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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS AND FISHERIES

OF THE

SNOHOMISH TRIBE OF INDIANS

Prepared for: U.S. Department
of the Interior

and the Snohomish Tribe
of Indians

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IDENTITY, TREATY STATUS, AND FISHERIES
OF THE SNOHOMISH TRIBE OF INDIANS

I. INTRODUCTION

This report deals with the Snohomish Indians as they existed in 1855 and with their descendants in 1975. In 1855 the name "Snohomish" (under various spellings) was used to denote the people of a number of villages on the lower reaches of the Snohomish River and its tributary streams, on nearby bays on the mainland and on the southern part of Whidbey Island.

Today, some of the descendants of the 1855 Snohomish Indians still maintain their separate identity. They call themselves Snohomish and are known as such by other Indians and by non-Indians. They are represented by the Snohomish Tribe of Indians. Members of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians live in northwestern Washington in or near the traditional territory of the Snohomish of 1855.

Other descendants of the 1855 Snohomish Indians may still identify themselves as Snohomish and be known as such to others, but they are officially enrolled as members of other

Indian communities. A large number of these are enrolled as members of the Tulalip Tribes and reside on the Tulalip Indian Reservation.

Still other Snohomish descendants reside on other Indian reservations and are enrolled as members of those reservation communities. A large number of Snohomish descendants today are those enrolled as members of the Snohomish Tribe of Indians.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Point Elliott, it was intended that the Snohomish Indians would be settled initially on a reservation of two sections of land near the mouth of the Snohomish River. Ultimately, all of the Indians in Washington Territory west of the Cascade Mountains were to be located on a general reservation. The Tulalip Reservation was designated as the general reservation.

The Snohomish Reservation consisting of two sections of land was described in Article 2 of the treaty as follows:

Article 2. There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands the following tracts of land, viz: the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, surrounding the small bight at the head of Port Madison, called by the Indians Noo-sohk-um; the amount of two sections or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on the north side of Hwhomish Bay and the creek emptying into the same called Kwilt-seh-da, the peninsula at the southeastern end of Perry's Island, called Shais-quihl, and the island called Chah-choo-sen, situated in the Lummi River at the point of separation of the mouths emptying respectively into Bellingham Bay and the Gulf of Georgia. All which tracts shall be set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same

without permission of the said tribes or bands, and of the superintendent or agent, but, if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reserves, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them.

[1]

The underscoring in the quoted material above has been added for clarity. It does not appear in the treaty document. In the above quoted Article 2 at line 6, in the underscored material, "Hwhomish Bay" is a printer's error in the published treaty. The name "Snohomish Bay" appears clearly in Gibb's handwritten original of the Point Elliott treaty.

[2]

The Snohomish Reservation described above was intended not only for the Snohomish Indians, but for all the Indians of the Snohomish-Skykomish-Snoqualmie river systems as well as for the Stillaguamish Indians. This is clearly set out by George Gibbs, secretary of the treaty commission, in a report written in 1855, after the conclusion of the treaty negotiations.

3d. *The Snohomish, with whom are included the Snokwalmu, Ski-whamish, Sk'tah-le-jum, Kwehtl-ma-mish, and Stolutswhamish, living on the Snohomish and Stolutswhamish Rivers. The Snohomish tribe itself occupies only the country at its mouth and the lower end of Whidbey Island; the upper part of the river belonging to the Snokwalmu, &c. They number 441 souls, and the other bands, collectively, 556. At the time of the treaty they were all placed under Patkanam, the chief of the latter. It is observable that though the connection between them is most intimate, the Snohomish assimilate in dialect to the next tribe, the Skagit, while the Snokwalmu speak the Niskwalli in its purity. In the treaty of Point Elliott, the reservation for this division was fixed at two sections on a small creek emptying into the bay formed by the mouth of the Snohomish River. . . .*

[3]

In 1854 when the treaty commission was planning the probable number of reserves which would be needed, they understood that there were between 300 and 400 Indians in the area of the Snohomish and Stillaguamish watersheds and the adjacent islands.

By 1855 when Gibbs wrote the above quoted material, he understood that there were 997, or in round numbers, 1,000 Indians in the area.

In 1856 it was discovered that there were some 1800 Indians in the groups which were intended to locate on the Snohomish Reservation. Nathan Hill, agent in charge of the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Skykomish Indians reported an average number of 1400 Indians under his charge with the number sometimes going as high as 1800. This is nearly double the number reported by Gibbs.

The following excerpts are from Agent Hill's annual report to Michael Simmons, Indian Agent for the entire Puget Sound District. The report is dated September 30, 1856.

"On the 14th November 1855, I received a letter from you appointing me the Special Agent for the "Snohomish", the "Snoqualmie" and the "Skiqua-mish" Tribes of Indians with orders to collect them at some point on Whidby Island distant from the seat of war The greatest number under my charge was about eighteen hundred - the smallest eight hundred and fifty - the average number about fourteen hundred."

[4]

If the eighteen hundred people who were actually in the area had attempted to settle on the Snohomish Reservation, they

would have been unable to support themselves there.

The inadequacy of two sections of land for eighteen hundred people is apparent when compared with the amount of free land offered at the same time by the federal government to prospective white farmers.

Under the Donation Land Act as it had been amended prior to the Treaty of Point Elliott, a white settler who was a family head could obtain a land grant of a half section, or 320 acres.

The Snohomish Reserve contained the same amount of land which was available to four white settlers if they were family men.

As noted earlier, the Snohomish Reservation was intended as a temporary home for the Snohomish Indians and others. It was the plan of the commission that all of the Indians of Washington Territory west of the Cascade Mountains should be removed to a general reservation so soon as that would be practicable.

The Tulalip Reservation, consisting of 36 sections, or one township of land, was set apart for that purpose. The Tulalip Reservation was described and its provisions explained in Article 3 of the Treaty of Point Elliott.

Article 3. There is also reserved from out the lands hereby ceded the amount of thirty-six sections, or one township of land, on the northeastern shore of Port Gardner, and north of the mouth of Snohomish River, including Tulalip Bay and the before-mentioned Kwilt-seh-da Creek, for the purpose of establishing thereon an agricultural and industrial school, as hereinafter mentioned and agreed, and with a view of ultimately drawing thereto and settling thereon all the Indians living west of the Cascade Mountains in said Territory. Provided, however, That the President may estab-

lish the central agency and general reservation at such other point as he may deem for the benefit of the Indians.

[5]

The Tulalip Reservation, as described in Article 3, contains within it the two-section Snohomish Bay reservation provided for in Article 2 of the treaty.

The plan of consolidating all the Indians of western Washington on the Tulalip Reservation was never realized. With one exception all of the reservations provided under Article 2 of the Point Elliott treaty continue to exist to the present. The exception is the Snohomish Bay reservation which has become absorbed into the Tulalip Reservation.

The people who were intended to move to the Snohomish Bay reservation form the nucleus of the present Tulalip Tribes. They have been joined by people from a number of other groups who have relocated on what was originally Snohomish territory.

Although the majority of the people who now comprise the membership of the Tulalip Tribes are of Snohomish ancestry, a large number of Snohomish people apparently did not become members of the Tulalip reservation community.

In order to understand the reasons for this, it is necessary to review briefly the history of the Tulalip Reservation.

The choice of both the Snohomish Reservation and Tulalip Reservation locations was made by George Gibbs in his capacity of

surveyor for the treaty commission and recorded by him in his capacity of secretary to the treaty commission.

Mr. Gibbs came to the conclusion that the peninsula lying between the Snohomish river and the Inlet was unsuited to a general reserve, and that the anchorage and landing being exposed to the northerly winds, formed a further substantial objection. He accordingly turned his attention to the north side of the river and on Tuesday, January 16, being the first day that the weather permitted, he crossed over to, and examined the country on the Creek entering this bay from the north east. There is a flat of about 30 acres on the point on the north side of the Snohomish upon which there is a small village. The inner bay is about 1 1/2 miles wide here, & the creek enters through low marshy land. A short distance up however its banks rise above the level of freshet. It is a tide slough, into which a small stream enters. The Snohomish formerly had a village at this place, on the north or right bank, and the land behind it is level & the woods partially burnt off. Col Simmons had crossed from here to the Stoluckwamish river, and reported that the country is of the same description the whole distance, and is very rich. Sufficient examination was given to satisfy the Surveyor that for a special reserve this creek afforded an admirable situation, or that if it was considered desirable to establish the general reserve in this region, by the purchase of the claims & mill at Tulalip bay, a position could be obtained of a township, fitted in all aspects for an agency, having a harbor to which a vessel of ordinary size could have access, perfectly safe & with abundant good land for farms.

[6]

Apparently Gibbs overestimated the amount of land available for farming, or else he was referring to a future time at which the land would be cleared.

Seven years later, in 1862, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the Tulalip Indian Reservation as follows:

Tulalep reservation, as will appear by the treaty of Point Elliott, was contemplated as a central agency, with a view of ultimately drawing thereto and settling thereon all the Indians living

west of the Cascade mountains in said Territory.

This reservation was originally wholly timber lands, and is not far different now. About thirty acres are partially cleared, and about one-half of that quantity is cleared of everything except stumps, which would be more expensive than everything else to remove from the land

This want of improvement on the reservation is not the fault of the agent last in charge, or probably of the former, from the fact that Colonel Shaw had no money placed in his hands with which to discharge any duty. In fact, he experienced, what must always be experienced by every agent without funds for current expenses, that it was impossible to do anything with economy on credit, or scarcely anything to advantage.

This reservation is not the most favorable in its nature to try the experiment of civilizing the Indians, and inducing them to follow the pursuit of agriculture. It is heavily timbered, and much of it must be cleared, if cleared at all, at a heavy expense

Ordinary timber land in this country cannot be cleared of trees and stumps at a less price than one hundred and fifty dollars per acre.

Farms fenced, broken, and under cultivation, could be purchased at a less price by far than timbered land can be cleared . .

The idea of concentrating all the Indians west of the Cascade mountains upon the reservation is entirely impracticable at the present time, if it can ever be done.

[7]

Apart from the heavily timbered aspect of the reservation, a large part of it was swamp land which had to be drained before it could be converted to agricultural use. In 1871 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the Tulalip Reservation:

The reserve consists of a little more than one township of land, valuable principally for the timber thereon; there is, however, about 1,200 acres of swamp land, mentioned in my former reports, which, by proper drainage, could be made a productive farm, thereby placing these Indians forever beyond want. In order to reclaim this land an extra appropriation of about \$1,000 for this specific purpose would be necessary.

[8]

The lack of funds to drain the swamp and to rebuild the saw mill limited the numbers of Indians that could be settled on the Tulalip Reservation. The agent in charge reported the problem to the Superintendent in 1871.

I intend to write a strong letter to Washington asking for a special appropriation for the rebuilding of the Saw-Mill, and for the building of two new buildings for the use of the school, also for the clearing and draining of the marsh on this Res. Every day new Indians arrive and want to stop on the Res. All they ask for is work so they can obtain a living, and as I have no funds, and not land enough cleared to give them all a piece it is impossible to make them stop.....

[9]

While it does not seem possible to ascertain exactly how many Indians moved to the Snohomish reservation, or later to the Tulalip reservation, it is clear that at least until 1871 more Indians wished to move to the reservation than could be supported there.

By January 1874, the situation had improved somewhat when a new development forced some of those already on the reservation to leave. Indians were denied the right to cut timber on their reservations. The agent at Tulalip wrote to the Superintendent regarding the situation:

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following report for month ending January 31 1874.

From the 1st to the 19th ult the Indians of this Reservation were contented and happy working industriously at their various occupations - some logging and others engaged in draining the marsh and working on a new Road from Agency buildings to the Mission.

Since the order has been given to stop the work on the Reservation they are in a sad state of Consternation and considerably excited, it is as much as I can do to keep them in place.

I regret very much to see some of them leaving the Res. to seek employment elsewhere now that they are denied the means of supporting themselves and families on their own Reservation....

[10]

The following month, in March 1874, the agent in charge of the Tulalip Reservation wrote again to the Superintendent reporting that Indians were having to leave the reservation to seek employment.

About a month ago I received orders from Marshal Blinn then acting Superintendent to shut down all work on the Reserve. This order has caused a deal of trouble and considerable loss to the Indians in the death of their oxen. Some short time ago the order has been partly revoked and three camps were allowed to work. There not being more than sufficient to give employment to more than one third of the Indians who are all equally entitled to employment a large number have left the Reserve to seek it elsewhere. Quite a number of Indians have contracted large debts and if they are not allowed to work on the Res. their creditors stand a very poor chance of being paid which may be the occasion of a deal of trouble to all concerned.

[11]

In 1883 a survey of the Tulalip Reservation was made by H.B. Stewart, U.S. Deputy Surveyor, preliminary to the first allotment work on the reservation. In his field notes, the surveyor described the soil of the reservation as "below average, second rate" and noted that "most of the timber has been logged or burned off". Mr. Stewart closed his field notes with some general comments about the Tulalip Reservation.

Possessed of few resources which are likely to kindle the flame of jealousy in the whites, it is preeminently the most proper

selection which the Government has ever made for an Indian Reservation.

[12]

Some of the timber which was not marketable at the time that Stewart reported has since produced income for the reservation. This has no bearing on the numbers of people who were able to derive an income from the resources of the reservation in the past.

The amount and quality of lands suitable for agricultural purposes, the quality and marketability of timber resources, and the draining of marshlands all affected the numbers of people who could support themselves on the Tulalip Reservation.

The amount of land available, quite apart from its productivity was also a limiting factor. The Tulalip Reservation was allotted in the years 1883-1909. There was not enough land to provide allotments to all of the Indians who were on the reservation.

In 1914 Dr. Charles Buchanan, then superintendent of the Tulalip Agency, reported

Allotment of Tulalip Reservation itself was completed five years ago (1909). There are no surplus lands. In fact there are Indians who have no lands and for whom no land is available--- there was never enough land reserved to carry out the treaty pledges.

.....

There are no surplus lands, there have been none and there can be none. There was not sufficient land reserved. There are "surplus Indians" (unallotted Indians) rather than "surplus lands".

[13]

In addition to the unallotted Indians on the Tulalip Reservation, there were large numbers of landless Indians who were eligible to be enrolled on the Tulalip Reservation but who were un-

enrolled on that or any other reservation.

From 1916 to 1918 Special Allotting Agent Charles Roblin set about to enumerate and investigate the unenrolled Indians in western Washington. In 1919 he submitted a list of names which he had examined and found not to be enrolled or listed on other Indian censuses.

Roblin's list contains the names of about 360 Snohomish Indians, about 250 Snoqualmie Indians, and 29 Stillaguamish Indians. This makes the total of about 640 Indians in 1919 who would have been eligible for enrollment at Tulalip. Most of them were one-quarter, one-half, or full-blood Indians.

Roblin's figure of 640 Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Stillaguamish off-reservation Indians in 1919 may be compared with the total number of Indians on the Tulalip Reservation census of 1919. The July 1, 1919 census of Superintendent Buchanan reported a total of 382 Tulalip Indians.

According to these figures, it would appear that only a little over one-third (37.25%) of the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Stillaguamish Indians were enrolled as Tulalip Indians in 1919. Actually, the percentage would have been somewhat smaller than that, as some of the Tulalip Indians came from outside of the Snoqualmie-Snohomish-Stillaguamish area.

In any event, there were reported on Roblin's rolls almost twice as many off-reservation Snohomish-Snoqualmie and Stillaguamish

Indians combined as there were Tulalip Indians of whatever ancestry in 1919.

The majority of Tulalip Indians today are of Snohomish and Snoqualmie ancestry. The foregoing figures suggest that only a minority of people from those groups moved to the Snohomish/Tulalip Reservation and became Tulalip Indians.

Apparently most of the Snohomish people moved to the Tulalip Reservation initially; later many returned to their original homes. The unavailability of sufficient land and the failure of the government to provide allotments of land were apparently the primary reasons for people leaving the reservation. Indian testimony to this effect was given by a number of Indians in 1927.

The following excerpts are from a deposition of William Hicks, taken at the Tulalip Indian Reservation, March 2, 1927. Mr. Hicks was a Snohomish Indian residing at Chimacum, Washington. At the time of the treaty he was "a good-sized boy." Mr. Hicks was present at the treaty ground when the Treaty of Point Elliott was negotiated. He was being questioned as to the understanding which the Indians had at that time of the treaty provisions. (An interpreter was used.)

Question. Did you hear how John Taylor interpreted the treaty to the Indians and tell them what rights they got to a reservation?

Answer. We understand from John Taylor interpreting to the Indians, in the Indian language, that there was a big reservation coming.

Question. How did he interpret that treaty to the Indians with reference to the small reservations that were described in the treaty?

Answer. That was just temporary, these little reservations.

Question. How did he interpret the treaty to the Indians at that time as to the rights the Indians had under the treaty, to allotments on the big reservation?

Answer. They understand from John Taylor that this big reservation will be set aside for all the Indians, so that they could have their farms.

Question. How did he interpret it as to whether the children and grandchildren would have the rights to farms and allotments on the big reservation?

Answer. That big reservation was promised to the Indians for all the grown people and their sons and daughters and grandchildren that were living at that time.

Question. How did Taylor interpret the treaty as to the time when the big reservation would be set apart for the Indians, for allotments for their farms?

Answer. One year after the treaty that was to be all ready for allotments on the big reservation.

Question. Did John Taylor interpret the treaty to the Indians at that time that they would only have the big reservation, or they would only have their allotments in severalty, until the President thought it was for the best interests of the people of the territory and for the welfare of the Indians that they should have their allotments?

Answer. The understanding at that time was that it was to be done right short after that treaty - within a year after the treaty.

Question. Did John Taylor tell why they wouldn't have their allotments and big reservation except within a year, or why it was necessary that they should wait a year, put it that way?

Answer. John Taylor interpreted to the people that Governor Stevens would have to take the paper back, and when that paper came back, within a year, then this reservation will be given to them.

Question. Do you know of the Government taking the Indians down to Tulalip and keeping them there with the expectation that they would be given an allotment of land within a year?

Answer. Yes. They were to be here temporarily, and were to be move later on. That was the understanding they had when they came here.

Question. Did you and any other Indians come down here and wait to get an allotment?

Answer. All the Indians from Snohomish up here came down and lived here in Tulalip for half a year, he said, and finally they gave up and they went back to the old villages again.

Question. When did they come down here and wait, did you say?

Answer. He says he thinks it was about a year after the treaty when they moved down here.

Question. Did you get an allotment of land?

Answer. No.

Question. What became of your house that you used to live in before the treaty was made?

Answer. All those houses that was built by my parents, all taken by the white people.

[14]

The above statements are taken from a Snohomish Indian who was not a member of the Tulalip Indian Reservation community. Mr. Hicks was an off-reservation Snohomish Indian and was identified as "a member of the Snohomish Tribe."

Similar testimony with respect to the inability of many Snohomish Indians to acquire allotments on the Tulalip Reservation was given by Snohomish Indian witnesses who received allotments at Tulalip.

Mr. William Shelton who was resident on the Tulalip Reservation in 1927 testified that he had lived there for about forty years. His deposition was taken March 3, 1927. Mr. Shelton testified that he had an allotment, but that many Indians had lost original allotments and that others had been unable to secure any.

Question. Do you know whether or not many Indians have come to Tulalip and tried to get allotments and were willing to live upon an allotment and make a home of it if they had an opportunity?

Answer. Yes, sir. -

Question. I wish you would tell what you know about that, Mr. Shelton.

Answer. Well, all this time, what I know about this allotment on the reservation, we have quite a time over that little reservation there at Tulalip, the people go there, trying to get allotment, but if he goes away somewhere, somebody else came and got that allotment just because he was not living on it.

Question. Do you know of many trying to get allotments there who were willing to go upon them and live upon them and were unable

to do so?

✓ Answer. Yes, sir.

[15]

It appears from the available records that a number of Snohomish Indian people either never removed to a reservation, or did so for a time, and then returned to their traditional territories off-reservation.

The off-reservation Snohomish, some of whom trace descent from Snohomish signers of the Treaty of Point Elliott, do not live in Indian settlements today. They may live on or near traditional Snohomish sites, but they are now surrounded by non-Indian neighbours.

The off-reservation Snohomish can hardly be said to have "severed tribal relations." Rather, they have continued to maintain tribal identity and continuity for over one hundred years under extremely difficult conditions.

II. IDENTITY

Indians designated as "Snohomish" (and variant spellings thereof) are mentioned frequently in early accounts of the area. For present purposes we are concerned with the identification of the Snohomish as understood by the Stevens treaty commission.

George Gibbs, the lawyer-ethnologist who served as secretary to the treaty commission in its operations west of the Cascade Mountains, submitted a report on the Indians of Washington Territory, dated March 4, 1854. This report, submitted less than a year prior

to the actual treaty negotiations, was a summary of existing information prepared especially to provide Governor Stevens with information relating to the numbers and location of the Indians who were to be parties to the treaties.

The following extract contains all the information in that report relative to the Snohomish Indians (therein spelled Sinahomish).

The southern end of Whidby's Island, and the country on and near the mouth of the Sinahomish river, belong to the Sinahomish tribe. These number, including the bands connected with them, a little over 300. Their chief is S'Hoot-soot, an old man who resides chiefly at Skagit head ...

The tribes living upon the eastern shore possess also territory upon the islands, and their usual custom is to resort to them at the end of the salmon season---that is, about the middle of November. It is there that they find the greatest supply of shell-fish, which form a large part of their winter stock, and which they dry both for their own use and for sale to those of the interior. The summer and fall they spend upon the main, where they get fish and put in their potatoes.

[16]

Gibbs' understanding of the numbers of Snohomish Indians was grossly inaccurate and was based on information supplied to him by others. A year later his figures were still considerably under the number of Snohomish reported subsequently by others.

In one of his unpublished journals, Gibbs included a table containing census figures for Indians in western Washington as of 1855. The Snohomish figures totalled 441 persons with age and sex breakdown as follows: old men, 20; old women, 36; young men, 100; young women, 110; boys, 55; girls, 41; infants male, 28; infants

female, 23; absent, 28.

[17]

While Gibbs' understanding of the numbers of Snohomish people was grossly inaccurate, his understanding of their territory was generally correct. Swanton, summarizing available information from historical and ethnographic sources listed the following subdivisions and villages of the Snohomish.

Sdugwadskabsh, the south portion of Whidbey Island, including villages opposite Mukilteo on Whidbey (Neg a'sx) Island and at Newall on Useless Bay.

Skwilsi'diabsh, from Preston Point, above Everett, to the southern tip of Camano Island, including a village at Marysville and *Tcatcthlks* opposite Tulalip on Tulalip Bay.

Snohomish, Port Gardner Bay and Snohomish River as far up as Snohomish, including *Tctlaks* at Everett on the south side of the mouth of Snohomish River and *Hibolb* on the north side of its mouth.

Tukwetlbabsh, on Snohomish River from Snohomish to Monroe, including villages at Snohomish at the mouth of Pilchuck Creek and below Monroe 2 miles from the confluence of the Skykomish and the Snoqualmie.

[18]

Curtis gives a slightly different description.

Sdohobsh (Snohomish), the valley of Snohomish river, the mainland coast between a point a little north of Edmonds, Washington, and the northern line of Tulalip reservation, and the south half of Camano island and of Whidbey island, extending up the west coast of the latter as far as Mutiny bay. In the winter the Snohomish assembled in three principal villages: *Hibolub*, near the site of Everett, Washington; *Chtlaks*, "Rocky Point," on Priest point opposite the site of Everett; and *Digwadsh*, on the sandspit at the southern end of Whidbey island extending into Cultus bay.

[19]

In addition to various villages and camps on the Snohomish River, Pilchuck River and on the southern parts of Whidbey and

Camano islands, there were some Snohomish people living in the Chema-kum Creek area on the west side of the Sound at treaty times. This was apparently a recent expansion at the expense of the Chemakum who had been badly decimated as a result of raids.

III. TREATY STATUS

The Snohomish were a party to the Treaty of Point Elliott which was concluded January 22, 1855 between the United States and twenty-two named groups "and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands." The N'Quentl-ma-mish were named separately as a party to the treaty. The preamble to the treaty is reproduced here with the names of these two groups underscored for ready reference. The underscoring does not appear in the treaty document.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Muckl-te-oh, or Point Elliott, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-second day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Dwamish, Suquamish, Sk'tahl-mish, Sam-ahmish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-ahmish, St-kah-mish, Snoqualmoo, Skai-wha-mish, N-Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-allus, Swin-a-mish, Squin-ah-mish, Sah-ku-mehu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-quaguilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians occupying certain lands situated in said Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

[20]

The first four Indian signatories to the treaty were men whom the treaty commission designated as "head chiefs." Each of these was intended to represent the Indians in the main drainage systems in

the area ceded by the treaty. The second signer, Pat-ka-nam, was designated as "Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish and other tribes." His name on the treaty document was considered by the commission to authorize the land cession for all groups located in the Snohomish-Snoqualmie-Skykomish drainage area and also for those groups living along the Stillaguamish River.

The N'Quentl-ma-mish, or people of the Pilchuck River area, are not represented by a separate signer on the treaty. In the eyes of the treaty commission, the N'Quentl-ma-mish were represented by Patkanim who signed for the Snoqualmie, Snohomish, "and other tribes".

Nine men who signed the treaty were identified as sub-chiefs and representatives of the Snohomish. Their names are extracted from the close of the treaty document for convenience. They are listed in order in which the names appear on the treaty, but the order is not directly subsequential.

S'hootst-hoot, Sub-chief of Snohomish
Snah-talc or Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish
He-uch-ka-man, or George Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish
Tse-nah-talc, or Joseph Bonaparte
Ns'ski-oos, or Jackson, Sub-chief of Snohomish
Wats-ka-lah-tchie, or John Hobststhoot, Sub-chief of Snohomish
S'heht-soolt, or Peter, Sub-chief of Snohomish
S-ah-ah-hu, or Hallam, Snohomish tribe
John Taylor, Snohomish tribe

[21]

To summarize, both of the 1855 groups whose descendants belong to the present Snohomish Tribe of Indians were separately named in the preamble to the treaty. Nine men were identified as Snohomish. The

N'Quentl-mamish were represented by Patkanim for purposes of the treaty commission.

The territory of the Snohomish lies wholly within the area ceded to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Point Elliott.

IV. FISHERIES

The Snohomish took salmon and steelhead in the Snohomish River and its tributary streams and creeks. Chum, Chinook, Coho, Pink and stray Sockeye salmon were taken in the Snohomish river system. Salmon were taken with spears and dipnets associated with weirs, with gaffs, with traps, and by means of nets suspended between two canoes.

A trap used on Woods Creek, which flows into the Snohomish River near the town of Monroe, was described as follows:

One of the traps used was made in the following way on Woods Creek: A stone edging was built along a little breakwater riffle. A flat mat was placed below where the riffle came together and the stone edgings almost met. The upriver end of the mat lay flat on the creek bed, and the lower end was propped up to water level on a shelf of loosely woven sticks. The fish would be guided down the center of the riffle and would be left helplessly on the dry stick platform through which the water flowed away.

[22]

Steelhead were taken by means of a net suspended between two canoes as the fish ascended the river. They were also speared as they descended the river after spawning.

Salmon were also taken in the spring and early summer in marine waters by several methods. These included: trolling, harpooning, and spearing.

The following descriptions were given by William Shelton, a Snohomish Indian, in 1937.

Kit-oo-sed or the king salmon, skhwees or the silver salmon, ubukh or what they called the spring salmon were caught in the summer. They trolled for these three varieties, using a line of tough twisted willow bark and a bone hook to which was fastened either a herring or a candlefish for bait. The Indians knew exactly how much strain their lines would stand; and when large fish were caught on a line, they played them carefully, finally bringing them up to the side of the canoe. Then they speared the catch with a harpoon, the point of which was made of ironwood.

The hu-du or humpy salmon and the kholoi or dog salmon had to be pursued differently since neither of these fish bit at a trolling line. In the case of the humpy they used a harpoon attached to a pole about twenty-four feet long. This fish came plentifully every two years; and the Indians went out to a school of them and harpooned them sometimes two at a time.

[23]

The salmon taken during the summer months were sometimes sun-dried. The fall and winter runs of salmon and steelhead were smoke-dried and served as winter stores. Fish harvested and dried at this time also were traded with Indians east of the mountains.

In addition to salmon and steelhead, trout and other smaller fish were taken in the freshwater streams and lakes of the Snohomish area. Tweddell discusses at some length a small fish taken in Lake Stevens and nearby creeks. He does not identify the species.

The little stishub ('stisub) fish was found in and near Lake Stevens, and in at least one creek southwest of Sultan, McCoy Creek, this creek used to be known as Stishub creek. The fish was 8" to 12" long, very bony, and spawned in McCoy Creek, Lake Stevens and the outlet creek between Lake Stevens and Pilchuck river, twice in May and once in June. The runs would last only thirtysix or fortyeight hours, but were very heavy, the creeks concerned literally swarming with the fish. The Indians would throw them out of the stream with their cupped hands. They were immediately cleaned by the women and children, placed in split sticks two feet long and barbecued over long fires, up to thirty feet long. When fully cooked they were smoke-dried to a chip-like dryness and stored in baskets. They were taken on hunting trips and journeys, such as to the hop-fields in later days. Though very bony, the Indians did not mind the bones when the fish was dried. Another means of use was to soak them in hot water until they regained most of their original size and then eat them.

[24]

The fish referred to above is probably the Peamouth Chub (*Mylocheilus caurinus*).

Sturgeon were also taken by the Snohomish. William Shelton described the method of taking as follows:

Sometimes they used to catch sturgeon, a clumsy variety of fish nine or ten feet long which used to come in and loiter around the mouths of rivers. They used a harpoon attached to a long line; and when a wary fishermen spied a sturgeon under the water, he threw his harpoon. If he hit the fish, he pulled out the spear and played it by the line until he became tired. Then pulling him up, the Indian drove a wide sharp bone blade into the back of his head and into his spine.

[25]

Waterman, who collected information on the Snohomish area about 1920, gives the meaning of Quilceda Creek to be "sturgeon place." According to his informants, the name Quilceda has been given erroneously to the creek whose Snohomish name is derived from the word for sturgeon.

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The Snohomish harvested a wide variety of sea-mammals, non-anadromous fish, shellfish, and other species in the marine waters of Possession Sound and Puget Sound. Certain nearby areas on Whidbey and Camano islands were favorite resorts for clamming and fishing, as for example at Holmes Harbor, Useless Bay, and Cultus Bay. In addition Snohomish fishermen took seals, halibut, cod, rock cod, flounder, herring, octopus, skate and other species wherever these were available. Of the shellfish species harvested, clams were probably the most important. Butter clams were eaten fresh; horse clams were dried for winter stores and for trade.

Like their neighbours, the Snohomish harvested almost every species of food fish and shellfish accessible to them.

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- [2] Gibbs (1855).
- [3] Gibbs (1877:179).
- [4] Hill (1856:1)
- [5] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927
- [6] Gibbs (1855)
- [7] Kendall (1862:305-306)
- [8] McKenny (1871:272)
- [9] Chirouse (1871:2)
- [10] Chirouse (1874a:1)
- [11] Chirouse (1874b:1)
- [12] Stewart (1883), quoted in Buchanan 1914.
- [13] Buchanan (1914:139)
- [14] Hicks (1927:230-231)
- [15] Shelton (1927:255)
- [16] Gibbs (1854:432)
- [17] Gibbs MS. (Apparently taken from Simmons' census of June 1, 1855)
- [18] Swanton (1952:46)
- [19] Curtis (1913:174)
- [20] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927
- [21] Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927

- [22] Tweddell (1974:540)
- [23] Shelton and Maryott (MS:62-63)
- [24] Tweddell (1974:543)
- [25] Shelton and Maryott (MS:64)
- [26] Waterman (MS) See Appendix 1, item number 11.

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APPENDIX # 1. EXCERPTS FROM T.T. WATERMAN MANUSCRIPT
PUGET SOUND GEOGRAPHY

MAP 11

NAMES OF PLACES ON THE MAINLAND IN THE VICINITY OF EVERETT, WASHINGTON.
(SNOHOMISH AREA).

1. Site of a settlement known as Subeebeda, north of Everett, sbi'bida, "very small baby" (bi'da, "son").
2. A dull projection in the shore-line south of Subeebeda, SEqsu'q^w bats, "where the alders grow."
3. A place on the shore-line just north of Tulalip. Tux^w kwa'ixkub, "place for using the dip-net." The term kwa ix means a dip-net stretched on a hoop, and fastened between two diverging poles, used for taking salmon from in front of a weir. This device I have described and illustrated elsewhere (see Puget Sound Culture, by T.T. Waterman).
4. The tip of the sandy promontory projecting from the south side of the opening at Tulalip Bay. Kw ikwiks, "skatepromontory." The place is named from the number of skates in the shallow water here.
5. A smaller promontory projecting from the side of this one, Cteagks, "outside or seaward promontory", (tcag^w, "seaward, off-shore.")
6. Site occupied by the Mission on the southern margin of Tulalip Bay, Lk!aLale'gwEd, "Lying exactly in the middle." This name refers, I think, to the situation of a gully here, between two promontories. This was a village site in the old days and an Indian, who was called Gaspard by the whites, used to give elaborate pot latches. The posts of his house are still visible.
- 6a. A level promontory in the inner part of the harbour known as Tulalip Bay, Tuxu^w le'lop, "sand flat." This native term, Anglicized as Tulalip has been applied to the bay, and to the Indian reservation and post office on its northern shore.
7. A small spring on the coast-line south of Tulalip, Tcaiya'lgo, "hidden water." This spring was hard to locate, lying among a lot of vegetation.
8. The promontory on the north side of the entrance to the Snohomish delta, Tcgtl!a'ks, "rocky promontory." Curtis gives this term in the form Chtlaks. The name is based on the fact that the end of

the promontory is strewn over with small pebbles. Meany, quoting Buchanan, gives the form Schuh-tlahks, "meaning stony nose." The word for rock is Tc'tL'a, and the suffix -ks is the commonly-encountered element for "nose" and "promontory". The Indian name Priest Point refers to the labors of the missionary, Father Chirouse.

9. The bight in the coast-line just east of Priest Point, q!kwa'ladi, translated by one of my informants, "the inner part of the bay." It means literally, "up-river flap" (q!e^{xw}, up-river; kwa'ladi, "ear," or by a figure of speech, "a flap").

10. A place near the shore, east of the preceeding, TLatLEbtLabu'L, "place of many little cedar canoe-mats." The word TLabu'L, meaning cedar-limbs, which were hastily woven together, to place in the bottom of a canoe. These limbs were covered with a piece of matting made from cat-tails, and on this, the canoeman kneeled. It served to keep his knees dry in paddling the canoe. This was a spot where cedar twigs were easily obtained.

11. The stream shown on the maps as Quibceda creek, Tux qwota'itsdEb, "sturgeon place," (from qwota'i toid, sturgeon). For the name Quilceda, see the following entry.

12. Ebey's Slough, on e of several large waterways cutting across the delta of the Snohomish river, Kwilsi'da. This is obviously the term from which the form Quilceda, just mentioned, has been derived. According to Meany, a stream by the name of Kwilt-seh-da is mentioned in the treaty of 1855. My informants were positive that there has been on the maps a transfer or accidental shifting of names. The term Kwilsi'da is literally "emptying through an elbow" (kwel, "crooked; "si'deq^w, "emptying".

13. Steamboat Slough, the next waterway south of the above. La'La, "dragging something through, touching the sides of the passage." The name refers to the branches of the trees which hung over the water and scraped the canoes which took this passage.

14. A narrow isthmus, very marshy, separating Elby's Slough from Steamboat Slough, StE'x^ugw1L, "plowing through with a canoe." This word has been commented on elsewhere.

15. Union Slough, a narrow waterway lying closer to the harbour than the last named, StL'a'hadup. "full of things growing on the ground;" i.e., "bushy").

16. The wide but shallow estuary where Steamboat and Union sloughs come together, Os'a'sltc, translated, "chasing a fish here and there." The word o'sll means "to dive." The word therefore means literally "diving here and there," and refers to the behaviour of the fish when a man tries to catch them.

16a. Place at the mouth of the main channel of the river, PE'ls1b, "boiling." The water here bubbles as the result of the action of cross-currents.

17. A small island lying on the north side of the river mouth, Ctcqo'tsid. This suggests "that which chokes up the mouth of something." The stem means, "to close", like closing a shutter or a door.

18. The sharp point of land running out toward the island above-mentioned (number 17), SExwtculalk^w.

19. An old village-site, just at the south side of the mouth of the Snohomish river, Hibu'l³ub, "place where water boils out of the ground." This is the Preston Point of modern maps. The name of this point is given by Curtis as Hibo'lub, and by Meany, quoting Buchanan, as Hay-bohl-ub, but neither author supplies and translation. Bul is the stem meaning to boil (see elsewhere) and the suffix -ub refers to the ground.

20. A tiny promontory with a slough behind it, running almost parallel to the shore, SEq^wsu³ub. The stem qwso means, "gathering something together on or in a string," like putting a lot of trout together on a twig.

21. A narrow channel passing behind an island, Slu'luw 1L, "little perforation for a canoe." This term is elsewhere discussed.

22. A spot on the river-bank opposite the town of Everett, Tl'o'hwal, "a cold spring."

23. The promontory opposite the town of Lowell, produced by a sharp turn in the river, Tcts!adi, "something sharp sticking out."

24. Place above Lowell, where the slough strikes off from the river, HwEq^wqwllqed. This term means, "head of something moving about." Apparently the channel of this slough changes its position from time to time.

25. Rather high land along the margin of the river, Ctcgwa'l¹itc, "the outer edge of something." The area lying back of this high level is an extensive cranberry marsh.

26. Place where the river makes an S-shape bend, producing two sharp headlands or promontories, cqWEqwlEq'os, "the two white cliffs." The bluffs composing the river banks here are of a white formation.

27. Place in the river near the site of the town of Snohomish, Sba':daL, "eddy".

28. Place on the shore of the Sound, south of Everett, HEbhEbo'ali, "where there are pigeons." The term hE'bo means "wild pigeon."

29. Spot near what is now the central part of the water-front in the town of Everett, Hudsl¹i'gwEd, "middle or center place."

30. Place on the shore-line west of the town of Everett, HuxuktL!a³al. This term is said to refer to the fact that here the tops of the trees are broken off (hwEt¹, "broken").

31. A spot on the shore very close to Point Elliot, Sklels, "dirty rocks." The stones here look somewhat dirty and muddy, not so "bright" as they are elsewhere.

32. A place at what is now called Mukilteo, alongside of Point Elliot, BEkLti'o or BEka'lti^u. The present name of course this old Indian name, somewhat Anglicized. Meany quotes Buchanan, Indian agent at Tulalip reservation (recently deceased) as saying that 21 years of inquiry had failed to bring to light the origin of the name. It would seem safe to say, therefore, that it is a term which resists etymology. A certain Mr. Fowler reports (as cited by Meany) that the term is the Indian word for "good camping ground." My own informants could make no suggestions concerning its meaning. It was an excellent place to fish, and numbers of people camped here, though it was not a permanent village.

33. A place south of Mukilteo, HLEq'ci. This is said to mean, "going one way," connected with HLEq, "to turn off" or turn aside.

34. The promontory north of the present site of Mosher, Kwiyeq^w di'yawai, "little cottonwood place."

35. A blunt promontory, broad at the ends, which pushes out of the coast-line at Mosher, Ca'ggwEs, "projecting cliff."

36. A place south of the settlement known as Mosher, Stt!a'iyEb, "black rock-cod." This fish is also called bull-head and bull-cod.

37. A flat place on the shore north of Edmonds, B!so³o'1³al, "full of cat-tails."

38. A small creek, S!baL, "the supernatural power which makes one able to be a sucking doctor." Women say stsbal instead of the above term.

39. Two conspicuous promontories, one just south of Edmonds, the other just north of Richmond Beach, Stu'bus, "blunt face." They are called on the map Point Edwards and Point Wells. In conversation when both are mentioned, Point Edwards is called iLe'l-s-tu'bus.

40. See number 38.

41. A fair-sized island, some two miles long, in Possession Sound, in front of the mouth of the Snohomish river, known as Hat Island, TLltcusLe'. This seemed to one informant to have something to do with the term for ghost (sle). Another informant explained it as tcatcac-le, "little-one lived." This term was said to refer to a story. A number of people were encamped here, sunning themselves, when the bank suddenly caved forward and killed them all but two or three.

The western shore of this island is said to have been a good place for clams, and for fishing.



