The Tenino Indians

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The Tenino, also called the Warm Springs Sahaptin, at their first contact with Europeans occupied a portion of the south bank of the Columbia River in north central Oregon and the lower watershed of its southern affluents. Their immediate neighbors, reading clockwise, were the following tribes: the Sahaptin-speaking Umatilla to the east beyond ca. 120°5' W; the Shoshonean-speaking Northern Paiute to the south beyond ca. 44°55' N; the Waiilatpuan-speaking Molala across the Cascade Range (ca. 121°45' W) to the west, whence they had been driven by the Tenino in late protohistoric times; and the Chinookan-speaking Wasco and Wishram to the northwest in Oregon and Washington respectively. East of the Wishram border (ca. 121°W), the north bank of the Columbia River was occupied in the main by the closely related Sahaptin-speaking Klickitat and probably also by a few Tenino.

Local Groups

Aboriginally the Tenino were composed of four local groups or subtribes, each consisting typically of a pair of villages—one occupied in the winter months (November to March) and located at a protected interior site where water and wood for fuel were available, the other inhabited during the warmer months and located at a site on the Columbia River or one of its tributaries where salmon fishing was especially productive. In several instances, however, a portion of a subtribe occupied a smaller secondary site during either the winter or the summer season. The four subgroups acknowledged their close interrelationship, and shifts in affiliation from one to another were not infrequent, whereas the bonds with other neighboring Sahaptin speakers, e.g., the Klickitat and Umatilla, were appreciably more tenuous. The four subtribes were the following:

*Dalles Tenino.* This group occupied two closely adjacent summer villages (#1 on the accompanying map) on the south bank of the Dalles of the Columbia and wintered on Eightmile Creek five miles to the south thereof. (It is important to distinguish the Dalles of the Columbia, also called Five Mile Rapids, from the modern town of The Dalles, located several miles downstream
to the west.) The name of the larger of the two summer settlements, tinainu, has come to apply to the tribe as a whole as well as to the Dalles subtribe.

Tygh. This group had a summer village (#19) on the Deschutes River and its principal winter village (#14) on the site of modern Tygh Valley. Its territory had belonged originally to the Molala, who were expelled from it by the Dalles Tenino in a war estimated to have occurred shortly prior to 1830. It was occupied by the conquerors, but many of the latter continued to frequent the Dalles rather than the Deschutes River for the salmon season.

Wayam or Deschutes. This group had its summer village on the Columbia River at Celilo Falls (#2). Its winter village was located on the left bank of the Deschutes River (#3) just above its junction with the Columbia.

John Day. This group occupied the lower watershed of the John Day River with summer fishing villages (#7 and #8) on the south bank of the Columbia River and twin winter villages (#5 and #6) on either bank of the lower John Day River.

Warm Springs Reservation

In accordance with a treaty with the Indians of the region, dated June 25, 1855, the United States contracted to establish the Warm Springs Reservation. The bulk of the Tenino were removed thence in 1857, and the Wasco and kindred Chinookan peoples followed in 1858. Reservation records of 1858-59 report the presence of 850 Tenino on the reservation with about 60 Wayam and 100 John Day not yet established there, indicating a total population at that time of approximately 1,000 for the entire tribe. The neighboring Paiute, who were not settled on the reservation until a number of years later, were aggrieved because most of the land which it embraced had been traditionally theirs, and they retaliated by making periodic raids for horses and other boots against the Indians whom they considered intruders. The first Indian agent to be actually stationed on the reservation took charge on August 25, 1861. The first missionary, a United Presbyterian, arrived in 1892.

The data presented in this report derive almost exclusively from field work conducted by the writer among the reservation Tenino during periods of several weeks each in the summers of 1934 and 1935. His principal informants, with the dates of their births according to the records of the Warm Springs agency, were Mollie Mushinglaw (b. 1853), Annie Mary Quinn (b. 1850), Johnnie Quinn (b. 1853), Annie Scott (b. 1834), and Indian Spencer (b. 1837). Although all were born before the establishment of the reservation, three of them were young children at the time. Since data were sought primarily for the pre-reservation period, the author was fortunate in having two intelligent and observant individuals, who had been in their early twenties in 1857, available to check information
received from the others, especially on the subjects of technology, subsistence economy, trade, social organization, and warfare. The data on religion were obtained mainly from Johnnie Quinn, the most prestigious surviving shaman of the tribe, and thus probably pertain to a period several decades later than the rest.

**Subsistence Economy**

Prior to the reservation period the Tenino lived a semi-nomadic life, practicing no agriculture and possessing no domestic animals except dogs and at a later date a modest number of horses. They subsisted primarily by fishing but to an important extent also by hunting and gathering. The men hunted and did most of the fishing. The women dried the meat, smoked the fish, and did most of the gathering, although the men helped in collecting acorns and pine nuts and to a lesser extent in picking berries. The women conducted most of the trade with visitors from other tribes, the men confining themselves chiefly to the exchange of horses and an occasional distant trading expedition.

In their winter villages each family unit had two houses—an elliptical, semi-subterranean, earth-covered lodge used for sleeping and a rectangular frame dwelling with walls and a gable roof of tule mats used for cooking and daytime activities. Winter pursuits included hunting and trapping, stream fishing, fuel gathering, and the manufacture of artifacts. In late March the Tenino dismantled their winter dwellings and removed to their summer villages. Here each family group erected a rectangular shed of poles and mats with a flat roof, of which half was used as living quarters and the other half for drying salmon.

In early April special parties were dispatched to gather roots and catch salmon for an important first-fruits ceremony. Except for the John Dalles, who celebrated separately, the entire tribe assembled at a Dalles Tenino village. After this festival about half the families of a village departed for a series of expeditions toward the south; they lived for several days at a time in temporary camps of mat-covered tipis while the women gathered roots and the men hunted. The rest of the population remained in the summer village, catching and drying salmon. In July the entire population returned to the summer villages for another first-fruits ceremony, this one featuring berries and venison ritually obtained by a special party of six men and six women.

Following the summer festival the people again divided, part remaining in the villages to continue salmon fishing and to trade while the rest went to the Cascade Mountains to gather berries and nuts and to hunt. In September, at the conclusion of the berry season, hunting parties set out on long expeditions up the Deschutes and John Dalles rivers. The women smoked the meat obtained by the men and gathered late-ripening roots and berries. In October a special party collected tule reeds for mats. The drying sheds were now dis-
mantled, and the people removed to their winter villages, reconditioning and occupying the dwellings there.

**Trade**

The region was one of the major foci for intertribal trade in aboriginal North America. An extensive network of trade relations, centering on the Tenino, Wasco, and Wishram villages on the Dalles of the Columbia, bound their inhabitants to the tribes inhabiting the Columbia River downstream to the coast and upstream to the edge of the Plains, as well as to the peoples in the heart of the Plateau to the north and those of southern Oregon and northeastern California to the south. Parties of Tenino men occasionally undertook short trading expeditions in all directions, but in the main it was visitors from the surrounding tribes who brought their wares to the Dalles to exchange them for native products and imports from elsewhere. The trading season reached its height in late summer when the salmon run began to slacken. The visitors went from house to house, bartering with the local women. No form of true money was used, although strings of dentalium shells were widely accepted in exchange for other goods.

To this trade the Tenino contributed their own products—chiefly dried salmon, fish oil, and furs—and the goods they had obtained from other visitors. The principal imports were dentalia and other shells from the west; coiled baskets from the north; horses, buffalo hides, and parfleches from the east; and slaves, California baskets and beads, eagle feathers, and Pit River bows from the south. The Klamath, who mediated most of the commerce with the south, obtained dried salmon, dentalia, and horses in return for products brought from California. The Chinookan traders from the lower Columbia exchanged their shells for twined bags, bows, and skins. Trade from the north was mediated by the Wishram, who brought baskets and some horses in return for slaves, fish, and shells. Furs, hides, dentalia, bows, and dried fish were traded to the Umatilla for products obtained by the latter from tribes farther to the east.

A principal consequence of this extensive trade was widespread intertribal peace. Except for their war of conquest against the Molala and one very minor skirmish with the Klamath, the Tenino have no memory of warfare with any of their neighbors save the Paiute, but conflict with this tribe, which significantly had little of value to trade, was endemic. On the whole, in contradiction to allegations by Teit, the Tenino in the pre-reservation period were expanding very gradually at the expense of the Paiute.

**Villages, Camp Sites, and Trails**

The accompanying map of Tenino territory, showing the location of their villages, major camping sites, and principal trails, is designed to clarify the annual round of economic activities. The map employs
the following conventions: a heavy dashed line to indicate the crest of the Cascade Range; solid triangles for summer fishing villages; solid rectangles for winter villages and permanent settlements; open circles for overnight camp sites; and solid circles for sites occupied for somewhat longer periods for hunting, minor fishing, the gathering of roots, fruits, berries, etc. The seven principal trails in Tenino country are listed below by capital letters. The villages and major camping sites along each are indicated by numbers corresponding to those on the map.
A. An important trail along the south bank of the Columbia River, which ran from Wasco territory in the west to Umatilla country in the east and connected the principal settlements of the Dalles Tenino, Wayam, and John Day subtribes. Its continuation down-stream led through Chinookan territory to the Pacific coast.

1. The paired summer villages of the Dalles Tenino. Here all the Tenino except the John Day subtribe foregathered annually for the spring and summer first-fruits festivals. From the principal village of the Wishram, on the opposite bank of the Columbia River, connecting trails converged from the Salishan and Sahaptin tribes of central Washington.

2. The summer village of the Wayam subtribe at Celilo Falls. Across the river a connecting trail led northward through Klickitat country to Mt. Adams, frequented for huckleberries in the late summer by the Wayam and John Day people.

3. The winter village of the Wayam subtribe.

4. Here, on the site of modern Rufus, travelers made brief stops to net salmon and gather roots or chokecherries in season.

5, 6. Winter villages of the John Day subtribe.

7, 8. Summer villages of the John Day subtribe.

9. A site, adjacent to Umatilla territory, frequented by the John Day people in the spring for roots and in the early fall for trade with the Umatilla. From here the trail continued eastward through alien territory to the edge of the Plains, and a connecting trail, branching off to the south but unfortunately not accurately located, was followed by John Day hunting parties in the late fall.

B. An important trail connecting the villages of the Dalles Tenino and Tygh subtribes.

10. The winter village of the Dalles Tenino, located five miles inland from their summer villages.

11. One of several sites in the vicinity visited briefly for chokecherries in season.

12. A site visited in early April to obtain hoops for dipnets preparatory to the fishing season, and again in July to gather hazelnuts.

13. An important site frequented by the Tygh and Dalles Tenino in the spring to gather roots and to hunt.

14. The principal winter village of the Tygh subtribe, located on the site of modern Tygh Valley, with a smaller satellite village a mile and a half to the southwest.

15, 16. Important centers for root gathering and incidental hunting in middle and late April.

17. The site of modern Simnasho, aboriginally a center for gathering roots and hawthorn berries but since 1857 the center of Tenino settlement on the Warm Springs Reservation. Im-
mediately south lay Paiute country, traversed by a trail followed by Klamath trading parties on their way to the Dalles.

C. A trail following the course of the Deschutes River, connecting the territories of the Wayam and Tygh subtribes.

18. A temporary fishing village occupied by the Tygh people for several weeks in September.

19. The principal summer village of the Tygh subtribe. Its houses were located on either side of the Deschutes River, which was crossed with the aid of a willow-bark rope stretched from bank to bank.

20. A small Tygh winter village.

21, 22. Hunting camps occupied for several days each in October.

23. The site of a hunting camp occupied for a week in the autumn to kill deer, antelope, and mountain sheep, which were driven into a blind V-shaped canyon, and to smoke the meat and prepare the hides. A special party of men returned in November to gather rush reeds, which were bundled into rafts and floated downstream to the villages on the Deschutes and Columbia rivers. The country south of this point was Paiute territory, but Tenino hunting parties sometimes visited it in force, even in pre-reservation days.

D. A trail leading upstream from the John Day villages along the east bank of the John Day River.

24. A site visited by the John Day people in the spring for roots and in the autumn for hunting and the gathering of chokecherries and late-ripening roots.

25. An important site regularly visited by the John Day people in both spring and late summer, even during periods of hostilities with the Paiute, who disputed its possession and controlled the country farther south.

E. An east-west trail skirting the southern edge of Tenino territory and connecting the upper John Day country with that of the Tygh subtribe.

26. An important site visited by the John Day people in May to tap the abundant root resources of the region.

27. The most important of a number of sites in the Shaniko region visited by the Tygh, Wayam, and Dalles Tenino in May and June to gather roots and hunt antelope and mule deer. This was a festive season when camp life was punctuated by gambling and religious ceremonies.

F. Connecting trails from the Dalles Tenino and Tygh villages to the berrying grounds southwest of Mt. Hood.

28. A salt lick kept under regular surveillance by the Tygh people and visited by a party of hunters whenever elk were spotted there.

29. The first of a series of berrying grounds on the slopes of Mt. Hood. Parties left the villages after the berry festival in late
July to gather huckleberries and pine nuts, hunt deer and elk, and lay in a supply of dried berries and smoked meat for the winter.

30. The largest of the berrying grounds of the region. Parties remained for several weeks, returning to the villages in October.

G. A trail from the Tygh country to the huckleberry grounds around Olallie Butte, utilized by the Tygh people after their displacement of the Molala.

31, 32. Sites visited just before the berry festival for camas roots, which were abundant in the vicinity, and after the ceremony by parties on their way to the berrying grounds.

33. A prolonged stay was made here in middle and late summer to gather huckleberries and to hunt and lay in a supply of meat.

TECHNOLOGY

Since Ray (1942) has published an inventory of Tenino artifacts, the material culture will be treated here from the point of its utilization of the materials provided by the environment. Noteworthy is the extremely limited use made of mineral products. Metalworking and the ceramic arts, for example, were unknown, as were both the grinding and chipping of stone. A seeming exception was the use of obsidian flakes as knives and projectile points, but informants insisted that these were obtained from the habitation sites of an earlier population along the Columbia, where they were allegedly deposited by Raven, and were never manufactured by the Tenino themselves. The Tenino put unworked stones to such minor uses as damming small streams for fish and as sinkers for fishing lines and nets, but they never employed stone in dwelling construction. The sole shaping technique was pecking, used mainly in fashioning pestles for grinding food, mauls for splitting firewood, and hammers for excavating dugout canoes.

Animal products were much more widely used in the manufacture of artifacts. The horns of deer, elk, and mountain sheep and goats supplied the materials for wedges, picks, chisels, net gauges, gambling dice, and projectile points. The long bones of deer were made into large fishing gorges, the points and barbs for fish spears, and awls and needles to sew mats and buckskin clothing. Small gorges were fashioned from rabbit bones, fishhooks from the nasal bones of deer, and skin scrapers from elk ribs. Deer sinews were made into sewing thread and bowstrings and were used as a reinforcement for bows. Eagle plumes served as feathers for arrows and as decorations for ceremonial costumes, and brooms or brushes were fashioned from pelican feathers. Cordage and rope made from horsehair were employed as fishing lines and as hobbles, halters, tethers, and hitching lines for horses.
Animal skins constituted a major technological resource. The untanned hides of deer and elk provided tumplines or pack straps, thongs for stitching clothing and bedding, the mesh for snowshoes, nooses to trap beaver, ropes to lasso horses, drumheads, bags for collecting roots and for storing clothing, water, and deer tallow, and the shields and cuirasses worn by leading warriors. The dried skins of black and grizzly bears were used as floor rugs and sleeping mattresses, and the tanned pelts of the wolf, coyote, cougar, lynx, otter, beaver, and raccoon were employed as bedding. A buckskin bag stuffed with hair or feathers served as a pillow. All clothing except the basketry caps worn by women was made of skins—the tanned hides of deer, mountain sheep, antelope, and cow elk with the hair removed for men's shirts, women's dresses, and the belts of both sexes; tanned deerskin with the hair on for men's breechcloths and caps and for the leggings and winter robes of both sexes; tanned and smoked buckskin for men's and women's moccasins; and tanned furs of coyotes and rabbits for winter socks, mittens, and mufflers. In addition, blankets sewn from strips of rabbit skin served both as bedding and as robes in exceptionally cold weather.

Wood was used for a wide variety of artifacts, of which only representative examples can be cited. Cedar was employed for dugout canoes and paddles; cottonwood for house timbers and fishing scaffolds; oak or comparable hard woods for bow staves, digging sticks, excavating shovels, and war clubs; fir for dip-net handles, fish-spear shafts, fire drills, and war spears; maple for the foreshafts of fish spears; hazel for dip-net hoops and snowshoe frames; serviceberry wood for arrow shafts; pine for netting needles; wild rose stems for needles to sew mats and for cradle hoops; juniper for the hoops of drums; willow for fishing rods and for lashing timbers in various structures; elder stalks for whistles to call deer; and the light stems of an unidentified shrub with a pithy core for needles, the slabs of slate armor, and an implement for dredging clams. Utensils of wood, such as dishes, spoons, and mortars, came into use only after European contact.

A number of vegetal fibers and strands supplemented horsehair, deer sinews, rawhide thongs, and strips of rabbit skins as materials for the textile arts—for thread, cordage, mats, nets, baskets, and bags. The most important were the fibers of the inner bark of the willow, the dried stems of a jointed swamp grass, and strips of the outer bark of manzanita. Simple plaited mats were used for the construction of fish weirs, but all other mats were either sewn or twined. Various types of sewn mats of tule or cattail rushes were used for the roofs, walls, and doors of dwellings, for floor coverings, and for spreading roots and berries to dry. Twined mats were made for a number of specialized purposes—of willow-bark fibers for mattresses, of manzanita bark for roofing, and of swamp grass for drying salmon and as doors for pit dwellings. Mats were tied together and lashed to house timbers with cord of braided manzanita bark. Nets of
all kinds, including fishing seines and nets to catch rabbits, were made of willow-bark cord by means of a netting needle and a net gauge.

Of all the artifacts of a Tenino household items of basketry were the most numerous. With the exception of simple carrying baskets sewn from cedar bark or made by doubling a cattail mat and sewing the edges, all baskets were the product of two techniques of manufacture—coiling and twining. Coiled baskets were used for picking, carrying, and storing berries, and a watertight variety served as containers for liquids and for boiling with the aid of hot stones. Though numerous, they were not manufactured by the Tenino themselves but were obtained exclusively by trade with the tribes north of the Columbia River. Artifacts of twined basketry fell into three principal categories: (a) rigid baskets, including fish traps, cradles, sieves, and trays for scraping the skins from roots; (b) semi-flexible baskets, including carrying and storage baskets, women’s hats, and basketry mortars; and (c) flexible baskets or bags of two-ply twining, usually with a buckskin drawstring around the rim, used principally for carrying and storing. Specialized baskets, e.g., a type used in the stick game, were obtained in trade with the south. Despite their expertise in basketry, neither the Tenino nor their neighbors were familiar with either the loom weaving or finger weaving of cloth in any form.

**Division of Labor**

Specialization was primarily by sex, with a distribution of tasks that appears entirely equitable. The men, in addition to hunting, trapping, fishing, and waging war, manufactured practically all the artifacts employed in these activities. They did all work in stone, bone, and horn. They felled trees, cut and split wood, brought in timber and firewood, and manufactured all wooden implements, including those used by women. They made and paddled the dugout canoes, wove nets, and manufactured all musical implements. They also did most of the work of house construction, including the excavation of pit dwellings, the raising of house timbers, and the attachment of mats for all structures except the tipi. Women, however, dug the post holes. There was a definite tendency to reserve the more difficult crafts to men who were too old to hunt.

The women did most of the gathering, although men collected rule reeds and nuts. The women also smoked meat, dried fish and berries, and prepared and cooked the food. They tanned and prepared all skins except elk hides, and made, repaired, and laundered all clothing and bedding. They manufactured thread, cordage, mats, baskets, and bags, monopolizing the textile arts except for the preparation of rope, nets, and fish traps. In addition, they did the housework—cleaning the dwellings, sweeping the mats, and airing the bedding—and assumed primary care of the younger children. Both sexes carried burdens. Men brought in game, timber, and firewood with the
aid of a packstrap across the chest. Women fetched roots, berries, and fish in pack baskets supported by a tumpline on the forehead.

There were no full-time specialized occupations. The division of labor by sex was matter-of-fact and by no means rigid. The men had no objection to cooking for themselves on hunting or military expeditions and readily helped the women in certain of their tasks, especially in berry picking. Nor did the women resent fetching firewood when a man was not available. One female informant was even admired, as a young woman, for her expertise in catching beavers by diving into their lodges—a task ordinarily associated with the male sex. Another woman gained fame when, waylaid by a Paiute warrior, she stout-heartedly defended herself with her digging stick, slew him, and proudly returned to camp with his scalp as a trophy.

**Household Organization**

Economic factors found a clear reflection in the composition of the Tenino household, which, with occasional exceptions, included the families of two adult married men. The two families slept on opposite sides of the semi-subterranean winter dwelling and shared the adjacent frame living house, where they maintained a single common hearth and cooked and ate together. The same joint family also maintained a shed dwelling in the summer village, although ordinarily only one of the component families was resident there throughout the season. The other was absent from the village most of the time on spring root-gathering trips, summer berry-picking excursions, and the autumn hunt, but it shared the shed residence during the two annual first-fruits festivals and on the brief intervals between trips. Oftentimes the two families would alternate on expeditions away from home, but sometimes, especially when one man was much older or less active than the other, his family would remain at the fishing village throughout the summer season. Occasionally the families would divide equally the salmon, game, roots, and berries which either had obtained, but more commonly the sharing was achieved indirectly through the common table at which both, during the winter months, consumed the products which both had accumulated during the preceding summer season.

The owner of the dwelling, usually but not always the eldest male occupant, was the head of the household. The other adult male was usually his married son or younger brother but was occasionally a sister's or daughter's husband or even a remote relative or an unrelated friend. A son, when he married, usually continued to reside with his father, at least for a time, but if the house became overcrowded he joined a brother or other relative to build a new dwelling and establish an independent joint household. Alternatively, if there was room in the house of his wife's father or brother, particularly if the latter was wealthy and personally congenial, he might reside matrilocally with him, but this solution seems to have been somewhat exceptional. On the death of the owner, the dwelling was inherited
by his household partner if a near relative, otherwise by his eldest child or next younger sibling resident in the community.

Marriage

Marriages were usually arranged at the instance of the young man but occasionally of his parents, whose permission was always required. In either case, his father selected an old man to act as go-between and to visit the bride’s parents to secure their consent to the union. Boys typically married at about twenty years of age, girls at between fifteen and eighteen. Local exogamy was preferred and usual, but marriages within the village were not prohibited. Unions even occurred fairly frequently with members of neighboring tribes with whom the Tenino maintained friendly trade relations. Incest taboos, governing sex as well as marriage, extended bilaterally to all close consanguineal kinsmen.

Weddings ranked with the two annual first-fruits festivals as major ceremonial occasions in Tenino life. They involved an elaborate exchange of presents between the close relatives of the bride and the groom. The festivities were held shortly after betrothal at the bride’s village, outside of which the groom’s party set up a tipi camp. The parties were headed respectively by the groom’s father and the bride’s mother. If either were dead, his place was taken by the other parent or by some other senior relative of either sex. Each was represented by a spokesman, an old man who was not a close relative.

The ceremony began with a visit by the spokesman for the groom’s father to the village of the bride. He carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a horse offered as a gift by a man or woman of his party. These he presented to the bride’s mother, describing each horse in detail. After choosing one for herself, she called upon the members of her party individually, in order of their nearness of kinship to the bride, to select an animal and thereby assume the obligation to engage in a series of reciprocal prestations with its donor. In this manner the participants on both sides became divided into pairs of trading partners. Informants insisted that such pairs were not necessarily of the same sex.

There ensued a series of visits alternately to the bride’s relatives at her village and to the groom’s relatives at his camp. On each of these the members of the visiting party brought gifts for their trading partners and were entertained at a feast. The prestations made by the groom’s relatives and the food served at the feasts given by them consisted of items produced by or associated with the male role in the division of labor by sex, particularly—in addition to horses—animal skins and furs, venison, and salmon. Conversely the bride’s kinsmen, regardless of sex, contributed products of feminine industry—buckskin clothing, ornaments, mats, twined bags, roots, and berries. (For details, see Murdock 1958:304-306.) The bride and groom themselves were merely onlookers at the feasts and prestations, receiving only speeches of good advice. The goods present-
ed to the bride’s relatives were admittedly of somewhat greater value because of the inclusion of horses, but informants insisted that the transaction was a genuine exchange with no overtones of a bride-price.

The Tenino practiced polygyny. It occurred with moderate frequency and was by no means confined to men of wealth and high status. Five wives was the maximum number in any instance remembered by informants. A man might take his wife’s younger sister as a secondary spouse, but this was neither preferential nor particularly common. Co-wives lived in the same dwelling and shared household tasks, but the first wife enjoyed a somewhat higher status. The husband slept with each in rotation. A widow was expected to marry one of the brothers of her deceased husband, and was permitted to choose among them, but she might marry another man if she chose. The sororate was more strongly preferential, and indeed almost obligatory, for the unmarried sister of a deceased wife. The elaborate property exchanges were customary only for a first marriage; subsequent unions involved merely a few gifts.

Marriages were relatively stable, and divorce was rare. Either spouse, however, could terminate a union on grounds of adultery, childlessness, or incompatibility. Young children went with their mother unless she had deserted her husband, in which case they were cared for by their father’s mother. Boys over ten years of age, and sometimes older girls as well, remained with or returned to their father.

**Kinship**

Kinship was reckoned bilaterally. The Tenino lacked clans, moieties, and any other type of unilinear kin group. The only corporate groups were the nuclear and polygynous family, the joint household, and the local community. Definite recognition, however, was accorded to one non-corporate grouping of kinsmen—the bilateral kindred—which varied in composition from individual to individual and included, for any particular person, all those to whom he could trace a specific consanguineal connection in any line. It excluded affinal relatives but regularly embraced second cousins and often third cousins as well. It functioned particularly in life-crisis ceremonies, notably the property exchanges at weddings described above.

The Tenino system of kinship nomenclature included 40 distinct terms. Since these have been listed and defined by Murdock (1958:308–310), and an almost identical system has been reported by Jacobs (1932) for the closely related Upper Cowlitz and Klickitat tribes in Washington, it will suffice here to present merely a succinct classificatory analysis. There were (1) six terms for siblings, extending to both cross and parallel cousins throughout the kindred, distinguishing those older than the speaker by sex only and those younger by both sex and the sex of the speaker; (2) four grandparental terms, distinguishing the father’s from the mother’s parents of each sex and
used self-reciprocally for grandchildren as well; (3) four terms for parents' siblings, distinguishing those of either parent both from the parent and from each other as well as by sex; (4) six terms for nephews and nieces, distinguished by the sex of the speaker and the sex of the connecting relative in all cases and also by the sex of the relative in the case of a male but not a female speaker; (5) three terms for parents-in-law, also used self-reciprocally for children-in-law, the wife's parents being distinguished from the husband's and also, unlike the latter, by sex; (6) four terms for siblings-in-law, those of opposite sex being differentiated according to whether the connecting relative was alive or dead and those of the same sex by the sex of both speaker and relative; and (7) two special terms for father's sister's husband—remarkable as the only exceptions to strict bilateral symmetry—differing according to the sex of the speaker and also applied self-reciprocally to the wife's brothers' children. A final characteristic was an extensive differentiation of vocative from referential forms, the former reflecting different roots in about half of all cases.

An unexpected product of the field work was the discovery of a series of explicit patterns of behavior prevailing between kinsmen of particular categories. One such special relationship was that between a paternal grandfather and his son's son. The former was responsible for instilling physical hardihood and military virtues in his grandson. It was customary for him, during the boyhood of the latter, to undress and whip him, to roll him naked in the snow, to make him lie in the bed of an icy stream, and to subject him to comparable hardening ordeals. The motivation was purely educational. No notion of joking or horseplay was involved, and the boy made no effort to retaliate, either at the time or in later life.

No comparable behavior patterns were discoverable between paternal or maternal uncles or aunts and their nephews or nieces. Attitudes and conduct toward parents-in-law and children-in-law were modeled on those between parents and children, and showed no evidence of avoidance or special reserve. The relationship between brothers was affectionate and co-operative and was particularly close if they maintained a common household. Between brother and sister, however, there prevailed a measure of restraint and avoidance. They could not sleep in a house alone, nor walk, ride, or sit together unless someone else was present.

Brothers-in-law maintained a friendly and co-operative relationship resembling that between brothers. When a man built a house, for example, he expected his brothers-in-law to lend assistance without anticipation of payment. A special privilege enjoyed by a sibling-in-law of either sex was that of claiming a valuable possession belonging to any person thus related to him. The claimant was obligated only to return a similar object of lesser value. Between siblings-in-law of opposite sex there prevailed a relationship of considerable intimacy, though not of permitted joking. Even sexual intercourse
between them was common, and seems to have been taken almost for granted. During one interview, for example, both the informant and the interpreter readily confessed to having had sex relations with the sisters of their wives.

Perhaps the most striking example of patterned kinship behavior was that prevailing between a father's sister's husband and his wife's brothers' children. These relatives, as noted above, called each other by special self-reciprocal kinship terms, which were not balanced by corresponding special terminology for and by the spouses of other siblings of the parents. The associated behavior was equally distinctive. A boy or young man fetched firewood and did other chores for the husband of his paternal aunt but recognized no similar obligation toward the spouses of his other parents' siblings. A girl or woman likewise regarded the tie with her father's sister's husband as especially close. The most characteristic feature of the relationship, however, was the licensed joking which it entailed. A person poked fun and cracked jokes freely at the expense of a father's sister's husband or wife's brother's child, and such a relative submitted with good nature and retaliated in kind, knowing that no offense was intended. Rough practical jokes were permitted and expected when both relatives were males, whereas between opposite sexes the joking was largely verbal in character.

Social Stratification

The Tenino not only engaged in the slave trade but practiced slavery themselves to a limited extent. Informants estimated the number of slaves kept by the tribe in the immediate pre-contact period at about 25, with three being the largest number held by a single owner. The Tenino captured some slaves in their endemic warfare with the Paiute—exclusively women and children since male captives were invariably slain. A larger number, however, were obtained by purchase from the Klamath; these were partly of Modoc but mainly of Achomawi-Atsugewi origin. Whatever their provenience, most slaves were passed on in trade to the north. Those who were retained lived in the houses of their masters and participated in ordinary household activities. Slave status was not hereditary, and captive children when they grew up ordinarily married Tenino and acquired their freedom, though they never fully lost the stigma of their slave origin.

Wealth distinctions were recognized, but they had not become crystallized into formal social classes as among the neighboring tribes of the Northwest Coast. Most marriages, to be sure, occurred between families of comparable means, but unions between rich and poor were neither particularly frowned upon nor uncommon.

Chiefship

The Tenino lacked any form of political organization which transcended the limits of the local community. Each village had a recog-
nized headman, who tended to be succeeded by his eldest son. He was always a wealthy man and usually had several wives. His dwelling in the winter village was larger than that of other men, and he was expected to be generous in giving feasts. He was assisted by subchiefs, usually two in number, who acted as his councillors, messengers, and spokesmen. He advised in the planning of a military expedition but rarely led or even accompanied a war party. He presided at popular assemblies called to discuss judicial cases, issues of war and peace, and other matters of general concern, but he exercised only negligible decision-making power. His most conspicuous function was that of haranguing his people every morning, noon, and evening on matters of conduct and morals. In general, social control was effected far more by informal mechanisms, such as the avoidance of public disapproval and the fear of retaliatory sorcery, than by means which might be considered more strictly legal or political.

THE SUPERNATURAL ENVIRONMENT

To the Tenino, the environment included a great deal that did not meet the eye. In addition to its physical aspects, it was populated by supernatural entities of various kinds—mysterious, often powerful or dangerous, and usually invisible except on occasion by shamans. Among these were the personal souls which animated the bodies of living men and women and were capable of absenting themselves for brief periods. After death, these souls departed permanently and normally went to a spirit world in the west, where they continued to live a life much like that on earth. Under certain circumstances, however, the disembodied souls of the dead lingered on near their graves or former haunts in the form of ghosts, which were capable of frightening and sometimes injuring the living.

Other spiritual beings included mythical dwarfs and monsters, a Cannibal Woman who was invoked to frighten naughty children, and a trickster, Coyote, who was the subject of innumerable droll folk tales. There were also a variety of nature spirits who were identified with inanimate objects and such natural phenomena as winds, clouds, thunder, and fire. Much the most important of these were animal spirits. There were generic spirits for practically every species of wild animal. Each had specific characteristics generalized from those ascribed to the animal itself, and each controlled some particular type or types of superhuman power and was capable of conveying it to human beings. These powers included invulnerability to injuries in war, control over the weather, the ability to cure illness, skill in hunting and fishing, luck in gambling, and many others which the unaided human being lacked but earnestly coveted. The cultural means by which mankind gained access to these powers was, as in many other aboriginal North American societies, the spirit quest.
SPIRIT QUEST

At the age of six or a little older, every child, male or female, was sent out at night into the wilderness in search of a guardian spirit, and this procedure was repeated from time to time until the child had accumulated five such spirits as lifelong helpers. He did not venture out unprepared but was instructed by an experienced old man or woman where to go, what to expect, and how to behave, i.e., to construct piles of rocks and keep alert. Moreover, he was already familiar with the distinctive actions and songs of most of the spirits he was likely to encounter from observation of the spirit dances held annually in a special dance house in the winter village. At these dances, which lasted five days, all adults danced in imitation of the behavior of their guardian spirits and sang the songs appropriate to each, and novices were initiated under the tutelage of an experienced shaman.

With his anxieties and sensory perceptions heightened by the darkness and the very real dangers of his situation, the child was prepared to magnify the dim shadows and rustlings in the bush and to construe them in terms of his expectations. They would gradually crystallize into a vision of a human figure speaking the Tenino language—for it was always thus that a spirit addressed a seeker. In revealing itself to the child, the spirit would utter its characteristic animal cry, sing its special spirit song, explain the specific power it was conferring and how to evoke and employ it, and finally resume its animal form and disappear. The power offered could not be rejected or revealed to others, on penalty of punishment or its loss, but the successful seeker was expected to sing his spirit song and dance his spirit dance at the next winter ceremony. In this manner people became aware of the spirit helpers of their neighbors, but only in a general way of the powers they controlled.

SHAMANS

Every adult Tenino made use of the limited number of supernatural powers received from his guardian spirits to advance his own personal interests. Certain individuals, however, controlled an exceptionally wide range of such powers, became specialists in the magical arts, and were charged with the responsibility of employing them for socially approved goals. These were the shamans. Women as well as men could become shamans, and they were not considered inferior in power though they were appreciably fewer in number.

A person became a shaman if, after puberty and the conclusion of his spirit quests, he discovered that other spirits were attracted to him. These were the former guardians of deceased people, especially of dead shamans, who were conceived as "hungry" and eager to attach themselves to a new master who would "feed" them. Unlike
ordinary people, who were limited to five supernatural helpers, shamans accumulated a wider variety and much larger number of such. Moreover, a prospective shaman had to pass the equivalent of a state medical board examination conducted by the shamans who had already been admitted to practice. They carefully reviewed his credentials, especially his reputation for personal integrity, and required him to demonstrate his control over his spirits. Since only shamans, it was believed, could see and hear the guardian spirits of other people, they alone were qualified to test the neophyte's professional competence and to reject possibly fraudulent claims.

Once he was accepted by his senior colleagues, the young shaman could begin to practice. For his first five cases, however, he could accept no fees. Thereafter he was generously rewarded with gifts, which, however, he received only if, and after, his ministrations proved successful. Shamans sometimes assisted one another, but they exhibited no formal organization except in the examination of neophytes.

The principal social function of the shaman was the cure of illness by magical means. The Tenino ascribed most disease to spirit possession—to the invasion of the patient's body by an animal or other spirit projected thence by real or imagined sorcery. Shamans alone had the power, with the aid of their spirit helpers, to exorcise such intrusive spirits and thereby restore the patient to health. Hence, when a person fell ill and did not respond to lay treatment, his family summoned a shaman to his bedside and assembled his kinsmen and friends, who provided an accompaniment for the ensuing seance by singing and beating time with sticks on a dry log.

To effect a cure, it was first necessary for the shaman to identify the specific supernatural agent responsible for the ailment. This he accomplished with the aid of a special diagnostic spirit, of which every shaman controlled at least one—that of some naturally curious animal such as a magpie. After preliminaries such as washing his hands, blowing on a coiled basket of water, and sprinkling the patient, he summoned the spirit by singing its special song and projected it into the patient's body through a tube. After a brief period, during which the diagnostic spirit supposedly explored the interior of the body, it returned to the mouth of the shaman and informed him of the identity of the intrusive spirit. Occasionally a diagnostic spirit would report, not the presence of an intrusive spirit, but the absence of the patient's own soul. To cope with such exceptional cases of soul loss, a shaman's retinue of spirit helpers included, in addition to animal spirits, at least one human ghost, who could be dispatched to the spirit world to fetch back the wandering soul.

In the usual case, however, the diagnostic spirit indicated that an alien animal spirit was in possession of the patient's body. The shaman then summoned one of his spirit helpers with a power considered greater than that of the invading spirit. The powers of the various
animal spirits were graded and scaled with reference to one another in terms of projections from the innate or traditional characteristics of the natural animals themselves. Thus the grizzly bear spirit, one of the strongest of all, enjoyed ascendency over most other animal spirits but not over that of the rattlesnake, which, in turn yielded ascendency to certain bird spirits, including the eagle. A shaman could hope to exorcise a spirit possessing a patient only with the aid of a spirit helper with superior power. If he did not control such a spirit, he withdrew from the case, for otherwise he would have lost the ensuing contest and with it his life.

Having summoned an appropriate spirit helper, the shaman blew it into the patient's body, precipitating a spectacular struggle with the invading spirit in which the shaman and the patient were violently tossed about. When the possessing spirit began to weaken, the shaman sucked it into his mouth, spat it into his cupped hands, and, after renewed convulsions, plunged it into his basket of water to give it its final quietus. Then, with a puff of breath, he sent both the victor and the loser back to their proper places in nature (for further details, see Murdock 1965).

Implicit in the shaman's power to cure by magical means was his power to kill through sorcery. He could dispatch a spirit helper to take possession of another person's body and thereby cause him to fall ill and, unless saved by the timely intervention of another shaman, to die. While suspicion of sorcery was certainly far more common than its actual practice, this unquestionably did occur. It was considered entirely legitimate in warfare, and it seems to have been employed against in-group members in extremities when other means of social control or punishment had failed. It was presumably this possibility which accounted for the unusual precautions taken by the Tenino to admit to shamanistic practice only persons of upright character and sound judgment, who could be trusted to use the powers entrusted to them in a thoroughly responsible manner.

**The Prophet Dance**

The Tenino have long been involved in the Plateau millenarian movement known as the Prophet Dance and, since at least the early reservation period, in its distinctive Sahaptin derivative, the Smohalla cult. The history and characteristics of this movement have been reviewed by Spier (1935). In 1934 the Smohalla cult was still the prevailing religion of the Tenino; only an insignificant handful of families had accepted either Christianity or the nativistic Shaker or Feather cults. Unfortunately, however, informants were extremely reluctant to discuss either the theology or the forms of worship of the cult, presumably because of its anti-White orientation, and hence little can be added to the information supplied to and published by Spier (1935).
Basically the cult was based on an old, and presumably in part aboriginal, belief in the imminent destruction of the world and its renewal through the return of the dead to a happier life on earth. This day could be hastened by the observance of strict moral precepts and by fervent dancing of what purported to be the dances of the dead. From time to time a series of prophets of various tribes allegedly died and returned to the land of the living bringing testimony to the truth of the doctrine and conveying supplementary revelations. The principal late prophet was Smohalla, a Sahaptin from Priest Rapids in central Washington, who traveled widely through the Plateau bearing the old message foretelling the resurrection of the dead with the added prediction of the disappearance of the Whites and the restoration to the Indians of their former lands.

Among the Tenino this cult absorbed and partially transformed the aboriginal eschatology and funeral ceremonial and altered the form and rationale of the spring and summer first-fruits rituals. When witnessed in 1934, for example, the traditional summer berry festival was held in a special elongated wooden dance shed and consisted primarily of a stereotyped dance of typical Prophet Dance style in which the participants danced counterclockwise around the shed with hopping steps to the right and with right arms flexed in front, pausing but hopping in place after each circumference to encourage sinners to confess their sins.

Associated with this form of the Prophet Dance, in addition to various features of myth and ritual of unmistakably aboriginal origin, were others clearly derived from Christianity, such as grace before meals, the observance of Sunday, belief in a High God referred to by an expression translatable as "Our Heavenly Father," and a conception of a last judgment and the physical resurrection of the dead. Notable for their absence, however, were any traces of a divine Savior, of any conception of the Trinity, or of any ritual resembling the Mass—the very features most likely to have been inculcated in any direct contact with either Catholic or Protestant missionaries. Their borrowing must therefore have been indirect, and Spier (1935) makes a plausible case for their derivation at third or fourth hand from a group of Iroquois Indians of the Handsome Lake persuasion who migrated west and settled among the Flathead tribe of Western Montana around 1820.

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