

Western Columbia River Sahaptins

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The Sahaptin (saháptin) peoples treated here are more frequently, if inexactly known as Tenino or Warm Springs Indians. Tenino refers properly to the westernmost Sahaptin-speaking village of the Columbia River Sahaptin dialect group, not to any larger "tribal" confederation. The term Warm Springs Indians suggests a focus on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. However, the Warm Springs Tribes include not only Sahaptins but also Chinookans ("Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," this vol.), and Northern Paiutes (vol. 11: 435-465). Furthermore, the Sahaptin-speaking groups on the Warm Springs Reservation were separated by the treaties from their close kin: those who lived on the north bank of the Columbia River were assigned to the Yakima, while those living upriver came to be designated Umatillas.

Territory and Language

Western Columbia River Sahaptins identify themselves as members of village communities located on the Columbia River or its tributaries from just above The Dalles, Oregon, to above Alder Creek (fig. 1). Together with the Umatilla, these villages are grouped as the Columbia River dialect group of the Sahaptin language. The Columbia River dialects⁶ are rather sharply distinguished by certain lexical features from dialects of the Northeast (Walla Walla, Lower Snake, Palouse, and Wanapam) and Northwest (Yakima, Kittitas or Pshwanwapan, Upper Cowlitz or Tainmapam, and Klikitat) clusters (Rigsby 1965:36-37; vol. 17:666-667). Descendants of Western Columbia River Sahaptin peoples are enrolled as Warm Springs, Yakima, and Umatilla tribal members since the treaty boundaries arbitrarily divided traditional social networks. Both the Warm Springs Reservation and the Southern Yakima Reservation were probably within range of traditional foraging, socializing, and trading activities.

These Sahaptin villages were politically autonomous units each associated with an extensive hinterland systematically utilized to harvest subsistence resources. Residents of several villages met at particularly productive resource sites. Such gatherings might also include members of other dialect or language groups, as at the Indian Heaven berrying grounds southwest of Mount Adams, Washington. Thus, it

⁶Sahaptin forms in this chapter are in the orthography described in the footnote to "Yakima and Neel'ung Groups," this vol.

is inappropriate to draw a sharp line around a contiguous "territory" belonging to the Western Columbia River Sahaptin peoples.

Component Groups

The following long-term residential sites were occupied by Western Columbia River Sahaptin groups: Tenino, Skin, Celilo (Wayam), Tygh Valley, Maryhill, John Day, Rock Creek, Arlington, Roosevelt, Pine Creek, and Alderdale (fig. 1). The villages of Paterson and *tamdam* were part of the social network of Columbia River Sahaptins but are treated in "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla," this volume. The Pishquitpah, encountered by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark near Paterson, Washington, in April 1806 (Moulton 1983-, 7:165), may have been Yakima (Moulton 1983-, 6:474-475) or Columbia River Sahaptin.

External Relations

Sahaptin villages and camps were located for the most part on islands in the Columbia River or on the north shore. Lewis and Clark believed that the reason was the Indians' fear of the Northern Shoshone and Bannock to the south (Moulton 1983-, 5:318). Such hostilities most likely postdate the introduction of horses in the 1700s (vol. 11: 517-524).

Slave raids against northern California groups, such as the Shasta and Achumawi, and perhaps against certain southern Oregon groups as well, such as the Modoc and Northern Paiute, were regularly mounted by Sahaptin and Chinookan parties based at Celilo and The Dalles in the 1830s (Perkins 1843; vol. 11: 519-521). Most of these slaves were kept by Upper Chinookan chiefly families or traded toward the coast.

The hypothesis of protohistorical displacement of Sahaptin speakers from the Columbia River between The Dalles and Priest Rapids by Sahaptin speakers driven north by hostile Numic-speaking groups (Teit 1928) has been thoroughly discredited (Ray 1938; Murdock 1938a; Rigsby 1965). Linguistic evidence, such as patterns of dialect diversity (Rigsby 1965), place-names, and environmental vocabulary (Hunn 1990, 1991a), clearly supports the conclusion that Sahaptin speakers have continuously occupied this stretch

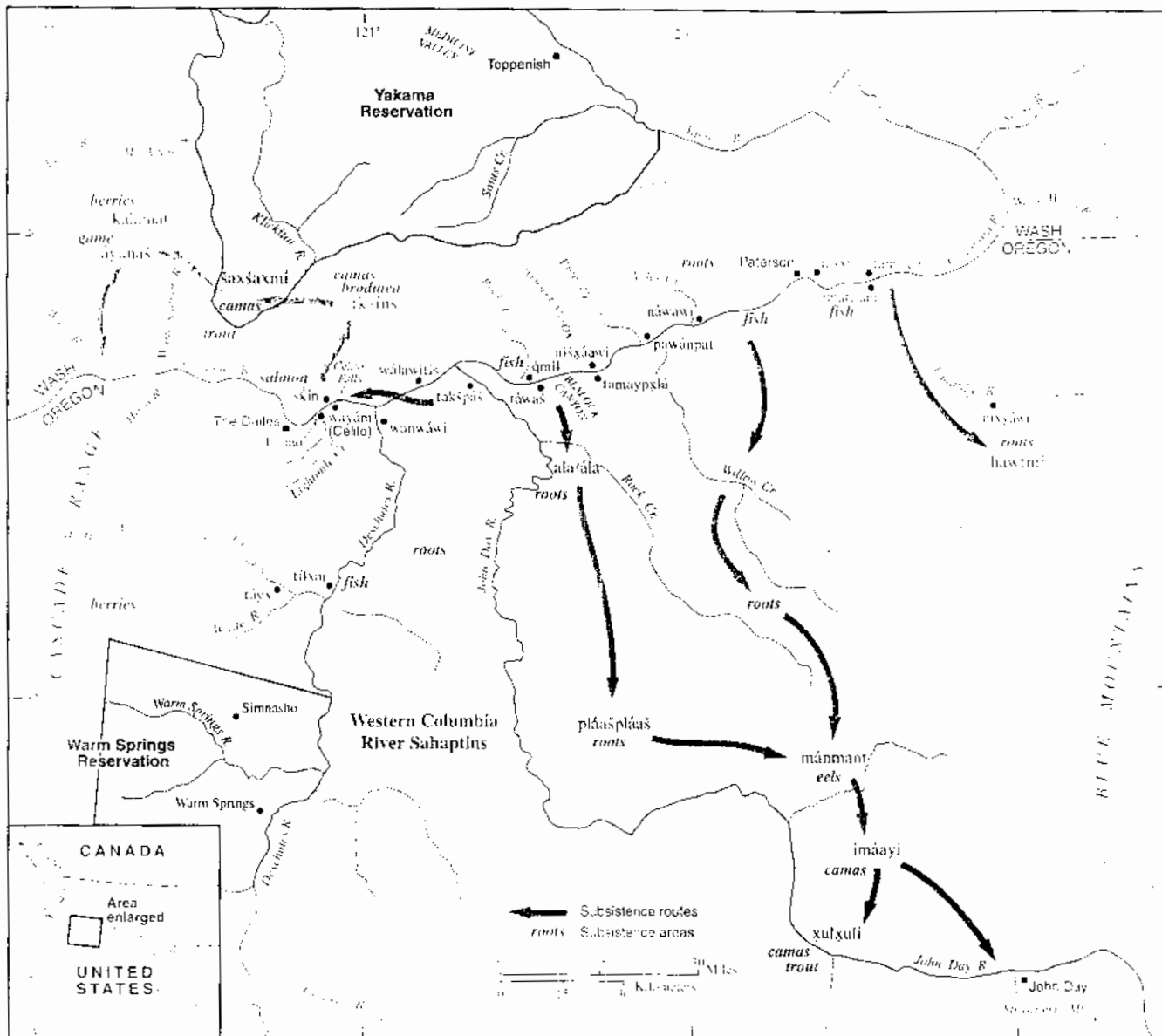


Fig. 1. Territory of the Western Columbia River Sahaptins during the 19th century, including subsistence routes. Modern reservations are shown. Settlements located approximately are indicated by name alone.

of the Columbia and at least the lower reaches of its tributaries for many centuries, if not millennia. The hypothesized displacement of Molala peoples by the Tygh in proto-historic times (Murdock 1938a) is also doubtful, given the documented peaceful joint utilization of resource sites in this area by Sahaptin, Northern Puute, Cayuse, and Nez Perce groups (D.H. French 1961; Rigsby 1965:57-62, 1969:80-82; Suphan 1974).

The historic linguistic and cultural boundary between Sahaptin and Upper Chinookan speech 10 kilometers below Celilo Falls was apparent to Lewis and Clark, whose Nez Perce guides explained that "They could no longer understand the language of those below the falls ..." and "... [they] would certainly kill them; particularly as they had been at war with each other." (Moulton 1983, 5:329).

The Sahaptin communities at and below Celilo Falls maintained civil relations with their Upper Chinookan

neighbors, as was evident at the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition and later during the operation of the Methodist mission at The Dalles (Perkins 1843). Upper Chinookans often were bilingual in Sahaptin, though the reverse was rare (Rigsby 1965:63), and joined with their Sahaptin neighbors in common task groups, such as slave-raiding parties to the south (Perkins 1843; Anastasio 1972).

Western Columbia River Sahaptins frequently camped and socialized with other Sahaptin speakers as well as with Nez Perce and Cayuse Indians. The vast majority of named resource sites documented in 1940 in the Blue and Willowa mountains of northeastern Oregon were reported to have been jointly utilized by groups of Unatilla, Warm Springs, Columbia River, Cayuse, and Nez Perce Indians, at least during the early twentieth century (Suphan 1974). The berrying grounds southwest of Mount Adams brought Western Columbia River Sahaptins from as far east as Pure

Creek into regular and intimate contact with Yakimas and Klikitats (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983; Schuster 1975). Parties from different regions camped in this area separately at traditional locations (James Selam, personal communication 1983) but joined in horse racing at the site of *kalamat* southwest of Mount Adams. Berrying grounds south of Mount Hood, Oregon, were jointly exploited by Tygh Valley, Northern Puute, and Molala (Suphan 1974:50-64).

Well-traveled Indian trails linked The Dalles with Tygh Valley and points south, Celilo Falls with Fort Simcoe to the north and the Klikitat country to the northwest, Maryhill with Satus Creek, and Paterson with Taptat (Prosser) and Horn Rapids on the lower Yakima River and Priest Rapids upriver on the Columbia (Murdock 1980:133, map 1). Yakimas traveled regularly to Celilo Falls to trade surplus roots, berries, and skins for dried salmon, while Klamath came from the south. Nez Perce and Cayuse parties frequently visited Celilo (Walker 1967), establishing early winter camps there (Perkins 1843). Their arrival was impressive: mounted parties circled the hosts in mock military display before dismounting. The hosts greeted them and presented them with gifts. This dramatic ritual entrance may have misled early White observers (Farnham 1843; Perkins 1843) and subsequent commentators (Haines 1955; Garth 1964; Ruby and Brown 1972) to conclude that the Nez Perce and Cayuse "dominated" and "extracted tribute" from the Western Columbia River Sahaptins. No such tradition of subordination has been recorded from the Columbia River Sahaptins themselves.

In sum, Western Columbia River Sahaptins participated in a network of peaceful trade relations reinforced by intermarriage that encompassed all Columbia River basin Indians, whether speakers of Sahaptin, Nez Perce, Cayuse, or Upper Chinookan. Chronic hostile relations were restricted to distant peoples to the south accessible only after a journey of several to many days.

Environment

The Western Columbia River Sahaptin peoples occupy a semi-arid basin in the rainshadow of the Cascade Mountains fringed by montane coniferous forests. The land ranges from near sea level on the major rivers to 3,000 meters on Mounts Adams, Hood, and Jefferson. Lower timberline varies from about 800 meters on the Cascade east slopes to about 1,200 meters in the foothills of the Blue Mountains. Upper timberline is reached at about 2,000 meters in the Cascades. Celilo Falls, the greatest Indian fishery of the Plateau, provided access to several major salmon runs from late April through October. Other important fisheries were located on the Columbia near the mouth of the John Day River and at Sherar Bridge on the Deschutes.

Culture

Subsistence

Winter villages and major summer and fall fisheries were situated at low elevation on or adjacent to the major rivers. Spring root harvests drew people away from the river to lithosol and meadow habitats at progressively higher elevations as summer approached. Root-digging parties returned burdened with their stockpiles of dried roots, arriving at the summer fisheries in early July after the Columbia flood had receded. The majority of families ascended to the high huckleberry fields in August, some remaining to hunt and gather until the first snows of October, others returning for the September salmon runs (Hunn 1990). In late winter hunting parties ranged widely from the winter villages far up the major tributaries and into the mountains seeking deer and elk.

In comparison with their downstream neighbors, the Wasco and Wishram, the Western Columbia River Sahaptins traveled greater distances inland from the Columbia River, harvested a greater variety of plant foods, and consequently depended less on the exchange of surplus dried fish for their economic support. In contrast to the Umatilla, Wal'a Walla, Cayuse, and Yakima, their upstream neighbors, they relied less on hunting and more on fishing.

Western Columbia River Sahaptin village communities were not sedentary in the sense that the bulk of the village population remained at or within a short walk of the village for most or all of the year. Nor were they nomadic, that is, wandering in search of food with no recognized and stable home base and range. The people of each village ranged in extended family parties systematically over a large and topographically diverse area, allowing the harvest of a diversity of species and types of resources according to season. Within this general strategy there was scope for choice. A family might choose to spend the early summer fishing along the Columbia for sockeye salmon or steelhead, while their kin might prefer to remain in the mountains harvesting "wild" carrots (*Perideridia gainheiri*) and spring beauty (Indian potatoes) (*Claytonia lanceolata*). Those who found the rigors of travel too difficult might remain all year on the river, moving only between the winter village and nearby summer fishing camps. With the introduction of the horse, bison east of the Rocky Mountains could be pursued by intertribal "task groupings" (Anastasio 1972).

• GATHERING Western Columbia River Sahaptins derived an estimated 60 percent or more of their food energy from gathering (Hunn 1981). Roots, berries, and several species of "Indian cereals" contributed key minerals and vitamins to the diet (Hunn and French 1981; Benson et al. 1973). Root staples and important supplementary foods included bitterroot, several "desert parsleys" or lomatiums, and yellowbell (*Fritillaria pudica*). Camas, false onion, Indian carrot, Indian potato, and edible valer-



Fig. 2. The importance of fishing: top, Celilo Falls on the Celaloba River, Oregon, one of the most important fishing sites on the Willamette-Columbia River Schagrinovoy (1987). Drying racks and temporary dwellings parallel the river. Photograph by Hornigstein before 1957; bottom, a Willamette-Columbia River fishing scene at a festival in honor of Chief Tommy Thompson. Photograph by Mel Jandrian, 1986; bottom right, Edna Davis, a Stillwater, Oregon, member of the Confederated Tribes of the Willamette River, sitting on the river, Oregon. Photographed about 1958.

lar (*Wyethiana edulis*) were sought in meadow habitats, mostly at mid elevations. The mariposa lily was a winter emergency ration that could be harvested near the winter villages. Altogether more than 25 species were harvested for their edible underground parts. Large quantities of several species were sun-dried whole or as cakes for later consumption (Hunn 1990).

Berries and other fruits, including a very few species of seeds and nuts, were harvested between June and October. Most favored were chokecherries and the Black Tuckleberry. The first fruits to ripen, golden currants (*Ribes aurum*) and red-osier dogwood berries, may be harvested as early as June. Ripening somewhat later are the chokecherries, serviceberries, hawthorn berries, and black elderberries. Next

black huckleberries, grouseberries, low mountain blueberries, strawberries, blackberries, blackcaps, and other species were harvested. Black huckleberries were dried over a slow fire and packed home to add to the winter stores (Fillion 1952). "Black moss," tree lichen, was collected in mountain forests and baked underground to make a much-enjoyed confection (Turner 1977). Altogether some 28 species of fruits were consumed, plus acorns, hazel nuts, white-bark pine nuts, and at Warm Springs, at least, the seeds of large balsamroot species.

For a few months in late winter and early spring the sprouts, stems, leaves, and inner bark of various species were important. Still favored in the 1990s were the sprouts of Gray's lomatium and the petioles and scapes of bare-stemmed lomatium. The scapes of large balsamroots are also peeled and eaten raw when still in bud. Later, at higher elevations, the stems of cow parsnip were peeled and eaten.

• **FISHING**—Western Columbia River Sahaptin peoples are well known as expert fishermen, harvesting salmon by spearing, gaffing, dip and set netting, gill and seine netting, by hook and line, in weirs and traps, and even by means of a plant poison extracted from the root of chocolate tips (Meilleur, Hunn, and Cox 1991). Five species of Pacific salmon were of outstanding importance, as were two species of suckers (*Catostomus columbianus*, *C. macrocheilus*), the lamprey (*Entosphenus tridentatus*), and resident trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*, *O. clarkii*). Mountain whitefish were caught in winter through the ice. Also eaten were several resident cyprinids including the Northern squawfish, chiselmouth, peamouth, and red-sided shiner. Curiously, Western Columbia River Sahaptins disdained the mighty white sturgeon (cf. Moulton 1983-, 7: 130-131), though their neighbors considered it edible. They also avoided Dolly Varden trout.

Large quantities of salmon were dried for later consumption (fig. 2) or for trade. Notable is the practice of preparing dehydrated salmon flour by pounding dried salmon flesh. This flour was then packed in bags of cattail leaves lined with salmon skin, each about 30 by 70 centimeters and weighing about 40 kilograms (Moulton 1983-, 5: 323-325).

The completion of Bonneville Dam in 1938, The Dalles Dam in 1957, and other dams and diversions on the Deschutes, Umatilla, and streams upriver have contributed to an 80 percent reduction in Columbia River salmon stocks (Zucker, Hummel, and Hogfoss 1983:167) and destruction of a key element of Western Columbia River Sahaptin Indian identity.

• **HUNTING**—Mule deer of both interior and black-tailed varieties were the most sought after big-game species ("Kinship, Family, and Gender Roles," fig. 3, this vol.). A single mule deer provided 25-110 kilograms of dressed meat and supplied in addition a skin transformed by women into soft, durable, tailored, and artfully decorated garments and accoutrements.

Elk (*wapiti*) were less often encountered, being of more limited distribution, but yielded 130-260 kilograms of

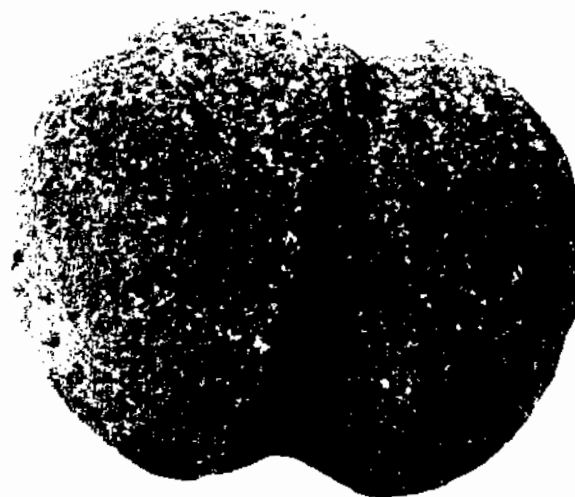


Fig. 2. Hemp fishnets, top; Jenny Goetze, Wapato (shiner), and Clatsop Quartzite holding 7 shiners near by Quartzite. Photograph by Ardy W. McKee, 1957; bottom, Stone of sucker. Collected by T.J. Waterman, Warm Springs, Ore., before 1920. Length 11 cm.

dressed meat and a thick hide used for robes, blankets, and war armor and shields. Other large mammals hunted include white-tailed deer, big horn sheep, and pronghorn. Family heirloom buffalo robes were brought back from east of the Rocky Mountains or from the upper Snake River plains by hunting parties (which may have occasionally included Western Columbia River Indians) (Anastasi-

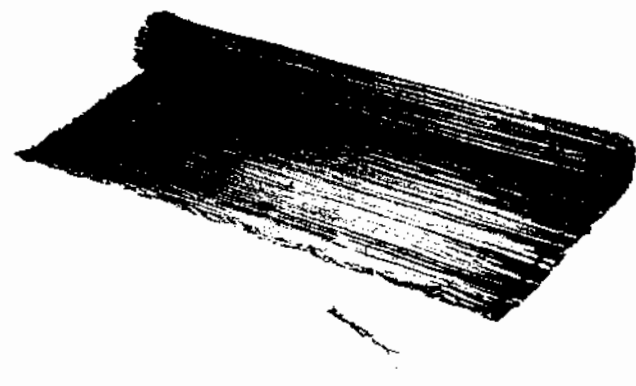
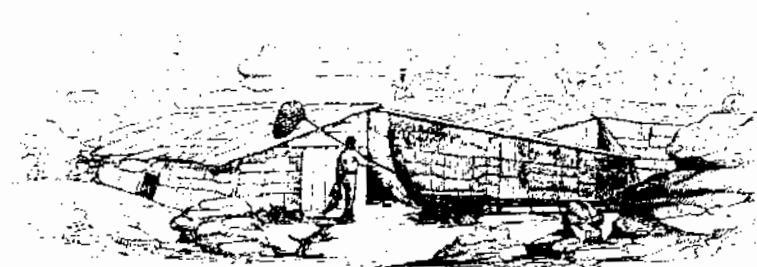


Figure 4. Wilkes, S. F. (1845). (top left) (1842, H. C. So., Portland, 1732). Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 1845. (top right) National Museum of the American Indian, 1845. (Fig. 4. Tule mats, top left, Fishing houses at The Dalles, Oreg., made of tule mats, poles, and cedar bark. The structures, 1960, 20 by 12 ft., were considered temporary dwellings during the fishing season (Wilkes 1845, 34-40). Engraving after original drawing by Joseph Drayton, 1841. top right, Mat shelter at Celilo Falls, Oreg., with fish wheel in background. Photographed about 1900. bottom left, Large mat sewn with fiber strips and needles made of bone. Collected by T. E. Waterman, Warm Springs, Oreg., before 1921. Length of needle, 14 cm. (not to same scale. bottom right) Mat teepee at Celilo Falls. Photographed 1894.

1972), then widely traded within the Columbia basin. Black bear were regularly hunted; the meat was cooked underground; the skins were made into robes.

Smaller mammals regularly hunted for their meat included cottontail rabbits, jackrabbits, yellow-bellied marmots, ground squirrels, western gray squirrels, and porcupines. Mammals hunted or trapped for their skins included beaver, muskrat, grizzly bear, gray wolf, coyote, gray fox, red fox, mountain lion, bobcat, lynx, otter, long-tailed weasel, in summer and winter pelage, and raccoon (Hunn 1990; Murdoch 1980:137).

Grouse and waterfowl were also hunted. Sage grouse and sharp-tailed grouse were once abundant in shrub-steppe and bunchgrass habitat below the tree line. Blue grouse and ruffed grouse were widespread in forested areas. Canada geese nested on islands in the Columbia River where their eggs were collected. In winter, ducks, geese, and swans were hunted with bow and arrow or trapped in nets. Painted turtles might also be collected and eaten.

Several species of freshwater mussels (e.g., *Margaritifera vilcata*, *Gomoides angulata*, *Anodonta* spp.) were harvested. These occurred at certain places in the river and were most often harvested as a winter famine food (cf. Thompson in Gower 1962:372). Deep shell middens found along the Deschutes River indicate a more substantial dietary role for shellfish at certain periods of prehistory than is attested ethnographically (Hyman 1984). Saltwater clams (*Chinocardium*

nuttalli, *Saxidomus giganteus*, *Tresus* spp.) were obtained in trade from Puget Sound Indians via Klikitat and Yakima intermediaries (see "Ethnobiology and Subsistence," this vol.).

Technology

Stone was worked by flaking (using an elk antler tool and a piece of elk hide for protection while working), pecking, and grinding. Flint and obsidian were fashioned into arrow points and knife blades. Basalt and granitic river cobbles were selected for use as "heat exchangers" in the sweat lodge, mud bath, underground oven, and for boiling food in baskets. Basalt was most often pecked and ground to fashion pestles, ax and club heads, stone adzes for scraping hides, and weights for gill and seine nets. Basalt talus was stacked to form low fences on ridge crests as hunting blinds or shelters, and river cobbles were arranged to form stone weirs for diverting fish into basket traps.

Wood was essential for fuel. Drift logs, predominantly of ponderosa pine or Douglas fir, were a primary fuelwood source along the Columbia, where available willow, alder, cottonwood, maple, oak, aspen, even big sagebrush (Moulton 1983-, 7:176) were used. The scarcity of firewood here has been exaggerated, as tributary canyons are heavily wooded with alder, willow, and maple. Alder was preferred for baking and smoking salmon, enhancing the flavor of the meat.

Douglas fir saplings were used for net poles; peach-leaf willow for lodgepoles; vine and Douglas maples for net hoops; ocean spray or some other "iron wood" such as mock-orange for cross-braces and the sticks used to bake fish over an open fire; garry oak burl or root for mortars and garry oak branches for bows and digging stick shafts; sandbar willow withes for sweatlodge frames, basket traps, rough-and-ready bindings, and whips. Serviceberry branches were preferred for arrow shafts; greasewood twigs for needles to sew tule mats; hollow elderberry canes served as "straws" to vent the earth oven or used to make a whistle to attract deer (Murdock 1980:137); western juniper logs were fashioned into drum frames.

Rose wood was incorporated into cradleboards for its power to deter ghosts. Sprays of wild rose are hung on the walls of houses to protect the occupants from haunting, are burned in a house as a fumigant after a death, and used to purify a grave site prior to burial.

Other plant products include two of paramount importance: Indian hemp and bulrush or "tule." Indian hemp was the primary and preferred source of fibers used for binding and twined weaving. The thin reddish inner bark was stripped from the pithy stems after the plant had dried. The bast fibers were separated by beating and the shredded fibers then twisted together by rolling a bunch of fibers on the leg ("Waseo, Wislram, and Cascades," fig. 8, this vol.). Women devoted many hours to this task during the long winters, and a ball of hemp twine was highly valued in trade. Hemp twine was knotted to make fishing nets (fig. 3) and nets for catching rabbits, the size of the mesh fixed using a wooden net gauge. "Seine nets" made of Indian hemp near the mouth of the John Day River in 1811 were 2.6 meters wide by "50 fathoms" (100 m) long (Glover 1962:353). Hemp string was also used to twine root-collecting bags and the characteristic Plateau woman's hat in the shape of a truncated cone ("Basketry," fig. 2, this vol.). Such twined "baskets" were decorated with beargrass leaves and later with combusk imbrication (Schliek 1994). Hemp was also essential for binding hoops and points to shafts, and rope of various weights could be made by braiding the twine.

Tule stalks were cut in late summer while still green, then spread on the ground to dry in a house or shed. They were cut and sewn to form the mats used to cover winter lodges and summer tepees (fig. 4) and to cover walls and floors within the lodges. The cellulose matrix of the stalks provided excellent insulation. They were also used as table mats or food-drying platforms. A corpse was clothed in buckskin, then wrapped in a tule mat shroud for burial.

Cattail leaves, flat and flexible, were used to weave rough-and-ready bags, which were lined with salmon skin for storing salmon meal. If a more rigid, open work mat were required, for example as a support for draining freshly cleaned salmon, the stalks of common reed were preferred. Stalks of giant wild rye grass were placed between salmon

fillets to absorb the blood and oils, as it imparted no unpleasant taste to the fish, and served as a layer separating food stuffs from the soil used to cover the earth oven. Dye plants and colorants include the bark of alder and Oregon grape, wolf lichen, Indian paint fungus (*Echinodermium tinctorium*), and the rhizomes of sand dock.

Deer and elk were as important for their hides as for their meat, if not more so. Mule deer hides were first pegged-out for initial drying, then stored until ready for softening. Women took charge of this process. The hides were soaked overnight in a fatty solution of deer brains in water, sometimes with sturgeon heads added. They were then wrung out and draped over a curved tree branch for scraping. The hide was dehaired and cleaned of flesh with a two-handed metal-bladed scraper, aboriginally with an elk rib (Murdock 1980:136). The scraped skin was then stretched on a vertical wooden frame ("Yakima and Neighboring Groups," fig. 8, this vol.) for final scraping and softening with a batted polished stone ax blade. Skins might then be smoked (fig. 5) or bleached, using the root of chocolate tips.

Dressed hides were cut to pattern for moccasins, leggings, shirts, and wing dresses. The thicker elk hides were used for moccasin soles, robes, armor, and drum heads. Rabbit skins dried with the fur intact were sewn to make winter socks and mittens. Twisted rabbitskin blankets are reported in the early 1800s in lieu of deerskin clothing or for their superior warmth (Suphan 1974). River otter and weasel skins were cut in strips and braided into the hair for decoration.

Other animal products used in technology include deer sinew (taken from the backbone) used for bowstrings and as backing for the wooden bow; rawhide strips for bindings; deer hooves for dance rattles; elk antler for flaking stone or for gaff hooks; and deer bone for fish spear points, hooks, and chokers (Murdock 1980; Humm 1976-1993). Bighorn sheep horn was used to make spoons and bowls; porcupine quills were cut, dyed, and sewn to clothing for ornamentation; beaver musk sacks were prized by men as love charms; horse hair was employed to "lasso" small fish and as a horse's bit and bridle (Moulton 1983-7:167). The hollow wing bones of geese and eagles were fashioned into whistles; Northern flicker feathers were used for personal adornment; tail and flight feathers of bald and golden eagles were considered sacred regalia and were buried with the deceased.

Shell ornaments were obtained in trade from coastal Indians; the antiquity of this trade is attested by large quantities of abalone, olivella, and tusk shell found in the Marnes Rockshelter on the lower Snake River dating back 9,000 or more years (Browman and Munsell 1969; Kirk and Daugherty 1978:68).

Structures

Two types of winter dwellings are known. Most familiar is the A-frame tule-mat covered lodge or longhouse. James



FIGURE 1. Deer Hide Preparation and Products. (left) Mary Hote Tom smoking a skin. (center) Hat case with long side fringes. (right) Parfleche with diamond and triangular design.

Deer Hide preparation and products, left, Mary Hote Tom smoking a skin, which helped to preserve and color it. The slow burning fire is in the container in front of her. Photograph by David and Kathrine French, Warm Springs Res., Oreg., 1953; center, Hat case with long side fringes used to store ceremonial materials. Collected by E.T. Houtz, Warm Springs Res., Oreg., 1899; right, Terano parfleche with diamond and triangular design in brown, yellow, and green. Parfleches were used for the storage and transport of dried foods and household goods. Collected by R.E. Stewart, 1905. (left, center without fringe, 31 cm; height of right, 152 cm.)

ant, a John Day River elder, was raised in such a house in the 1920s. About 20 meters long by nine wide, it housed 16 families (personal communication 1989). Such lodges were built parallel to the river shore, if the lay of the land allowed, with the door or doors in the side facing the winter but away from the prevailing winter winds.

The floors of the lodges were excavated 60–90 centimeters, the lateral lodge poles set down in the excavation and laced against the sides, leaning steeply against a rectangular roof frame supported by vertical house posts set in the center of the floor. Additional poles were leaned against the ends of the roof frame to form the semicircular end walls. Willow branch stringers tied the frame together horizontally and provided a surface on which to tie the tule mats. Up to three overlapping layers of mats might be used for maximal protection from the cold. On the outside the bases of the mats were banked up 60–90 centimeters with dirt over a layer of giant wild rye grass. The doorway could be double—a sort of airlock to keep out the weather—covered at either end with mats. A sloping walkway led down to the level of the sunken floor.

Hearths were placed along the center line, allowing smoke to escape through the open roof frame. Most lodges accommodated three or more related nuclear families. Two brothers' families often shared a single hearth. A household head was recognized; his family occupied the western end of the lodge. Though food might be prepared on more than one hearth, it was shared by all occupants of the lodge, who considered one another *nisimni* 'family'. These lodges were

dismantled in spring and the mats transported for use with teepee poles stored at overnight camp sites.

A second type of winter dwelling was circular and excavated to a depth of about 2.5 meters. Poles were leaned from the ground surface against a roof frame supported by vertical poles set in the center of the floor. One entered by means of steps or a ladder through a doorway on one side or through the central smoke hole by means of a ladder (Ray 1942). Archeological evidence for such houses in the form of roughly circular depressions is widespread, suggesting the possibility that the A frame lodge replaced the earlier circular semi-subterranean house in protohistoric times.

Summer housing was either a circular mat-covered teepee, typical of camps in the mountains, or a rectangular, open-walled ramada serving also as a fish-drying shelter (Perkins 1843). Sweatlodges were typically dome-shaped structures approximately two meters in diameter and 1.2 meters high. They were constructed of a willow branch framework tied together with willow bark, covered with a rug, blanket, or robe, or aboriginally with earth over layers of giant wild rye grass. A rectangular doorway was framed facing the fire where the stones were heated (fig. 6) and the river where the bathers rinsed after each stint in the lodge. The heated stones were placed in a hearth just to the left inside the entrance. The floor was covered with branches of fir, favored for its healing scent. This daily ritual was performed by men and women separately. If a hunt was planned it was essential, as decreed by Coyote (cf. Jacobs 1929:200).



Fig. 6. James Selam, John Day River, turning flames of an open fire to heat sweatlodge rocks. Photograph by Brian Meillett, near Toppenish, Yakima Res., Wash., 1977.

A menstrual seclusion hut is reported (Ray 1942). Food storage cellars were pits lined with giant wild rye grass and tule mats and sealed with dirt. They were constructed near the winter lodge. Most food was stored in such cellars rather than in the lodge, in contrast to what has been reported for their Upper Chinookan neighbors (Moulton 1983-, 5:331, 335).

Lean-to structures were constructed as channel houses on islands in the Columbia. Lewis and Clark describe one about 18 meters long by four meters wide located in the Columbia River a short distance above Alder Creek (Moulton 1983-, 5:311-312).

Transportation

Travel and transport was by foot, canoe, and, since before 1950, horseback. Large burden baskets were carried on the back supported from a rawhide tumpine across the forehead (women) or the shoulders (men). Canoes were dugouts, carved from drift logs of cedar or pine.

Social Organization

• **KINSHIP** A web of kinship relationships constituted the fundamental organizational basis for Western Columbia Sahaptin society, a web extending well beyond the borders of the territory covered in this chapter. Dyadic relations rather than socio-centric corporate groups were the most important filaments in this web. Unilineal descent groups were entirely lacking.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally with very few exceptions. The cousin terminology has been classified as Hawaiian, while first-ascending-generation referential kinship terminology is bifurcate collateral, that is, "uncles" and "aunts" are distinguished from parents as well as by maternal or paternal side. Sibling terms differentiate elder and younger siblings by sex of alter and, among younger siblings, by sex of ego as well. All six sibling terms are generalized to same

generation collateral kin beyond first cousins without specific limit.

Terms for first-ascending-generation collateral kin are likewise "extended" to more distant collateral, parent generation relations: that is, father's "brother" is not distinguished from father's "male cousin," just as one's own "brother" is equated with one's own same-generation male cousins. These parental-generation collateral "extensions" hold two key distinctions constant: sex of alter and sex of linking parent. As a consequence of these naming conventions, each person has a very large number of "aunts," "uncles," and "siblings," all of whom are expected to treat one with the special consideration due one's kinfolk in Plateau society.

The principle of nomenclatural reciprocity is pervasive. It is best illustrated by the referential terms for second-ascending-generation kin. Four terms are used that distinguish father's father, mother's mother, father's mother, and mother's father. However, since these terms are each self-reciprocal, the term for paternal "grandfather" is also used by a senior male to refer to his son's children, in other words, his "grandsons" and "granddaughters" via his son. These same four terms are extended to the siblings (and cousins) of one's "grandparents" as well as to one's great-grandparents and their siblings (and cousins). In each instance, two key criteria remain constant: the sex of the senior party to the relationship and the sex of the parent of the junior party. This system, which is described for the John Day and supported by Hum's (1976-1993) consultants, contradicts Murdock (1958).

The first-ascending-generation collateral terms are not in general self-reciprocal but exhibit a complex (and variable) pattern. Father's brother and a man's brother's child are separately named. The terms for father's brother and his reciprocal are "extended" to father's male same-generation cousins, to mother's sister's husband, and to step-fathers and their reciprocal relations. Mother's sister and father's sister are likewise distinguished from their reciprocals, but these are in turn distinguished by sex. Each is then extended to parents' cousins and their respective male and female junior-generation reciprocals. Mother's sister is equated with father's brother's wife and stepmother, while father's sister and mother's brother's wife are equated, as are their respective reciprocals. Finally, by contrast, mother's brother and a man's sister's child are *not* distinguished from one another but are labeled self-reciprocally, with the term "extended" as usual to mother's male same-generation cousins, etc (cf. Murdock 1958).

Sibling-in-law terms (likewise extended to same-generation cousins of spouses and spouses of cousins) single out the opposite sex relationships. These are labeled by a single self-reciprocal term, *pmik*, which is changed to *awit* at the death of the linking spouse/sibling (cousin). This is a simple expression of the importance of the levirate and sororate in Western Columbia River Sahaptin society.

The three parent-in-law/child-in-law terms are also self-reciprocal, the husband but not the wife distinguishing his

mother-in-law from his father-in-law. A single term is used self-reciprocally by coparents. Spouses of siblings-in-law are labeled by an alternate set of three sibling/friend terms that distinguish, as do the sibling-in-law terms, male-male, female-female, and cross-sex linkages. Cowives in premodern polygynous marriages referred to each other by the female-female sibling/friend term in cases of sororal polygyny (Hunn 1990:205).

• **SOCIAL GROUPS** The dyadic relations among kin described above coalesced to constitute distinct social groups at four levels: the nuclear family, the hearth group, the winter lodge household, and the village (sometimes including satellite settlements). The nuclear family shared a common hearth and sleeping area within the winter lodge and traveled together throughout the seasonal round (though groups of men might travel on hunting, fishing, or raiding excursions, while groups of women might travel to root-digging camps). In the case of sororal polygyny, such nuclear family units were extended to include the two wives and their offspring. In other polygynous marriages the husband divided his allegiance between the two families, which typically lived in different villages (cf. Murdock 1958:306). Relations between cowives in such cases were strained, as is indicated by the use of the term *hawi* 'rival' (Hunn 1990:205).

Hearth units paired closely related nuclear families, often those of "brothers." The casual intimacy expected between cross-sex siblings-in-law facilitated the close cooperation of such joint families. The winter lodge was occupied by an extended family unit under the recognized leadership of a household head, a senior man. Little specific information exists as to the precise composition of winter lodges other than the repeated assertion that all occupants were of one "family" (*niyimu*) and that all coresident families freely shared all food consumed within the house. Membership in such winter lodge groups varied from year to year, with nuclear families or hearth units free to realign themselves with kin who were resident in other lodges or in other villages. The size of such lodge groups varied from a few nuclear families to perhaps as many as 40, numbering several hundred individuals (cf. Glover 1962:353).

One to a dozen or more such lodges erected in close proximity constituted a winter village (*nišdykt*). One or more outstanding men in each such village were recognized as "chiefs" (*niyūūy*). Chiefs (more accurately, "village headmen") were expected to exhort their people to hard work and proper conduct, yet to do so in an appropriately dignified, quiet manner. To this end, each chief was assisted by a spokesman (*simikū*) who repeated the chief's exhortations in a commanding voice. The village chief's authority was based on proven talents and abilities, ideally combining generosity, eloquence, self-discipline, and devotion to the welfare of his people. The position of "chief" was not strictly speaking hereditary, but there was a recognized "hierarchy of right" by which the chieftainship would normally

pass from a father to his sons, in order of seniority, then to a brother (or male cousin) (cf. Murdock 1980:144). However, many eligible individuals declined or were passed over for lack of the motivation or talent judged necessary to fill the role. It is not clear whether women in certain unusual circumstances might be recognized as chiefs.

Since the early twentieth century a "salmon chief" has been recognized at Celilo Falls. His authority included declaring fishing seasons open and closed and ordering that fishing stop for purposes of escapement or when ritual required (e.g., for funerals). The antiquity of this role is not clearly attested. Other specialized roles include one or more senior men designated as "whippers" (*ipawayahai*), who were called upon by parents to administer discipline to unruly children. Paternal grandfathers also whipped their grandchildren with sandbar willow whips to instill values of self-discipline and hardiness (Murdock 1958:311). A role of "disciplinarian" (*ivānca*) may also have been recognized (Hunn 1990:253).

• **DIVISION OF LABOR** Other than by sex and age there was no division of productive labor. Women normally gathered roots, berries, and other vegetable foods. They also had



Fig. 1. Chief Qaahiyana's monument. Photograph by Francis Scutten. Indian cemetery at Sunnisco, West Springs Res. (Original date not recorded)

charge of cleaning, drying, and cooking those foods as well as the fish and game caught by the men. Men assisted in these tasks, for example, by hauling wood and heating stones and excavating for the underground oven. Men and women cooperated in certain hunting activities, such as rabbit drives. Men also helped collect plant material that the women used to make mats and twined bags.

Women spun the hemp cord, but men knotted it into fish nets. Making clothing and beadwork has changed in the twentieth century (fig. 8).

Life Cycle

At puberty boys were sent on vision quests and were expected to learn adult skills appropriate to their gender; these achievements are ritually marked. Puberty per se was not marked by special rituals for boys, but girls were secluded in a menstrual hut where they were attended by older women.

Marriages were usually arranged at the instance of the young man but occasionally by his parents, whose permission was always required. Males typically married at about 20 years of age, females at between 15 and 18. Weddings involved an elaborate exchange of presents between the families of the bride and the groom. The gifts made by the groom's relatives consisted of items associated with the male role, and the bride's kinsmen contributed products of feminine industry (Murdock 1980: 140-141).

Religion

Fundamental concepts of Western Columbia River Sahaptin religion include *waiqáyswít* 'life', an animating principle or

"soul" possessed by people as well as animals, plants, and forces of nature. The presence of 'life' implies intelligence, will, and consciousness. This is the basis for a pervasive animistic morality, in which all living beings should respect one another and are involved with one another in relations of generalized reciprocity. One's 'life' might weaken but could also be strengthened, particularly at critical seasonal transitions, by consuming certain tonic medicines, for example, an infusion of lodgepole pine foliage.

For even average success in life a person required the assistance of spirit powers, which are called *sákat* or *táay* locally. One obtained this assistance most often through a vision quest (Murdock 1980:145).

"Indian doctors" (*waiáimá*), male and female, were shamans, individuals recognized as possessed of extraordinary spiritual powers by virtue of numerous and particularly powerful spirit allies (Murdock 1965a:167) gained through a charismatic calling and repeated vision questing. Shamans were called upon to cure diseases attributed to soul loss or the intentional or unintended intrusion of spirit powers. Shamans prepared patients and their kin for a cure by demonstrating their extraordinary powers by drinking boiling water or handling hot coals. They were assisted by family members of the patient designated as 'beaters' (*wapaśahá*), who kept up an intense rhythmic accompaniment throughout the shaman's performance by beating sticks against a resonant log.

Shamans conducted rituals of community-wide significance, such as the First Salmon ceremony at Celilo Falls (Perkins 1843, 1:7). They also hosted Winter Spirit Dances and helped neophytes express their spirit powers in dance and song. Certain shamans were known to have used their powers to kill, spirit power itself being morally neutral. They were called *waiáytum* 'sorcerers'.

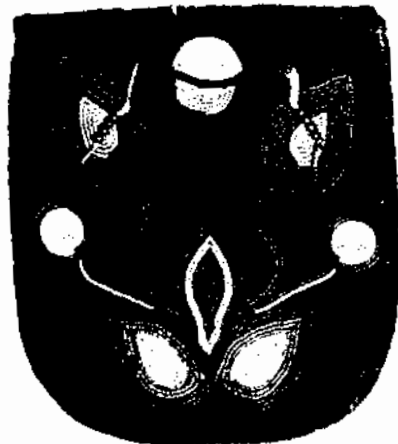


Fig. 8. Beadwork, left, Eva Polk beading the front of a buckskin vest, while Blanche Toher works on another piece of the garment. In the 1950s beading was done by women, but in the 1980s men began to take it up both as a pastime and as a source of income. Photograph by David and Kellie Juergel, Warm Springs, Oreg., 1952; center, Beaded red stroud cloth bag. The shape and stylized bipartite floral design of this bag and the absence of background beading suggest that this bag may have been manufactured in the mid 19th century (Gogel 1985:5). Collected by F. J. Houtz, Warm Springs, Oreg., 1899; right, Beaded bag. While deer had been a popular subject of beaded bags since the late 19th century, some 20th century Plateau artists began to portray deer and other animals in detailed depictions of their natural settings. Made by Piper Heath in the 1930s. Height of center, 20 cm; height of right, 29 cm.



Fig. 9. Charles Spedis at prayers during a Celilo Festival, Celilo Park, 1969. Photograph by Gary S. Seibert, 1996.

A native concept fundamental to traditional social and moral conduct is *tanmawit* ('the law' or 'creation'); patterns of conduct considered natural and necessary, as decreed by the Creator (*tamawitka*), a figure distinct from but sometimes conflated with the myth-hero Coyote (*spilydy*), who declares the "law" in preparation for the imminent coming of Indian people at the conclusion of the myth age. This law is, of course, unwritten, but is embodied in the collectivity of Western Columbia River Sahaptin mythology. There are at least 60 distinct stories or episodes, in most of which Coyote figures as the central character. Western Columbia River Sahaptin myths are reproduced in English translation in Ramsey (1977) and in Sahaptin with interlinear translation by Rigsby (1978). Recorded Klikitat and Upper Gowliz myths (Jacobs 1929, 1934-1937) are familiar to local Indian elders, differing only in minor details (James Selam, personal communication 1977).

• **WASHAT RELIGION.** The institutional focus of contemporary Sahaptin religious practice is Washat (*wakshat* 'a) dance', from *waksh-* 'to dance, especially a worship dance'), whose adherents are *wakshani* 'dancers'. Four Washat congregations were active as of 1990 in the Western Columbia River Sahaptin area, at Rock Creek, Washington, and at Celilo, Simnasho, and Warm Springs, Oregon. Each selected a spiritual leader who conducted Sunday services as principal bell ringer, and whose responsibilities included regular exhortations to the congregation, as well as assuring the proper conduct of life cycle rituals, the most important of which were funerals.

The basic forms of worship for the Washat have been faithfully maintained at least since the late nineteenth cen-

tury ("Religious Movements," this vol.). Many details of Washat ritual conduct and ideology derive from the dream-inspired messages of the nineteenth-century prophet Smohalla, who died but was returned to his body with instructions for the proper conduct of one's life and worship. A contemporary prophet was *šymāya*, resident at Skin. Many features of Washat worship attributed to Smohalla, such as a sacred flag and the oriole as symbol of life, were also part of *šymāya*'s teaching, suggesting a more diffuse and perhaps aboriginal origin to many elements of this practice. The central importance of the worship dance, including details of its form, are clearly aboriginal (Glover 1962:353; cf. Spier 1935).

Essential to contemporary Washat ritual are the thanksgiving feasts for the first appearance of traditional foods (fig. 10). The Rock Creek congregation honors *latitlatit* (Indian eelery) and suckers in late February, for example.

Washat congregations are not exclusive. Individuals with complementary allegiances to a Christian denomination, to the Indian Shaker church, and to the Feather cult are welcome to participate fully in Washat services. The last stronghold of the Feather cult in 1993 was on the Warm Springs Reservation (Stowell 1987:52, 171).

History

Sometime after 1730 horses obtained from Spaniards were introduced via the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Umatilla. About 1780 a pandemic smallpox spread either from Northwest Coast or Plains contacts. A second epidemic is dated in 1801 and affected those born since the first; cumulative mortality is estimated at 45 percent. During 1805-1806 the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through the area along the Columbia River. In 1811 David Thompson of the North West Company traversed the region accompanied by Astorians seeking to establish upriver fur trading stations. The Hudson's Bay Company established a post at the mouth of the Walla Walla River in 1818, a key point of contact through 1855 (Stern 1993, 1996). From 1825 to 1831 Hudson's Bay Company fur brigades traversed the John Day River basin. During 1838 to 1847 there was a Methodist mission at The Dalles (Perkins 1838-1844). In 1847, 4,000 immigrants passed through The Dalles; by 1852 the settler stream had become a flood, with 12,000 traversing Western Columbia River Sahaptin lands en route to coastal valleys.

In 1855 Joel Palmer negotiated a treaty with the tribes of middle Oregon. In that treaty the tribes ceded 19 million acres to the United States and the United States established Warm Springs Reservation, about 640,000 acres. In 1865 a second treaty restricted off-reservation travel and subsistence rights; this treaty was ruled invalid in 1969. In 1874 the first on-reservation boarding school was built; the Agency boarding school,

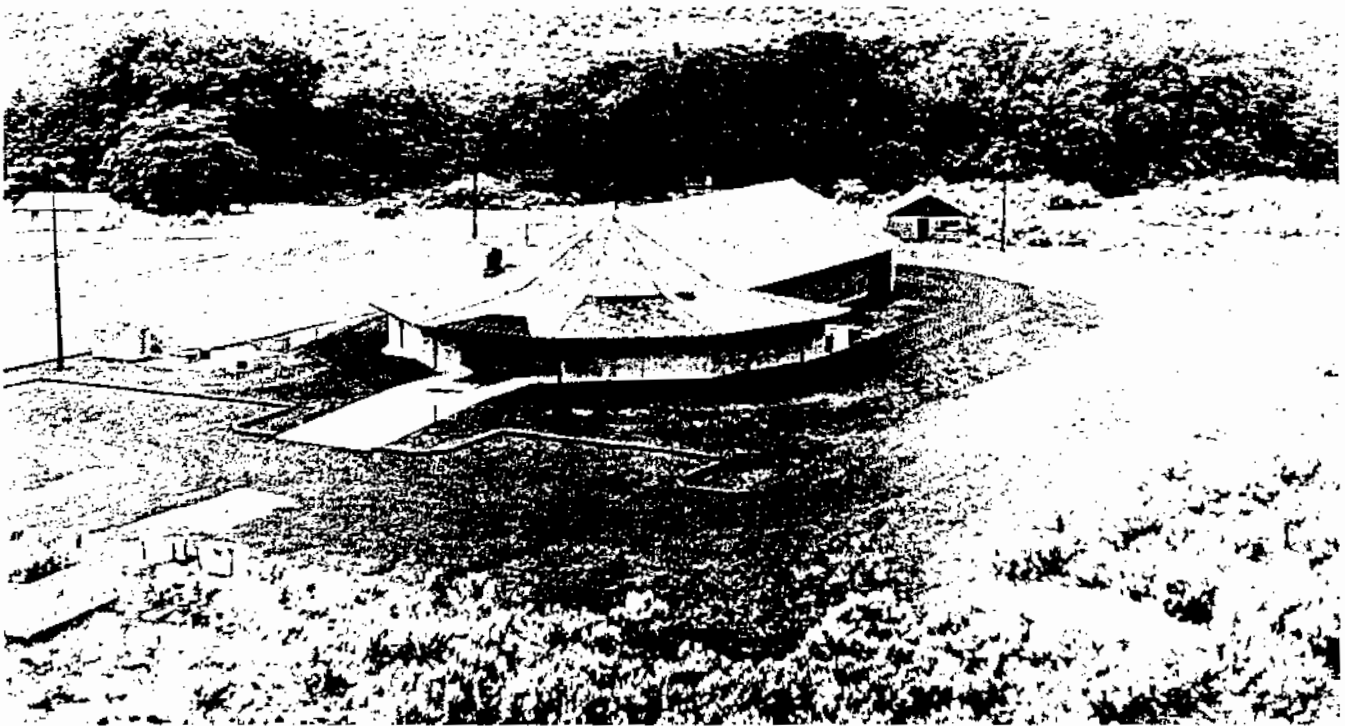


Fig. 13. Root feasts: top, Rock Creek Longhouse, Wash., where root feasts and other tribal celebrations of both the Warm Springs Res. (Oreg.) and Yakima Res., Wash., are held. Photograph by Helen Willy, 2, 1980; bottom left, Root gatherers led in prayer by Elsie Pistohl, a Tard, standing on a ledge above Medicine Valley, Yakima Res. These prayers were in preparation for a "first foods" celebration to be held at Rock Creek Longhouse. Photograph by Eugene Hiron, 1977; bottom right, Annual "first-foods" ceremony, at the beginning of root digging season. Religious songs are being sung, and the women are keeping time to the singing with their right hands. Photograph by Daniel and Kathryn French, Warm Springs Res. (Oreg.), 1957.

established in 1897, did not close until 1967. About 1900 Jake Hunt (*shicam-nasat* "Earth Thunder") established the Feather cult.

In 1937 the Warm Springs Tribes adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act. In 1953 the Warm Springs Tribes were exempted from Public Law 83-280, which transferred civil and criminal jurisdiction over reservations to local authorities. When The Dalles Dam was completed in 1957 (fig. 12), flooding Celilo Falls, the Warm Springs

Tribes received a four million dollar settlement for loss of a share of those fisheries. Pelton Reregulation Dam was completed on the Deschutes River in 1959; the John Day Dam was completed in 1962; and Round Butte Dam in 1964.

In continuing litigation, in 1969 *United States v. Oregon* established a treaty right to "a fair and equitable share" of anomalous fish runs (vol. 7:175-176). In 1975 the fishing rights decision was extended to the Columbia River tribes, and a Comprehensive Fisheries Management Plan



FIG. 11. MANKENWAX, CHIEF OF THE SKIN.

Fig. 11. Mankenwax, chief of the Skin. He was wearing a fox skin cap and leather dressed in skin (Haber 1971:113). Watercolor by Paul Kane, 1847.

was adopted. In 1980 the Sherar's Bridge fishery was purchased by the Warm Springs Tribes.

Warm Springs Reservation

The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation included three tribal groups (Zucker, Hummel, and Hogfoss 1983; Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon 1984; Stowell 1987). The four Sahaptin-speaking groups represented at the treaty council—Tenino, Wyampam (Celilo), Ta-ih (Tygh Valley), and Dock-spus (John Day), known collectively as Warm Springs Indians—were concentrated in the vicinity of Simiasho. Three groups speaking Kikshit (Upper Chinook) represented at the treaty council were in 1997 known as Wasco. They were concentrated in the central portion of the reservation near the agency. The third tribe, the Northern Paiutes, settled on the reservation after 1879 and were concentrated on the southern portion of the reservation. Each tribal division is represented on the tribal council by a chief, who serves a term for life; the eight other council members are elected by district and serve three-year terms. Tribal council decisions are subject to review by a general council of all adult tribal members. Membership requires one-quarter or more blood of the Confederated Tribes and birth to a tribal member residing on the reservation. Tribal enrollment was 3,410 in 1993.

A general manager appointed by the tribal council oversees the operation of the tribal corporation. The Warm Springs

Tribes invested the bulk of the settlement for the destruction of the Celilo Falls fishery in tribal commercial enterprises. The most successful of these include the Warm Springs Forest Products Industries mill and plywood plant established in 1967. This enterprise allows the tribes to retain the financial benefits derived from the sustained-yield harvest of reservation timber and to employ 300 tribal members. Forest products accounted for over two-thirds of tribal income in the early 1980s (Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon 1984:54). Other tribal commercial enterprises include the Warm Springs Power Industries, which sells electric power from the tribally owned Pelton Reregulation Dam and the Kah-Nee-Ta resort complex.

Warm Springs Sahaptin survived as the predominant native language in the 1990s on the reservation. Sahaptin speakers are prominent among the leadership of the Washtat religion. A small off-reservation community persisted at Celilo Village on trust land at the site of Celilo Falls. Many Western Columbia River Sahaptin descendants gathered there for the spring salmon and root feast at the Celilo Longhouse, home to a Washtat congregation. In 1993 Howard Jim, originally of the Pine Creek community, served as Celilo chief. Joining him on the informal Council of Columbia River Indian Chiefs were Frederick Ike, Rock Creek chief; Johnny Jackson, Cascades chief; and Wilbur Slokish, Klikitat chief. Key concerns of this council were the federal government's unmet promise of in lieu fishing sites to replace those flooded by Bonneville Dam and the continued recognition of a Columbia River Indian identity and interest distinct from that of the established treaty tribes.

Population

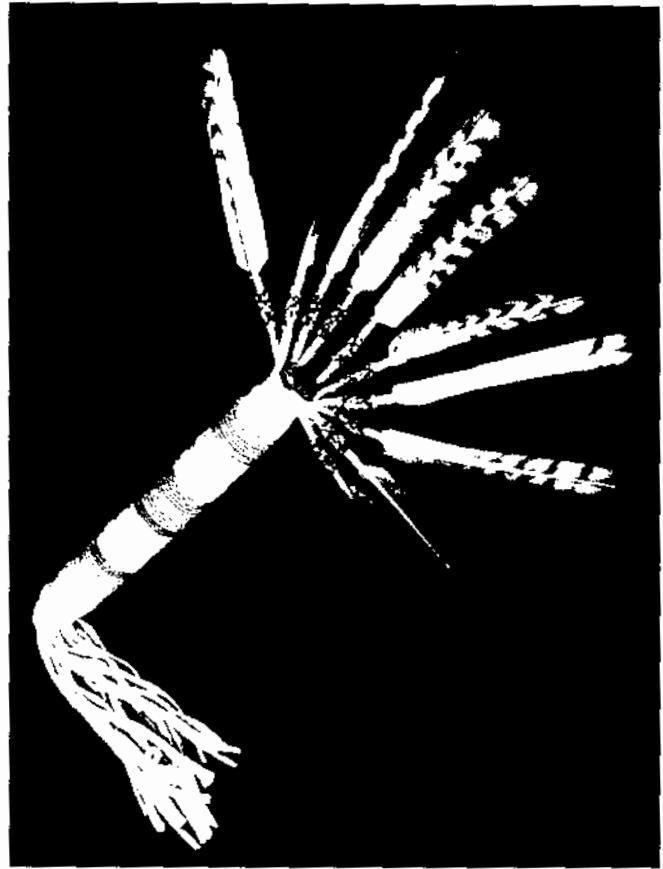
Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1983-, 5:309-336) provide a detailed count of lodges seen along their route down the Columbia. From the mouth of the Umatilla River to the first Upper Chinookan village they tallied 174 lodges, though their population summary lists only 145 (Moulton 1983-, 6:474-475). While some parties were absent hunting, it seems that the bulk of the population was present on the river and that the count of lodges provides a reasonably accurate basis for approximating the local population.

It is possible to assign the lodges counted to contemporary village groupings roughly as in table 1. The 1805 population for the Western Columbia River Sahaptins is estimated at 4,156. This figure departs from Lewis and Clark's population estimates for their "E-ne-shur" division, extrapolating from the large number of lodges reported in the narrative and adding an estimate of the upper Deschutes River population of which Lewis and Clark were unaware. David Thompson's estimates yield a similar result (Glover 1962:347-354, 370-375). Combining his estimates, made while descending and ascending the Columbia in 1811 and using his estimated value of seven persons per family (Glover 1962:378) results in 162 families and 1,134 people



Fig. 17. Chief Thompson, 1907 (1921).

Fig. 17. Chief Thompson, head of Celilo Village, Oreg., left; Chief Thompson and his wife Flora dressed in buckskin clothing heavily influenced by Paris style. Photographer and date not recorded; right, Ceremonial fan constructed of beaver, buckskin and 100 wax feathers with beaded quills. It was made by Henry Thompson for his father Chief Thompson, who earned it at the dedication of The Dalles Dam in 1957. Length 100 cm, 39 in.



in the Alder Creek to Rock Creek interval, 1,55 families and 1,085 people between Rock Creek and the Deschutes River, and 150 families and 1,190 people in the Celilo Falls vicinity for a total of 467 families and 3,409 people.

Synonymy

Tenino (*tináyam*) was a small fishing village located opposite the Upper Chinookan village of Spearfish (*wáshyam nixhúidix* in Upper Chinookan; home of the "Wish-ham" of the Yakima treaty) at the head of Five-Mile Rapids. Residents were known as *tinaynukhama* "people of *tináyam*" (Rigsby 1965:54–57). They are the "Tenino band of Walla-Wallas" of the Treaty of Middle Oregon. According to Murdock (1958:299), this summer village was linked to a winter village site (*ahqlythay*) eight kilometers south on Eightmile Creek.

The term Tenino has been inappropriately generalized to refer to an arbitrary set of Columbia River Sahaptin-speaking village groups extending west from the Umatilla to the village of Tenino (Mooney 1896:742; Hodge 1907; Ray 1938 following Murdock 1938a; Murdock 1958, 1965a, 1980).

Skin (*skin*) was a large permanent village located at the foot of Celilo Falls on the Washington shore. People associated with this village are known as *skintama* (or *skintpa* in

Northwest Sahaptin dialects, cf. the "Skin-pah" of the Yakima treaty). The village is named for a prominent rock at the lip of the falls shaped like a cradleboard, called *skin* (Mooney 1896:740), specifically Coyote's cradleboard as related in the myth of the Swallow Sisters' dam (Beavert 1974:34–37). The peoples about Celilo Falls are the E-ne-shur of Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1983: 7:149), including the villages *skin*, *wayam*, and most likely *wapavki*.

Celilo or Wayam (*wayam* "above"), a large summer fishing village, was permanently occupied in the twentieth century. The people of this side of the falls are known as *wayamhama* (cf. Mooney's *waim-hama* 1896:741). They are the "Wayam band of Walla-Wallas" of the Treaty of Middle Oregon. Skin and Celilo were distinct, politically autonomous communities recognizing no common chief though closely intermarried (James Selmi, personal communication 1992). Murdock (1958:300) states that the people of Wayam wintered at *waimam*, a village "on the left bank of the Deschutes River just above its junction with the Columbia." Rigsby (1965:54) cites an associated winter village "Atquy, at the mouth of the Deschutes River." Hunn's consultants locate a site called *ku'bu'reshi* on Miller Island opposite the mouth of the Deschutes, which may be the same site as that noted by Rigsby. Mooney (1896:740) located the



Fig. 13. Chief Helon (about 1867). Photograph by Joseph K. Dixon, Warren Springs Res., Oregon, 1913.

"Ochechotes" of the Yakima Treaty here, rendering the name "U'chiehol," from "the name of a rock on the north side of the Columbia, opposite the upper end of the island [Miller Island], at the mouth of the Des Chutes." He also located a tribe he called the (Tapinā'sh) at this point, which he equated with Lewis and Clark's Eneshar (Mooney 1896:740).

Tygh Valley (*tilyy*) was a village near the junction of Tygh Creek and the White River. The residents of this village were known as *tayylama*. They are the "Ta-ih or Upper Deschutes band of Walla-Wallas" of the Treaty of Middle Oregon; Mooney's (Tū'āq) (1896:742). Murdock (1958:300) asserts that Sherar's Bridge (*tilyūi*) was the summer fishing village of the people who wintered at *tayy*; however, Rigsby's (1965:57) consultants described the *tilyatlama* as distinct from the *tayylama*. Mooney (1896:742) also distinguishes them as (T'iqūnī). Rigsby's consultants also recognized a group known as *mīlilama* "people of the Hot Springs", resident at Sinnasho. Mooney (1896:742-743) equates the (Mēhī'ēma) with the Tenino, a term he uses to refer to the entire Columbia River Sahaptin population.

Maryhill (*wālawitsh*) village was on the Washington shore. People associated with this village are known as *wālawitshlāma*.

The John Day (*takšpās*) village was located at a rapids on the John Day River. Its people are *takšpāshlāma*. These are

Table 1. Lewis and Clark Population Estimates

| Village | Lodges | 1805 ^a | 1775 ^b |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>tamallām (tamallāma)</i> | 44 | 1,364 | 2,182 |
| <i>nīsy</i> | 24 ^b | 744 | 1,354 |
| <i>nāwawī (kkānsawī)</i> | 4 ^b | 124 | 226 |
| Total | 72 | 2,232 | 4,062 |
| <i>Pish-quit-pah</i> | 71 | 2,600 ^c | 4,732 |
| <i>pawcipat</i> | 8 | 248 | 457 |
| <i>qūllūwāš</i> | 11 | 341 | 621 |
| <i>takšpās</i> | 10 | 310 | 564 |
| <i>wālawitsh</i> | 5 | 155 | 282 |
| Total | 105 | 4,054 | 7,956 |
| <i>Wah-how-pun</i> | 33 | 700 | 1,274 |
| <i>wayām, wamāwī, thū</i> | 45 | 1,395 | 2,539 |
| <i>šūn, wāpāykt</i> | 22 | 682 | 1,241 |
| <i>tūyūm</i> | 5 | 155 | 282 |
| Total | 105 | 2,532 | 4,062 |
| <i>E-ne-chur</i> | 41 | 1,200 | 2,184 |
| Tygh Valley | 20 | 620 | 1,128 |
| Total | 130 | 4,030 | 7,334 |
| Total Sahaptins | 198 | 6,158 | 12,170 |
| Total Lewis and Clark count | 145 | 4,500 | 8,190 |

^aThe 1805 population estimates are based on an average lodge population of 31, which is derived from Lewis and Clark's lodge and population totals for the Columbia River Sahaptins, 4,500 people in 145 lodges. The 1775 figures are 1.82 times as large to accommodate the 48% mortality from the 1780 and 1801 smallpox epidemics (Boyd 1985). The discrepancy in house counts for the E-ne-chur and the lodge counts cannot be reconciled.

^bThe Western Columbia River Sahaptin total includes the *nāwawī-shlāma* of Lewis and Clark's Pish-quit-pah subgroup, all the Wah-how-pun and E-ne-chur groups, plus an estimate for the Tygh Valley (*tilyy*).

^cThe total was reduced to 1,690 (Moulton 1983, 6577).

the "Dock-spūs band of Walla-Wallas" of the Treaty of Middle Oregon (cf. Mooney 1896:743). Murdock (1958:300) states that "tekepe'c" was "the principal winter village" of the John Day and located it "three miles above ... junction with the Columbia." He locates a second, smaller John Day winter village, "[name: maxā'xpā], a mile or two downstream on the left bank." He describes "ta'wac" [*tāwāš*] as "the principal summer village... [of the John Day River people] located on the south bank of the Columbia River." Rigsby located *maxāy* above *takšpās* on the John Day and placed *tāwāš* near present-day Quinton. James Selam (personal communication 1976) was raised at *tāwāš*, which he locates at the mouth of Blalock Canyon on the Oregon shore. He confirms that the people of *tāwāš* are *takšpāshlāma* but describes *tāwāš* as a subsidiary winter village rather than as the summer retreat of the John Day people.

Rock Creek (*qūpūi*) is a permanent village located near the mouth of Rock Creek, Washington. The people associated

with this village are known as *q̄m̄ill̄ama*. Murdock (1958:300) relegates "q'e'mel" to the status of "an offshoot of 'ta'wac," but Rigsby's and Humm's consultants describe *q̄mil* as a politically autonomous community. Mooney (1896:736) misplaces this group, which he renders "Qamfil-léma," locating them "about Saddle Mountain, on the east side of the Columbia, above Priest Rapids." Rather, they are the "Kah-milt-pah" of the Yakima treaty and most likely also Lewis and Clark's "Wah-how pum" (Moulton 1983-, 7:161-162; cf. Mooney's (Háhu'p̄m̄) 1896:739), a term that has been incorrectly interpreted as a transcriptional variant of *a'ityway-pam* 'Klikitat' (Ray 1938:389).

Arlington (*tamaypylá*) village may have been considered part of the John Day community (Rigsby 1965:53) or have been more closely associated with the Roosevelt and Pine Creek communities. Lewis and Clark identify a "band" in this vicinity they call the Met cow-wes (Moulton 1983-, 7:164).

Roosevelt (*níkyáwí*) village was located just below the mouth of Wood Canyon on the Washington shore opposite *tamaypylá*. Roosevelt people sometimes wintered at Pine Creek or Alderdale.

Pine Creek (*pawánpat*) village was located at the mouth of Pine Creek on the Washington shore. Its people, known as *pawánpákhama*, consider themselves "one people" with those at Alderdale (Howard Jim, personal communication 1991).

Alderdale (*náwawí*) village was located at the mouth of Alder Creek on the Washington shore. Its people are known as *nawawiláma*. Rigsby (1965:48) groups Alderdale people with his Umatilla dialect group. However, *náwawí* consultants recognize no such association and have their strongest social contacts with other Western Columbia River Sahaptins (Humm 1976-1993). Mooney's (1896:739) *k'káśáwí-léma* [*kkaastawiláma*, from *kkaastu* 'serviceberry' (Kowassayee of the Yakima Treaty) may be an alternative designation for Indians along this stretch of the Columbia, as a site with this name has been identified just above the mouth of Alder Creek on the north bank of the Columbia (Suphan 1974:159).

Sources

The most valuable ethnohistorical sources include the journals of Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1983-, 5, 7) and of David Thompson (Glover 1962). Both traveled down and then up the Columbia River throughout the length of Western Columbia River Sahaptin territory. Evidence for land use patterns and seasonal movements away from the Columbia is limited, coming mostly from the journals of John Work (1923) and Peter Skene Ogden (Elliot 1909-1910) of the Hudson's Bay

Company, who explored the John Day River in the 1820s and early 1830s, and those of Nathaniel Wyeth (1899) and John Charles Frémont (1845). Wyeth explored the Deschutes River during the winter of 1834-1835, while Frémont traversed that area in 1843-1844. Hale (1846) and Wilkes (1845) report on the United States Exploring Expedition, in the area during 1841. The diaries and letters of missionaries stationed at the Methodists' Wascopam mission at The Dalles contain much relevant ethnographic information (Lee and Frost 1844; Perkins 1843). Kane (1925) left a pictorial record of the Indians at Celilo Falls in 1846. Doty (1855) and Palmer (1855) describe the context of treaty negotiations. Abbot (1855) reported the findings of a railroad survey up the Deschutes River. Western Columbia River Sahaptin word lists recorded by Meriwether Lewis and Henry K.W. Perkins have been lost.

Ethnographic summaries date to the 1930s. Spier and Sapir's (1930) Wishram ethnography includes some information specific to neighboring Western Columbia River Sahaptin speakers. Murdock spent the summers of 1934 and 1935 in the field at the Warm Springs Reservation (1938a, 1958, 1965a, 1980). V. Ray (1942) interviewed one local informant for the Culture Element Distribution project. Moses Hellon, identified as Wayampum. Spier (1935) and C. Du Bois (1938) interviewed Western Columbia River Sahaptin individuals during their investigations of Plateau religious movements. Suphan's (1974) testimony before the Indian Claims Commission provides a valuable ethnohistoric summary, while E.G. Swindell (1942) and Schoning (with Merrell and Johnson 1951) describe the Celilo Indian fishery in the decades prior to the construction of The Dalles dam.

D.H. French has investigated Western Columbia River Sahaptin ethnobotany since the early 1950s (1957, 1957a, 1965). His ethnographic summary of the Wasco (1961) has much valuable information on neighboring Sahaptin peoples. K.S. French (1955) has studied ceremonial practice on the Warm Springs Reservation. B. Rigsby (1965, 1969) recorded Sahaptin word lists and ancillary ethnographic information at Rock Creek, Celilo, and Warm Springs in 1965 and reviewed evidence for Sahaptin-Molala relationships. V. Hymes (1976) has studied the Warm Springs Sahaptin language and oral literature. S. Phillips (1983) studied sociolinguistic aspects of education on the Warm Springs Reservation. E. Humm has worked with Western Columbia River Sahaptins enrolled at Yakima since 1976, emphasizing ethnobiology and cultural ecology (1976-1993, 1980, 1980a, 1981, 1990, 1991a). Humm and D.H. French (1981) collaborated in their ethnobiological work. Rude (1991b) initiated linguistic work at Warm Springs.