

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON  
AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward<sup>1</sup> and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.<sup>2</sup> In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.<sup>3</sup>

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

In a previous paper<sup>4</sup> I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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<sup>1</sup> American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625-34, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

<sup>4</sup> Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99-152, 1936).

to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.<sup>5</sup>

#### DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matulam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;<sup>6</sup> reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino<sup>7</sup> enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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<sup>5</sup> This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse-half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla-Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

<sup>7</sup> The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several villages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.<sup>8</sup>

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

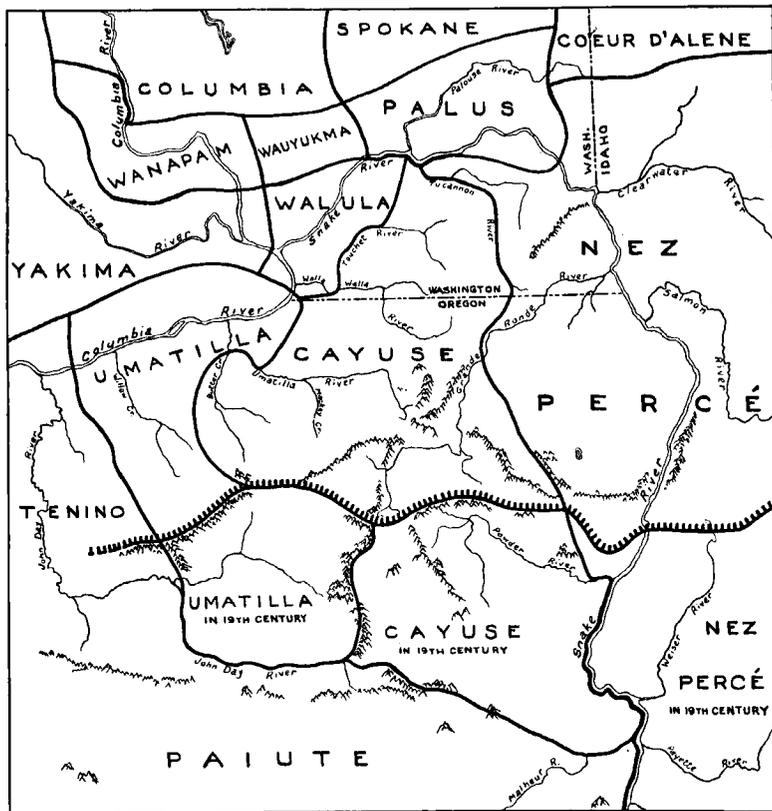


FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

<sup>8</sup> In the present map this area is divided between the two.

Ukiah region, whereas the nearby Lehman hot springs belonged to the Cayuse. Village location largely determined these distinctions; though of mixed composition, the tribal affiliation of each of these villages was quite definite.

The irregular southern boundaries of the Umatilla and Cayuse were not arbitrary but conformed to topographical conditions. The Umatilla utilized the entire drainage area of the North Fork of the John Day River; the Cayuse used the slopes draining into the Umatilla and Powder Rivers.

Walula (walu'la [Umatilla name], wala'wala [Walula name], "little river;" name of largest village near mouth of Walla Walla River) territory adjoined that of the Umatilla at the bend of the Columbia, but these groups did not intermingle freely. In consequence, the line dividing them was quite definite. The uppermost Umatilla village included no Walula residents, although the principal Walula village was but a few miles distant. In addition to a short segment of the Columbia, the Walula occupied both sides of the Snake River from the mouth to Lyons Ferry.

The habitat of the Cayuse (wayi'letpu) did not touch the Columbia at any point and bordered on the Snake for only a very short distance at the northernmost extreme, near Starbuck. A portion of the territory consisted of bare, rolling hills, but much of the area lay within the Blue Mountains. A number of drainage systems were occupied, including those of the Walla Walla, the Umatilla, the Upper Grande Ronde, Powder, and Burnt Rivers, and the Willow Creek branch of the Malheur River. On the northeast the Tucannon River formed the boundary; on the northwest a segment of the Touchet River served likewise.

Cayuse villages were spread over the whole of the area but were not often located along the boundaries. Thus villages were seldom of mixed composition. Intercourse was extensive with the Nez Percé but the line of demarcation remained well defined. The southern boundary lay in relatively unoccupied country. Territory to the south was held by the Paiute and Bannock, with whom relations were at all times strained.

The western and northern boundaries of the Nez Percé, as shown on the map, are based upon non-conflicting data from Cayuse, Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene informants. These new data agree substantially with those obtained by Spinden from the Nez Percé many years ago.<sup>9</sup> The Nez Percé-Palus boundary rests on Palus village locations and Nez Percé territorial claims. Though the Palus (palu's, name of village at mouth of Palouse

<sup>9</sup> Herbert J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, pp. 165-274, 1908), pp. 171-75.

River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax, the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

#### DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

#### DISTRIBUTION IN 1805-1806

The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determining tribal locations for the years 1805-1806. The explorers not only recorded native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.<sup>10</sup> These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.<sup>11</sup> Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

<sup>11</sup> E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731-45.

<sup>12</sup> The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

<i>Lewis and Clark name</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>	<i>Location in 1805-1806</i>
Wah-how-pum <sup>13</sup>	xwa'txwaipam <sup>14</sup>	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am <sup>15</sup>	i'matlam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low <sup>15</sup>	wala'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po <sup>16</sup>	wayi'letpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum <sup>17</sup> ] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah <sup>18</sup>	pɪc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse <sup>19</sup>	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace <sup>20</sup>	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po <sup>21</sup>	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel <sup>22</sup>	ta'ptat <sup>23</sup>	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom <sup>24</sup>	pcwa'napam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee <sup>25</sup>	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low <sup>26</sup>	pa'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan <sup>27</sup>	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo <sup>28</sup>	xayε'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po <sup>28</sup>	sxoie'tp <sup>u</sup> <sup>29</sup>	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar <sup>30</sup>	ku'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish <sup>28</sup>	tski'sumɛx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

<sup>14</sup> Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenino) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151-300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

<sup>15</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

<sup>16</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

<sup>17</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

<sup>18</sup> *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

<sup>19</sup> The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɪc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earlier distribution noted above.<sup>31</sup>

Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecoms-kink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.<sup>32</sup> [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.<sup>33</sup>

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

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between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pish-quow (npskwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name pɪ'sko (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

<sup>20</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, map 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

<sup>23</sup> Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

<sup>24</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6, p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-sáh-nim (probably Salishan).

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

<sup>27</sup> The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

<sup>29</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>30</sup> The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114-19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

<sup>32</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."<sup>35</sup> This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excursion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."<sup>36</sup> The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

#### EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118.

<sup>35</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit<sup>37</sup> and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.<sup>38</sup> Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the *Nek̄t̄eme'ux* formerly resided at the Dalles.<sup>39</sup> Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, *nik̄atimiu'x*, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the *Lohim*, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.<sup>40</sup> Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that *laxi'am* means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.<sup>41</sup>

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as *sa'idoka*, "white-tailed deer eaters."

<sup>37</sup> Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89-108.

<sup>38</sup> Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.

<sup>39</sup> Teit, *loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743.

<sup>41</sup> Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Teit writes of a Salish group called *Tiā'ketux* or *Stia'ketemuḡ* being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.<sup>42</sup> Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are *stiaxá'* (Umatilla) and *stiaḡa'ma* (Kittitas); the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe.

In this connection Teit states that

The Sampoil have a name *Nai'akutchən* or *.nia'qətcən*, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.<sup>43</sup>

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a *'kaitci*, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the *.nkee'us*,<sup>44</sup> Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.<sup>45</sup>

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805-1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800-1830."<sup>46</sup> Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."<sup>47</sup> Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for

<sup>42</sup> Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 f.

<sup>46</sup> Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>43</sup> *Idem*, p. 94.

<sup>45</sup> Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>47</sup> Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river." But this further sentence, *in the same paragraph*, is neglected: "They [of the Columbia River] go to war to their [Snake] first villages in 12 days."<sup>48</sup> In other words, the local Sahaptins (Tenino) were the aggressors in this struggle with sufficient initiative to travel twelve days to the south in order to meet the enemy. A few miles downriver, at The Dalles (city), the distance to the enemy is estimated as four days' march, much less but yet considerable. A recent battle is mentioned, presumably conducted on Shoshonean ground.<sup>49</sup> These notations were made by the explorers on the downriver trip. Upon their return the following year they found the Indians of the vicinity still on the offensive: "They had latterly returned from the war excursion against the Snake Indians. . . . They had been fortunate in the expedition and had taken from their enemies most of the horses which we saw in their possession."<sup>50</sup> Mooney aptly summarizes conditions for this period and later:

Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian tribes and driven farther back to the south. . . . The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warm Springs reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later.<sup>51</sup>

Teit and Berreman use the term "Snake" as a specific tribal designation, and assume that in so doing they are following native practice. Their entire reconstructions stand or fall upon the validity of this assumption. Yet Sahaptin informants emphatically declare that they never used Snake as a tribal name, and that they are quite unaware of any such tribe. Instead, the term is used collectively for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute. The name came into familiar usage among the whites because it is the exclusive designation in sign language, the symbol being the same as that used for the reptile. In verbal speech specific names are applied to the various groups.

The distances separating the Shoshoneans from the Columbia River, as indicated in the texts and maps of Lewis and Clark, demonstrate that they were at least as far south in 1805 as during the early distribution outlined above.<sup>52</sup> And yet this is the period at which Teit and Berreman contend

<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also *idem*, Vol. 3, p. 168.

<sup>49</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 3, p. 163.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282. See also above.

<sup>51</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 742.

<sup>52</sup> Except perhaps in the region of the Blue Mountains. See above.

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.<sup>53</sup>

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.<sup>54</sup>

VERNE F. RAY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

#### NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.<sup>55</sup> The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warm Springs Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

##### THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warm Springs Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

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<sup>53</sup> Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>54</sup> Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

<sup>55</sup> *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

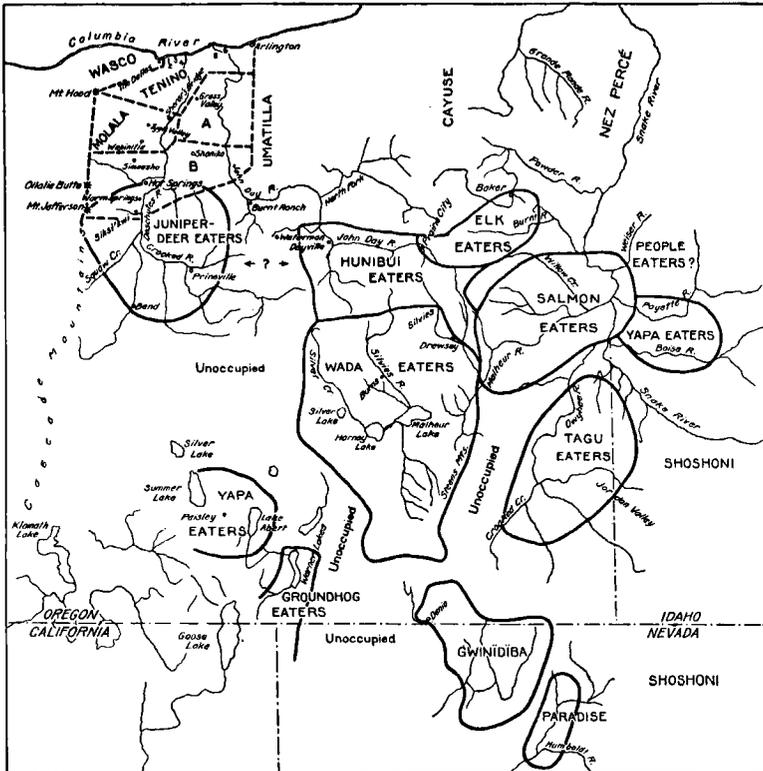


FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

tinai'nu (1)<sup>66</sup> about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2).

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia.

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and t̄xni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney<sup>67</sup> are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warm Springs Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs."

#### THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

<sup>66</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

<sup>67</sup> Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741-42.

slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

#### THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warm-springs Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, cctai'kt or modern Warm-springs, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

#### THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

Sometime during the decade 1810-1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

#### TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warm Springs Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warm Springs, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

#### POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warm Springs Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warm Springs archives will show:

Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . ."

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

#### CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warm Springs. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

<i>Teit</i>	<i>Tenino</i>
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekuta-meux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpau on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."
4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political units, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.
5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.
5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.
6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.
6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.
7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.
7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.
8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.
8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

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| <p>9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.</p> <p>10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.</p> <p>11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.</p> | <p>9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.</p> <p>10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.</p> <p>11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.</p> |
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In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

YALE UNIVERSITY

#### NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika'<sup>a</sup>, eaters).<sup>58</sup> They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Sun-tex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

<sup>58</sup> During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey.

These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups.

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tika (huni'bui, root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tihichi'tika) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker.

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dihichi'tika: wa'pi, juniper; dhi'cha, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tika (yapa, epos), or Goya'tika (craw-

fish).<sup>59</sup> Southwest of the Wada Eaters, and separated by the plateau to the southeast of Catlow Valley, were the Gidü'tikad<sup>60</sup> (Gidi'tika, Groundhog Eaters). In the vicinity of Denio and McDermitt, to the south of the Wada Eaters were the Gwi'nidi'ba (no meaning?). According to informants there were no strictly Paiute bands between these people and the Shoshoni. In the vicinity of Paradise Valley and the railroad to Winnemucca, however, there was a group known as the Paradise Indians, who were half Paiute and half Shoshoni.

In the Owyhee River Valley and the vicinity of the present site of the town Jordan Valley, east from the Wada Eaters, were the Tagu'tika (tagu, root). There were no pure Paiute bands farther to the east.

Northeast of the Wada Eaters were the Salmon Eaters (Agai'tika). They wintered on the north and south sides of the Malheur River and fished on the Snake. Some informants distinguished two bands of Salmon Eaters, those living north and those south of the Malheur River. The camps of this band extended as far west as the North Fork of the Malheur. Two informants stated that they also wintered on the east side of the Snake. This was denied by others. All informants agreed, however, that they camped on both sides of the river in the spring and summer.<sup>61</sup>

One band, described as being east and north of the Snake River, were known vaguely to the people of Harney Valley. The information indicated that they probably wintered near the Boise River. The members of this band, according to one informant were half Paiute and half Shoshoni. One informant mentioned another band of People Eaters (Niwi'tika), but did not make it clear whether they lived in the hills to the north or south of the Boise. It was evident that east of the Snake there was a great deal of intermixture of people of Shoshoni and Paiute bands.

These locations were obtained from informants of about seventy-five years old and pertained to the time of their parents, that is approximately 1840-1850. By 1865 pressure from the Umatilla, Cayuse, Tenino, Shoshoni, and the United States Army had driven the Huni'bui Eaters south, the Salmon Eaters west, and the Juniper-Deer Eaters south and east. The bands on the periphery seem to have suffered tremendous losses in the period directly preceding the establishment of the reservation in 1872.

This mapping does not conflict with Steward's distribution of the Sho-

<sup>59</sup> In the case of all the bands there were two or three variant names cited as well as names for sub-groups.

<sup>60</sup> See Isabel T. Kelly, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1932), p. 70.

<sup>61</sup> Information indicated a large percentage of intermarriage with the Shoshoni.

shoni tribes.<sup>62</sup> It disagrees with Ray's mapping of the Umatilla,<sup>63</sup> which gives to the latter terrain on both sides of the John Day. My information does not in any way substantiate Berreman's classification of the peoples in central eastern Oregon about 1850 in which he postulates Snake and Bannock groups in the north as opposed to Northern Paiute to the south.<sup>64</sup> The bands to the north and northeast, according to the information I secured from the Harney Valley group, were very similar to the Wada Eaters. The dialectic differences were slight. Their cultures differed in aspects of the food quest and material culture. The bands to the north and northwest made much more use of bark and juniper berries. The bands on the Snake had access to a larger quantity of fish, had dugout canoes, and more elaborate fishing techniques.<sup>65</sup> Inter-marriage between these groups and those to the south in Nevada and Surprise Valley was common. The population was fluid; families of one band often becoming affiliated with neighboring groups. Furthermore, the group looked upon itself as a unit as opposed to Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. I secured no information which indicated the presence of a permanent Bannock group west of the Snake River in 1840-1850. The Bannock, according to the Wada Eaters' version, were a Northern Paiute group who migrated east across the Snake when the buffalo withdrew from Oregon. My material also disagrees with Berreman's allotment of the region around Gateway on the Deschutes River to the Tenino. I have no evidence which indicates the expansion of the Paiute bands at the expense of Sahaptin groups in the first half of the nineteenth century, except for occasional raids.

BEATRICE BLYTH

YALE UNIVERSITY

#### NORTHERN PAIUTE

The name, Northern Paiute, is preferable to Paviotso for the Indians of the western Great Basin, because they call themselves Paiute, are called Paiute by their Indian neighbors, and are so termed in government reports; also because they form a cultural and linguistic unit much more extensive than Powell's Paviotso.

The Northern Paiute occupy the western part of the Great Basin in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The northern and western bound-

<sup>62</sup> Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin*, map, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 47 f., 63 f., fig. 2.

<sup>65</sup> The northern and eastern bands seemed also to have owned and made more use of the horse.

aries closely coincide with the edges of the physiographic province. The Nevada and California portion of the area has long been assigned to the Northern Paiute, but that in Oregon and Idaho has been in the past allotted

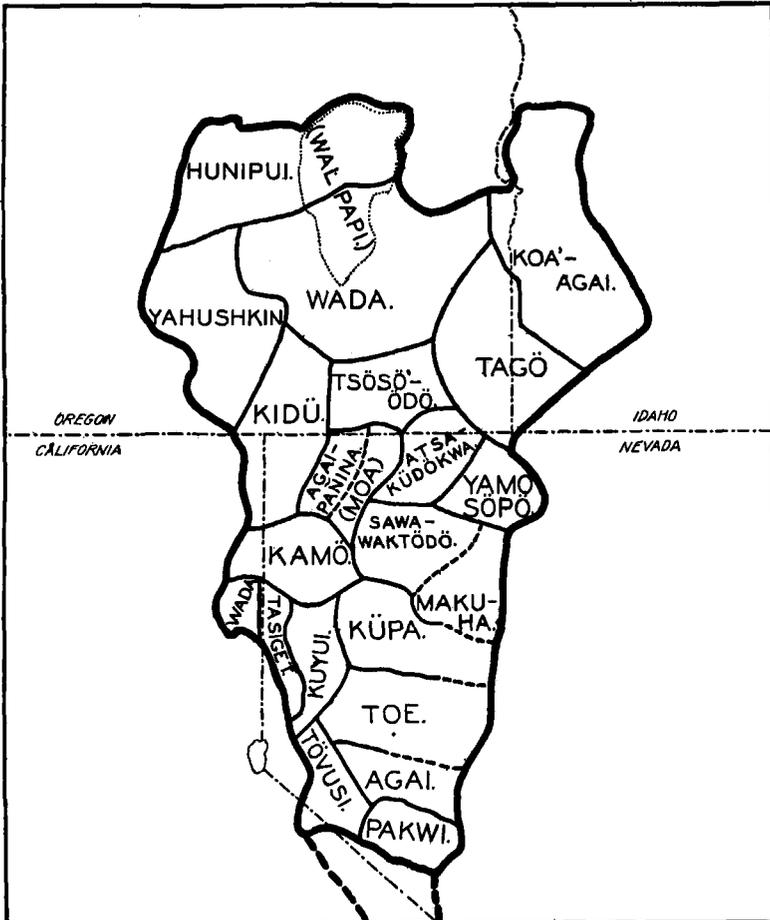


FIG. 3. Territory of Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of Owens Valley and Mono Lake, by Stewart.

to the Snake and Bannock. Powell and Kroeber established the linguistic unity of this Northern Paiute area, and a recent culture element survey demonstrated its cultural unity. Although the bands formerly living along the Snake River near Boise, Idaho, have been classed with the Bannock,

they were culturally distinct from the eastern Idaho Bannock when first visited, and have since been politically allied with the Northern Paiute of Nevada. Those bands formerly known as Oregon Snake recognize their affinities with the Nevada Northern Paiute and share very few culture traits with the other Shoshoneans formerly called Snake.

Except for the raids on the Deschutes River Sahaptins which occurred about 1850,<sup>66</sup> all evidence points to a long, continuous occupation by the Northern Paiute of the area here assigned to them.

The Lemhi or Lohim Bannock, located on Willow Creek in Umatilla territory, appear to be a group which migrated from central Idaho after 1856. That their migration followed the above date is suggested by their name, which is apparently a corruption of Limhi, a Book of Mormon name given to a fort established on the Salmon River by Mormon missionaries among the Bannock in 1856. It is quite possible that other Shoshonean Indians followed the same route at an earlier date to give rise to the accounts of Snake depredations along the Columbia reported by Lewis and Clark.

Teit's and Berreman's theory that mounted, war-like Indians forced Sahaptin peoples from southeastern Oregon between 1750 and 1850<sup>67</sup> rests upon a lack of understanding of the culture of the occupants of that area. Since the earliest travelers in that area—Fremont, Ogden, Farnham, Wallen, and others—found only "root diggers," since Rinehart, in 1876, named the bands there, gave the extent of their territory, and called them Paiute, and since no inhabitants of southeastern Oregon have ever been found except those with a typical Northern Paiute culture, the only conclusion possible is that the Oregon Snake were Northern Paiute. The raids which Teit learned about were those which followed 1850, raids which living Indians saw and participated in.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

#### WESTERN SHOSHONI

The following observations relate primarily to two groups of Western Shoshoni: White Knives or Tosawi<sup>hi</sup> and Salmon Eaters or Agaidika, now resident on the Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> A Wasco woman still lives at the Warm Springs Reservation who was captured during one of the Paiute raids.

<sup>67</sup> Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 98 f.; Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 55 f.

<sup>68</sup> Field work, summer of 1937, at Duck Valley Reservation.

I have the following criticisms of the distribution of Great Basin groups as shown on Steward's map.<sup>69</sup>

The distribution of the White Knives "districts" is similar to my own, with certain exceptions. My informants insisted that the western boundary of this group should be extended as far west as Winnemucca. Moreover, the winter camps were not only along the banks of the Humboldt River and its tributaries, but also along those of neighboring rivers: South Fork of the Owyhee River, Lake Creek, and Bruneau River. Steward's distribution of the winter "districts" gives no indication of the summer range of these people—rather important since the range was travelled seven or eight months of the year. During the summer, the White Knives went as far east as the western shores of Great Salt Lake, north to the Snake River, south to Eureka and Austin, and as far west as Winnemucca, through the Santa Rosa Mountains and the southeastern corner of Oregon. Of course, not all White Knives covered this area. Each camp group was economically habituated to a more or less definite geographic summer orbit.

It must be understood that there was a constant territorial overlapping of group and tribal boundaries. Paiute camp groups often came east into Shoshoni territory, and Shoshoni camps went west into Paiute area. Because of the mobility of these groups, any strict territorial delimitations convey a false picture of restriction. Boundaries under these conditions can probably best be shown on a map by cross-hatchings.

Contrary to Steward's statement that the Shoshoni groups of Nevada were designated only as inhabitants of a named locality,<sup>70</sup> my information shows that, similar to the northern Shoshoni groups, they were also known by their chief source of food. These people were variously known as Fish Eaters, Pine Nut Eaters, Squirrel Eaters, Rabbit Eaters, Snake Eaters, Water Grass Seed Eaters, etc. However, since a group's name could change with the seasons of the year and the corresponding food they ate, I agree that the best designations of these groups are by locality names. The northern Shoshoni groups whom Steward has designated by food names may also be known by other names, but my informants corroborated Steward's that these people were organized into bands dominated by a more central authority.

The White Knives were so called because these people living in the vicinity of Golconda and Tuscarora used arrow heads, scrapers, and knives made of white flint found in this area. But they were also known by a number of food names.

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<sup>69</sup> Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 631.

The Salmon Eaters of the Snake River, while located in villages approximately covered by the words "Salmon Eaters" on Steward's map, often ranged as far east as American Falls. Because their chief source of food was fish, their movements were more restricted than those of the White Knives, who covered a much wider range in their foragings for plants, seeds, roots, and wild game.

Other criticisms of Shoshoni group distributions: (1) My informants would place the group Steward calls the "Huki Eaters" (my recording is *hūka*) somewhat more to the north, around American Falls, and including part of what is now the Fort Hall Reservation. (2) Steward's native term for the Wyoming Shoshoni is different from the one which I have repeatedly recorded. Steward has *Kohogo'e*. The term as I have it, is *kəgəhəi*, which means "gut eaters." (3) None of my informants identified the Pine Nut Eaters in the area northwest of Great Salt Lake where Steward has shown them to be. However, I have repeated identifications of Pine Nut Eaters living about Austin, Nevada.

I also have a number of criticisms of Steward's discussion of political groups. Because of space limitations, however, I shall confine myself to a brief discussion of two points.

First, the pine nut was not the chief source of food for the White Knives or Salmon Eaters, although it may have been for the groups in south central Nevada. Thus, although a number of camp groups would gather for the pine harvest, there were rarely more people than would come together to live in a winter community. Consequently, for these people this was not the "most important factor bringing together people from neighboring areas."<sup>71</sup> Steward, however, has overlooked the seasonal Gwini ceremonies which were held from two to four times a year. At these ceremonies and dances, from one hundred to four hundred people would converge from neighboring areas, and would include those of different groups who happened to be in the vicinity. These religious fertility ceremonies were probably the most cohesive force these Shoshoni experienced.

Secondly, for the White Knives and Salmon Eaters, winter village cohesion and political authority seems to have been even looser than Steward indicates for this area. My informants among these groups denied that one man, during the temporary village life, would assume even such informal leadership as to be designated "headman." The summer camp group, composed of from one to three or four related families, would probably have the wife's father as the one who had more authority than the

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<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 629.

others, and who would direct the movements of the camp. But even this was of the most informal nature. As one informant expressed it, "We all knew when the food was gone. Why did we need someone to tell us when to move to look for more food?"

JACK HARRIS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

#### BANDS AND DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE EASTERN SHOSHONE

1. *Hək Eaters* (Hə'kandika: hək, an unidentified seed).<sup>72</sup> Also called Sə'niβedika, "Wheat Eaters," after the introduction of this cereal by the whites. Another modern name used by the Bannock and some other Shoshone for this group is Ségwiogwōi, "Muddy Creek," a derisive substitute for Bannock Creek, in which valley they reside, and which was the center of the aboriginal territory of the band. The location is immediately north of that given by Steward, and is in the very center of the territory designated for the Rabbit Eaters by him.

2. *Salmon Eaters* (A'gaidika). As given by Steward.

3. *Mountain Sheep Eaters* (Tu'kufika).<sup>73</sup> These people were aboriginally distinctly separate from the Salmon Eaters, tending to hold more to the mountain fastness about the headwaters of the Lemhi River, while the Salmon Eaters were located about the headwaters of the Salmon River farther north and west. The Sheep Eaters used dogs to corner antelope long after other bands had horses.

4. *Elk Eaters* (Pa'fahiadika). This band ranged the western slopes of the Teton Range.

5. *Mountain Dwellers* (Də'yia<sup>73</sup>). This was a very small division scattered throughout the mountains of the Yellowstone country. It had no band organization whatever, but lived in independent small family groups.

6. *Groundhog Eaters* (Ya'handika). By my informants placed about the source of the Port Neuf River, "south of the present site of Pocatello, Idaho." Steward places them at the western extreme of the Shoshone territory.

7. *Squirrel Eaters* (Si'ptika). The same as the Red-Squirrel Eaters (Engəsiptika)? This extremely poor band was located just over the Nevada line at the headwaters of the Raft River in what is a northern portion of the territory Steward gives to the Pine Nut Eaters. The Idaho Shoshone were impressed that these people had no horses, and declare that many never saw a buffalo.

<sup>72</sup> The phonetic system is that of the International Phonetic Association.

<sup>73</sup> All r's in Shoshone are the flapped r (l).

8. *Rabbit Eaters* (Ka'mufika). Localized south and west of the Port Neuf River. Agrees with Steward except that he gives them a wider extent (embracing the territories of the H3k Eaters and Groundhog Eaters).

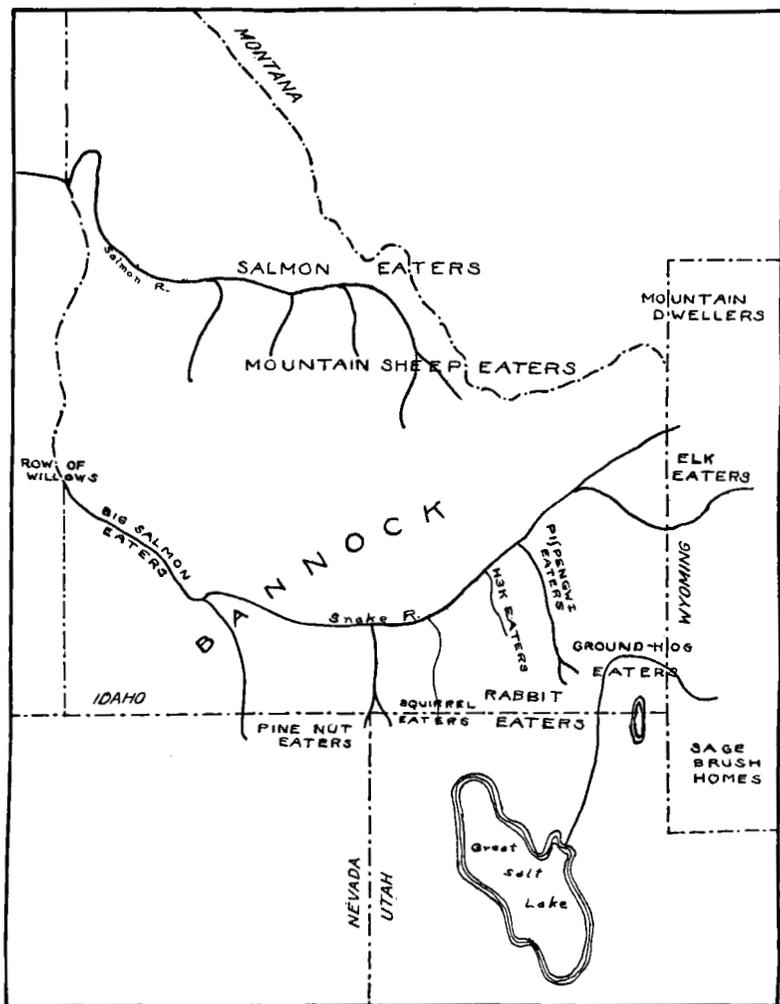


FIG. 4. Distribution of the Eastern Shoshone, 1825(?)–1875, by Hoebel.

9. *Pi'spengwi Eaters* (Pi'spengwidika). The pi'spengwi were a small swamp minnow flourishing in several places of the Snake River bottoms. In

the winter they burst through the ice in great numbers and lay on the surface where they were gathered for food and dried for future use. The band location was along the Port Neuf from the Snake River to McCammon, Idaho. Steward's Fish Eaters?

10. *Pine Nut Eaters* (Tə'βətɪka). Located in the Black Pine Mountains at headwaters of the Raft River, as given by Steward. Were also called Ku'fiutə by the Idaho Shoshone, and are identified by them with the Deep Creek Gosiute.

11. *Big Salmon Eaters* (Pia'-a'gaidɪka). Also called "Those Who Do Not Roam" (Tə'liβiəə). These people clung to their habitat in the canyon of the Snake River, from the junction with the Bruneau River westward. They never fared forth on offensive raids, hence the name. They were famous as makers of arrows for trade with other Shoshone bands.

The location given by my informants corresponds to Steward's, except that it is slightly farther down the Snake River. They are nicknamed Boise Indians by other Shoshone of today.

12. *Row of Willows* (Sə'həwəki). A small band named from the creek, a tributary to the Snake River, on which they lived, near the Weiser River. This would make them the westernmost of the Snake River Shoshone.

13. *Sage Brush Butte* (Pə'hə'gəi), the Bohogue' of Steward. Steward declares<sup>74</sup> that this was a single band of Northern Paiute and Shoshone occupying the greater part of southern Idaho. According to my Shoshone informants this is a modern term for the Fort Hall Indians *in toto*, excepting those living on Bannock Creek, the Həkandɪka. The aboriginal Bannock, according to them, consisted of four bands (Sə'həgaidɪka, "Cottonwood Salmon Eaters," Tə'həhadɪka, "Deer Eaters," Si'ptɪka, "Squirrel Eaters," Tagəndɪka "[?] Plant Eaters"). These were not consolidated, and according to Henshaw<sup>75</sup> this is substantiated by early travellers. Henshaw states that it is almost impossible to give the Bannock a definite location because of their nomadism. Some Shoshone travelled with various Bannock bands at different times, but the consolidation of a single Bannock-Shoshone band under aboriginal conditions is to be doubted.

*Yampa Eaters*. Steward locates a band of Yampa Eaters in western Idaho. I have no such band for the Shoshone, though I was given the term Ya'mparɪka a number of times over as the Shoshone name for the Comanche. One of the four most important Comanche bands is the Yapai (Comanche term), meaning "Yep Eaters." More suggestive is Henshaw's naming

<sup>74</sup> *Linguistic Distributions*, p. 633.

<sup>75</sup> F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 30, 2 parts, 1907-10), Part 1, p. 129.

of a Yambadika band for the Bannock. This may be what Steward has recorded.

*Wind River Shoshone.* Presumably there was more than one band in this group, but the Idaho Shoshone do not identify them. The oldest name by which the Wind River people are known to the Idahoans is Pɔ'hɔgani, "Sage Brush Home," because of the nature of their territory. Kɔ'gohoi, "Gut Eaters" is a more modern name, as is also Ku't/Indika, "Buffalo Eaters."

The location of Shoshone bands (Nos. 11 and 12) at the western extreme of Idaho shifts Steward's linguistic line slightly westward at this point.

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

#### WIND RIVER SHOSHONE GEOGRAPHY<sup>76</sup>

The geographical position of the Wind River Shoshone (po'ho:nö, "sage brushers:" Comanche name) cannot be stated in terms of definite area or boundaries.<sup>77</sup> A deep-rooted nomadism, the great mobility given by the horse, nearly constant wars with non-Shoshonean peoples, and easy contact, travel, and intermarriage<sup>78</sup> with other Shoshoneans, all contributed to a permanently unstable position. For example, while the tribe consisted normally of four bands which split to go to separate localities for the fall and winter buffalo hunts, and united again for travel together in the summer, any one of these bands would, at any time, change its route, going, say, to the Bear River rather than to the Greybull River for the winter. Or the entire tribe would summer at Deer Lodge Valley<sup>79</sup> rather than at Black's Fork. To all of this must be added the fluidity of social organization: individuals and groups changed their band affiliations according to personal tastes; or they even wandered off independently, going as far as the territories of the Flathead (ta'tasiwani), Dakota (ba'mbidjimina) and Ute (iyuta'ni).

<sup>76</sup> Sincere thanks are due Professor A. L. Kroeber and Dr A. Métraux for assistance with and criticism of my paper.

I should remark that my study of the Shoshone is as yet unfinished: gaps exist particularly in information about the country northwest of Yellowstone Lake.

<sup>77</sup> But see my map for the region claimed by the Eastern Shoshone in the treaty of July 2, 1863 (C. G. Kappler, compiler and ed., *United States Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties, Vol. II: Treaties*, Washington, 1904, p. 849).

<sup>78</sup> Seventeen out of 209 individuals in my genealogy were Bannock.

<sup>79</sup> E. N. Wilson, *The White Indian Boy* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1926), p. 23.

Consequently, the most valid definition of the geographical position of the Wind River Shoshone that I can make is in terms of primary centers (rich valleys), primary routes travelled by the whole tribe or normally by a band (along river courses), and a vast general area through which the Shoshone would wander on irregular occasions.

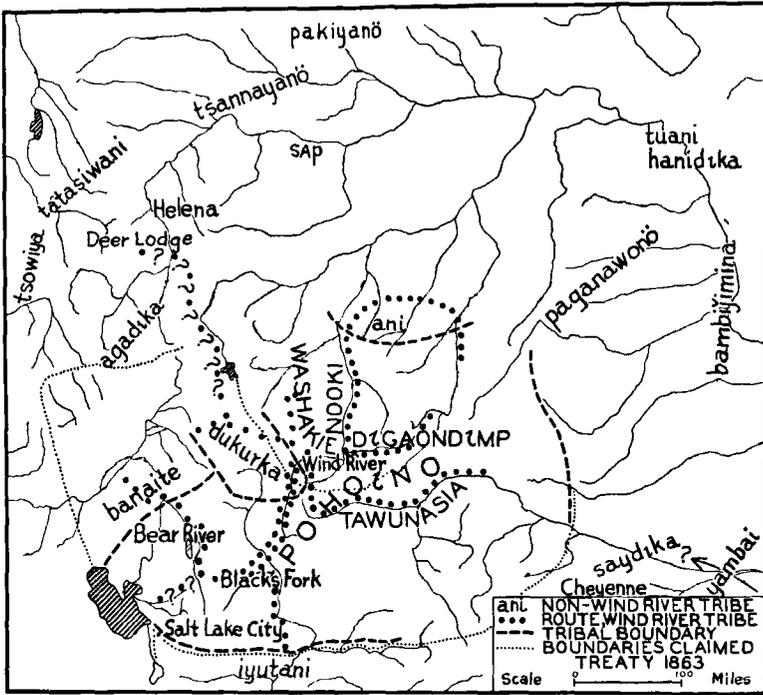


FIG. 5. Location and routes of travel of Wind River Shoshone in Wyoming and adjacent regions, by Shimkin.

The primary centers were around Black's Fork (wo'nḡogwey) and around Wind River (yu'warai ḡ'möhört), Wyoming. The entire tribe would generally stay at Black's Fork in the summer, then travel via Big Sandy Creek to Washakie Pass (*in du'kurka territory*), and then down Trout Creek to Wind River Valley. There they would stay until early in the fall, when they would break up: (1) Washakie's (we'djitu'iyapë) band went up Wind River and over to the head of Greybull River, to winter there; (2) no'oki(s) band went down the Big Horn Mountains (*through Crow ter-*

*ritory*), and south again to the Powder River Valley; (3) *dī'ga'ondīmp*(*'s*) band went straight to the east, to the headwaters of Powder River; (4) *ta'wunasi'a*(*'s*) band followed the Sweetwater River to the head of the North Platte. In the spring, the bands usually united again at Wind River.

My information on the historical movements of the Wind River Shoshone<sup>80</sup> may be summarized as follows. They believe themselves to have come originally from the Lemhi (*agadka*) region. Thence they went south-east to the Black's Fork country; then, over the Wind River Mountains, to the north and east, pushing out the Crow even from the Big Horns. At an early time, the Comanche (*yamba''i*) left the main group, but retained friendly connections with it. A part of the Comanche (? *dza'coconi*) returned to Black's Fork, introducing the horse. During the first half of the nineteenth century, terrific epidemics of smallpox hit Wyoming, causing a decimation and scattering of the population. The *du'kurka* of the Wind River Mountains (who, incidentally, never had horses) were nearly wiped out, while some of the Wind River Shoshone fled as far as the Comanche, among whom they later formed a separate band.<sup>81</sup> This, and probably the increased aggressiveness of other Plains tribes with the spread of firearms as well, led to a recession of the Shoshone and their retreat to the west in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>82</sup> A final wave of expansion onto the Plains came with white aid following the treaty at Fort Bridger, July 3, 1868.<sup>83</sup>

D. B. SHIMKIN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

<sup>80</sup> See also C. Wissler, *The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 16, pp. 1-25, 1914).

<sup>81</sup> Called *pohoi* (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part 1, p. 328).

<sup>82</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870* (Washington, 1870), pp. 174-75.

<sup>83</sup> Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1020-24.