Indians living in western Washington and to submit a "full report" to Congress on the "unattached and homeless Indians who have not heretofore received benefits from the government."[56] Roblin discovered in his survey that "[t]here are a considerable number of full-blood Snoqualmie Indians . . . around Tolt, Falls City, and the towns in that district . . . . Indian settlements have not been completely eliminated . . . . They preferred to stay in their ancient habitat . . . . They live by working in the logging camps and the saw mills."[57]

However, pressure from the State Fish and Game Commission throughout much of this period made it increasingly difficult for the Snoqualmie to hunt, fish, and trap without incurring fines. Many Indians were arrested and some even jailed for one to five days for pursuing their treaty rights. One of the present members of the Snoqualmie Council of Chiefs related to me that he was jailed a number of times for hunting and fishing activities in the usual and accustomed areas.

In 1915, Indian agent Charles Buchanan charged the Washington State Legislature with deliberate discrimination and exploitation by depriving "the Indian of his treaty rights."[58] By the close of the 1930s, the Snoqualmie faced a critical economic problem: Salmon and clams were in short supply, subsistence resources were scarce, and the loss of these resources made it difficult to survive on a seasonal worker's income. This economic crisis forced the Snoqualmie to seek better educational skills and full-time employment in blue collar jobs.

Transitional Politics

After signing the 1855 treaty, the Snoqualmie lived with the expectation that one day they would receive their promised allotment of land. The Point Elliott treaty (article VII) designated the Tulalip site as a "special reservation" to be replaced later by a "general reservation."[59] However, the general reservation never materialized, and the special reservation became permanent. Former Duwamish tribal chairperson Peter James testified in court that "Governor Stevens made this promise and assured the people that there was going to be a big reservation set aside for the different tribes to be allotted according to the sixth article of the

treaty with the Omahas" (160 acres for a married couple and more for larger families). James stated under oath that all tribes "claim that the general reservation was to be set aside immediately after the return of the big paper . . . the document of the treaty."[60]

The Tulalip Reservation was established in the early 1860s for Point Elliott treaty tribes, including the Snoqualmie. However, the Tulalip Reservation was never adequate to meet treaty stipulations for allotments. Indeed, treaty allotments were not initiated until almost thirty years after the signing of the 1855 treaty. Indian agent Charles Buchanan at the Tulalip Reservation explained, "[T]here are Indians who have no lands and for whom there is no land available—there never was land enough reserved to carry out the treaty pledges."[61] And when the Tulalip Reservation land allotments were completed in 1909, the majority of the Snoqualmie Indians were faced with the prospect of receiving nothing.[62] C. W. Ringey, the government superintendent of the western Washington Indian agency at Everett, Washington, identified thirty-three Snoqualmie Indians who did eventually receive "allotments on the Tulalip Reservation.[63]

Thomas Bishop, an educated, mixed-blood Snohomish Indian, was one of the thousands of treaty Indians who were excluded from a reservation land allotment in 1909 due to insufficient land. On 22 February 1913, he organized the landless Indians in Tacoma, Washington, to form the Northwest Federation of American Indians. Bishop assisted several Puget Sound Indian tribes to form business councils in order to attain legal standing for making contracts, for establishing checking accounts, and for establishing representative government according to the rule of the dominant society. Bishop, who understood both Indian and white culture, became the catalyst and visionary for a new kind of tribal organization and regional political alliance that would assist the landless Indians in pressing the federal government into honoring the treaty stipulations.

In 1916, Bishop assisted the Snoqualmie in the reorganization of their tribal form of government. The Snoqualmie tribe, like many other tribes within the Puget Sound, had suffered the disruption of their traditional culture, the deprivation of their treaty rights, the dispersion of their people, and the denunciation of their Indian customs. Out of this cultural confusion emerged Thomas Bishop, with a blueprint for a new organization and a mandate for local and collective action. Anthony F. C. Wallace describes this kind of social action as "cultural revitalization," which he defines as a

"deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[64]

In 1916, chief Jerry Kanim of the Snoqualmie tribe sought the assistance of Bishop for the reorganization of his tribe. Kanim reminded his people of the loss of their treaty rights, the lack of employment opportunities, the decrease in their fish and game resources, and the need to reorganize to fight for their land and its resources.

The tribal membership decided to mobilize their members and resources to fight for their treaty rights. Later, they elected their first tribal council, with chief Jerry Kanim as president, Andy Kanim as vice president, Edna Perceval as secretary, and six councilpersons. The new Snoqualmie Tribal Council was based on traditional tribal government under chief Pat Kanim. The chief was to hold office for life unless he resigned or was recalled. At least one representative was to be elected from each of the four traditional districts. But the Tolt district, which was the district of the head chief, continued to have at least equal representation with the other three districts.[65] The new Jerry Kanim council added majority rule, popular elections, and *Roberts Rules of Order* in order to meet the legal standards of the white community for a legal business.

Following the 1916 tribal reorganization process, annual meetings were held at Tolt (Carnation, Washington), first in the home of Jerry Kanim until the numbers exceeded its capacity, and then in larger facilities: the Tolt Grange Hall, the Odd Fellows Hall, or the Eagles Lodge Hall. Leona Forgue Eddy, who has attended all of the annual meetings since 1920 with the exception of two, remembers that only one annual meeting was canceled, and that was due to deaths in the tribe.[66] The Jerry Kanim home in Tolt replaced the former *halalt* at Tolt as the educational and political center of the tribe. The Kanim home provided a place where Snoqualmie Indians could go to learn about tribal law, to settle disputes, to seek employment, or to receive tribal assistance.[67]

Evelyn Kanim Enick explained, "My dad worked long and hard as chief of the Snoqualmie people. He worked for years without pay because he cared for his people and his land. Our floors had cracks in them and our walls had holes in them. We stuffed them with newspaper in the winter to make the house warmer. My mother made baskets and gave the money she made from their sale to the tribe to keep the organization going." The last words spoken by Jerry Kanim to his daughter before his death in 1956

were, "Don't let my people down. Keep up the fight for the treaty."[68]

In 1929, tribal attorney Arthur E. Griffin advised the tribe to consolidate their reorganization process by drawing up a formal constitution "to properly present their claims to the government." A Snoqualmie constitutional committee drew up a constitution with bylaws, which was adopted by the general membership on 26 May 1929. Two objectives of this constitution were to "preserve the traditions of our Tribe" and to "promote the general welfare of the Snoqualmie Tribe." These two objectives were, in reality, a formalization of longstanding tribal concerns. Nevertheless, chief Jerry Kanim continued to exercise his chiefly functions according to traditional expectations, teaching Indian law, settling disputes, and representing the tribe in extratribal affairs.

Thus, the Snoqualmie tribe became formally organized under a constitution some five years before the Wheeler-Howard Bill authorized the Indian Reorganization Act of 18 June 1934. The Snoqualmie, like the majority of American Indians, chose not to adopt constitutions under the IRA Act (116,000 Indians from 174 bands and tribes adopted constitutions, while 194,000 from 78 bands and tribes declined).[69] Since the Snoqualmie already had a constitution and since the acquisition of a reservation would have meant a major revision of the constitution, the Snoqualmie tribe was encouraged to delay any change in reorganization until such time as the government decided to act on their reservation proposal.[70]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs proposed a reservation for the Snoqualmie Indians in 1937. Agent E. M. Johnston identified some 211 Snoqualmie Indians, under the leadership of Jerry Kanim, as residing along the Snoqualmie River in the vicinity of "Snoqualmie, Fall City, Carnation, and Preston." He stated that these Snoqualmie Indians "were never identified with another reservation" and that these other reservations "did not afford sufficient areas to accommodate them." Therefore, Johnston proposed a 10,240-acre reservation at the mouth of the Tolt River, which was the ancestral land of the Kanim family and the symbolic center of the tribe.[71] Agent George P. LaVatta "received and reviewed" the preliminary Johnston report and commented, "It will be necessary to establish a reservation or land holdings for them before organization can take place. I therefore concur that suitable and sufficient land should be secured for this group which would enable them to not only avail themselves of the benefits of the Reorganization Act, but

will also give them an opportunity to build lives for themselves and their families."[72]

While the Snoqualmie Indians waited for land to materialize and their treaty fishing rights to be acknowledged, they organized around four family distribution centers for collecting and dispensing food, clothes, and furniture to needy Snoqualmie. The four family centers were Jerry Kanim at Tolt, Ed Davis at Fall City, Tom Zackuse at Lake Sammamish, and Ernie Barr at Issaquah. These four distribution centers corresponded roughly with the four former "bands."

Transitional Religion

Early in the twentieth century, many Snoqualmie joined a rapidly growing Indian Shaker Church religious revitalization movement that emerged in response to increased suppression of Indian economic and political treaty rights. John Slocum experienced a Christian conversion that he explained in indigenous terms to the Indians of western Washington. The Shaker Church combined religious symbols from Protestant revivalism and Catholic worship with traditional Indian beliefs, to form a new synthesis of Indian and white religion. Indian Shaker services were patterned after the old-time Protestant camp meetings, with enthusiastic singing, fervent praying, and emotional conversion experiences. It was a new interpretation of the person and the power of Christ which was "completely comprehensible in the Indians's own terms."[73] Members received the name *shakers* from their practice of quivering and trembling during their services. Barnett contends that the Shaker religion is "generically Christian" because it holds in common the cardinal Christian doctrines of faith.[74]

Because the Indian Shaker Church also shared many cultural features with the traditional longhouse religion, it was considered to be "Indian" in its essential features. Some of these common characteristics, which continue to be practiced, are as follows: open rooms with benches around the walls, counterclockwise processions, shaking as a sign of spirit possession, communal meals, community healing services, distribution of a deceased's possessions, headstone parties to commemorate the dead, a belief in soul loss, emphasis on moral living, the need to honor one's spirit power, demonstration of spirit power, the ability to move

around the room with eyes closed to indicate spirit possession, and the need to live a "clean" life to acquire spirit power.[75] A clean life meant no drinking, smoking, cursing, or gambling; it meant to live a life of service to God and man in caring for sinners, the sick, and the needy.

The Shaker Church also substituted hand bells for hand rattles; the spirit of God for the spirit of animals; the holy family for the spirit canoe carvings; brushing off evil for brushing off pain; spiritual pay for material pay for curing; daily spiritual visitations for winter spirit visitations; and many more such substitutions. In essence, the Shaker Church revised and reinterpreted the symbols of Indian identity to adapt to the rapid changes caused by extensive white contacts.

During the transitional period, the Snoqualmie experienced a decrease in the availability of subsistence resources, forcing them to increase their participation in the seasonal commercial harvests. Politically, the Snoqualmie confronted increased pressure from the state government to abandon their hunting and fishing treaty rights, forcing them to reorganize to protect their way if life. Religiously, many Snoqualmie adapted to the changing cultural environment by reinterpreting their longhouse religion to make it more compatible with the dominant culture and to address new ideological values derived from the dominant society. The prevailing mode of cultural response, economically, politically, and religiously, by the Snoqualmie seems to have been simply to modify their traditional cultural practices in such a way so as to preserve their essential core of meaning while providing sufficient flexibility to survive in the changing social environment.

CONTEMPORARY SNOQUALMIE CULTURE, 1956–1990

Two significant factors occurred around the middle of this century that contributed to a modification in the political and economic life of the Snoqualmie tribe. First, in 1941, World War II opened the job market to local Indians at a time when it was difficult for them to acquire sufficient levels of traditional subsistence resources to sustain their families. Second, the death of chief Jerry Kanim in 1956 created a crisis in traditional tribal leadership.

Contemporary Economy

World War II contributed to a shortage of workers and permitted many Snoqualmie to find full-time employment. In addition, increasing pressure by the Washington State Fish and Game Department made it almost impossible to obtain sufficient quantities of salmon and other subsistence resources at the usual and accustomed fishing sites. Consequently, because of their limited education and financial resources, the Snoqualmie Indians turned to manual labor to sustain their culture. This forced several families to leave the Snoqualmie River valley in search of work.

In order to survive during this period, the Snoqualmie modified their general "assistance-as-needed" network to accommodate families in need. As traditional foods became available, they were moved to areas of need throughout the Puget Sound, from Darrington to Tacoma. Berries, smelt, and salmon moved north from the Snoqualmie living near Tacoma; later, berries and salmon moved south as these same products became available in the northern region. Gallons of berries and hundreds of fish were shared in this manner each year. Many edible species of berries, fish, shellfish, fruits, and vegetables around the Puget Sound are still shared in this same manner. In a 1985 survey, some 20 percent of the respondents (12 of 64 respondents) derived 20 percent or more of their diet from traditional food sources, and 75 percent had worked as commercial pickers (23 of 33 respondents).[76]

According to tribal sources, the Snoqualmie tribe opened its own tribal food bank, in 1978, to assist "anyone in need." The food bank supplied food, clothing, transportation, gasoline, and free home delivery. The Snoqualmie tribe formed a nonprofit organization a few years later to raise funds for assisting their people in financial need. The tribe also sponsors eight salmon bakes each year to raise money for tribal projects. To improve the income of families and to promote the tribe's cultural heritage, cottage industries are encouraged. The Snoqualmie continue to weave baskets, to create beadwork, to make wood carvings, and to paint traditional symbols on canvas and leather products for sale to the public, much as the tribe has done since the time of the treaty.

Contemporary Politics

When chief Jerry Kanim passed away in 1956, no qualified member of the Kanim family stepped forward to assume tribal leadership as prescribed by tradition. It would have been considered a serious breach of tradition and tantamount to political revolt for another member of the tribe to challenge the hegemony of the Kanim family. The position of head chief was offered to Ed Davis, but he declined as long as there was a living member of the Kanim family. Nevertheless, soon after the death of Jerry Kanim, the Snoqualmie people made Davis their honorary chief, which title he retained until his death in 1987.

In March 1986, I attended a meeting of the tribe, in which James Enick, son-in-law of the late chief Jerry Kanim and spokesperson for the Kanim family, stepped forward and advised the tribe to select a chief, because "a tribe needs a leader to rally the people on important issues." This indicated the Kanim family's willingness to relinquish the right to fill the position from their immediate family. On 2 August 1986, the Snoqualmie tribe installed Ernie Barr as their new chief.[77] Chief Barr is a descendant of the Kanim family, is well versed in traditional Snoqualmie culture, is a fluent speaker of the Snoqualmie language, and is a highly respected member of the Indian Shaker Church.

Chief Barr presides over the Council of Chiefs, which is composed of four subchiefs reinstated in 1986 by the General Council of the People. According to a list of qualifications drawn up by the Snoqualmie Tribal Council, a chief and subchiefs must be of at least one-eighth Snoqualmie descent and are appointed to serve for life, or until resignation or recall. Succession within the Council of Chiefs is based on seniority. The chief cosigns tribal checks, is an active participant in tribal affairs, and is in charge of training his successor. The Council of Chiefs mediates disputes, serves as advisors to the general membership, supervises traditional tribal activities, and represents the tribe at public functions. Each of the four subchiefs is a descendant of members of one of the four traditional districts of the pretreaty Snoqualmie tribe.

According to a recent chairperson of the Snoqualmie Tribal Council, there are two tribal governing bodies in addition to the Council of Chiefs: the General Council of the People and the Snoqualmie Tribal Council. The main governing body of the Snoqualmie tribe continues to be the General Council, composed of all members of the tribe, but only those who are age eighteen

years or older may vote at annual meetings. The purpose of the General Council is to elect or recall all tribal officials and to declare the general will of the people on all matters that arise within the sovereign activities of the tribe. The General Council is the ultimate authority of the Snoqualmie tribe. All other councils are subject to its review and removal powers.

The Snoqualmie Tribal Council is the legal governing body of the Snoqualmie Indians. It was established in 1916 to serve as a political forum for the tribe in order to provide a legal entity acceptable to the dominant society. The present Tribal Council is composed of eleven members, all of whom vote, with the exception of the council chairperson and the chief. According to the 1984 tribal constitution, the Tribal Council has the powers to tax, borrow money, appoint committees, charter organizations, establish courts, and manage all tribal assets. It also has the authority to negotiate and enter into agreements with local, state, and federal agencies.

In an attempt to discern the level of importance the contemporary Snoqualmie Indians attach to "traditional positions of leadership," a recent survey questionnaire asked respondents to indicate the importance of five types of Snoqualmie leaders: family elders, subchiefs, tribal council members, tribal chairperson, and tribal chief. Forty-eight to 69 percent of the respondents (51 of 106 and 72 of 105) placed a "high level of importance" on a five-point scale to each of the five positions of leadership.[78]

Contemporary Religion

Many of the basic forms and symbols of traditional longhouse religious ceremonies are still relevant to the Snoqualmie. Although interpretations and activities vary, most Snoqualmie continue to seek spirit power. Three contemporary expressions of traditional spirit power are the smokehouse ceremonies, the household power dream religion, and the Indian Shaker Church. Few Snoqualmie youths go into the woods to seek spirit power as they once did. Work schedules and the destruction of many of their sacred sites prohibit it.

Traditionally, Snoqualmie elders taught their youths to go into the woods alone to seek spirit power; currently, Snoqualmie elders teach the young people to seek their spirit power in group gatherings or in family homes. Recently, spirit power quests have assumed a more passive role and are manifested through two forms: smokehouse religion, where one acquires a spirit while dancing;

and household religion, where one acquires a spirit through a dream.

Smokehouse religion refers to the practice of holding religious dances in smoke-filled communal longhouses lighted by open firepits. The smokehouse religion is a modified version of the traditional longhouse religion practiced by the Snoqualmie at the time of white contact but later adapted to a congregational and church type of organization. Anthropologist Pamela Amoss refers to this religious complex as the "Indian Way" and characterizes it as a combination of previously separate Indian ceremonial activities.[79] It stresses spirit acquisition and spirit renewal ceremonies. Young people acquire their spirit power from inherited spirit songs from within the smokehouse, while adults sing and dance in honor of their own spirit power. Some twenty-five to thirty Snoqualmie belong to the smokehouse religion, including a widely known contemporary Indian healer. The sacred season of the year to smokehouse practitioners begins in November and ends in March. Some contemporary smokehouse healers are reportedly able "to see evil, to grasp it in their hands, and to throw it away," much like the Indian Shaker healer.

A second form of contemporary Snoqualmie religious expression is the household "power-dream." This is the largest nativistic-orientated Snoqualmie religious group, with about 120 participants. Power-dream adherents believe that the spirit power, once manifested in the woods, is now available to youths in their homes while they wait passively for spirits to appear to them in dreams. Some twelve to fifteen youths have received such power dreams in the last decade. If a youth receives the same dream-song three times, the spirit of that song becomes that youth's spirit power. Later, the family gives a dinner for a number of friends and relatives, and the youth shares the song and dream experience with them much as it was done in the longhouse religion many years ago.

A third expression of Snoqualmie religious life is Indian Shaker religion practiced by some thirty members. Many of the Snoqualmie tribal leaders throughout this century, including the present tribal chief, have been members of this church. Indian Shakers continue to rely on visions and personal revelations for spiritual growth, for personal protection, and for physical healing. Snoqualmie Shakers continue to burn candles at tribal meetings, to offer prayers at tribal gatherings, and to give spiritual exhortations during tribal functions. Many Snoqualmie have Indian Shaker funerals, in which Shaker healers form an outline of a canoe around a casket, brush off evil with lighted candles, and send the spirit of the

deceased to the afterworld while they sing spirit songs. This is frequently followed by a traditional communal meal and distribution of the possessions of the deceased.

In an attempt to discover the contemporary significance of certain religious symbols, we constructed a survey questionnaire with a five-point scale to ascertain the level of importance Snoqualmie Indians currently attach to sacred activities performed at Snoqualmie Falls such as ceremonial bathing, pursuit of spiritual power, spiritual meditation, pursuit of Indian identity, contacts with ancestral spirits, ceremonial healing/cleansing, and personal renewal. A significant number of respondents placed a "high importance," on many of the seven items. We selected Snoqualmie Falls because it is the traditional center of their religious beliefs, the "Garden of Eden" of their origins, and the "spiritual soul" of their religious activities. High importance responses for the seven items ranged from a low of 33 percent (26 of 48) for ceremonial bathing to a high of 65 percent (31 of 48) for Indian identity. These responses were taken from Snoqualmie residing within a twenty-five-mile radius of the falls.[80]

The seven named religious symbols were then combined to form an "importance index" (low, medium, and high). Seventy-nine percent of the respondents (33 of 42) living within a twenty-five-mile radius of the falls placed "high importance" on the importance index. This response for the seven items was based on a 50 percent or higher response rate in a population base of ninety-six.[81] Thus these data suggest that the contemporary Snoqualmie continue to value sacred symbols of some antiquity.

Although adult adherents of the three religious groups described in this section (smokehouse, power-dream, and Indian Shakers) compose only about 40 percent of the total adult population in the Snoqualmie tribe, they fill most of the major elected positions of leadership. These leaders are from large families, are knowledgeable and respectful of traditional values, understand at least some Snoqualmie language, and can articulate tribal issues.

The contemporary cultural period indicates that a number of Snoqualmie continue to participate in tribal activities, place a high level of importance on traditional symbols, and help one another with food and economic assistance. They elect and conduct their political affairs according to traditional expectations and seek religious experiences based on revised symbols of ethnic identity. This ethnic persistence is also demonstrated in their tribal activities, as indicated by their responses to a questionnaire survey.

SUMMARY

This study suggests that a definite core of cultural symbols has persisted since treaty times and has evolved in the process of adapting to a rapidly changing environment—from communal longhouses to modern condominiums. Economically, the Snoqualmie tribe experienced a steady decline from a total subsistence economy to a minimal subsistence economy. During the process, the tribe gradually acquired the necessary technological and educational skills to survive in the contemporary commercial milieu. Meanwhile, the Snoqualmie have retained many of their traditional art and craft forms and have turned them into commercial pursuits. In addition, they continue to share resources with those in need through family distribution centers, extended family networks, and a tribal food bank.

Politically, the Snoqualmie tribe continues to perpetuate the Council of Chiefs and the General Council of the People. In 1916, the tribe added a Tribal Council to facilitate its participation in the legal and business affairs of the dominant society. The office of tribal chief continues to reside in the extended Kanim family; the term of the chief remains at life, or until recall or resignation; and the political center of the tribe is still located at Tolt.

The Snoqualmie tribe has vigorously resisted religious assimilation, choosing rather to revise and reinterpret its own traditional sacred symbols. Since religion was a difficult area of culture for the state government to regulate, the Snoqualmie were able to continue their traditional spirit power quests in the woods and their spirit canoe ceremonies into the present century. Later, these symbols and beliefs were combined with traditional and Christian symbols to form the Indian Shaker Church.

At the present time, tribal members seek power from spirits: from traditional spirits, from ancestral spirits, from the spirit of God, or from a combination of all three. This study demonstrates that a significant level of importance is still placed on spirit power and sacred sites. Snoqualmie Falls continues to be the center of tribal religious life. Leaders within the tribe are chosen from the smokehouse, the Indian Shakers, or the power-dream religious groups. The Snoqualmie tribe continues to demonstrate its ability to mobilize its human and material resources and to revise its identity symbols in order to survive with cultural significance as a landless people.

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