

THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

Contemporary Native American Connections
to an Ancestral Landscape

Aaron M. Wright

Maren P. Hopkins

The Great Bend of the Gila: Contemporary Native American Connections to an Ancestral Landscape

Released August 2016

Cover design by Kathleen Bader

Front cover image: *Sunset over saguaros along the Great Bend of the Gila.* **Back cover image:** *Ancient trail at twilight along the Great Bend of the Gila.* Photographs by Elias Butler

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr. Aaron M. Wright, a Preservation Archaeologist with Archaeology Southwest, has more than 15 years of professional anthropological experience in private, nonprofit, and academic sectors, most of which has been in the American Southwest. His research interests center on cultural landscapes in southern Arizona, with particular focus on those of the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological traditions along the lower Gila River and its tributaries.

Ms. Maren P. Hopkins has 15 years of experience in conducting historic preservation research in the American Southwest, especially ethnography and archaeology. Her focus is on understanding Native American history and traditions of land use using a collaborative approach. Ms. Hopkins is the majority member of Anthropological Research, LLC.

Print publication was generously sponsored by The Smith Family Trust Fund for Site Protection, and in loving memory of William T. Lawrence



Archaeology Southwest

Archaeology Southwest is a private 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization supported through memberships and donations, as well as grants from individuals, foundations, and corporations. Learn more at www.archaeologysouthwest.org.

The Great Bend of the Gila

Contemporary Native American Connections
to an Ancestral Landscape

Aaron M. Wright
Maren P. Hopkins



Technical Report No. 2016-101

300 North Ash Alley, Tucson, Arizona 85701 ♦ September 2016

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At least 13 federally recognized Native American tribes are culturally and historically associated with the Great Bend of the Gila, a distinctive stretch of the lower Gila River valley and surrounding landscape in rural southwestern Arizona. The cultural landscape of the Great Bend is renowned for its impressive body of unique and nationally significant archaeological and historical sites, including an abundance of world-class rock art. The vast majority of these cultural resources are attributable to the ancestors, as well as the ancient and contemporary cultural traditions of the 13 associated tribes. To celebrate and better preserve this fragile, multi-cultural landscape—and the contemporary and future human connections to it—a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (restricted solely to lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management) has been proposed.

As assessed through a review of prior cultural affiliation studies, ethnohistorical literature, and ethnographic projects in and around the Great Bend of the Gila, the 13 federally recognized tribes referenced above include: (1) Ak-Chin Indian Community; (2) Cocopah Indian Tribe; (3) Colorado River Indian Tribes; (4) Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation; (5) Fort Mojave Indian Tribe; (6) Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe; (7) Gila River Indian Community; (8) Hopi Tribe; (9) Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community; (10) Tohono O'odham Nation; (11) Yavapai-Apache Nation; (12) Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe; and (13) Pueblo of Zuni. This study provides ethnographic overviews of 11 of the associated tribes (Colorado River Indian Tribes and Fort Mojave Indian Tribe were unable to participate), with specific focus on their cultural, historical, and contemporary ties to

the landscape and cultural resources encompassed by the proposed national monument.

This study merges background research with contemporary tribal perspectives, as shared through recent meetings with tribal representatives and culturally knowledgeable elders, to: (1) examine each participating tribe's connection to the Great Bend landscape and its cultural and natural resources; (2) evaluate the heritage value the participating tribes attribute to them; (3) assess the participating tribes' interests in better conserving the Great Bend landscape and better preserving the cultural resources within it; and (4) ascertain the participating tribes' support for establishing a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument.

The ethnographic overviews demonstrate that each participating tribe maintains a unique connection to the Great Bend of the Gila that is particular to their community's history, identity, and values. Meetings with the tribes' cultural resource professionals and advisors, and in some instances, their governing bodies, revealed that each participating tribe is concerned about the long-term preservation of the Great Bend of the Gila's landscape and the cultural resources within. Further, each participating tribe supports increased effort, investment, and accountability on the part of the Bureau of Land Management for protecting cultural resources on federal lands in the Great Bend area, and for engaging associated tribes more consistently, effectively, and respectfully in the area's management and the interpretation of its cultural resources. As formal acts of support, to date eight of the 11 participating tribes have issued official Letters of Support or Tribal Resolutions backing the establishment of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This ethnographic study of the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument was made possible with financial support from the Conservation Lands Foundation. Print publication was generously sponsored by The Smith Family Trust Fund for Site Protection, and in loving memory of William T. Lawrence. We are grateful to colleagues who added their touch to this final report: Catherine Gilman drafted the maps, Kathleen Bader designed the covers with photographs kindly provided by Elias Butler, and Donna Doolittle formatted the final manuscript. Likewise, a team of proofreaders—Georgie Boyer, Katherine Cerino, Cherie Freeman, Kate Gann, Bruce Hilpert, Fran Maiuri, Emilee Mead, and Greer Warren—greatly enhanced the readability of this report.

We wish to devote special recognition to the tribal organizations and committees who graciously shared their knowledge and time to make this project a reality, including: the Cocopah Indian Tribe's Cultural Resource Department, Elders' Group, and Tribal Council; the Tohono O'odham Nation's Cultural Affairs Office and Cultural Preservation Committee; the Gila River Indian Community's Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Cultural Resources

Management Program; the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community's Cultural Preservation Program; the Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe's Cultural Resources Program; the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation's Cultural Center & Museum; the Yavapai-Apache Nation's Cultural Resource Program; the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office and Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team; the Pueblo of Zuni's Cultural Resource Advisory Team; the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe's Cultural Committee and Tribal Council; the Ak-Chin Indian Community's Cultural Resources Office and Tribal Council; the Yavapai Language Coalition; and the Four Southern Tribes Cultural Resource Working Group. Their openness to sharing important aspects of their respective tribe's history, perspective, and concerns makes this a truly collaborative project that can serve as a foundation for continued cooperation and collaborative engagement.

Finally, we thank U.S. Congressman Raúl Grijalva for introducing legislation to establish a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, and for explicitly calling for the participation of culturally and historically associated tribes in its management.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	iii
Acknowledgments	v
List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xiii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Project Background	1
The Great Bend of the Gila as a Living Landscape	3
Place Names	4
Scope of Research	5
Research Methods	5
Cultural Association	6
Tribal Meetings	6
Review Sessions	10
Orthography	10
Organization of the Report	10
2. COCOPAH	11
Cocopah Origins	11
Historical Perceptions of the Cocopah	12
Traditional Cocopah Sociopolitical Organization	13
Bands	15
Clans	16
Cocopah Traditional Cultural Beliefs and Practices	17
Households and Material Culture	17
Songs	18
Warfare	18
From Traditional Lands to Reservation	19
The Cocopah Reservation	20
Cocopah Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	21
Connections through Traditional Stories and Place Names	21
Connections through Trade and Travel	23
Connections through Cultural Resources	24
Cocopah Perceptions of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	25
3. HOPI	27
Hopi Origins	27
Traditional Hopi Social Organization	30
Hopi Ceremonial Organization	31
Hopi Ceremonialism	31
Hopi Resistance to Spanish Colonialism	31
From Traditional Lands to Reservation	33
Hopi Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	34
Connections through Clan Migration	34
Connections through Religious Societies and Ceremonies	36
Connections through Travel and Trade	37
Connections through Cultural Resources	38

Hopi Perceptions of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	39
4. O'ODHAM AND PEE-POSH	41
O'odham Origins	41
Historical Perceptions of the O'odham	45
O'odham Settlement Patterns	46
Traditional O'odham Sociopolitical Organization	48
Clans and Moieties	48
Political Organization and Leadership	50
Pee-Posh and Xalychidom	52
Traditional Pee-Posh and Xalychidom Sociopolitical Organization	55
From Traditional Lands to Reservations	57
The Gila River and Salt River Reservations	57
The Tohono O'odham Nation	60
The Ak-Chin Reservation	62
O'odham and Pee-Posh Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	64
Connections through Traditional Lands	64
Connections to the Natural Landscape	65
Connections through Physical and Spiritual Travel	76
Connections through Cultural Resources	80
O'odham and Pee-Posh Perceptions of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	84
5. QUECHAN	91
Quechan Origins	91
Historical Perceptions of the Quechan	94
Traditional Quechan Sociopolitical Organization	95
Dream Power and Quechan Leadership	95
Quechan Clans	96
Quechan Traditional Lands	100
Quechan Settlements	100
From Traditional Lands to Reservation	103
The Fort Yuma Indian Reservation	105
Quechan Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	106
Connection through Creation	107
Connection through Traditional Lands	107
Connection through Trade and Resource Collection	108
Connection through Warfare	108
Connection through Cultural Resources	109
Quechan Perceptions and Concerns for a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	110
6. YAVAPAI	115
Yavapai Origins	115
Historical Perceptions of the Yavapai	115
Yavapai Social Organization	116
Yavapai Social Identity and a Sense of Place	119
Yavapai Traditional Lands and Social Relations	119
From Traditional Lands to Reservations	121
Yavapai Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	124
Yavapai Perceptions of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	127
7. ZUNI	129
Zuni Origins	129
Traditional Socioreligious Organization of Zuni Social Identity	132

Zuni Traditional Lands	134
From Traditional Lands to Reservation	135
Zuni Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila	136
Connection through Trade and Travel	137
Connection through Cultural Resources	138
Connection through Creation and Migration	141
Zuni Perceptions of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	143
8. CONCLUSIONS	145
A. HOUSE RESOLUTION 5556	149
B. TIMELINES OF OUTREACH AND QUESTIONNAIRES	167
C. PROJECT CONSENT FORM	185
D. CULTURAL RESOURCES REFERENCED IN THE CHAPTERS	189
E. TRIBAL RESOLUTIONS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT	205
REFERENCES CITED	229

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1.	Places in and around the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument	2
1.2.	Federally recognized tribes culturally and historically associated with the Great Bend of the Gila	8
2.1.	The Cocopah Reservation and places mentioned in the text	14
3.1.	The Hopi Reservation and places mentioned in the text	28
3.2.	Schematic map of Hoopoq'yaqam migration routes to Tuuwanasavi	29
4.1.	Reservations of the Four Southern Tribes and places across the Pimería Alta	42
4.2.	O'odham dialect groups	44
4.3.	Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1695-1700	66
4.4.	Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1743-1748	67
4.5.	Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1770-1781	68
4.6.	Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías and camps along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1823-1850	69
4.7.	O'odham places along the Great Bend of the Gila	71
4.8.	Pee-Posh and Xalychidom places along the Great Bend of the Gila	73
4.9.	O'odham song cycles tied to the Great Bend of the Gila	79
5.1.	The Fort Yuma Quechan Reservation and places mentioned in the text	92
5.2.	Quechan settlements, circa 1770-1900	102
6.1.	Yavapai reservations and places mentioned in the text	117
7.1.	The Zuni Reservation and places mentioned in the text	130
7.2.	Schematic map of ancestral Zuni migrations from Chimik'yana'kya Deya to Halona:Itiwana	131
D.1.	The "Agua Caliente Racetrack," a complex geoglyph near Sears Point consisting of an elongated elliptical intaglio with adjoining rock alignments and rock piles	191
D.2.	Petroglyph panel at Quail Point	191
D.3.	Petroglyph panel at Quail Point	191
D.4.	Petroglyph panels at Quail Point	192
D.5.	Circular rock alignment geoglyph at a fork in an ancient trail near Quail Point	192
D.6.	Ancient trail near Quail Point	193

D.7. Petroglyph panel at Hummingbird Point	193
D.8. Petroglyph panels at Hummingbird Point	193
D.9. Petroglyph panels at Hummingbird Point	194
D.10. Petroglyph panel above Toad Tank	194
D.11. Petroglyphs at Oatman Point	194
D.12. <i>Conus</i> sp. shell, from the Pacific Ocean, found at ancient village along the floodplain below Oatman Mountain	195
D.13. Ancient trail near Oatman Mountain	195
D.14. Summit trail at Rocky Point along east side of Oatman Mountain	196
D.15. Overview of the Rock Ballcourt, facing south	197
D.16. Overview of the Rock Ballcourt, facing southwest	197
D.17. Aerial overview of La Fortaleza, the Fortified Hill site, facing east	198
D.18. Aerial overview of La Fortaleza, the Fortified Hill site, facing southwest	198
D.19. Rockshelter in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains	199
D.20. Petroglyph panel in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains	199
D.21. Petroglyph panel in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains	199
D.22. Standing wall at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains	200
D.23. Canyon enclosing wall at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains	200
D.24. Circular rock alignment at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains	201
D.25. Petroglyph panels at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex	201
D.26. Petroglyph panel at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex	202
D.27. Petroglyph panel at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex	202
D.28. Summit trail ascending the southwest slope of Powers Butte	203
D.29. Petroglyph panel atop Powers Butte	203

LIST OF TABLES

1.1. Native American communities culturally associated to lands within and around the Great Bend of the Gila	7
1.2. Federally recognized tribes associated with the Great Bend of the Gila	9
2.1. Cocopah bands, circa 1890-1900	15
2.2. Cocopah clans in the early twentieth century	16
2.3. Significant landforms in the vicinity of the Great Bend of the Gila recognized by the Cocopah	22
3.1. Hopi clans with migration histories tied to southern Arizona	35
3.2. Hopi religious societies and ceremonies associated with clans that migrated from the south	37
3.3. Hopi deities and ceremonial personages associated with clans that migrated from the south	37
4.1. The Four Southern Tribes	43
4.2. O'odham reservations and regional dialects	45
4.3. O'odham clans and moieties	49
4.4. Maricopa-at-large clans documented in the twentieth century	57
4.5. Maricopa-at-large clans and corresponding totems	58
4.6. O'odham place names along the Great Bend of the Gila	72
4.7. Pee-Posh and Xalychidom place names along the Great Bend of the Gila	74
5.1. Existing and recently extinct Quechan clans documented in the twentieth century	97
5.2. Quechan clans and corresponding totems	98
5.3. Quechan-Pee Posh battles recorded in calendar sticks, 1833-1857	110
6.1. Contemporary Yavapai tribal distribution	116
6.2. Yavapai subtribes and regional bands documented by ethnographer Edward Winslow Gifford	118
7.1. Zuni clans and subclans	133
7.2. Zuni kiva groups	133
7.3. Zuni curing societies	134
7.4. Zuni Rain Priests, in order of retreat	135

INTRODUCTION

The Great Bend of the Gila is a nearly contiguous linear stretch of river valley and adjacent mountains and lava fields in the Sonoran Desert of the American Southwest. Below its confluence with the Salt River west of Phoenix, in southern Arizona, the westerly flowing Gila River veers south and then west again as it continues toward its junction with the Colorado River in Yuma. This “Great Bend” is renowned for an impressive body of cultural resources, most notably a rich tapestry of ancient, world-class rock art. The resources speak to the deep history of cultural diversity in the Sonoran Desert and the legacy of frontier life in the early American West (Wright et al. 2015). Because the landscape of the Great Bend remains sparsely inhabited and undeveloped, much of its natural character, and the unique cultural resources concentrated there, persist unencroached upon by the modern world.

A Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (GBGNM)—intended to protect and celebrate the spectacular composition of the pristine natural setting of a largely unfragmented landscape, as well as the nationally significant cultural resources located within—has been proposed. This report serves to inform policy makers, land managers, cultural resource professionals, and the interested public on the cultural and historical connections 11 federally recognized tribes maintain to the Great Bend of the Gila. It also shares some of their perspectives, support, and concerns about national monument designation. These thoughts were collected through meetings with the tribes’ cultural resource departments, cultural preservation committees, and in several instances, their governing councils.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

On 22 June 2016, Raúl Grijalva, U.S. Representative for Arizona’s Third Congressional District and ranking member of the House of Representatives Natural Resources Committee, introduced House Resolution (H.R.) 5556 into the second session of the 114th United States Congress (Appendix A, this volume). The bill, entitled “Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act,” enumerates the following objectives:

(1) to preserve, protect, and restore the archaeological, cultural, historic, geologic, hydrologic, natural, educational, and scenic re-

sources of the Great Bend of the Gila (Gila River in Western Maricopa County, Arizona) and adjacent land; and

(2) to provide for public interpretation and recreation consistent with the resources described in paragraph (1). [United States Congress 2016:Section 2]

As written, the legislation would add approximately 84,000 acres of federal land administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to the National Landscape Conservation System to be managed as a national monument (Figure 1.1). Nearly 90 percent of the proposed GBGNM is located in western Maricopa County, with the remainder falling in eastern Yuma County. The BLM acknowledges that special measures are necessary to safeguard the fragile and unique cultural resources of the Great Bend from irreplaceable damage. Indeed, the Great Bend of the Gila straddles two Areas of Critical Environmental Concern (ACEC), the Gila Terraces and Lower Gila Historical Trails ACEC and the Sears Point ACEC. The BLM designates ACECs for places requiring special management attention to protect important cultural, historical, and natural resources (Bureau of Land Management 1988).

The introduction of Representative Grijalva’s bill was the culmination of many years of advocacy efforts to establish a permanent financial and administrative framework for the management of nationally significant cultural resources on federal lands within the Great Bend region of the lower Gila River. The first call to action was in 1938, with a public push to establish a national monument to celebrate and protect the famous Painted Rock Petroglyph site (Miller 1938). The site was added to the National Register of Historic Places on 25 November 1977. Afterward, in the early 1980s, were renewed calls to designate this site a national landmark to curtail vandalism and theft (see Hodge 1983; Preston 1983).

Grassroots efforts to establish a national monument at a landscape-scale dovetailed with the origin of the National Landscape Conservation System in 2000. In August of that year, the Tonopah Coalition (2000) authored a proposal to establish a 703,363-acre Painted Rocks National Monument that would encompass the Gila Bend, Eagletail, and Little Horn mountains, as well as the Painted Rock Petroglyph site and Sears Point. Like the Painted Rock Petroglyph site, the Sears Point Archaeologi-

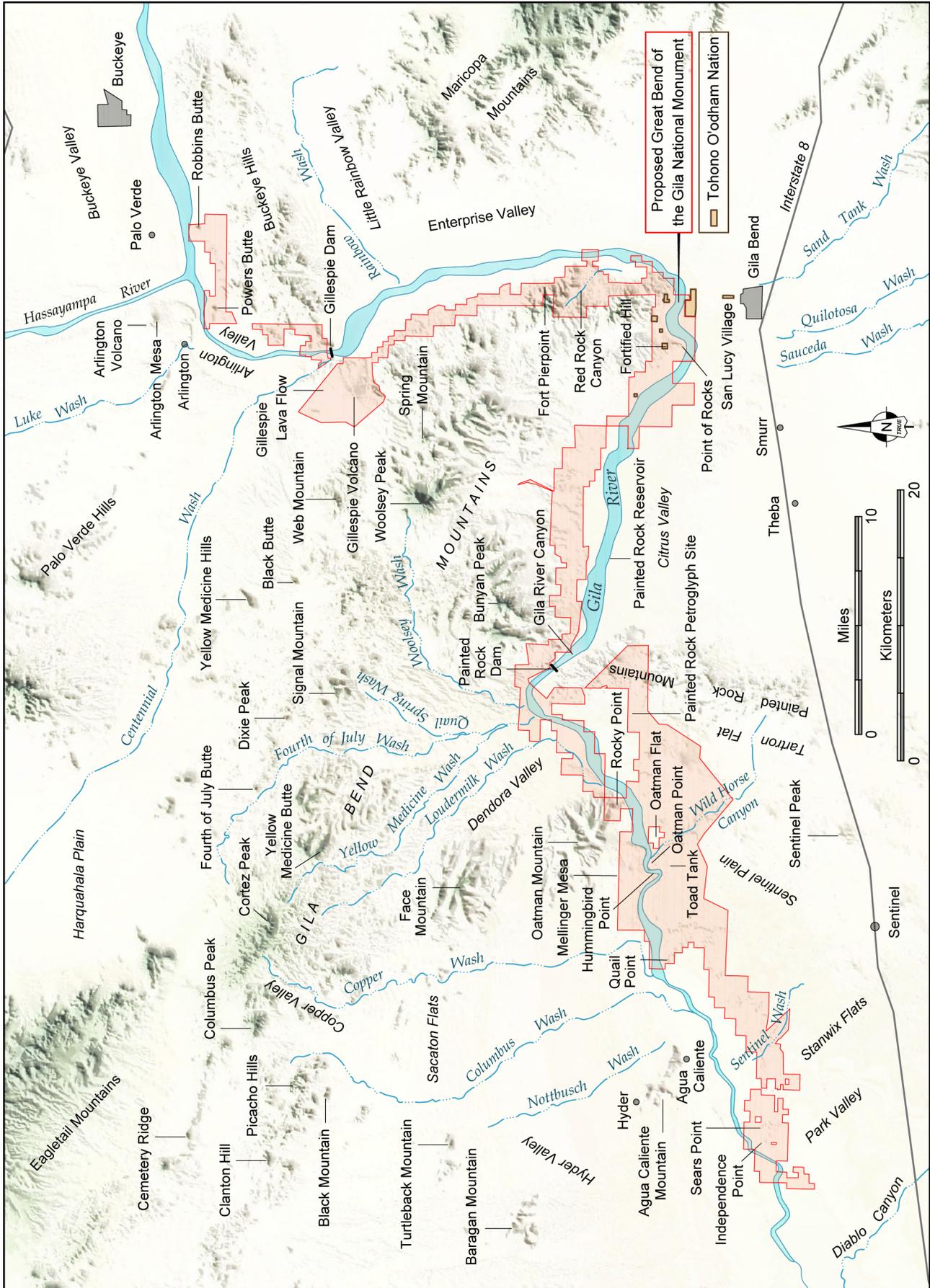


Figure 1.1. Places in and around the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

cal District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on 16 October 1985, and it is encompassed within the boundary of the proposed GBGNM.

The present national monument effort began in 2009, when Archaeology Southwest staff began considering proactive ways to ensure that significant though understudied cultural resources of the Great Bend area could be preserved for future generations to study and appreciate. Archaeology Southwest has a long history of research and interest in protecting the cultural resources of this area (Bernard-Shaw 1990; Dart et al. 1989; Doelle et al. 2011; Wallace 1989), and in the current effort, the organization partnered with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and several tribal groups who share an interest in permanently protecting the Great Bend of the Gila. This collaboration coalesced into a national monument campaign, a movement supported by Representative Grijalva, which was formalized on 21 March 2013, with the introduction of H.R. 1348, a bill entitled “Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act,” into the second session of the 113th Congress.

Unfortunately, H.R. 1348 lingered in Congress for almost two years, eventually expiring as the 114th Congress assembled in early 2015. In anticipation of bill reintroduction, Archaeology Southwest and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, with contributions by cultural representatives from the Gila River Indian Community and the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe, released a cultural resource study of the proposed GBGNM (Wright et al. 2015). The report enumerates the types of archaeological and historical sites and objects encompassed by the proposed monument, describes their national significance, and explains why their preservation is important to contemporary and future people from many walks of life (Wright et al. 2015; also, Lewis and Doelle 2015). In producing that study, it became clear that there is very little available information concerning Native American perspectives and values attributed to the landscape and cultural resources of the Great Bend of the Gila. This is due, in part, to the fact that few undertakings on federal land in the Great Bend area have been conducted, therefore largely precluding the need for federal agencies to consult with tribes in compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and other pertinent federal legislation.

Native American perspectives are essential in understanding the cultural heritage value of the landscape and the cultural resources of the Great Bend of the Gila. It is imperative to recognize that cultural resources include objects and places that pertain to past and present cultural groups (for example,

archaeological, historical, and contemporary artifacts and sites), but those resources also include natural resources, such as landforms, plants, animals, and water, that are important to the histories, identities, and ongoing traditions of contemporary communities. Any determination of national significance of cultural resources would be remiss without considering the views and values of people whose histories are tied to places within the proposed GBGNM and who continue to identify with this landscape in myriad ways.

The cultural resource study (Wright et al. 2015) was written primarily from the point of view of archaeologists and historians, and, while comprehensive and fact-based, it falls short of adequately relaying the views of the many federally recognized Native American tribes from Arizona, California, and New Mexico who affirm ancestral connections to the Great Bend region. This study moves in that direction and should be considered a companion and follow-up to the cultural resource study (Wright et al. 2015). Together, these reports serve as a first step in what will hopefully prove to be continued engagement among archaeologists, land managers, and Native American communities with regard to understanding and protecting the Great Bend of the Gila.

THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA AS A LIVING LANDSCAPE

The cultural resource study defined the Great Bend of the Gila as a nationally significant cultural landscape (Wright et al. 2015). The cultural landscape concept actually has its origin in the European school of landscape painting (Bender 1995). In the early twentieth century, geographers began to recognize cultural landscapes as a particular area of academic focus, specifically the scenarios and processes in which humans alter natural landscapes. In the words of influential geographer Carl Sauer (1925:47), “The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, nature is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result.” The concept has since become influential in the social sciences and humanities for describing and studying how humans engage their environments, and how physical space conditions human experience (see Cosgrove 1984; Tuan 1974).

Beginning in the 1960s, land managers and heritage organizations started to consider cultural landscapes as discrete entities that can be recognized, defined, and managed in their own right. In 1988, the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) formally identified cultural landscapes as a class of cultural resource within the NPS system (Page et al. 1998:7).

The NPS defines a cultural landscape as “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or that exhibit other cultural or aesthetic values” (Page et al. 1998:12). The NPS recognizes four general types of non-mutually exclusive cultural landscapes: historic sites, historic vernacular landscapes, historic designed landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.

Following suit, in December 1992, the World Heritage Committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) added cultural landscapes as a category to its Operational Guidelines (Fowler 2002; Rössler 2003). This enabled cultural landscapes to be included on UNESCO’s World Heritage List of sites possessing “Outstanding Universal Value,” as defined by the committee’s guidelines (UNESCO 2012:13). For UNESCO’s purposes, cultural landscapes are:

...cultural properties [that] represent the “combined works of nature and of man” designated in Article 1 of the *Convention*. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (UNESCO 2012:14).

UNESCO distinguishes between designed, organically evolved, and associative cultural landscapes as three conceptual categories to guide evaluation, interpretation, and conservation (Fowler 2003:18; UNESCO 2012:88).

The cultural landscape concept emphasizes the interplay between people and their natural surroundings through time. An explicit consideration of spatial scale is intentionally omitted from both the NPS and UNESCO definitions. This disentangles cultural landscapes from the normative idea of a heritage “site,” and it frees cultural landscapes from the need for discrete boundaries. While cultural landscapes can be synonymous with heritage sites (for example, landforms, historic buildings, archaeological sites), they can also extend beyond such finite spaces to encompass surrounding places and environments that, while not necessarily the focus of a particular heritage site, are integral to understanding and experiencing it. In this way, the cultural landscape concept implicitly acknowledges that the historical, natural, cultural, aesthetic, and religious significance of particular places can be, and often is, embedded within broader areas. Whereas the proposed GBGNM has an administrative boundary, it is important to note that the cultural land-

scape of the Great Bend of the Gila is more inclusive.

It is the premise of this study that the cultural landscape of the Great Bend of the Gila is not merely a representation of the “combined works of nature and of man” (UNESCO 2012:14), nor does it simply “exhibit other cultural or aesthetic values” (Page et al. 1998:12). The Great Bend of the Gila is considerably more dynamic and meaningful for people culturally and historically associated with it. Both UNESCO and the NPS recognize types of cultural landscapes that approximate the continuing relevance of the Great Bend to contemporary people, specifically the Native American communities that are culturally associated to this landscape. UNESCO’s continuing landscape, a subcategory of the organically evolved cultural landscape category, is defined as:

...one which retains an *active social role in contemporary society* closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time (UNESCO 2012:88, emphasis added).

Similarly, ethnographic landscapes, as recognized by the NPS, are those “containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that *associated* people define as heritage resources” (Page et al. 1998:12, emphasis added).

Although the Great Bend of the Gila is not under the purview of either UNESCO or the NPS, the concepts of continuing and ethnographic landscapes are applicable for understanding the Great Bend region as more than a composite of individual archaeological and historical sites. These classifications give weight to the fact that, in some instances, cultural landscapes are still being created. Not only do people find personal, social, cultural, and religious meanings in landscapes, they also continue to imbue such meaning into them. Ethnographic landscapes are akin to what Creswell (2003:279) calls “practiced environments,” in that their meanings are constituted by, and simultaneously generated from, continuous engagement with them. This study adopts just such a perspective, and it positions the Great Bend of the Gila as a *living landscape*, an example of what Barrett and Taylor (2007:50) describe as “places that retain the imprint of traditional uses of the land, conserve the natural environment, preserve historic landmarks, and tell stories of the past.”

Place Names

In considering the Great Bend of the Gila as a living landscape, this report emphasizes how mem-

bers of the associated tribes continue traditional practices within the area and how the places within it tell unique stories of each tribe's past. The vitality and substance of a living landscape can be measured, in part, by the abundance and diversity of names different people attribute to places and features within it. The cultural practice of place-naming is fundamental to a social process Basso (1996:4-8) describes as "place-making," in which people actively and continually mold an immaterial world populated with spiritual and historical materials and weave it into the physical world.

Through place-naming, people attach themselves, their experiences, and their values into the landscape in a way that transcends the life and perspective of any one person. Very much like the geological forces that carve physical landscapes over eons, place-naming crafts cultural landscapes through the processes of erosion and deposition. Uncomfortable and contradictory names can be forgotten, erased, or overwritten — essentially cut from the earth. Conversely, as communities grow and age, memories attached to places build, and place names can accumulate, forming layers, or strata, of meaningful experiences. Thus, naming places is a discursive process of constructing history and revising that history to suit the present situation and accommodate changing circumstances (see Morphy 1993).

From an analytical perspective, place names bespeak the understanding, familiarity, and relationships people have with their surroundings. Place names detail the histories and connections, both physical and spiritual, communities maintain with places. Place names, by virtue of their function as memory markers, also encode and transmit traditional knowledge in ways that are culturally relevant and appropriate, although potentially unintelligible to people not versed in the practice, that is, people from outside the community (see Basso 1996:71-92). Teaching traditional knowledge through features of the landscape is especially important for communities who, rather than record their histories and experiences in books, recount and venerate past events and figures through oral, experiential, and material expressions, such as songs, stories, dances, gestures, and objects that reference important places (Nabokov 1998:242).

Place names are a way to relate to the land through language, feeling, and experience while simultaneously reliving and reproducing a history shared with some and not shared with others. Place names therefore factor into the construction of social identities because they orient people in relation to space (where a person is born, lives, and so forth) and contrast them with other persons based on shared understandings of place and collective histories. These factors are especially salient to the various tribes as-

sociated with the Great Bend of the Gila, all of whom have passed on tribal histories and important traditional knowledge through oral traditions and practices. Thus, understanding the history behind place names is integral to any consideration of the heritage values contemporary Native American communities ascribe to and draw from the Great Bend.

SCOPE OF RESEARCH

The objective of this study is to highlight how and to what degree associated Native American communities identify with and derive heritage value from the Great Bend of the Gila. This information is essential for evaluating the cultural, scientific, and aesthetic significance of the cultural and natural resources within the proposed GBNM. To that end, this study established the following five goals to guide research, practice, and reporting.

(1) Identify the Native American communities associated with the Great Bend of the Gila and illustrate their historical and contemporary connections to this landscape.

(2) Develop a more complete understanding of the heritage value associated Native American communities attribute to the Great Bend of the Gila.

(3) Garner Native American understandings and interpretations of the cultural resources and landscape of the Great Bend of the Gila — and the interrelationships among them — that can inform archaeological research and interpretations.

(4) Determine Native American perspectives on the importance of protecting the Great Bend of the Gila and how best to obtain it.

(5) Make the findings of the project available to a wider audience of policy makers, land managers, cultural resource professionals, associated tribes, and the interested public.

RESEARCH METHODS

The information presented in this report was compiled between April 2015 and June 2016, through a project entitled "Native American Voices and Values" designed by Aaron Wright, Andy Laurenzi, and Bill Doelle from Archaeology Southwest. Maren Hopkins and T. J. Ferguson of Anthropological Research, LLC, assisted in all areas of research. This project included three phases of research, including: a comprehensive literature review; presentations and oral interviews with cultural representatives and advisors for associated tribes; and review sessions of the project's findings and draft documents.

The literature review served multiple purposes. At the beginning of the project, lead researchers

Wright and Hopkins relied on existing records to identify the contemporary Native American tribes with a historical presence in the Great Bend region or who maintain ancestral ties to the area or the past groups who lived there. From that effort, they devised a list of tribes that, for purposes of the research goals enumerated above, are considered culturally associated to the Great Bend of the Gila (see below). The literature review was also instrumental in formulating questions for future research. It enabled the lead researchers to evaluate not only what was previously learned and published, but also to recognize gaps in the documentary record that could be productively filled with additional research. The existing literature was therefore instrumental in devising a series of questionnaires tailored to each tribe (Appendix B, this volume). The questionnaires were used to generate discussion among participants in the tribal meetings and to elicit specific information regarding the tribes' connections to the Great Bend of the Gila that was not available in the existing documentary record.

Using the material gathered through the literature review, the lead researchers were able to synthesize and share with the tribes information contained in previously published research. This allowed representatives for each of the associated tribes to review the statements, claims, findings, and opinions of earlier historians and ethnologists for accuracy and sensitivity, to clarify areas of uncertainty, and to provide contemporary perspectives about how past research had been conducted. Such involvement on the part of the tribes was critical to this project, as much of the information forwarded in earlier studies was collected without the involvement and consent of the tribes, and it was published during an era when researchers did not invite, nor welcome, tribal participation in the review process. Consequently, the validity and appropriateness of older information, especially that of a sensitive or religious nature, is often suspect, if not strikingly adulterated.

Cultural Association

Here, the concept of "cultural association" refers to a historical connection between a contemporary Native American community's collective cultural identity and that of an earlier group. Such associations can be evaluated through archaeological, ethnohistorical, and oral historical information. It is important to distinguish cultural association from cultural affiliation, the latter having specific legal implications regarding the identification and disposition of human remains, funerary and sacred objects, and other items of cultural patrimony, as stipu-

lated in the regulations for the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) at 43 CFR Part 10.

The lead researchers relied on existing sources to determine which tribes are culturally associated with the Great Bend of the Gila. The references consulted included maps of tribal concern areas, or "tribal affinity maps," compiled by the NAGPRA Coordinator for the Arizona State Museum (ASM) (2011). These maps outline regions within Arizona to which federally recognized tribes claim cultural affiliation, and they are intended for guidance in determining which tribes should be consulted during compliance projects within the state. The tribal affinity maps were used to identify those tribes the ASM considers affiliated with cultural resources within the proposed GBGNM.

The lead researchers also referenced tribal consultation guidelines followed by federal agencies for areas and archaeological cultural traditions in southern Arizona (Johnson 1996; Teague 1996a, 1996b). Prior cultural affiliation studies for federal lands peripheral to the Great Bend of the Gila, such as the Barry M. Goldwater Range to the south and southwest (Adrienne Rankin, personal communication 2015; see also Fortier and Schaefer 2010; Tisdale 1998) and the Yuma Proving Ground to the west (Rhode and McDonald n.d.; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1996), were also instrumental in the present study of cultural association with the Great Bend area. In addition to state and federal guidelines, two prior reports on tribal consultations concerning cultural resources on lands within the proposed GBGNM (Bean et al. 1978; Underwood 2009) also aided in identifying those tribes associated with cultural resources within the proposed national monument.

Through the literature review and background research, eight contemporary Native American cultural groups were identified as being associated with the landscape and cultural resources of the Great Bend of the Gila (Table 1.1). The Chemehuevi were omitted from consideration because, although they maintain affiliation with the Yuma Proving Ground, their claim area does not extend below the Kofa Mountains. The eight Native American cultural groups recognized as culturally associated with the Great Bend area are represented by 13 federally recognized tribes in Arizona, New Mexico, and California (Figure 1.2). Therefore, the lead researchers sought involvement from cultural advisors and representatives from each of those 13 tribes (Table 1.2).

Tribal Meetings

Beginning in August 2015, the lead researchers began contacting the Tribal Historic Preservation

Table 1.1. Native American communities culturally associated to lands within and around the Great Bend of the Gila.

	Arizona State Museum Maps ^a	Lower Gila River ^b	BMGRE ^c	BMGRW ^d	Yuma Proving Ground ^e	Palo-Verde Transmission Corridor ^f
Chemehuevi	?				X	
Cocopah	?	X	X	X	X	X
Hopi	X	X	X		X	
Mojave	X	X	X	X	X	X
O'odham	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pee-Posh	?	X	X	X	X	X
Quechan	?	X	X	X	X	X
Yavapai	X	X	X	X	X	X
Zuni	?	X	X			

^aTribal affinity maps compiled by, and on file with, the Arizona State Museum (2011); “?” = map not available.

^bJoint Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act cultural affiliation assessments by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, and the Arizona State Museum; see Teague (1996a, 1996b) and Johnson (1996). Cocopah, Quechan, Mojave, Yavapai, and O'odham determined to be culturally affiliated with all or part of the area encompassed by the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument; Hopi and Zuni determined to have a “probable or potential” relationship to parts of the region (Teague 1996a:77, 1996b:87).

^cBarry M. Goldwater Range, East; see Tisdale (1998).

^dBarry M. Goldwater Range, West; see Fortier and Schaefer (2010).

^eSee Rhode and McDonald (n.d.) and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (1996).

^fSee Bean et al. (1978).

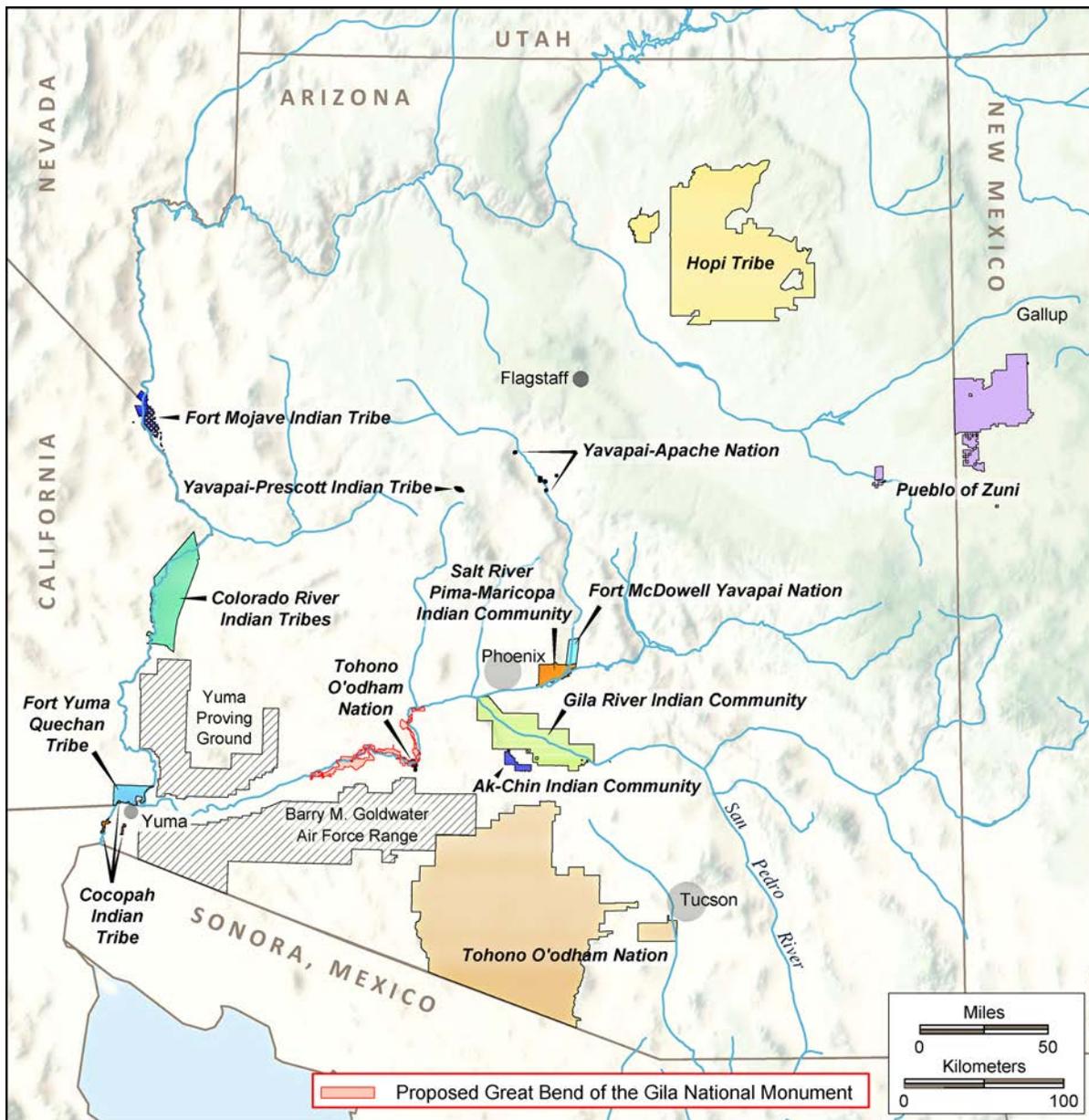


Figure 1.2. Federally recognized tribes culturally and historically associated with the Great Bend of the Gila. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

Officers or cultural resource departments for each of the associated tribes to invite them to participate in this study. Tribal representatives responded at different times, and invitations continued through February 2016. By the end of the study period, at least one meeting was organized with cultural resource personnel and community members from 11 of the 13 federally recognized tribes identified as culturally associated with the Great Bend of the Gila. The lead researchers met with several of the tribes on multiple occasions, including formal presentations and question-and-answer sessions with the tribal councils of the Ak-Chin Indian Community,

the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe, and the Cocopah Indian Tribe (see Appendix B). Due to scheduling conflicts and time constraints, meetings with the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe, the Colorado River Indian Tribes, and the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation were not accomplished. However, some community members and elders of the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation attended sessions held with the Yavapai-Apache Nation and the Yavapai Language Coalition, and their perspectives are shared in this report.

Attendees of each session signed consent forms or gave verbal consent acknowledging that infor-

Table 1.2. Federally recognized tribes associated with the Great Bend of the Gila.

Federally Recognized Tribe	Tribal Contact	Points of Contact
Ak-Chin Indian Community	42507 W. Peters & Nall Rd. Maricopa, AZ 85138 www.ak-chin.nsn.us	Caroline Antone Manager, Cultural Resources Department
Cocopah Indian Tribe	14515 S. Veterans Dr. Somerton, AZ 85350 www.cocopah.com	Jill McCormick Manager, Cultural Resources Department
Colorado River Indian Tribes	26600 Mohave Rd. Parker, AZ 85344 www.crit-nsn.gov	Wilene Fisher-Holt Director, Colorado River Indian Tribes Museum
Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation	PO Box 17779 Fountain Hills, AZ 85269 www.fmyn.org	Karen Ray Manager, Cultural Center & Museum
Fort Mojave Indian Tribe	500 Merriman Ave. Needles, CA 92363 mojaveindiantribe.com	Linda Otero Director, Aha Makav Cultural Society
Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe	PO Box 1899 Yuma, AZ 85366-1899 www.quechantribe.com	Manfred Scott Chair, Quechan Cultural Committee
Gila River Indian Community	PO Box 97 Sacaton, AZ 85147 www.gilariver.org	Barnaby V. Lewis Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Hopi Tribe	PO Box 123 Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039 www.hopi-nsn.gov	Leigh Kuwanwisiwma Director, Cultural Preservation Office
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community	10005 E. Osborn Rd. Scottsdale, AZ 85256 www.srpmic-nsn.gov	Shane Anton Manager, Cultural Preservation Program
Tohono O'odham Nation	PO Box 837 Sells, AZ 85634 www.tonation-nsn.gov	Peter Steere Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Yavapai-Apache Nation	2400 W. Datsi St. Camp Verde, AZ 86322 yavapai-apache.org	Gertrude Smith Yavapai Cultural Director, Cultural Resource Program
Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe	530 E. Merritt St. Prescott, AZ 86301 www.ypit.com	Linda Ogo Director, Culture Research Department
Pueblo of Zuni	1203B State Hwy 53 PO Box 339 Zuni, NM 87327 www.ashiwi.org	Octavius Seowtewa Chair, Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team

mation shared in the meetings and discussions may be used in this report (Appendix C, this volume). The sessions followed a general format: introductions, an overview of the GBGNM effort, and a slideshow featuring the landscape and cultural resources of the proposed monument area (Appendix D, this volume). The meetings also covered what national monument status would mean in terms of preservation of, access to, and interpretation of the cultural resources within the proposed GBGNM. Following the slideshow, using question-

naires as a starting point, discussion ensued in which tribal members and cultural resource personnel spoke freely, provided feedback on the topic, voiced opinions and concerns about the national monument effort, and asked questions.

This format of collaborative discussion helped elucidate some of the beliefs, knowledge, and values of contemporary tribal members as they pertain to past and present traditions associated with the Great Bend area, in a manner that respects multiple perspectives and acknowledges Native people as

authorities on the histories and ongoing traditions of their respective tribes.

Review Sessions

The information shared during the tribal meetings was integrated into individual chapters for each of the Native American cultural groups. Drafts of these chapters were provided to the points of contact for each participating tribe (see Table 1.2), who were asked to review their respective chapter for accuracy, thoroughness, and sensitivity. Several reviews were accomplished through email and phone correspondence. When requested, in-person review sessions were arranged for more thorough dialogue and detailed revisions. After comments and revisions were addressed, revised drafts of each chapter were shared with the points of contact for final approval.

Chapter 4, covering the O’odham and Pee-Posh of the Four Southern Tribes, was intensively reviewed by tribal cultural advisors from the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community and the Gila River Indian Community, and was approved by the Tohono O’odham Nation’s Cultural Affairs Office. Chapter 6, pertaining to the Yavapai, was thoroughly reviewed by the Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe’s Culture Research Department and approved by the heads of the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation’s Cultural Center and the Yavapai-Apache Nation’s Cultural Resources Program. The other chapters were reviewed and approved by the respective points of contact. As a result, this report has been vetted and permitted by the respective cultural resource officials for each represented tribe.

Orthography

Except Hopi, standardized orthographies for the languages of the 11 tribes represented here do not exist or are currently in preparation. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, non-English terms and names are generally reported as they appear in the original source materials and the prior cited publications. However, the review sessions offered tribal cultural advisors the opportunity to correct and update spellings and translations. Except proper nouns, only first uses of unfamiliar, non-English terms are italicized in this report, which often differs from how the words appear in the original sources.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This project produced a comprehensive summary of the histories and traditions of 11 federally recognized tribes as they pertain to the Great Bend of the Gila. This report represents one of the first instances in which Native American communities were queried about why the Great Bend landscape and its cultural resources are important to them, and it was the first in which the objective was preservation rather than compliance with legal statutes. The research presented here serves as a foundation on which continued collaboration among Native American communities, land managers, and archaeologists concerning cultural and natural resources in and around the Great Bend area can build in a productive and respectful way.

This report is organized into eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, six chapters provide overviews of the histories, traditions, and connections of the associated tribes to the Great Bend of the Gila. These overviews are organized by cultural group rather than by reservations, because the O’odham (represented by four reservations) and Yavapai (three reservations), for examples, define themselves based on their shared identities and histories with one another, rather than distinguishing themselves through the political and social borders imposed by the reservations. Where relevant, the histories of individual reservations are discussed in the corresponding chapters.

The six tribal chapters are arranged alphabetically, and each includes approximately the same content – tribal origins, historical perceptions, social organization, traditional lands and reservations, and connections to the Great Bend of the Gila. A considerable amount of detail is devoted to the social organization and historical background of each group. This is important because, as shown in each chapter, aspects of social organization and identity are tied to the land and particular places. It also underscores the fact that the associated tribes are distinct communities with unique identities and histories, and it is appropriate to accurately account for the diversity of Native American communities that ascribe heritage value to the Great Bend. The research is summarized in the final chapter. Supplementary notes for each chapter are provided at the end of each respective chapter. A list of references cited in this report and Appendices A-E are at the end of the report.

COCOPAH

The lower Colorado River valley has long been home to the Cocopah, the “People of the River” (Dominguez 2014:20). For centuries, the Cocopah have lived between the delta of the Colorado River in Mexico and its confluence with the Gila River near Yuma, maintaining their traditional cultural beliefs throughout many political and environmental changes. The Cocopah are one of several closely related Yuman-speaking tribes, all of whom are historically and traditionally tied to the lower Colorado River. Linguists classify the Yuman-speaking tribes into three branches: (1) the Upland Yuman Branch, which includes the Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai; (2) the River Branch, which includes the Mojave, Quechan, and Pee-Posh; and (3) the Delta Branch, which includes the Cocopah, in addition to the Halyikwamai, Kumeyaay, and Kohuana (Campbell 1997:127). Other Yuman speakers included the Paipai and the Kiliwa, who have traditionally lived west of the Colorado River in southern California and Baja (Kroeber 1943).

In Mexico, the Cocopah are known by the Spanish term “Cucapá.” Their self-designation is Xawíł Kwñchawaay, “Those Who Live on the River,” although they have also called themselves Kwapa (Dominguez 2014:18; Kelly 1977:5). The Cocopah traditionally had no written language; however, historical information and traditional knowledge have been passed on orally and through the documented records of outsiders. Although they reside around and above the Colorado River delta, the Cocopah have traditions of long-distance travel and trade that situate them spiritually and historically within the area of the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. The Cocopah continue to feel connections with the various environmental and cultural resources in the Great Bend area, and they consider this region to be significant to their cultural beliefs and practices today.

COCOPAH ORIGINS

The lower Colorado River tribes share a common creation history, with variations in names of deities, hero figures, and places. They believe that through dreams (*amuwop*), a person’s spirit (*matkwisa* or *mitha’au*) can visit the time of creation when people, plants, and animals came into being (Gifford 1933a:303). These dream travels provide detailed accounts of the creation events and instructions for

nearly all aspects of life, from farming, to household life, to relationships among and between people (Hilpert 1996:215). Frank Tehana, a Cocopah leader and elder originally from Sonora, told anthropologist Edward W. Gifford in the early twentieth century that *amatyin kwisa’* (the Creator’s spirit) comes to people and instills dreams (Gifford 1933a:308).

According to Gifford (1933a:308), who spent time with the Cocopah from 1916 to 1930, some Cocopah were hesitant to share the creation story, saying they had not “learned” it, even though they had heard it. Although incomplete and difficult to decipher, various narratives were documented by Gifford (1933a: 308-309) that capture important elements of the Cocopah account of creation. Gifford noted that the creation story was told using the Buzzard (Shayee) Song Cycle, and it was sung from sunset to sunrise. In these accounts, Imakwayak, the Creator, made all things. The first generation of Cocopah (*cha’pai homi kwiyapuk*) was created from the Sun (Na), who was male, and the Moon (Xña), who was female. At one stage of creation, Coyote (Xtpa) had intercourse with Xña, and the body that was conceived is still visible in the moon.

Kelly (1977:115-121) conducted ethnographic research among the Cocopah between 1940 and 1950, and recorded a brief version of their creation story. According to his account, the Cocopah believe that the twins, Sipa and Komat, created everything. Their existence began underwater, and they surfaced when Komat smoked a cigarette that gave him extra strength and enabled him to push Sipa out. Komat reached the surface first, which made him the older twin, but he was blinded on his way up from under the water. Once on the surface, Sipa and Komat created the heavens and the sky, and all of mankind, including the Cocopah. Sipa and Komat then taught the Cocopah how to live, also establishing moral values for them. They gave the people the implements necessary for survival. Sipa made the bow and arrow. When it was completed, he shot an arrow into the sky, and as it returned to earth, it hit Komat. This upset Komat, and he told Sipa they should only shoot arrows when intending to kill animals (Alvarez de Williams 1974:3; Kelly 1977:116).

Gifford’s (1933a:308-309) notes contain descriptions of the Cocopah cultural landscape and the association of certain mountains with deities and other supernatural beings. The Cocopah consider the great mountains around their traditional lands to be the homes of anthropomorphic deities, and these land-

forms sometimes manifested themselves in human form during dreams. Mountains mentioned in Cocopah creation narratives include Awikwame, the "Spirit Mountain," known to non-Yuman speakers as Newberry Peak, near Needles, California; Awikwil, situated near Laveen, south of Phoenix; and Wii Shpa ("Eagle Mountain"), or Black Butte, located in Baja California, which is home to Kamuyum ("Hairy Person"), a deity known as the Volcano God.

Kamuyum speaks the Yuman language, and as the teacher of curing, he is the patron of traditional spiritual healers. Similarly, Sakupai, or Mount San Jacinto in California, is the home of Sumalitup. He is the lord of cold winds and clouds, and he shares this mountain with a lesser deity named Mistau, or Umpotkwila. Both of these deities bestow powers on dreamers. Another mountain, Awichauwas ("Feather Mountain"), which rises near San Felipe in Baja California, was once visited by a novice's spirit in a dream. This mountain "became a man" and instructed the dreamer how to become a spiritual leader.

Other Cocopah deities include Xnaar (Turtle), who can hold the ocean in his hand and appear in human form; Chuupiich (Owl), who assists young spiritual leaders; Halkwichats, the ocean monster and ruler of people in the south; Ispa 'komai, an eagle deity who lives near Needles in Mojave territory and eats human beings; Heltuts, the black spider deity; and the Jimsonweed deity, who appears to those who consume the datura plant.

HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE COCOPAH

The Cocopah believe they are descended from Yuman-speaking people who arrived in the lower Colorado River valley about 3,000 years ago. According to this understanding of history, ancestors of the Cocopah began to live along the lower Colorado River region between present day Yuma and San Felipe, Mexico, near the delta and the Gulf of California, around 1000 B.C. Some anthropologists have suggested the Cocopah are part of the Yuman-speaking people who migrated from the north at approximately A.D. 1000, and that they have lived along the Colorado River for at least the past 1,000 years (Kelly 1977:54; Rogers 1945:196). Others have said the Cocopah and their Yuman-speaking ancestors have lived in the Colorado River region for more than 2,000 years (Alvarez de Williams 1994:120).

Because ancestral Yuman speakers of the lower Colorado River region shared a fairly homogeneous material culture and practiced similar modes of subsistence and settlement, there is considerable difficulty recognizing different groups of Yuman speak-

ers from archaeological evidence alone. The Cocopah, nevertheless, associate themselves with the ancient Patayan archaeological tradition. Regardless of when they arrived along the lower Colorado River and distinguished themselves from other Yuman groups, Cocopah history, traditions, and identity are deeply intertwined with the Colorado River delta.

The first documentation of European contact with the Yuman-speaking tribes was in 1540, by Hernando de Alarcón, a mariner involved with the Coronado expedition to the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola. Alarcón ventured up the Colorado River, and his account marks the beginning of written observations about the Colorado River tribes. Alarcón mentioned several groups living in the vicinity of the Colorado River delta, and his journal described them as tall, well-built people with facial tattoos, pierced ears and noses, and abundant shell and bone jewelry (Hakluyt 1600:427). The men wore loin-cloths, the women wore willow bark skirts, and the people carried wooden maces and bows and arrows. They offered Alarcón and his crew gifts of shells, beads, well-tanned leathers, and food.

This early contact with the Spaniards coincided with a period of migration and a shift of territorial bases among many of the Yuman-speaking tribes. During the 1500s, the Cocopah moved down the Colorado River valley, their Mojave relatives moved up the Colorado River, and the Kaveltcadom and Cocomaricopa moved out of the Colorado River valley eastward and resettled along the lower Gila River (Spicer 1962:262).

The next Spanish contact was in 1605, when the party of Juan de Oñate and Father Escobar, who were in search of an overland route from present-day New Mexico to the Gulf of California, visited the tribes living in the vicinity of the Colorado River delta. Oñate, whose party may have reached the Colorado River via the Bill Williams River, described the various tribes he met along his travels (Zarate Salmerón 1856 [1626]). At that time, he found the Cocopah living at the Colorado River delta, below all the other lower Colorado tribes, and he estimated a total delta population of some 20,000 people (Kelly 1977:5-6).

The first intensive Spanish contact with the Yuman-speaking tribes was by Father Eusebio Kino and Captain Juan Mateo Manje beginning in 1698. It was not until 1700 that Kino likely made contact with the Cocopah, whom he called the Coanopa and Hagiopa and whom he described as friendly (Bolton 1919b:315, 318, 341). Some Cocopah, probably serving as guides, accompanied Kino as he ventured south to the Colorado River delta and the Baja peninsula. After Kino, Father Jacobo Sedelmayr traveled to the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers in 1748, and, unlike the friendly encounters

described by his predecessors, he was greeted with hostility by the people living in this area, probably the Quechan (Matson and Fontana 1996:23-24).

Based on journals and diaries of Spanish missionaries and explorers, Mexican agents, and U.S. military officials, warfare was common among Yuman-speaking groups throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries (Forbes 1965; Stone 1981; White 1974), and there was little interference from outsiders, until the establishment, in 1850, of the U.S. Army's Camp Calhoun (later Camp Independence and Fort Yuma) at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers.

A few decades before the arrival of the U.S. Army, and spurred on by the constant hostilities with the Mojave and Quechan, the Yuman-speaking Xalychidom, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai migrated from their homes on the Colorado River eastward along the lower Gila River, until they eventually merged with the Kaveltcadom, Opa, and Cocomaricopa (the amalgam of which has been historically referred to as the Maricopa, but who call themselves Pee-Posh) in the middle Gila River valley in the 1830s (Ezell 1963; Spier 1933). Their long-time allies and cultural kin, the Cocopah, chose to remain on their traditional lands around and above the Colorado River delta.

TRADITIONAL COCOPAH SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

As with most other Yuman-speaking communities, traditional Cocopah leadership was heterarchical, meaning that authority to make economic and political decisions impacting the larger group was spread among various leaders, at different scales within their ranks. Leadership positions and other important social roles were acquired through dreaming, in which spirit animals bestowed songs and power upon the spirit (*matkwisa* or *mitha'au*) of the dreamer, and the validity of the dreams was vetted by the community (Alvarez de Williams 1983:109; Gifford 1933a:298; Kelly 1977:82; also Chapter 5, this volume).

Since at least the mid-1800s, the Cocopah did not recognize themselves as a politically unified tribe, but rather, as a composition of four different groups, or regional bands (see below). Although these bands shared a language, traditions, and history and there was some sense of unity, there was no form of inter-band leadership. Each group was politically autonomous and each maintained their own territory along the delta (Figure 2.1). They did not share the sense of tribal nationalism expressed by their cultural kin, the Quechan and the Mojave (Gifford 1933a:298; Kelly 1977:78).

Hardy's (1829:343) reference to a *Capitan Grande* hints that the Cocopah may have recognized a single leader at various points in the past, perhaps as needed, when the autonomous bands acted as one against their Mojave and Quechan foes (see Spicer 1962:378). However, since at least 1850, when the U.S. Army at Fort Yuma began attempts to pacify the lower Colorado River tribes, leadership did not extend beyond the level of the band. Each band had its own male leader, a *shapai axany'* ("good person"), although they would convene and act collectively on important matters affecting all of the bands (Gifford 1933a:298). A *shapai axany'* was a charismatic person who was considered wise and knowledgeable, and he maintained his position through honesty and kindness toward his community. According to Kelly (1977:80), a *shapai axany'* always had an assistant known as a *popoke*, who was also one of the band's orators (see below).

A *shapai axany'* had no real authority, and his influence was dependent upon his reputation, personality, and the size of his community (Kelly 1977:80). As the recognized band leader, the duties of the *shapai axany'* were varied. His principle responsibility was to maintain peace and order within the community, but he was also in charge of certain ceremonies and formal group visits. The *shapai axany'* helped resolve disputes, encouraged participation in community activities, advised the people on morality and health, and forecasted the weather (Gifford 1933a:298; Kelly 1977:80). Band leadership was often inherited through the male line — either a son or a close relative — but this was a custom and not a rule. If the male elders of the families within the band did not believe a presumptive successor met the requirements of a future *shapai axany'*, another qualified male was chosen in their stead (Kelly 1977:81-82).

In addition to the *shapai axany'*, each Cocopah band had a war leader, *kwinemi* ("great warrior"). Unlike the *shapai axany'*, however, the position of *kwinemi* was not hereditary, and an existing war leader did not appoint his successor. Instead, a prospective *kwinemi* needed to have the proper dreams, and to prove his prowess, he would convene a meeting to talk war. This meeting enabled him to demonstrate his oratory skills and wisdom. Thus, the ability for a *kwinemi* to maintain his position was dependent upon his charisma and effectiveness in battle. The *kwinemi*'s responsibilities included organizing and leading war parties, and he oversaw the taking of scalps (Gifford 1933a:299; Kelly 1977:132-133).

Traditionally, each Cocopah settlement within a band had its own orator, called a *kLnaus* (Gifford 1933a:295) or *čapai ahan* (Kelly 1977:80). The *čapai ahan* was responsible for delivering speeches at pub-

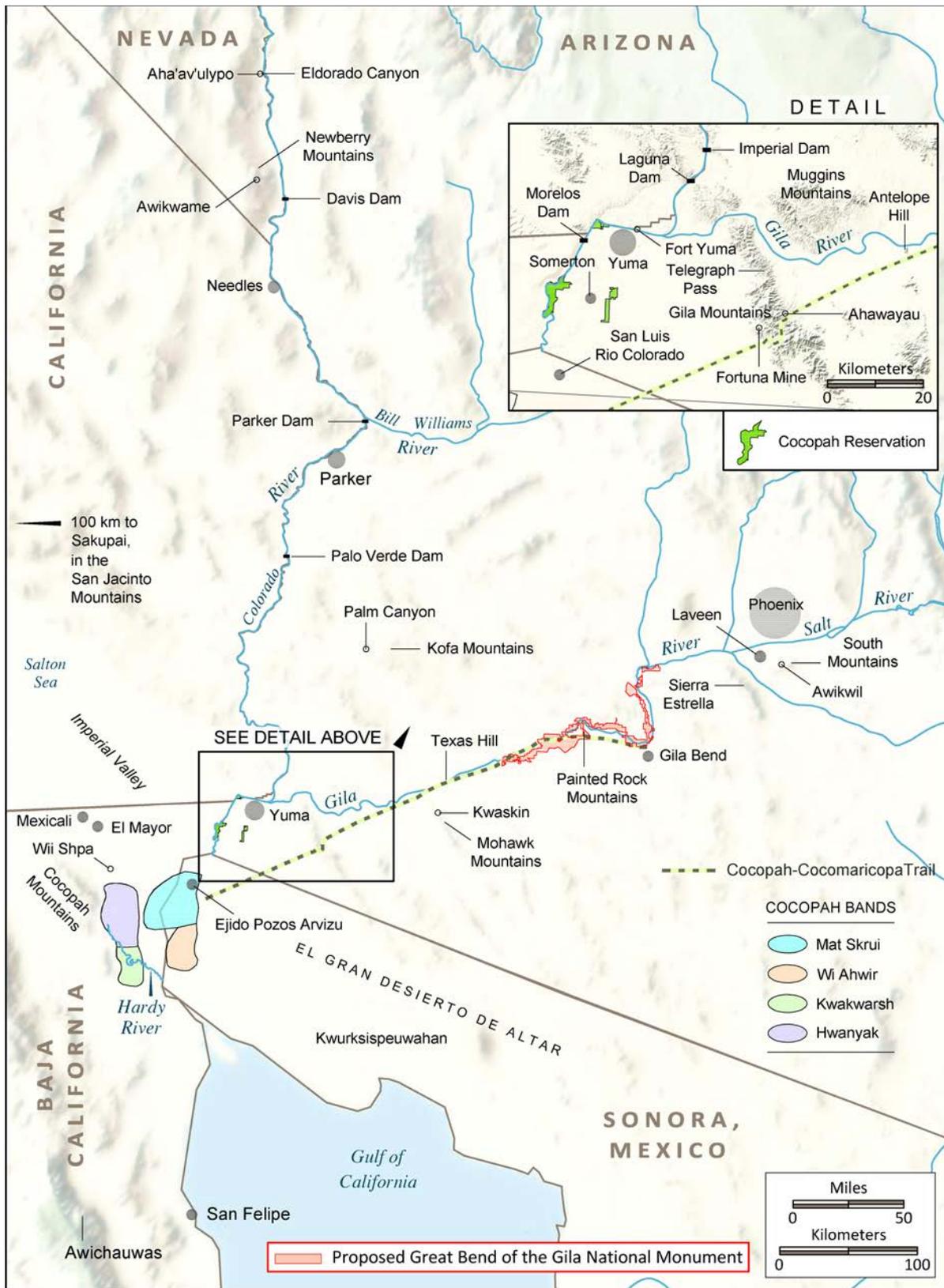


Figure 2.1. The Cocopah Reservation and places mentioned in the text. Band areas are based on Kelly (1942:Map 2, 1977:Figure 6). (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

lic events and gatherings. He also gave speeches to members of the community on matters regarding personal responsibility, health, history, and morality. Because the band's shapai axany¹ also delivered orations – indeed, being a good speaker was prerequisite to being the band's shapai axany¹ – most had also been a čapai ahan at some point in the past (Kelly 1977:80, 82). A community's čapai ahan had no real authority, but was simply an honorable male member looked upon for his guidance and knowledge. He was, in effect, the local community's "good man," and as such, was an unofficial leader below the band's shapai axany¹. A special type of orator, an *elyanyus chumuwap*, delivered speeches that accompanied funerals and funerary anniversaries, known as Karuk and Chekap, respectively (Gifford 1933a:294-295).

In addition to political leaders, the Cocopah traditionally recognized several different types of spiritual leaders and healers, known collectively as *sukwiya*, and who are commonly called "shamans," "medicine men," and "witch doctors." There was no gender restriction for who could be a *sukwiya*, and they obtained their skills and power through dreaming. The type of animal-in-human-form that visited during the dream experience determined the area of specialty for a *sukwiya*. Roadrunner offered the power to remedy snake bites, stomach aches, and poisoning; Fox and Coyote gave power to heal arrow and gunshot wounds; and Hawk, Vulture, and Owl foretold who would become a *kusiya sinyapis*, a particular type of *sukwiya* who used their powers for malevolent ends.

A *loxachakiapas*, another type of *sukwiya*, treated illness resulting from soul theft or encounters with ghosts. Other *sukwiya* included healers who treated burns, broken bones, consumption, pneumonia, and various sorts of sores. Healers such as these were known as *kusiya paxwe*, because they cured people (Gifford 1933a:309-311). In a sense, a *sukwiya* was a "family doctor" who was generally paid for his or her services (Kelly 1977:73-75). In addition to healers, each Cocopah band had a *sukwiya patai* ("war doctor") responsible for foretelling attacks, ascertaining the strength of an enemy, and determining the right time for a raid. The *sukwiya patai* accompa-

nied the war party and acted as the lead doctor for battle wounds (Kelly 1977:133).

Bands

Between 1890 and 1900, the Cocopah who inhabited the area around the Colorado River delta were divided into four independent bands based on kinship: the Wi Ahwir, Kwakwarsh, Mat Skrui, and Hwanyak (see Figure 2.1). Although each band considered itself an autonomous group of Cocopah families, lineages traced descent to many neighboring groups through either marriage or tribal amalgamation (Table 2.1). The Cocopah bands were territorially based (Kelly 1977:11-13). In the 1890s, the Kwakwarsh occupied the area below El Mayor, while the Wi Ahwir lived along the sand hills and the delta for a distance of 24 to 32 km north of the Mexican village of El Mayor. Between 1900 and 1910, most of the Wi Ahwir moved near Mexicali in Baja California, while some families moved near Somerton, Arizona, and others settled south of San Luis Rio Colorado in Sonora.

The Mat Skrui occupied the center of the delta, and the Hwanyak lived about 32 km below San Luis Rio Colorado in Sonora, Mexico, adjacent to the western edge of the Mat Skrui. The Mat Skrui and Hwanyak eventually moved north and settled in the Somerton, Arizona area, although a few families remained in Sonora and settled south of San Luis. The Hwanyak around Somerton have been described as "constantly shifting back and forth across the U.S.-Mexico border" (Kelly 1977:13). The introduction of a wage-labor economy resulted in additional territorial shifting of Cocopah bands and changes in the social interactions among groups (Kelly 1977:13).

In spite of their distance from each other, these four Cocopah bands all identified as "River People," and they collectively lived according to Cocopah customs and traditions. The significance of the Colorado River delta and the perception of one's geographical relation to it created an important distinction in the identity of various Cocopah bands, as it was essential to their identification as People of the

Table 2.1. Cocopah bands, circa 1890–1900.

Band	Translation	Tribal Composition
Wi Ahwir	Water-Against-the-Mountain People	Kumeyaay-Cocopah
Kwakwarsh	Yellow People	Kiliwa-Paipai-Kumeyaay-Cocopah
Hwanyak	Easterners	Kohuana-Halyikwamai-Cocopah
Mat Skrui	In-Between-Country-People	Cocopah (<i>koapa' ahan</i> , "real Cocopah")

Note: Information from Kelly (1942:Map 2, 1977:11-13, 78-79).

River. Despite the social divisions and physical movement that occurred historically, the delta is what continually linked them together as a people, a cohesion still evident today.

Clans

Below the territorial band, and irrespective of it, Cocopah families organize themselves into clans (*sh'mul*) (Alvarez de Williams 1983:109-110; Gifford 1918:156-166, 1933a:287; Kelly 1942, 1977:78-81). As with other Yuman-speaking lower Colorado River tribes, such as the Mojave, Quechan, Kohuana, and Kumeyaay, Cocopah clans have been described as totemic, exogamous, patrilineal, nonlocalized, and non-autonomous (Gifford 1918:156; Kelly 1942:677, 1977:108; Kroeber 1925:741-744, 834-838). Gifford (1918:Table 2, 1933a:287) documented 17 clans among the Cocopah in the early twentieth century (Table 2.2).¹

Based on his work with the Mojave, Kroeber (1902:278) learned that the Creator gave names and totems to the first male figure of each clan among the lower Colorado River tribes. The Creator then directed the clan patriarchs to name the women in their lineages according to attributes of the totem. This is also true for the Cocopah, where clan membership is passed through the father's lineage, and each clan traces itself back to a male primogenitor who obtained his clan name and totem (*sohwe*) from the Creator, 'Imakwayak (also spelled as Maskwaiyek) (Gifford 1918:166; Kelly 1942:677). Traditionally, there was a taboo against killing one's own totem, although it was socially acceptable to kill the totems of other clans (Gifford 1918:166).

Many of the Cocopah clan names and totems are shared with other lower Colorado River tribes, attesting to a deep history of inter-tribal relationships, both amicable and inimical. Indeed, Forbes (1965:36-38) suggested this is due to the complex demographic history of the lower Colorado River, where the various clans of different tribes may have once been localized patrilineal bands that merged and divided over time. According to the Cocopah, the sharing of clan names and totems among different tribes is due to the fact that the Creator assigned them in the beginning of time, before mankind had split into its various tribes (Gifford 1918:166).

As nonlocalized social groups, Cocopah clans were not territorial entities and were found throughout the different settlements and regional bands. This was fostered through the combination of clan and settlement exogamy. Clan exogamy was encouraged because members of the same clan were considered blood relatives (Gifford 1918:166). The clan exogamy custom was upheld for couples who shared clan

Table 2.2. Cocopah clans in the early twentieth century.

Clan Name	Totemic Reference
Ameput	Dust
Kapsas	Frog
Kasmus	Beaver
Kutcal	Bark
Kwas	Colorado River
Kwiye	Rain cloud
Nimi	Wildcat
Niu	Deer
Sakuma	Buzzard
Sakuma	Dove
Sikus	Coyote
Sikus	<i>Hüzup</i>
Sikus	<i>Ixha</i>
Sikus	Salt
Smawi'	Rattlesnake
Uru	Nighthawk
Watcuwal	<i>Selatce</i>

Note: Information from Gifford (1918:Table 2, 1933a:287), who recorded two Sakuma and four Sikus clans with different totems. Among some other Yuman-speaking tribes, these would be considered the same clans.

names, even when marriages were between people of different tribes (Kelly 1942:677, 1977:109-110). Traditional Cocopah marriages were patrilocal, with the bride generally taking up residence with her husband's community. This promoted a nascent level of settlement exogamy in traditional Cocopah social organization. However, exceptions to this custom were not unheard of, and in more recent times, postmarital residence was determined more by circumstances than tradition (Gifford 1918:166; Kelly 1942:677, 1977:110).

Traditionally, Cocopah families gave baby girls personal names they carried with them throughout life (Gifford 1933a:292). This birth name was used together with her clan name until the birth of her first child, after which the new mother was referred to solely by her clan name and occasionally an age-related qualifying term (Kelly 1942:683, 1977:111). *K^waku* is a special designation for older women, usually reserved for when their hair begins to gray (Gifford 1918:163; Kelly 1942:683-684, 1977:111). As is the tradition of some other Yuman-speaking tribes, Cocopah women would occasionally change their name following the death of a child (Gifford 1918:163).

It is unclear how relevant the clan system is among contemporary Cocopah. Nearly a century ago, Kroeber (1925:741) observed that the totemic

import of the clans and taboos relating to one's totem were not being retained by younger generations. Clan and settlement exogamy is no longer important to most Cocopah (Alvarez de Williams 1983:110). Similarly, few people today use their clan name as a public surname (Alvarez de Williams 1983:110; Kelly 1942:681; Tisdale 1997:88).

COCOPAH TRADITIONAL CULTURAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The cultural beliefs and practices of the Cocopah comprise the core of how they traditionally lived and interacted with each other, the natural environment, their neighbors, and the cosmos. Cocopah world views are conveyed through religion, warfare, death, and the tangible and intangible expressions associated with their daily activities. These lifeways are important in understanding and interpreting Cocopah historical and spiritual connections with the land, including the area encompassed by the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument.

Households and Material Culture

Although the Cocopah consider themselves People of the River (Dominguez 2014:20), as reviewed above, bands occupied different areas and environmental zones. As a whole, they were as adept at living on the land and in the mountains as they were in the river wetlands and the delta (Gifford 1933a:263-269; Kelly 1977:23-45; Kniffen 1931:52-55). Traditionally, the Cocopah were skillful fishermen, hunters, foragers, and farmers. They moved easily and freely among the mountains, desert, ocean shore, and river bottoms, and they incorporated a wide range of naturally available materials into their livelihood.

According to Gifford (1933a:260), the traditional Cocopah settlement pattern included no compact villages, and, in fact, there was no word for village. Cocopah settlements were simply house clusters, or *rancherías*, that typically consisted of 10 to 12 structures spaced approximately 120 to 150 m apart. Individual house clusters could be up to 6 or 8 km from each other, and these settlements were primarily inhabited by related families. Gifford (1933a:260) observed that families would remain in the same settlement unless it was disturbed by the shifting river course, or if a family member died.

However, not all Cocopah lived in permanent settlements. As floodwater agriculturalists, the Cocopah living in areas prone to seasonal flooding would generally move bi-annually in concert with the river's flood regime. During the summer flood

season, they would congregate atop gravel terraces and along the bases on nearby mountain ranges. After the flood waters subsided, the Cocopah would spread throughout the floodplains and delta where they built temporary shelters in close proximity to their fields (Castetter and Bell 1951:53; Kniffen 1931:52; Tisdale 1997:81-82).

With a *ranchería* lifestyle in which people moved between lowland valleys and surrounding mesas, the Cocopah built multiple houses suited to different seasons and particular environments.² A typical summer home was an oval, domed hut called an *awakouk*. These had slightly excavated floors and were made of tightly woven willow branches. The bases of the branches were stuck into the ground and their tops bent over. These frameworks were bound and fastened with arrowweed on the top and willow switches on the sides. These open-sided structures were used primarily for protection against mosquitos. They were generally just over 1 m high and large enough for a family to rest in (Gifford 1933a:271; Kelly 1977:47-48).

In cooler months, Cocopah families used conical huts called *washiporobir*. These were about 3 m in diameter and 2.1 m high, and their floors were usually dug deeper than those of the summer huts. The winter huts typically did not have a center post. Instead, they were supported by two interlocked, forked sticks, with other limbs placed around them to form a cone. Construction materials included driftwood, timber, willow, and arrowweed, and once erected, the frame was covered in insulating earth. Although fires were built in the huts for warmth, a *washiporobir* did not always have a smokehole (Gifford 1933a:271; Kniffen 1931:54).

Where flooding was less of an issue, a Cocopah family would often build a larger, "old-style" dwelling called a *wachawip*. These were rectangular in shape, covered in earth, and had floors a few meters deep. They were typically built using 12 posts laid out in three parallel rows. The central row of posts was slightly higher so it could support the roof. Around the walls, poles were placed horizontally, and these connected with the major roof-support posts. Additional material was piled vertically against the walls, and usually included willow, arrowweed, and earth. The top of each post was either hollowed or forked to prevent the overlying stringers from rolling off. Thin pieces of wood were placed under the stringers, and they ran the length of the house and supported the rafters. The roof was typically constructed of arrowweed and earth, and a smokehole was placed in its center. It was common for there to be a *wayuwal* (shade house) in front of the house where cooking was done. The *wayuwal* was also constructed using willow and arrowweed (Gifford 1933a:271; Kelly 1977:46-47).

Cocopah families generally planted crops near their houses, and they sometimes extended planting privileges to close relatives. Choice crops included numerous varieties of corn (*akdjās*), watermelon (*wiyub*), gourd (*helma'*), cowpea (*axmax*), muskmelon (*amchanya*), tepary bean (*amaLix*), and pumpkin (*kwüra* and *hamcha*) (Gifford 1933a:263-267; Kelly 1977:29-30). The technologies associated with plant cultivation and gathering were relatively simple, and included mortars and metates (which were used as seed beaters), winnowing baskets, digging sticks, and burden baskets (Kelly 1977:51-53). Many of these implements were often used as multipurpose tools.

Having inherited and passed along their foraging technologies for generations, the Cocopah had a complex knowledge of their environment and its resources. Traditionally, the Cocopah were masters of species identification, and they had vast knowledge of edible and usable plant parts, harvesting times, processing strategies of seeds, nuts, fruits, and shoots, methods of baking, curing, drying, and winnowing, and storage and preparation of foods for future use (Gifford 1933a:267-270; Kelly 1977:32-44).

The traditional material assemblages of the Cocopah included pottery, shell, and a vast number of perishable goods, including baskets, cloth, and wooden implements. The origin of pottery making extends back to the "beginning of the world" and has been passed along from mothers to daughters over the course of centuries (Gifford 1933a:272). Cocopah pottery came in a variety of forms and had many different uses. Typical vessels included cooking pots, food bowls, winnowing dishes, pottery anvils, handled cups, spoons, and ladles. Some large, circular ollas with flat bottoms were used to transport babies from one side of the river to the other. A mother would swim and push her baby across, and if the current was strong, she would tie a rope to the vessel. These "pottery boats" were known as *eska hakawam* (Gifford 1933a:273).

Potters procured clay from river banks and soaked it overnight. For temper, they added fine sand collected from mesa tops or pulverized pottery sherds to the clay. They formed vessels using coils and then pounded them flat with the aid of a wooden paddle and anvils (or large rocks). They smoothed their wares using a large unhafted blade or a large shell. Cocopah potters did not generally apply a slip to their vessels, although they did paint some forms. They preferred to paint water vessels red on the exterior, and they tended to leave cooking vessels unpainted (Gifford 1933a:273-274).

Using either their fingers or a fibrous brush, potters painted designs with red mineral pigments and black organic paint made from mesquite gum and arrowweed. Before firing, they applied red paint,

and they added black paint after firing but while the vessel was still hot. Potters fired their vessels using mesquite, willow, or cottonwood, depending on the desired temperature of the fire (Gifford 1933a:318-320; Kelly 1977:48-51).

Cocopah weaving and basketry included storage baskets, cylinders used as food containers, burden baskets, winnowing trays, nets for fishing, and slings for hauling heavy items. They also used another type of storage basket that was made with large, rough coils like those made by the Akimel O'odham, suggesting interaction between these groups and exchange of knowledge about basketry (Gifford 1933a:270). Although the Cocopah were not well-known for weaving cloth, they reportedly used a loom that was like a simplified version of an Akimel O'odham horizontal loom (Gifford 1933a:315; Russell 1908:114).

Songs

Narrative song cycles are central to the religious beliefs of the Cocopah, as well as to most other Yuman-speaking tribes (Kroeber 1925:784-788). These songs cover various themes, and the composers string together different pieces of history, reciting them during performances that may last up to four nights. The words of the songs may be learned from elders, but an individual can include their own dreamed variations. In addition to the Buzzard (Shayee) Song Cycle (see above), traditional ritual songs sung by the Cocopah include the Ilysha Ka'pai, Echa Akolsya, Choman Hachochat, and Choman Akolsya (also known as Tumanpa Ahwe) (Gifford 1933a:309; Kroeber 1925:Table 8).

The Cocopah taught Ilysha Ka'pai to the Quechan (who call it Alysa), who, in turn, apparently taught it to the Mojave (Gifford 1933a:309). Ilysha Ka'pai tells a story that begins at Aha'av'ulypo (House-Post Water Place), in Eldorado Canyon, north of the Mojave Valley (Kroeber 1925:788). These examples demonstrate how traditional knowledge and ritual oratory has been shared among the various lower Colorado River tribes, regardless of deep histories of animosity among some of them.

Warfare

War was traditionally considered a spiritual activity among Yuman-speaking tribes, and it extends back to their common creation story when the Creator bestowed a bow and war club upon the people and asked them to take a life (Hilpert 1996:217). In addition to a desire for new farmlands, scalps were a strong impetus for intertribal warfare among the

lower Colorado River tribes, because they were an important source of supernatural power (Kroeber 1925:752, 843-844).

Like the other tribes of the lower Colorado River, the Cocopah were deeply involved in warfare (Alvarez de Williams 1983:107; Gifford 1933a:299-303; Kelly 1977:129-136). They were in an alliance with the Cocomaricopa (Hatbasinya), Xalychidom (Heshiyum), and Akimel O'odham (Hatbas) against their hereditary enemies, the Quechan (Kwisain) and Mojave (Hümakhab) (Bean et al. 1978:Table 5.II; Forbes 1965:80-81; also, Chapters 4 and 5, this volume). The Cocopah often fought on their own lands, and occasionally, they traveled up the Gila River to aid the Cocomaricopa, Xalychidom, and Akimel O'odham in conflicts against the Quechan, Mojave, and Yavapai (Yawapai) (Gifford 1933a:299).

Cocopah warfare was highly strategic and ritualized (Gifford 1933a:299-300; Kelly 1977:131-132). Pitched battles were announced, formal lines of warriors came forward, and direct combat ensued until the combatants on one side were all dead or defeated. Cocopah warriors never carried all types of weapons. Instead, special groups were designated as "bow carriers," "shield carriers," and "lance carriers." Archers were called *yichim bakais*, and they carried a *yimpaukam*, a straight hardwood club they used when their arrows were gone or their bows were broken. Shield bearers went first against the enemy, followed by lance carriers, and then archers (Gifford 1933a:299).

Before battle, Cocopah men fasted by abstaining from meat, fish, salt, and sexual activity. Immediately prior to battle, warriors painted their faces in different ways. Sometimes, the face was painted all red; the best fighters painted their faces all black. At other times, warriors painted their faces half red and half black, or their nose dark red and their chin bright red. The Cocopah believed that face paint helped them fight. It was common for a warrior to also paint his hair, chest, abdomen, and limbs, as well as his horse, if used in battle. Warriors wore feathers in their hair, usually from a crow, owl, or white heron (Gifford 1933a:299). As Gifford (1933a:300) noted, women would join war parties to cook and aid in preparations for battle; however, they would never participate in warfare. Children never accompanied war parties.

During battle, the scalps of chiefs or people responsible for previously killing a Cocopah were the most highly prized. When a warrior returned home with a scalp, a series of songs and dances were performed involving the scalp. The scalp was then cleaned and prepared for future use for the acquisition of power and prowess. Warriors who had taken a life also underwent a cleansing ritual. In addition to seeking scalps during acts of war, it was common

for opposing groups to take captives. If captives were brought home, they also underwent ceremonial cleansing and purification. Female captives were usually offered as wives to men seeking a partner. The act of marrying a female captive from an opposing tribe and having children of mixed ethnicity was a common method for negotiations, as neither side wanted to kill their own people (Gifford 1933a:300-303; Kelly 1977:134-136).

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATION

Ethnohistorical research indicates 11 groups were likely living alongside the lower Colorado River in the 1600s, who spoke languages of the Yuman family, either mutually intelligible dialects or closely related languages that could be understood (Hilpert 1996:216). Historical evidence from the eighteenth century indicates the Cocopah were part of an alliance, which included the Cocomaricopa, Akimel O'odham, Xalychidom, Hualapai (Yaupai), Havasupai (Hopai), and the Cahuilla (Hükwas) of southern California, and the Paipai, Kumeyaay, and Kiliwa of Baja California. This allied group opposed the Quechan, Mojave, and Chemehuevi (Samuwan) (Bean et al. 1978:Table 5.II; Forbes 1965:80-81; Kelly 1977:131).

By the early 1800s, the Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado and lower Gila rivers had become differentiated into seven or eight groups: the Yavapai, Hualapai, and Havasupai in the uplands, and the Mojave, Cocomaricopa, Xalychidom, Quechan, and Cocopah of the river valleys. There were other Yuman-speaking groups on the west side of the Colorado River, such as the Kumeyaay, Paipai, and others; however, they were small in numbers and never became clearly distinguished from one another by non-Indians. Although warfare continued and serious battles were fought among the Yuman groups well into the 1850s (Kroeber and Fontana 1986; Kroeber and Kroeber 1973), an influx of soldiers from the U.S. Army to the Yuma territory initiated a process of pacification and reconciliation among tribes in the lower Gila River and lower Colorado River valleys (Forbes 1965:257-340).

Westward expansion by Euro-Americans brought new dimensions to the settlement patterns, social interactions, and tribal economies of the region. In the summer of 1826, Lieutenant Hardy became the first English-speaking explorer of the lower Colorado River to pen a description of the lower Colorado River's environment and people (Hardy 1829:312-384). As he traveled up the river by boat, Hardy described a dense population of nearly 5,000-6,000 people who had lined up along the shores to herald his entourage (Hardy 1829:377). During the

winter of 1850, the U.S. War Department sent Lieutenant George Derby to explore the Gulf of California and inspect the area to determine if riverboats could be used to carry supplies to the newly established Fort Yuma (Alvarez de Williams 1974:29; Kelly 1977:8).

Steamboats were used along the Colorado River from 1852 to 1877, and Cocopah men found work as guides for the steamboats, utilizing their skills and deep knowledge of the river (Alvarez de Williams 1974:32-38, 1983:101; Tisdale 1997:94-97). However, river freighting waned after the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Yuma in 1877. The railroad company bought the river freight operations, leaving Cocopah men with little recourse but to take jobs as laborers on local farms. Consequently, many Cocopah left the delta for the nearby agricultural towns of Somerton and Mexicali, or moved farther afield to join relatives and allies in the Imperial Valley and the middle Gila River valley (Alvarez de Williams 1974:38-41). Although these structural and economic changes impacted the Cocopah, they still remained deeply connected to the Colorado River (Tisdale 1997:352).

In the late 1800s, the Cocopah (as well as the other Yuman-speaking tribes) started to feel the impacts of a new government imposed on their lands. In 1854, the Gadsden Purchase created a political division in the traditional territory of the Cocopah, with many tribal members remaining south of the international border. Consequently, the once geographically cohesive tribe began to be referred to by different names, the Cocopah in the U.S. and the Cucapá in Mexico, and they acquired citizenship in different nation-states (Dominguez 2014:7; Tisdale 1997:136-139). In spite of this, the Cocopah resisted assimilation and maintained their social, religious, and cultural identities throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the U.S. government began building dams on the Colorado River, first with the Laguna Diversion Dam in 1905, followed by the Hoover (1936), Parker (1938), Imperial (1938), Davis (1951), Palo Verde Diversion (1958), and Glen Canyon (1966) dams (and Mexico erected the Morelos Dam in 1950) (see Figure 2.1). At about this same time, irrigation companies started siphoning enormous volumes of water from the lower Colorado River to irrigate large farming operations. Reduced flow of the river impeded Cocopah seasonal horticulture, seriously impacting their subsistence activities.

In 1905, the Colorado River washed out the headgates of the Imperial Valley canal system, and the river shifted west toward the Salton Sink. This left the delta area dry for several years, which heralded

the end of Cocopah subsistence farming. After that time, nearly all Cocopah had resigned themselves to wage labor, either repairing the Imperial Valley canal system or taking seasonal employment on Euro-American and Mexican farms (Castetter and Bell 1951:83; Tisdale 1997:112-113).

The Cocopah Reservation

Around 1910, and under leader Frank Tehana, some of the Cocopah, who had permanently settled near Somerton after migrating from the delta, began advocating for official tribal recognition under the U.S. government (Tisdale 1997:179-181). On 27 September 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed Executive Order No. 2711, establishing the Cocopah Indian Reservation on the east bank of the Colorado River near Somerton, Arizona (Kappler 1929:1001). The original reservation consisted of two parcels under the jurisdiction of the Yuman Indian Agency, a roughly 360-acre West Reservation and a 160-acre East Reservation (Tisdale 1997:181).

The reservation brought additional changes to Cocopah daily life. The traditional pattern of bi-annual movement between floodplains and high ground shifted to a sedentary household structure, and people once again began to farm small garden plots near their homes. While the Cocopah succeeded in gaining official recognition from the United States, they remained humble people, so much so that with the reservation, they seem to have withdrawn further from mainstream American society (Alvarez de Williams 1974:78-80, 1983:102).

Although the Cocopah were granted a reservation and gained federal recognition as an Indian tribe, it was not until 1924 that tribal members received citizen rights in the U.S. under the Indian Citizenship Act, and 1948, when they gained the right to vote (Dominguez 2014:7). During the economic depression of the late 1930s, the U.S. Immigration Service ceased free movement into the United States as a way to contain costs to government-funded social services. The Cocopah were impacted by the heightened border restrictions earlier than any other tribe because their land is adjacent to a primary river between the U.S. and Mexico (Luna-Firebaugh 2002:167).

Prior to the increased restrictions on the international border, the Cocopah moved frequently between their homes and communities in Arizona and Mexico (Hays 1996:41; Luna-Firebaugh 2002:167). Afterward, the Cocopah were effectively divided into two groups, the Cocopah of the United States and the Cucapá of Mexico (Kelly 1977:13), thereby cementing the geopolitical barrier erected under the

Gadsden Purchase. The Cucapá of Mexico now reside primarily in the communities of El Mayor, Baja California, and Ejido Pozos Arvizu, Sonora.

In 1956, the Cocopah gained legal access to 61 acres of land near Yuma through a Memorandum of Agreement between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Reclamation. This move provided a land base for unenrolled Cocopah living off the reservation (Tisdale 1997:194-203). In 1964, the Cocopah Tribe ratified its first Constitution and established a Tribal Council under the Indian Reorganization Act (Tisdale 1997:203). Over the next several decades, the tribe acquired more land, and in 1985, they gained more than 4,800 additional acres through the Cocopah Land Acquisition Act signed by President Ronald Reagan. This act also officially annexed the Yuma parcel to the Cocopah Reservation, where it became known as the North Reservation.

Today, the Cocopah Indian Reservation comprises 6,527 acres (6,009 acres in trust land) and includes three noncontiguous sections lying northwest, southwest, and south of the city of Yuma, Arizona (see Figure 2.1). The largest section, known as the West Reservation, is situated west of Somerton, Arizona, and borders the Colorado River. The East Reservation lies just east of Somerton, and the North Reservation, the smallest of the three sections, is adjacent to Interstate 8 on the east bank of the Colorado River. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2013), 963 people who identified as Native American were living on the reservation in 2010.

In efforts to keep the Cocopah language alive, which was spoken by fewer than 400 people at the end of the twentieth century, the Cocopah Museum and Cultural Center began offering language classes in 1998 (Tisdale 1997:331-341). The language had no alphabet until the 1970s, when a scholar penned one (Crawford 1989). The Cocopah Tribe is effectively undergoing a cultural revitalization, spearheaded by the Cocopah Elders' Language Group and the Cocopah Cultural Resources Department. Maintaining historical and cultural connections to their traditional lands and places that were part of their traditional geography, including the Great Bend of the Gila, is part of that revitalization.

COCOPAH CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

The Cocopah consider the Great Bend of the Gila area an important landscape, and they maintain historical and spiritual ties to the region. The area figures prominently in their account of creation, and they have traditions that tie them and their ancestors to the Gila River as far east as Phoenix. Based on published re-

search and new insights shared by tribal elders and cultural resource personnel during recent interviews (Appendix B), Cocopah cultural association with the Great Bend of the Gila derives through traditional stories and place names, values attributed to the cultural resources, and historical memories of events and interactions with neighboring tribes that occurred through time. These connections demonstrate that the Cocopah find considerable heritage value in the natural and cultural resources of the Great Bend area, and they retain a strong interest in the stewardship of this region.

Connections through Traditional Stories and Place Names

The Cocopah connection to the Great Bend of the Gila is manifest in traditional stories and place names, and through association with specific landforms in the region (Table 2.3). For example, in the account of Cocopah origins recorded by Gifford (1933a:308), several mountains were mentioned in association with the earth's creation. One of these is Awikwil, located near Laveen, Arizona, while others are in western Arizona, southern California, and Baja California, Mexico. These sacred mountains define the boundary of the Cocopah spiritual landscape, which subsumes the entire Great Bend of the Gila landscape. When dreaming, spiritual leaders were sometimes led to Awikwil by animal spirits in human form. In one particular account, a self-taught spiritual leader named Suwi Clam was taken to Awikwil by Horned Owl (*Kechupit*). Horned Owl spoke, and Turtle (*Uktya'*), also in human form, rose from the mountain. Turtle taught Suwi four songs and how to summon strong winds by touching the mountain with his hands. This is how Suwi came to be able to cure *loxachak*, a sickness caused by ghosts (Gifford 1933a:312).

Another story that ties the Great Bend of the Gila region to Cocopah creation narratives concerns the feuding deities Halkwichats (ocean monster) and Ispa 'komai (eagle deity). In this story, Kwaskin, a peak in the Mohawk Mountains in southwestern Arizona, and an unspecified mountain in "Maricopa country" (presumably in the vicinity of the Great Bend) served as resting places for Ispa 'komai as he fled from Halkwichats (Gifford 1933a:308-309). The Mohawk Mountains are an important landmark at the western edge of the Great Bend of the Gila and, as the narrative demonstrates, it is a significant feature in the Cocopah cultural landscape anchored in history and traditions.

During recent interviews with Cocopah elders and cultural advisors, Dale Phillips, a Bird Singer

Table 2.3. Significant landforms in the vicinity of the Great Bend of the Gila recognized by the Cocopah.

Landform	Cocopah Name	Translation	Reference
Mountain near Laveen, Arizona	<i>Awikail</i>	-	Gifford 1933a:308-309
Mohawk Mountain	<i>Kwanskin, Kutekawaskwin</i>	Burden Basket Mountain	Gifford 1933a:261, 308-309
Gila Bend	<i>Kwaakumat</i>	Mesquite-like Tree Farms	Gifford 1933a:261
Sierra Estrella	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Texas Hill	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Painted Rock Mountains	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Antelope Hill	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Telegraph Pass, Gila Mountains	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Muggins Mountains	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Kofa Mountains	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015
Gila River	N/A	-	Dale Phillips, personal communication 2015

Note: List derives from literature review and initial meeting with Cocopah elders; therefore, it is not complete nor comprehensive.

and former Vice Chairman of the Cocopah Tribal Council, recounted another Cocopah creation narrative that includes the Great Bend landscape. This story involves a scandal by Coyote. According to Mr. Phillips, one of the Cocopah Creators was cremated near Palm Canyon in the Kofa Mountains. Flames from the crematory fire caused the rocks to turn red, and these mountains now represent fire to the Cocopah. Early in the cremation, Coyote came and stole the Creator's heart and dropped it in the Muggins Mountains, causing these mountains to turn black. Coyote boasted to the people that he had some of the Creator's power, and so the people challenged him to prove it by making fire.

Coyote had to find a way to make fire to hide his lie from the people, so he went to a place near Gila Bend where he knew there was fire in the earth (lava flows). Coyote ran there and stuck his tail in the earth (perhaps at one of the shield volcanoes of the Sentinel-Arlington Volcanic Field, or a hotspot in the earth) to light it on fire. He then ran back toward the Muggins Mountains to show the people he had made fire, but each time he started running, the fire burned out. Coyote was thus unable to deceive the people into believing that he had the Creator's power to make fire.

The creation narrative shared by Dale Phillips is significant because it ties Cocopah beliefs and moral teachings to specific, identifiable places, and it weaves together all the areas and landforms along the lower Gila River into a cohesive and interrelated cultural landscape populated by the ancestral Cocopah, as well as mountains, animals, and other spiritual beings. Mr. Phillips explained that animals dictate how the Cocopah live (see also Gifford 1933a:304-309). "These stories are the lessons that Cocopah people learn and it is the way they understand the world. The whole landscape represents this to us," said Mr. Phillips. Another version of this Cocopah story has been published by Kelly (1977:117-118), and variants of it are shared by other Yuman-speaking tribes (see Chapters 4 and 5).

In addition to stories about the land, Mr. Phillips stated that there are many other landforms the Cocopah recognize as being culturally significant. Some of these include Telegraph Pass (in the Gila Mountains), Antelope Hill, Texas Hill, the Painted Rock Mountains, and the Sierra Estrella (see Table 2.3). "These are sacred places and they all have Cocopah names," he explained. Mr. Phillips described the Cocopah's traditional territory as extending from the current reservation north to Mojave country, south to the ocean, east as far as you can see, and west to Kumeyaay lands. Mr. Phillips explained that there is a story about every mountain from here to the Cucapá reservation around El Mayor, Baja California, Mexico, and the Cocopah

have names for many of the mountains between their reservation and Phoenix, including those along the Great Bend of the Gila (see Figure 2.1).

Connections through Trade and Travel

The tribes of the lower Colorado River were highly mobile and had frequent interactions with each other, as well as with more distant groups. As Hilpert (1996:221) described, "Treks of up to a hundred miles were frequently made to visit friends and relatives, or perhaps just to see new sights." Journeys of more than 650 km were common for traders who were seeking luxury goods, such as seashells or fine textiles. The people of the lower Colorado River occupied a strategic position in the regional trade network, and the Yuman-speaking tribes on the Colorado River often acted as brokers among trading groups.

Regional alliances facilitated trade relationships, and this kept the Cocopah connected socially and economically with neighboring tribes. For example, Gifford (1933a:261, 277) learned that the Cocopah shared a fish and shellfish gathering locale known as Kwurksispeuwahan with the Hia C'ed O'odham (Kaspasma) (see Figure 2.1), and as late as 1927, a band of Hia C'ed O'odham was residing in the vicinity of the Cocopah Reservation near Somerton (Gifford 1933a:262). The Cocopah also regularly interacted with friendly tribes of southern California and the Baja Peninsula, such as the Paipai (Ukwaasa), Kumeyaay (Gambia), and Kiliwa (Yikweleo). The Great Bend of the Gila lies between Cocopah territory and that of many of the tribes with whom they traded and visited.

As part of their alliance with the Cocomaricopa, Akimel O'odham, and Xalychidom, the Cocopah often visited the middle and lower Gila River valleys. Similarly, during his travels in 1909-1910, Lumholtz (1912:250-252) noted that the Cocopah were friendly with the Tohono O'odham (Hatbas), Cocomaricopa, and the Tonto Apache, all of whom were located east and northeast of Cocopah territory.

Gifford (1993a) detailed one of the routes the Cocopah would take when visiting eastern allies (the Cocopah-Cocomaricopa Trail in Figure 2.1). According to his description (Gifford 1933a:261), the Cocopah left home and traveled for two days to Ahawayau, a spring near the Fortuna Mine in the Gila Mountains. From there, they walked another two days to Kuwekwaskwin (also known as Kwas-kin), a summit in the Mohawk Mountains, and two days beyond that was Kwaakumat, a former cluster of Kaveltcadom villages in the vicinity of Gila Bend. Gifford (1933a:261) characterized this area as "Maricopa country," and he equated Kuwekwaskwin

("Burden Basket Mountain") and Kwaakumat ("Mesquite-like Tree Farms") with the Kaveltcadom place names ^avikatcáwin,^a ("Granary Basket Mountain") and Kwa'kámát ("Mesquite Gathering Place"), respectively (Spier 1933:23-24). The Cocopah clearly knew southwestern Arizona well from regular visits to their Cocomaricopa and Akimel O'odham allies (Gifford (1933a:261).

As Gifford (1933a:299) explained, Cocomaricopa warriors occasionally came to Cocopah territory to discuss war against the Quechan, but the Cocopah more frequently visited the Cocomaricopa. Gifford (1933a:299) detailed that sometimes 14 or 15 warriors at a time would take the pedestrian journey to Cocomaricopa country. In a discussion about Cocopah travel up the lower Gila River, Dale Phillips recalled a location near Texas Hill where the Cocomaricopa and the Cocopah used to meet and strategize. He shared that the Cocopah also made frequent trips farther east to interact with the O'odham and other tribes in the middle Gila River, collectively known as the Pee-Posh. Mr. Phillips explained that many locations along the Gila River were meeting places for the Cocopah and O'odham, affirming that "the Cocopah and the O'odham were allies and trading partners."

The Painted Rock Mountains and other landforms in that vicinity were reference points for the Cocopah as they journeyed to O'odham territory. "The Cocopah used these landmarks as guides as they traveled to the Phoenix Basin," explained Mr. Phillips. He recalled that Cocopah runners used to perform spiritual runs from their homes on the Colorado River to O'odham territory in the Phoenix Basin. They finally quit using the trails after a Cocopah person disappeared during one of their trips. "They don't know what happened to him," he said.

The Cocopah reportedly had trading partners beyond the O'odham and Pee-Posh, as far away as Hopi in northern Arizona and Zuni in western New Mexico (Hilpert 1996:222). Garcés (see Forbes 1965:148, 158) observed that the Tohono O'odham of southeastern Arizona had a "great abundance" of Hopi blankets they claimed to have received from groups on the Colorado River. Dale Phillips acknowledged that the Hopi and Hualapai used to travel into Cocopah territory because "this was a corridor for tribes to get to Mexico and to the ocean. We have ancestral connections in all directions."

Ethnographer Jesse Walter Fewkes (1897:311), while discussing the Hopi Snake Ceremony, quoted a letter published in the *Chicago Tribune* regarding a potential connection between the Hopi and the Cocopah:

It was discovered [that] the Cocopahs, like the Moquis [the Hopi] of Arizona, practice the Snake

Dance ceremony. Not far from their village is an old adobe house especially constructed for this purpose. Here they annually resort, to avoid publicity, to have their snake dance. Rattlesnakes are taken to this house, where the people of the Snake clan congregate and perform their hazardous ceremony.

Fewkes's (1897) observation is one example of the Cocopah's long distance historical and cultural ties to other tribes, and it shows that those connections went beyond merely trade and travel. Indeed, the Cocopah and the Hopi have described their knowledge of, and interactions with, each other. Hopi cultural advisors have discussed their belief that relationships exist among the Hopi and tribes residing along the lower Colorado River (Andreani 2002:34-35; Ferguson 1998). In writing about Hopi connections to the Grand Canyon, Ferguson (1998:111) noted that Hopi cultural advisors believe that "when the Rattlesnake Clan came to the Colorado River, a group followed the river all the way to the Gulf...and these people disappeared from Rattlesnake history, never to return." This traditional narrative may represent more evidence of connections among the Hopi, the Cocopah, and other Colorado River tribes. Several other Hopi clans have traditional connections to the lower Colorado River (see Table 3.1).

Connections through Cultural Resources

Through an understanding of their own history and culture, the Cocopah relate to the archaeological sites and materials throughout the Great Bend area. Many tribal members believe the summit trails, geoglyphs, petroglyphs, and many of the ancestral villages are linked to Cocopah history and traditions. Mr. Phillips believes that some of the archaeological sites identified along the Gila River in the Great Bend area were likely meeting places and camps that the Cocopah and their allies and trading partners used as they traveled. "Sometimes people died during travels and they were cremated along the route," he said, adding that "there are Cocopah burials in that area."

In discussing the geoglyphs and other rock features, Mr. Phillips said that some of the figures are Cocopah prayer circles (for example, Appendix Figures D.5, D.24), and they show that Cocopah religious ceremonies were conducted along the lower Gila River. The prayer circles represent life, "Life is one big circle, and some geoglyphs denote this," he explained. Along these lines, Gifford (1933a:311) described smaller features left on the ground surface by spiritual healers as part of a ceremony for wounded warriors. He said that men suffering club wounds were treated by male spiritual healers.

The healer would walk in four cardinal directions from the house where the wounded man lay and leave marks on the ground in a confined area using his foot or a piece of wood. The spiritual healer would make a circle and then heap four piles of earth inside it in the four cardinal directions. The circle was called *mataukas*, and it represented the world. The four piles represented the four sacred mountains, Awikwil, Wii Shpa, Awikwame, and Sakupai. These ground figures were called *matsakorokor*, or sand paintings, and they helped the spiritual healer bring all dreams to aid in curing. Once the ceremony was done, the *matsakorokor* was left in place.

In Suwi Clam's dream (see above), Turtle performed a similar ceremony as he made four piles representing the sacred mountains. Turtle asked Suwi to stand in the center, at which point the big black spider Heltuts appeared, made a web across the world, and led Suwi on a spiritual journey before returning to Wii Shpa (Gifford 1933a:312).

Bean et al. (1978:5.54) speculated that geoglyphs and intaglios in the Great Bend area and elsewhere may have been used in the Cocopah kickball game, *kahaloyop*. In this game, two young men competed against each other, taking turns kicking a smoothed ball (*kahal*) made of mesquite over a marked course. The ball was sometimes adorned with shell beads mounted with arrowweed gum (Alvarez de Williams 1974:53; Gifford 1933a:282). As Bean et al. (1978:5.54) explained, the significance of the kickball game "lies in the marked courses over which competitors ran. Some of the apparent 'trails' or even intaglios of recent date may have been prehistoric kickball race courses."

Mr. Phillips stated that the numerous petroglyphs along the Great Bend of the Gila are also important to the Cocopah, and they had many uses (for example, Appendix Figures D.2-D.5, D.7-D.11, D.20, D.21, D.25-D.27, D.29). "People would leave symbols on the rocks as messages for other people passing through," he explained. Mr. Phillips believes that some of the animal images seen at petroglyph sites along the Great Bend of the Gila let people know that those animals were in the area, and they were a way to signal to others that the area might be a good hunting place.

In the meeting with the Cocopah Tribal Council on 20 November 2015, members were interested in how far the summit trails extended to the east. They believe these were significant spiritual features used by the Cocopah in the past (see Appendix Figures D.14 and D.28). Mr. Phillips explained that summit trails were places of prayer, and they had a religious purpose. He said there was more to this, but it was sacred, and he preferred to keep those details private. Cocopah cultural advisors believe the sites and features in the Great Bend area have significance for

many tribes, but certain places have specific meaning to some.

The Cocopah have claimed cultural affiliation with the Patayan archaeological tradition of the Greater Southwest (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1996), and they believe Patayan habitation sites and materials represent the remains of their ancestors. The term Patayan is used by archaeologists to describe the prehistoric materials associated with Native American cultures that inhabited parts of modern-day Arizona, California, and Baja California, including areas near the Colorado River valley, the nearby uplands, and north to the vicinity of the Grand Canyon. There is general agreement among archaeologists that this prehistoric cultural tradition is probably ancestral to the Cocopah and other Yuman-speaking tribes in the region (Rogers 1945; Schroeder 1961).

Many of the features characteristic of the Patayan tradition can be correlated with the traditions, lifeways, and material culture of the Cocopah (as described above), including household structures, funerary features, and pottery. In a study of the Lower Patayan ceramic tradition, McCormick (2010:28-29), who is currently the manager of the Cocopah Cultural Resources Department, concluded that the ceramic practices of the Cocopah, Quechan, Mojave, Chemehuevi, O'odham, and Paipai are represented in the earlier Patayan tradition. She believes that any discussion about Patayan ceramics must, therefore, include the topic of mobility, as variations likely exist among different cultural groups with ancestral ties to the Patayan tradition. McCormick's (2010) thoughts about this aspect of the material record are consistent with the oral histories and traditional lifeways of contemporary Yuman-speaking communities along the lower Colorado River and their neighbors.

COCOPAH PERCEPTIONS OF A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

The Cocopah maintain strong spiritual and historical ties to the Great Bend of the Gila, and cultural advisors and the Tribal Council acknowledge the heritage value that a national monument in this area would foster among them and other associated tribes. The Cocopah Tribal Council has issued a Tribal Resolution in support of establishing a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (Appendix E). Cocopah cultural advisors and Cultural Resource Department personnel who regularly deal with various compliance-related issues feel that, in years past, government agencies and other interested parties have not seriously considered the interests and traditional knowledge of the Cocopah Tribe about this

area. As Mr. Phillips explained, “the Cocopah are humble people, and we have been overlooked because we have not been aggressive and fought for these types [of] things.”

McCormick (2010) said there is a real concern among the Cocopah for the Great Bend area. The Cocopah Tribe is particularly dissatisfied with how lands encompassed by the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument are currently managed, and they welcome any potential for new and better stewardship of this area. At a minimum, they would like to see the archaeological sites in this region documented and protected, and they want a management plan developed that considers the interests and concerns of all the associated tribes. They see a national monument as a move in that direction. Regardless of the fate of the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, the Cocopah want to be involved in future decisions concerning the management, protection, and interpretation of the natural and cultural resources of the Great Bend area. The Great Bend lies squarely within the area of traditional uses and the broader spiritual geography of the Cocopah, and they want their voice to be heard when it relates to how the natural environment and the material traces of their ancestors within this land-

scape—the petroglyphs, geoglyphs, trails, and habitation areas—are preserved for future generations. The Great Bend’s cultural and natural resources are vital to the survival of Cocopah identity, and effective management of these heritage resources will help ensure the persistence of the Cocopah as a distinct cultural entity.

NOTES

¹There is some confusion over the Cocopah lineage system. Whereas Gifford (1918, 1933a) documented 17 Cocopah clans, Kelly (1942:Chart 3, 1977:Table 10) noted these as women’s names only. Kelly (1977:108-110) suggested the clans, or lineages, were more numerous but that many shared women’s names. During his fieldwork, Kelly (1942:Chart 3, 1977:Table 10) documented 40 Cocopah lineages, as well as several additional women’s names not recorded by Gifford (1918, 1933a).

²A comparison of Cocopah architectural forms described by Kniffen (1931:52-54), Gifford (1933a:271), and Kelly (1977:46-48) shows there was considerable regional variability, especially between the Cucapá along the Hardy River in Baja California, Mexico (on whom Kniffen [1931] focused) and the Cocopah on the American side of the border.

HOPÍ

The Hopi currently reside in the canyon and mesa country of northeastern Arizona, but due to the unique histories of different clans, the Hopi Tribe has ancestral connections throughout much of the Southwest and farther. The Hopi call themselves Hopisinom, meaning “Hopi People.” For centuries, however, they were erroneously referred to as the Moqui (Harrington 1945), including in the government documents that established them as a federally recognized tribe and delimited their reservation. Ethnographer Jesse Walter Fewkes (1907a:327), who was not a linguist, also used this false tribal name, suggesting it derived from the O’odham words *mo*, meaning “dead,” and *ki*, meaning “home.” He (Fewkes 1907a) believed this word was used by the Akimel O’odham to refer to the people who had once lived in the Tonto Basin. The actual source of error seems to be a corrupt Spanish and English pronunciation of Mókwi, meaning “Hopi People.” Rather than sounding like “Mókwi,” the word Moqui is phonetically more similar to the Hopi word *móki*, meaning “dead” (Harrington 1945). Finding the error offensive, the tribe’s name was officially changed from Moqui to Hopi in 1923 (James 1974:107).

Linguists group the Hopi language within the Northern Branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Uto-Aztecan languages are distributed as far north as Idaho and as far south as Central America (Hill et al. 1998:xv; Shaul 2014). The Hopi language has four mutually intelligible dialects: First Mesa, Second Mesa (two dialects), and Third Mesa. There is a community of Tewa speakers at the village of Haano on First Mesa whose ancestors moved there from the Rio Grande valley in the 1690s. Although Hopi and Tewa (of the Tanoan language family) are mutually unintelligible, most Tewa speakers living at First Mesa also speak the Hopi language (Stanislawski 1979:587).

Over the past century, the orthography of the Hopi language has changed considerably. The *Hopi Dictionary* (Hill et al. 1998), which focuses on the Third Mesa dialect, provides the most comprehensive body of work and a standard orthography for the Hopi language. Spellings in this chapter use those found in the *Hopi Dictionary*, but when quoting from a particular study, the original orthography is retained.

The Hopi Reservation is located almost 500 km northeast of the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (Figure 3.1). Numerous Hopi clans have migration accounts that situate them his-

torically in the vicinity of the Great Bend of the Gila, and important Hopi religious societies and ceremonies also have roots in southern Arizona. Based on their historical and spiritual connections with southern Arizona, the Hopi people retain important ties to this area. Hopis consider the landscape and the archaeological sites of the Great Bend of the Gila to be meaningful places that merit protection and preservation.

HOPÍ ORIGINS

Hopis believe that after coming into the Fourth World (the present world), their ancestors entered a spiritual pact with the deity Måasaw, the Guardian of the Earth, who charged them to act as stewards of the earth and to go in search of Tuuwanasavi, the earth’s Center Place, which is recognized to be the Hopi Mesas (Ferguson et al. 2000). Upon entering the Fourth World, Måasaw instructed them, “*ang kuktota*,” meaning “along there, make footprints,” directing Hopis to leave behind material evidence of their migrations in the form of petroglyphs, stone houses, pottery sherds, and other artifacts. These footprints are seen by Hopis as historical proof that they traveled the land and fulfilled their spiritual responsibilities (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:95; Ferguson et al. 2000; Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2009).

According to some traditional accounts, many Hopi clans emerged into the Fourth World from the Sipapuni near the Grand Canyon. These people are sometimes referred to as the Motisinom (“First People”), and their history in the American Southwest extends back to creation. Another group of Hopi clans traces their entry into the Fourth World to Yayniwpu, a place they believe is near the Valley of Mexico (Figure 3.2). They refer to this point in their past as Yayniini (“The Beginning”), a time when the Patkingyam (Water Clan) and other clans moved out of central Mexico and set forth on an epic series of migrations northward, eventually arriving in the Southwest (Ferguson and Loma’omvaya 1999; Washburn 1995:20-22).

After leaving Yayniwpu, these clans traveled to Palatkwapi (“Red Walled City”), where they stayed until floods and social unrest prompted further migrations. When they left Palatkwapi, the clans continued migrating until they ultimately reached the Hopi Mesas. The clans from Yayniwpu, the south-

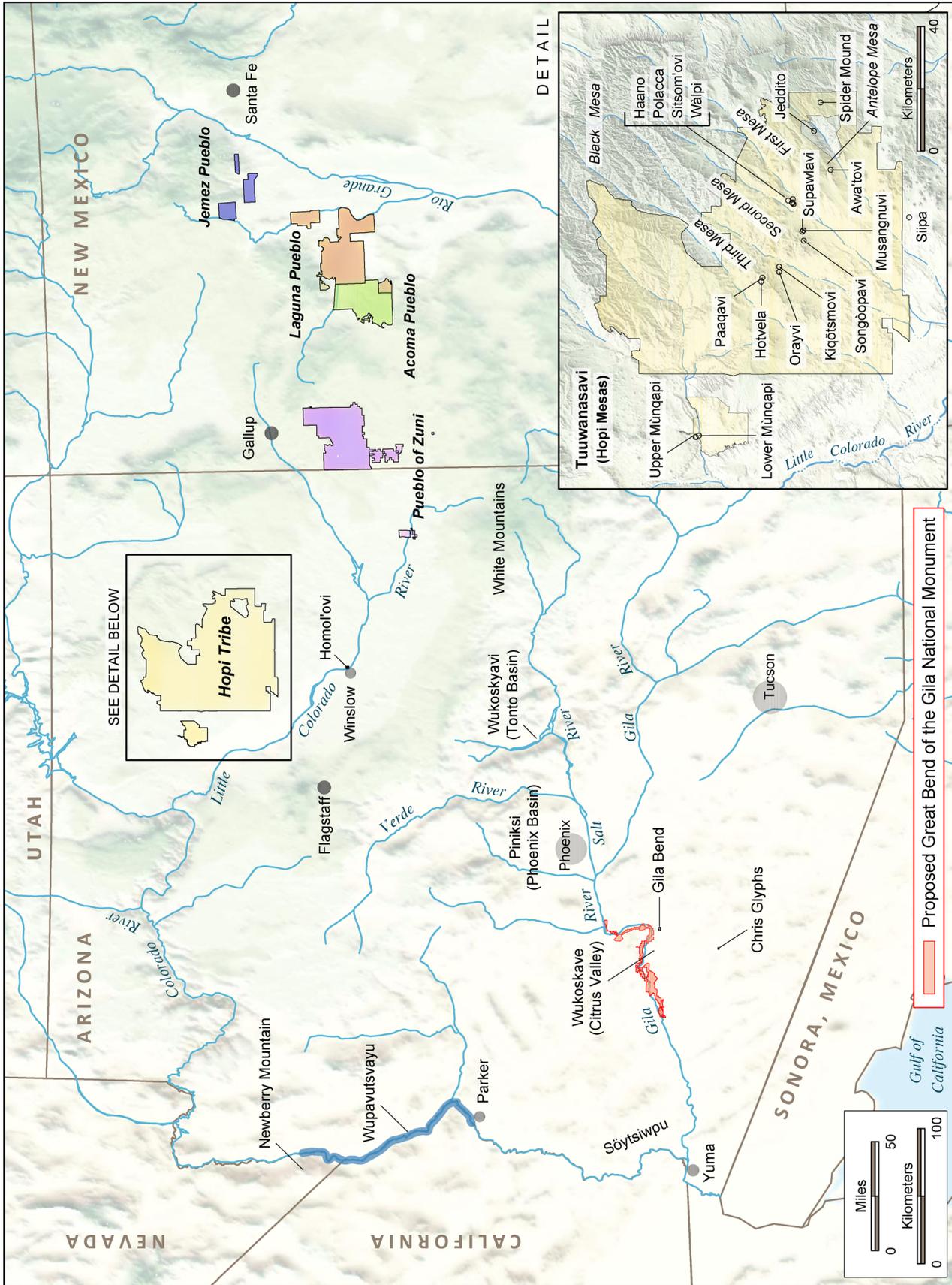


Figure 3.1. The Hopi Reservation and places mentioned in the text. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)



Figure 3.2. Schematic map of Hoopoq'yaqam migration routes to Tuuwanasavi. (Figure by Catherine Gilman; adapted from Washburn 1995:Figure 16.)

ern clans, are sometimes called the Hoopoq'yaqam ("Those Who Went to the Northeast"), referring to the general direction traveled while migrating toward the Hopi Mesas (Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999).

The Hoopoq'yaqam and the Motisinom are considered to be Hisatsinom ("Ancient People"), ances-

tors of the Hopi (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:97; Kuwanwisiwma 2004). Contemporary Hopi culture came into existence after the "gathering of the clans," which occurred when clans of the Motisinom and Hoopoq'yaqam converged at the Hopi Mesas. Each clan brought with it components of Hopi ritual and culture they contributed to

the villages in which they eventually settled. Thus, contemporary Hopi culture is the sum of all the histories, ceremonies, rituals, and knowledge brought to the Hopi Mesas by many smaller social groups (Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999).

Linguistic evidence points toward a deep history of Hopis with other tribes, some neighbors and others a considerable distance away. Scholars have observed close similarities among the languages of Hopi, Shoshone, Paiute, Ute, and Comanche, and similarly, traditions link the Hopi historically with these tribes (Bradfield 1973; Courlander 1971:41). There are also linguistic connections between the Hopi and the Keresan-speaking Pueblos in New Mexico, especially Laguna and Acoma, and several Keresan words are still used in Hopi songs (Hale and Harris 1979; Stephen 1936:578).

Scholars have also noted Southern Uto-Aztec linguistic elements in the Hopi language, suggesting influence from southern groups (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:115; Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999:175). Recent research identifies a number of Hopi (Northern Uto-Aztec) and Southern Uto-Aztec cognates, most notably terms associated with agricultural practices attributed to the Hoopoq'yaqam (for example, the Hopi *wiikya*, "wooden hoe," and the Southern Uto-Aztec *wika*, "planting stick") (Merrill 2012:230-232).

Some Hopi oral traditions state that when Hopi ancestors entered the Fourth World, the people were given different languages and they split up and went in different directions (Nequatewa 1967:27-29; Voth 1905:11). Others hold that, after emerging from the underworld, Hopi ancestors split, after which they learned different languages (Alfred Kaye Sr. in Lewis et al. 1999; Sahema and James 1999). Upon reuniting at the Hopi Mesas, the people became Hopi and thereafter began speaking the Hopi language. Regardless of which scenario, the linguistic evidence reviewed above corroborates Hopi traditional history, which suggests some clans migrated to Hopi from a considerable distance to the south.

The ancestral movement of Hopi clans across time and space was complex, and migration routes generally did not follow direct or linear routes (Anyon 1999:30). Instead, groups sometimes returned to places they had previously occupied and, over the course of their migrations, many clans separated into smaller groups that traveled different routes and who lived in different places before regrouping with other clan members. As Anyon (1999:30) has written, "This fragmentation, regrouping, and coalescing of clans is an integral feature of clan migrations to Hopi. As a result of the geographic and temporal complexity of clan migrations, clans arrived at Hopi from different directions and at different times" (see also Whiteley 1988:52). In spite of

their complex and varied histories, the Hopi have always considered themselves to have been one people (Zedeño and Stoffle 1996:82).

Due to the uniqueness and specificity of each clan's history, Hopi clan migrations provide an important frame of reference for understanding the broader scope of Hopi cultural geography and history (KenCairn and Randall 2009:32, see Bernardini 2005; Fewkes 1900b; Lyons 2003). As Dongoske et al. (1997:603) explain,

In the Hopi culture, each clan and religious group has a unique tradition that specifically accounts for how and why it came to be at Hopi... Individual clan histories recount in detail the gradual movement of these clans across the Southwest. In many respects, the very concept of "Hopi" as a distinct cultural and ethnic unit does not really have a reality until the "gathering of the clans" on the Hopi Mesas. Before that, the ancestors of the Hopi were organized not as a single tribe but as many distinct clans.

The complexity of clan migration traditions is further compounded by the large number of Hopi clans and how they are classified. Bradfield (1973:208) identified some 120 clan names that have been recorded for the Hopi villages. The nomenclature, classification, and ordering of these clans varies among different Hopi villages and over time (Curtis 1922:61-62; Mindeleff 1900).

TRADITIONAL HOPI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Hopi social structure contains a number of significant interlocking social groupings (Connelly 1979:539). Within each village, Hopis organize themselves according to households, lineages, clans, and phratries (Eggan 1950:17-138). The clan represents the cornerstone of Hopi society (Anyon 1999:24; Whiteley 1988:52). Hopi clans are exogamous and consist of kin who trace their descent matrilineally, usually to a single female ancestor. The household is regarded as a matrilineal residential and economic unit, and the lineage is a distinct segment of the clan that contains the mechanism for transmitting rights, duties, land, houses, and ceremonial knowledge (Whiteley 1988:47-48). The clans bear totemic names, and each has its own unique history of migration, recounting places where they traveled prior to settling on the Hopi Mesas (Anyon 1999:24; Whiteley 1988:52).

The phratry is an aggregate of related Hopi clans, and it is the largest exogamous unit in Hopi society. As Whiteley (1988:55) explained, clans and phratries are "intrinsic to the Hopi conceptualization of a world in which nature and culture are radically in-

terwoven." Hopi clans are grouped into 12 phratries, although the components of these phratries differ from village to village (Lowie 1929:331-332; Mindeleff 1891:38-39). The dynamic organization of clans and phratries has produced a remarkable flexibility in Hopi social organization (Connelly 1979:545). Clan extinctions and mergers, clan revivals through adoptions, and clan re-identification have occurred many times throughout Hopi history.

HOPi CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

The mission of the Hopi religion as practiced in all the Hopi villages is to achieve a "unity" of everything in the universe (Secakuku 1995:x). Ritual organization in Hopi villages is based on a ceremonial calendar, various orders of religious societies, and kiva groups. Hopi ritual organization is complex because, as Secakuku (1995:x) described, "The timing of ceremonies, the precise rituals involved, even the philosophical responses to the underlying concepts may vary among the Hopi villages." The age of the Hopi religion, and its reliance on oral history and traditional knowledge, add further complexity to the philosophical and historical basis of the Hopi religion and ceremonialism.

In Hopi thought, every ceremony is owned or controlled by a clan (Eggan 1950:90). These ceremonies were usually given to the clans in the underworld by one of the deities. Due to historical processes, however, the clans and the ceremonies they currently own have not always been equated with each other. For example, if a clan with an important ceremony becomes too small to conduct its ceremonial responsibilities or if it goes extinct, another clan in its phratry may assume responsibility for the ritual, sometimes referencing the name of the dying clan (Levy 1992:22-30). This has led to the current configuration in which ceremonies that belong to particular clans vary between villages (Connelly 1979:548; Frigout 1979:575).

Hopi ceremonial organization is even more complex and intricate in that while ceremonies are owned by particular clans, they are performed by a religious society or fraternity whose membership cross-cuts the clan system. For instance, kiva groups are another major unit in Hopi ceremonial organization (Whiteley 1988:61-64), where "kiva" applies to both the ceremonial group and to the special chamber used for the performance of its rituals. Although kivas belong to particular clans, kiva group membership cross-cuts that of households, clans, and religious societies. The cross-cutting nature of Hopi ceremonial organization links individuals from different families, clans, and villages together and serves to integrate Hopi society (Eggan 1950:116-120).

Hopi Ceremonialism

The Hopi name for ritual knowledge is *wiimi*, and this term encompasses ceremonies as well as the ritual objects, songs, and traditions on which they rely (Geertz 1994:9). *Wiimi* is accompanied by *navoti*, a system of traditional knowledge that structures the philosophical, scientific, and theological concepts used to explain the past and to prophesize the future (Whiteley 1988:255). Hopi *wiimi* and *navoti* are precious aspects of the cultural and spiritual heritage the Hopi inherited from their ancestors.

Hopis follow a yearly calendar of ceremonies that ensure rain, fertility, good crops, and a long life. As Frigout (1979:564) explained, "In a sense, all Hopi life is based on the ceremonies, which assure vital equilibrium, both social and individual, and conciliate the supernatural powers in order to obtain rain, good harvests, good health, and peace." The Hopi ceremonial calendar is associated with lunar and solar time, and it is divided into two periods.

The Hopi also maintain a space-time-color-number paradigm, which provides a logical basis for the ritual expression of correspondences among the different components of their ceremonial performances. As Hieb (1979:578) described, various ritual paraphernalia are constructed in accordance with this paradigm, and a fundamental aspect of this is the spatial orientation of the four cardinal directions, which is represented in the counter-clockwise ceremonial processions involved in Hopi rituals.

The natural environment plays an important role in Hopi ceremonies. For example, it is common for Hopis to procure water from springs in areas where Hopi clans formerly resided (Fewkes 1900a:693-694; 1900b:592). This custom of collecting water from ancestral places links Hopi people with their ancestors and connects clans with places of historical importance. The water from such springs is considered sacred and is often used by priests in religious ceremonies (Hough 1906:168). Plants, animals, rocks, and minerals also play an important role in Hopi cultural practices. Many of these materials are collected from sacred places far away or obtained from those places via trade so they can be used in Hopi ceremonies (Ferguson 1998:221-226; Hough 1897, 1902:465). The Hopi consider the earth to be sacred, and the focus of many of their ceremonies revolves around the balance, health, and well-being of the land.

HOPi RESISTANCE TO SPANISH COLONIALISM

The Hopi have had a tumultuous history of interaction with colonial forces, especially the Spaniards. The following is a summary of major events

as described by James (1974), Preucel (2002), Wilcox (2009), Kessell (2010), Copeland (2012), and Sheridan et al. (2015). The corresponding timeline establishes a historical reference for the continued colonial legacy, first under Mexico, and then under the United States. In 1540, after battling with the Zuni, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado sent an expedition under the command of Captain Pedro de Tovar to make contact with the Hopi. When the Spaniards arrived, probably at the ancestral village of Awat'ovi on Antelope Mesa (Brew 1979:519), the Hopis marked a line on the ground with corn pollen as a gesture to keep them out. Ignoring the line, the Spaniards entered the village and battled with the Hopis, ultimately defeating them. This first encounter between the Hopi, whom the Spaniards called Moquis, and the Spaniards, whom the Hopi still refer to as Kastiilam, marked the beginning of centuries of trauma and distress for the Hopi people.

Another tumultuous meeting occurred in 1583, when a party under Antonio de Espejo traveled from the northern Rio Grande valley in present-day New Mexico to Awat'ovi (Hammond and Rey 1966:190). They arrived with about 80 Zuni warriors and again fought and subdued the Hopi. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards had begun colonizing and evangelizing the Pueblo people under the reasoning of the Discovery Doctrine, which entitled Spain to take dominion over all non-Christian people it encountered. In 1598, Juan de Oñate led a large colonizing party up the Rio Grande Valley and founded San Juan de los Caballeros as the first colony of Santa Fe de Nuevo México, a new province under the Viceroyalty of New Spain. After meeting with the leaders of 30 pueblos, Oñate took formal possession of Pueblo lands, disregarding any ownership claim the Pueblo people had to their traditional lands. Oñate demanded that the Pueblo leaders adopt Christianity; otherwise, they would be physically punished and condemned to hell. The Hopi complied, but only superficially, because they realized the Spanish presence was not permanent (Hammond and Rey 1953:360-362).

In 1629, three Spanish missionaries of the Franciscan Order arrived at Hopi. They established rudimentary missions at the villages of Awat'ovi, Orayvi, Songdopavi, Musangnuvi, and Wálpi. Two years later, they erected a church atop one of Awat'ovi's kivas, an act and symbol of dominance on the part of the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown (Montgomery et al. 1949:9-13). In 1680, after more than a century of abuse by the Spaniards, several Pueblos united and led coordinated attacks against the Spaniards in what has come to be known as the Pueblo Revolt. The Pueblo Revolt resulted in a victory for the Pueblos, and, with the Franciscans finally gone from their villages, the Pueblos were

able to again openly practice their own traditions and religious practices.

The Spanish Crown ultimately returned in 1692, when Don Diego de Vargas, then-governor of Nuevo México, led a reconquest against the Pueblo people. By this time, all the Hopis had coalesced in the villages atop the Hopi Mesas (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:169, 219n.76). Over the ensuing years, many people from Eastern Pueblos along the Rio Grande and its tributaries, including a Tewa-speaking group from Jemez Pueblo, fled to Hopi, the westernmost reach of the Pueblo world, to escape the returning Spaniards.

In 1699, then-Governor of Santa Fe, Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, sent the leader of Zuni, José Naranjo, and friars Francisco de Garaicoechea and Antonio de Mirando to Awat'ovi, but they were halted by Francisco de Espeleta, the leader of Orayvi. The following year, Espeleta led a delegation to Santa Fe to meet with Governor Cubero. Espeleta proposed a truce between the Hopi villages and Spain that would allow the Hopi to retain claim to their land and the right to be free of Christianity, but the governor refused.

During the following winter, the Hopi laid siege to the Spanish-occupied Awat'ovi, destroying it and burning Spanish priests and Hopi converts in an act of cleansing the village (Waters 1977:259-266). Many of the women and children were relocated to other Hopi villages. In 1702, another group of Tewa speakers sought refuge among the Hopi. After defeating the Ute in an attack against Hopi, the chief of Wálpi allowed them to settle on First Mesa, where they founded the village of Haano. However, in 1716, then-Governor Félix Martínez de Torrelaguna demanded that the Tewa-speaking refugees at Hopi return to their home pueblos, but most refused. In retaliation, Martínez had their livestock killed and their crops burned.

Over the next 100 years, the Hopi continued to resist Spanish dominion and reject their colonial demands. In 1775, Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, a Franciscan priest stationed at Zuni Pueblo, attempted to visit Wálpi and Orayvi, but he was not welcomed into the villages (Adams 1963). The following year, Franciscan missionary Francisco Garcés traveled from the lower Colorado River to the Hopi Mesas, but he was also given a cold reception (Adams and Chávez 1956:283). That following year, Fray Vélez de Escalante returned with another priest, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, and they approached the Hopi from the northwest. With the help of Paiute guides, they were shown a road that led south from Utah to Orayvi. Escalante and Dominguez were welcomed and given food, but the Hopi outright dismissed the priests' requests that they accept Christianity and relocate nearer to San-

ta Fe (Chávez and Warner 1976:113). After several additional futile attempts at convincing the Hopi to move to the Rio Grande valley, there is little mention of them in official documents. From then on, the Hopi lived relatively free of European influences until the expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century.

By the end of the eighteenth century, drought and disease had devastated Hopi communities, as well as their crops and animals. The difficulties and trauma endured by the Hopi during the Spanish missionization and colonization included sexual exploitation of Hopi women, torture, suppression of Hopi ceremonies, and forced labor. These remain as open wounds in Hopi society today, and the stories about this dark period in Hopi history have been retained and passed along in oral tradition. Likewise, subsequent traumas and injustices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, imposed by the colonial policies of Mexico and the United States that expanded on those of the Spaniards, continue to be felt among the Hopi. Key among those are numerous land disputes with the U.S. government and neighboring tribes, the establishment of the reservation, and restrictions of access to traditional sites (Clemmer 1979; Dockstader 1979; James 1974).

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATION

Prior to the reservation and federal recognition as a distinct Indian tribe, the Hopi organized themselves into 12 autonomous villages, one of which has two colonies (see Figure 3.1). The Hopi built 10 villages atop three protrusions along the southern edge of Black Mesa in northeastern Arizona. From east to west, these are known as First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa, and they are referred to collectively as the Hopi Mesas. Wàlpi, Sitsom'ovi, and Haano (Tewa Village) lie on top of First Mesa. Another community, called Polacca, is situated along its base, and another, known as Spider Mound, is located southeast of the First Mesa villages. Haano is occupied by descendants of the Tewa speakers who migrated from the northern Rio Grande valley in New Mexico approximately 300 years ago.

Supawlavi, Songòopavi, and Musangnuvi are the villages atop Second Mesa, and the Third Mesa villages are Orayvi, Kiqòtsmovi, Hotvela, and Paaqavi. Lower Múnqapi and Upper Múnqapi, two villages originally established as colonies of Orayvi, are located approximately 80 km west of Third Mesa.

In 1936, the Hopi Tribe was formally organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, with an elected Chairman and Tribal Council that operate under a tribal constitution and by-laws (Clemmer 1995:150-165; Connelly 1979:550). The Hopi Tribe, as

a contemporary political organization, exists to support the traditional organization of the Hopi villages and to provide services to tribal members. According to the latest census figures from 2010, 16,053 Hopis and 242 Arizona Tewas consider themselves part of the Hopi Tribe, of which approximately 6,500 are estimated to be proficient in the Hopi language (U.S. Census Bureau 2010, 2013).

The original Hopi Indian Reservation, established by President Arthur by Executive Order on 16 December 1882, was a rectangular block measuring approximately 2,472,300 acres (Kappler 1904: 805), an area vastly larger than today's 1,620,480-acre reservation. The Hopi reservation was partitioned into its current configuration after litigation between the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation to determine ownership (Clemmer 1995:235-245). The configuration was ultimately settled through an Act of Congress (Public Law 93-531). Subsequent litigation between the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation pursuant to 25 U.S.C. §640d-7 resulted in an addition to the Hopi Reservation of some 260 km² around the village of Múnqapi. This addition lies about 20 km west of the main body of the Hopi Reservation (see Figure 3.1).

The Hopi consider the Greater Southwest and parts of Mexico to be their traditional, aboriginal lands, a vast region they know as Hopitutskwa ("Hopi Land"). Hopitutskwa is dense with culturally important locations that include landforms associated with deities and historical events, sacred springs, rivers, trails, ancestral villages, petroglyphs, and other archaeological sites that verify the migrations of their ancestors (Jenkins et al. 1994:2). Hopis refer to these places as *itaakuku*, "footprints." When Hopis visit such places, they commonly leave offerings, such as *hooma* (prayer meal) and *paaho* (prayer feathers), as part of their stewardship responsibility to the earth and their ancestors. The development of reservations and other federally managed lands has imposed restrictions on how, when, and even whether the Hopi can visit these areas to perform their spiritual duties.

In 1970, the Hopi Tribe filed a claim before the Indian Claims Commission for aboriginal lands taken by the United States after 1848 without payment to the Hopi Tribe. The Indian Claims Commission (1974a, 1974b) determined that the Hopi Tribe had exclusive use and ownership of an area much smaller than that claimed by the tribe. As such, the aboriginal lands allotted to the Hopi Tribe by the Indian Claims Commission do not represent the area used and occupied by ancestors of the Hopi people in earlier centuries, nor do they represent the areas used by Hopi for all of their current cultural activities. This includes the Great Bend of the Gila, which the Hopi regard as part of Hopitutskwa, Hopi Land.

HOPI CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

The Hopi Tribe understands its ancestral connection with southern Arizona through the clans and religious societies associated with the Hoopoq'yaqam, an ancestral group of clans that migrated through southern Arizona from Palatkwapi to their ultimate destination on the Hopi Mesas (Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999, 2003). Hopis trace their historical relationship with ancestral Hoopoq'yaqam groups using traditional history and geography, kinship, archaeological materials, ethnobotanical knowledge, and ongoing religious and cultural practices. Today, the Hopi retain strong ties with the areas once inhabited by the Hoopoq'yaqam, and continued values of the Hopi include concepts of protection and preservation of these places. The Hopi believe the Great Bend of the Gila was once home to some Hoopoq'yaqam clans. In this way, Hopis derive heritage value in both the cultural resources of the Great Bend region and in their involvement in their stewardship.

Connections through Clan Migrations

Hopi clans that migrated from the south, the Hoopoq'yaqam clans, are associated with Palatkwapi, the "Red Walled City," an ancestral region south of the Hopi Mesas. Suggested locations of Palatkwapi range from southern and central Arizona to Mesoamerica, and even as far as South America (Andreani 2002:31). In writing about the archaeological site of Paquimé (Casas Grandes) in Chihuahua, Di Peso (1974:767-768) speculated that Palatkwapi, which he translated as "the southern Place of the Red Coral Shell," may have been either the Toltecan Hùehuetlapallan ("Red Lands") in Mexico, or perhaps the Phoenix Basin of south-central Arizona. However, as Teague (1993:445) concluded:

There might have been a number of places associated with the name Palatkwapi, representing the different southern homes of the various clans, and also reflecting the sequential occupation of villages during the passage from the south to the Hopi mesas in northeastern Arizona. The precise location is less important than the associations connecting this concept with the social context that prevailed in late prehistory throughout southern and central Arizona and parts of northern Mexico.

Other scholars view Palatkwapi as a period in Hopi's past rather than as a specific geographic location (Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999). As Anyon

(1999:31) explained, "It is most likely that *Palatkwapi* is an amalgam of sites that includes some time depth...*Palatkwapi* may best be regarded as a palimpsest of memories associated with lands far south of Hopi."

The clans associated with Palatkwapi consider the archaeological sites of southern Arizona as places their ancestors lived during their migration to the Hopi Mesas. Ferguson and Loma'omvaya (1999:112, 2003:Table 6) identified at least 31 clans associated with Palatkwapi and migrations from the south. During a reevaluation of these clans in 2016, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office concluded that at least 28 clans migrated from the south (Table 3.1).

According to Kuwanwisiwma (1998), different Hopi clans followed different routes, including through the areas encompassed by the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, as they migrated from Palatkwapi and across the southern Southwest (see Figure 3.2). As Kuwanwisiwma (1998) clarified, the clans that migrated generally through central Arizona and into the Tonto Basin (Wukoskyavi) include the Water, Young Corn, Bluebird, Bear Strap, Bear, Sun, Sun Forehead, and Eagle clans. The clans that traveled through eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, arriving at Hopi from the upper Little Colorado River and White Mountain areas, include the Bow, Greasewood, Reed, Kestrel, Squash, and Grey Hawk clans. The clans that traveled through the central and western portions of Arizona, migrating to Hopi via the Verde Valley, include the Rattlesnake, Lizard, and Sand clans.

An account of the Reed Clan's migration history (Quotskuyva 1998) indicates that some Hopi clans arrived to the Southwest from Central or South America, and then continued migrating north due to droughts, famines, and social conflicts. As Robert Quotskuyva (in Andreani 2002:30) shared, "The Reed Clan followed the big rivers during migration because they provided water and vegetation." These big rivers may very well include the lower Colorado (Pisisvayu) and the lower Gila rivers. Andreani (2002:28) further documents clans with traditions involving visits to the lower Colorado River and surrounding landscape. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office reevaluated this list in 2016 (see Table 3.1). Prominent traditions include the histories of the Fire, Rattlesnake, Sand, and Lizard clans.

One of the clan histories shared with Waters (1977:87-89) describes the migration of the Lizard and Rattlesnake clans from the lower Colorado River to Hopi, with an extended residence in the Great Bend area. According to Waters's (1977) retelling, these two clans lived together for a long time in the vicinity of Parker, Arizona, where they grew abundant crops, and their presence was preceded by that of the Fire

Table 3.1. Hopi clans with migration histories tied to southern Arizona.

Hopi Name	English Gloss	Migration Route in Southern Arizona		Associated Hopi Villages
		From the South ^a	Along the Lower Colorado River ^b	
Aawatngyam	Bow Clan	X	X	Orayvi
Alngyam	Horn or Deer Clan	X	X	Wälpi
Atokngyam	Crane Clan	X		Wälpi, Musangnuvi
Honngyam	Bear Clan	X		Wälpi, Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Supawlavi, Orayvi
Hospowngyam	Roadrunner Clan	X	X	Wälpi
Kookopngyam	Fire Clan	X	X	Orayvi
Kookyangngyam	Spider Clan	X	X	Supawlavi, Orayvi
Kuukutsngyam	Lizard Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi
Kwaangyam	Eagle Clan	X	X	Songòopavi, Musangnuvi
Kyarngyam	Parrot Clan	X		Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi
Kyelngyam	Kestrel Clan	X		Wälpi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi
Lenngyam	Flute Clan	X	X	Wälpi
Masikwayngyam	Gray Hawk Clan	X		Musangnuvi
Matsakwngyam	Horned Toad Clan		X	Wälpi
Nuvangyam	Snow Clan	X		Songòopavi
Oomawngyam	Cloud Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi
Paaqapngyam	Reed Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi
Paatangngyam	Squash Clan	X		Wälpi, Musangnuvi
Paa'isngyam	Water Coyote Clan		X	Orayvi
Patkingyam	Water Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Supawlavi, Orayvi
Pifngyam	Tobacco Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi, Musangnuvi
Piikyasngyam	Young Corn Clan	X	X	Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi
Piqösngyam	Bear Strap Clan	X	X	Songòopavi, Orayvi
Qa'öngyam	Mature Corn Clan	X	X	Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Supawlavi
Qalngyam	Sun Forehead Clan	X		Songòopavi, Musangnuvi
Taawangyam	Sun Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi, Supawlavi
Tepngyam	Greasewood Clan	X	X	Orayvi
Tsorngyam	Bluebird Clan	X	X	Songòopavi
Tsu'ngyam	Rattlesnake Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Orayvi
Tuwangyam	Sand Clan	X	X	Wälpi, Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, Orayvi

Note: This information was evaluated and updated by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in 2016.

^aInformation from Ferguson and Loma'omvaya (1999:112, 2003:Table 6).

^bInformation from Andreani (2002:Table 4).

and Water clans. The stretch of the lower Colorado River between Newberry Mountain and Parker, Arizona is known as Wupavutsvayu ("The Place of the Long, Wide River") (Kuwanwisiwma 2001).

As the Lizard and Rattlesnake clans continued their migration to the Hopi Mesas, they settled for a long period at Wukoskave ("Wide Valley"), recognized today as the Citrus Valley along the Great Bend of the Gila. From there, they continued their migration, with a time spent in the middle Gila River valley before turning north and joining the other clans at Hopi. Their ancestral village, ballcourt, race-

track, and clan symbols (as petroglyphs) left by the Lizard and Rattlesnake clans while at Wukoskave are still visible today (Waters 1977:87-89, 104-108).

The Fire Clan, which may have originated as far south as South America, intermittently traveled with the Rattlesnake and Spider clans. They also interacted with the Bow, Bluebird, Lizard, Bamboo/Reed, Eagle, Water, Coyote, Katsina, and Gray Badger clans during their migrations in southwestern Arizona. Wilton Kooyahoema, a member of the Fire Clan, recalled an area in southern Arizona known as Söytsiwpu, which he believes might be in the vicini-

ty of the Yuma Proving Ground or the Barry M. Goldwater Range (see Figure 3.2) (Andreani 2002:28-29). This location is known as “the Four Ridges” and “The Opening Place,” and it is characterized as being in a very dry area. It is a locale where many of the southern clans reunited with each other. After the gathering at Söytsiwpu, Mr. Kooyahoema explained that the Fire, Spider, and Snake clans continued their migrations up the Colorado River from the south, while other clans migrated up the lower Gila River and through the Great Bend area toward Phoenix.

The Water Clan, which had an important role and a significant presence at Palatkwapi, traces its migration through Piniksi and Wukoskyavi, the Phoenix and Tonto basins. Many scholars believe the Water Clan resided for some time along the Gila River and had a considerable influence on the social and religious configuration of communities in southern Arizona between approximately A.D. 1200 and 1450.

Di Peso (1974:775) showed that ceramic design styles appearing at Paquimé in northern Chihuahua can be linked directly to those at Homol’ovi, a well-known ancestral Hopi village in northern Arizona near Winslow. To explain this transmission of styles, Di Peso (1974:775) concluded that, “The [Water Clan] was in some yet unknown way directly involved with the intricate history of the spread of the Gila Polychrome complex in Arizona, New Mexico, and Sonora.” Archaeologists date this Gila Polychrome complex, technically known as Roosevelt Red Ware and commonly called Salado Polychrome, to the A.D. 1275–1450 period (Crown 1994).

Fewkes (1907a:328) likewise suggested the ancient inhabitants of the Gila River valley included members of the Water Clan. He believed that the ancestors of the Water Clan were closely related to the ancestors of the Akimel O’odham. After extensive studies of the archaeological sites and Native cultures of the Southwest, Fewkes (1907a:328-329, emphasis added) concluded that:

In ancient times the valleys of the Gila and its tributaries as far down river as *Gila Bend* were inhabited by an agricultural people in a homogeneous stage of culture. There existed minor divisions of this stock, as Sobaipuri, Pima, Opa (Cocomaricopa), and Patki [Water Clan].

Waters (1977:103-108) specifically identified Gila Bend, Sonora, and places farther south in Mesoamerica as settling places for different Hopi clans during their migrations. He suggested that petroglyphs left in the Gila Bend area are indicative of a long history of residence there by Hopis, in which clans left and returned to this area multiple times over the course of their migrations.

Many more Hopi clans beyond those described above have history and traditions that connect them to southern Arizona. The few available detailed migration accounts of Hoopoq’yaqam clans provide insight into the significance of this region, specifically, the Great Bend of the Gila, in Hopi history. Further, many of the Hoopoq’yaqam clans are fundamentally involved in Hopi’s ongoing ceremonial cycle, and their religious traditions also relate to their migrations from the south. As Fewkes (1910:594) pointed out, “Evidences have been advanced...that considerable additions have been made to the Hopi sociology, linguistics, mythologies, and rites by colonists from the Gila and Salt river valleys, the people that in prehistoric times built the large compounds in southern Arizona.” Some of these compounds are found in the vicinity of Gila Bend, the westernmost reach of the Hohokam archaeological tradition (Doyel 2000; Wright et al. 2015:13-19).

Connections through Religious Societies and Ceremonies

According to Hopi traditional history, nine religious societies and ceremonies were brought to Hopi by Hoopoq’yaqam clans that migrated from Palatkwapi (Table 3.2). Each of the clans and phratries that arrived at Hopi preserved distinct “legends, ceremonies, and ceremonial paraphernalia” (Fewkes 1907b:563). Sikánakpu (in Voth 1912:142-143) explained that some of the clans preserved their ceremonies by performing them during the migrations.

The Batki clan and Sand clan come from [Palatkwapi]...When traveling they sometimes halted, and the Sand clan would spread sand on the ground and plant corn. The Batki clan would sing and thereby cause it to thunder and to rain, and the corn would grow in a day, and they would have something to eat” (Sikánakpu, in Voth 1912:142).

The nine religious societies and ceremonies that originated at Palatkwapi reference seven deities, or *katsinas* (Table 3.3). One of the most prominent of these is Paalölöqangw, the Horned Water Serpent, who brought about the flood that destroyed Palatkwapi. For example, some Hopi believe that the rituals of the Agave Society were brought from Palatkwapi to Hopi by the Water Clan (Fewkes 1894:403-416), and that Paalölöqangw’s horn is thus associated with the Agave Society (Yava 1978:8, 69).

The nine religious societies and ceremonies of the Hoopoq’yaqam clans figure prominently at Hopi. For instance, as Fewkes (1900b:633) described long

Table 3.2. Hopi religious societies and ceremonies associated with the clans that migrated from the south.

Hopi Name	English Gloss
Aa'alt	Horn Society
Kwaakwant	Agave Society
Lalkont	Basket Society Dance
Leelent	Flute Ceremony
Mamrawt	Women's Society
Soyalang	Winter Solstice Ceremony
Taatawkyam	Singer's Society
Wuwtsimt	Ancients Society
Yayat	Hopi religious society

Note: This information is from Ferguson and Loma'omvaya (2003:Table 7) and was updated by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in 2016.

Table 3.3. Hopi deities and ceremonial personages associated with the clans that migrated from the south.

Hopi Name	English Gloss
Aloosaka	Hopi religious society
Sa'lako	Hopi Shalako
Oomawkatsinam	Cloud katsina
Paalölöqangw	Horned Water Serpant
Sootukwnang	Sky deity
Soyalkatsina	Soyal katsina
Tuutukwnangt	Sky deities

Note: This information is from Ferguson and Loma'omvaya (2003:Table 8) and was updated by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in 2016.

ago, "The majority of the clans and the most distinctive ceremonies in the Wälpi ritual came from southern Arizona...Some parts of the ritual which are distinctly Hopi are found not to have come from the north, but from the south." He (Fewkes 1919:273) further noted, "The southern clans introduced some novelties in ceremonies, especially in the Winter Solstice and New-fire festivals and in the rites of the Horned Serpent at the Spring Equinox." The specific ceremonies Fewkes (1900b:626-630, 1919:271) identified as coming from Palatkwapi include the Horn, Ancients, and Women's societies brought by the Squash Phratry; the Singer's Society brought by the Tobacco Clan; and the Agave Society and Basket Society Dance brought by the Water Phratry. To these can be added the Yayat, Flute Ceremony, and Winter Solstice Ceremony (see Table 3.2), the latter of which Voth (1905:47-48) attributed to the Sand Clan.

Most of Fewkes's (1919) observations are confirmed by contemporary Hopi scholars. Kuwan-wisiwma (1998) pointed out that the Horn Society (associated with the Bow Clan), the Ancients Soci-

ety (associated with the Kestrel Clan), the Singer's Society (associated with the Parrot Clan), and the Agave Society (associated with the Eagle Clan) are also associated with the southern Southwest. Similarly, Lomawaima (1998) explained that the Basket Society Dance came with clans that migrated from the south. A monument associated with this religious society was located at Siipa, which included a ring of stones placed in the formation of the Basket Society Dance. Parsons (1926:186) noted that, "Those people on their way from [Palatkwapi] took a rest every afternoon and before they rested they danced, they danced *lakunti* [the Basket Society Dance]." She added that this is given as the reason why the Water Clan owns the Basket Society Dance (Parsons 1926:187).¹

Connections through Travel and Trade

Salt, water, and seashells are traditional ceremonial items associated with southwestern Arizona and the Gulf of California that Hopis procured through travel and trade (Appendix Figure D.12). Hopi cultural advisors stated that seashells were prized items, and they were obtained through trips to the Gulf of California and through trade (Andreani 2002:34). LaVerne Siweumtewa (1999) recalled Hopi pilgrimages to the ocean to gather saltwater and seashells. When Mr. Siweumtewa visited the Pacific, he collected ocean water and gave it to the Antelope, Agave, and Flute societies for use in their ceremonies. Earlier travel to the Pacific Ocean is corroborated in the writing of early anthropologists at Hopi. For instance, Hough (1898:138) indicated in his chronicles that members of the Hopi Tribe "may have journeyed to the Gulf of California for precious sea shells." It is likely that, on occasion, Hopis traveled through the Great Bend of the Gila area to obtain shells and salt, because it encompasses a major ancestral trade and travel corridor between the Hopi Mesas and the sea (Brand 1938; Hayden 1972; Tower 1945; Wright et al. 2015:52-55).

In addition to traveling for material goods, the Hopi also have stories of travel for the acquisition of ceremonial knowledge. For example, Micah Loma'omvaya, a Bear Clan member from Songöopavi, stated that during the travels of the Bear Strap Clan to the Gulf of California to collect salt, while there, they also acquired religious and ceremonial knowledge (Andreani 2002:29-30). The Hopi story of Tiyo narrates an epic journey of a young boy traveling down the Colorado River to the ocean, where he disembarks and meets foreign people who teach him about rainmaking. This story is generally known by all Hopi, but some versions of the story

contain proprietary information specific to the Rattlesnake Clan and the Snake Society (Hopkins 2012).

The Tiyo narratives provide descriptive accounts of the lower Colorado River valley and the desert Southwest, thereby connecting the Hopi with this landscape through both imagery and history. Additional narratives of Tiyo's journey home from the southern lands, whereupon he follows a different route, provide further details about Hopi connections to the southern Southwest (Andreani 2002:32-33; Courlander 1971:83; Dorsey and Voth 1902:255-261; Hopkins 2012; Stephen 1929:35-50, 1936:636-637; Voth 1905:30-36).

Connections through Cultural Resources

In 1776, Garcés (Coues 1900:386-387) stated that "...the Moqui nation anciently extended to the Rio Gila itself." Garcés noted that, in conversations with the Akimel O'odham and Sobaipuri of southern Arizona, he was told that "Moquis" were responsible for building many of the large ancient villages of central and southern Arizona (see also Bandelier 1892:464-466; Hodge 1910a:251). Since then, many scholars have also suggested that before reaching the Hopi Mesas, several early clans lived at some of the ancestral sites in southern Arizona and northern Mexico (Cordell 1997; Di Peso 1974; Fewkes 1910; Teague 1993).

In a study of Hopi and Akimel O'odham traditional history, Teague (1989:156-168, 1993:445-451) found that the descriptions of riverine irrigation, of a breakdown of social religious authority, and of flooding at Palatkwapi have historical parallels in the cultural resources of southern Arizona. According to Teague (1993), the Hopi and O'odham have ancestral connections to at least some aspects of the Hohokam archaeological tradition. She suggested that Hopi traditions represent the perspective of the people who left for the northern Pueblos after the social upheaval at Palatkwapi, while O'odham traditions represent the perspective of those who stayed (Teague 1993).

The Hopi Tribe has made formal claims of cultural affiliation to the Hohokam and Salado archaeological traditions of southern Arizona as defined under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Ferguson 2003; Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 1999). Although an extensive cultural affiliation study relating contemporary Hopi with the Patayan archaeological tradition of southwestern Arizona has yet to be conducted, Hopis believe they have significant cultural and historical connections to the Patayan (Andreani 2002:52-53). As Ferguson and Schachner (2003:64) point out:

The Hopi people view their past in terms of their ancestors, the real people who lived at the sites now studied by archaeologists. These ancestors migrated through all of the geographical regions associated with archaeological cultures, so different groups of Hopi ancestors (Hisatsinom) were simultaneously or sequentially affiliated with all of the archaeological cultures of the Southwest.

Hopi perspectives on cultural affiliation are echoed in their views about archaeology in general. Whereas archaeologists usually define archaeological sites as discrete locales of material culture that can be physically bounded and geographically defined, in Hopi thought, "these [archaeological] sites are inextricably associated with the surrounding region. The culturally meaningful scale needed to interpret *kuktota* [Hopi "footprints"] thus far exceeds the boundaries of archaeological sites as delineated by artifact scatters and architecture" (Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2009:102).

Sekaquaptewa (in Zedeño and Stoffle 1996:82) further explained that archaeologists apply a scientific perspective that describes past events such as migration as social reactions to natural incidents, famine, or environmental breakdown. In contrast, the Hopi apply a spiritual perspective, viewing some of these natural tragedies as the effects of the moral breakdown of human beings that reflect a failure of the ancestors to uphold their spiritual responsibilities. Consequently, the Creator produced natural events that caused the Hisatsinom to move onward until they reached their destiny at Tuuwanasavi, the earth's Center Place at the Hopi Mesas.

In previous ethnographic studies conducted by the Hopi Tribe along the Great Bend of the Gila, cultural advisors identified numerous cultural resources they consider to be important for understanding their relationships with the area. For example, in speaking about the petroglyph images at Sears Point, which is within the boundaries of the proposed national monument, Hopi tribal members stated that "the symbols are each packed with a story...they have an embedded narrative. The embedded narrative includes clan signs, directional markers, and references to the songs and ceremonies that contain the narrative history of clans and migrations" (Underwood 2009:58).

The presence of a specific clan in an area is recognized by its *wu'ya*, or totem, representing its name and symbolic association to a plant, animal, or some other phenomenon important in the migration history of the clan (Eggen 1950:80-89). Hopi *wu'ya* are often depicted in petroglyphs and pictographs, so such features are important in tracing Hopi clan migrations (Bernardini 2005; Colton and Colton 1931; Ferguson 1998:259-262; Russell and Wright 2009). As Clemmer (1993:85-86) stated, ancestral sites

and rock writings are a kind of “road map” of Hopi’s spiritual progress through the universe, and they reflect Hopi’s commitment with Maasaw to act as stewards of the earth and do their part in keeping the universe’s energy forces in balance.

Hopi advisors have previously identified specific petroglyphs at Sears Point as *wu’ya* of Hopi clans, and they recognized some personal and community responsibility areas (such as settlements) of migrating Hopi clans. They also identified an image they believe depicts the Crab Nebula, the remnant of a supernova dated to 4 July 1054 (Underwood 2009:59). The Hopi believe the supernova was an important spiritual message that directed them toward Tuuwanasavi, their spiritual center at the Hopi Mesas. When shown photographs of petroglyphs at other places along the Great Bend in 2015, members of the Hopi Cultural Resource Advisory Task Team (HCRATT) also recognized petroglyphs at Toad Tank and Oatman Point they believe might represent stars, possibly also in reference to the 1054 supernova (Appendix D.11-D.12).

In researching Hopi connections to the Barry M. Goldwater Range and the Yuma Proving Ground in southern Arizona, which are located immediately south and west of the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, Hopi cultural advisors identified many more petroglyphs or pictographs that have significance in Hopi life (Andreani 2002; Anyon 1999). These include *wu’ya* of numerous Hopi clans (see Anyon 1999:51), as well as depictions of katsinas and other deities that are important to the Hoopq’yaqam clans.

For example, Hopi cultural advisors interpreted an image of a cross at the Chris Glyphs site in the Barry M. Goldwater Range as a representation of Tuuwanasavi (Anyon 1999:52). When shown photographs of petroglyphs in the Great Bend area, HCRATT members recognized a similar cross at Oatman Point, remarking that it is an important symbol to Hopi (Appendix D.12). Another petroglyph motif found at both Quail Point along the Great Bend and on the Barry M. Goldwater Range is one that Hopi cultural advisors say “appears on the Hopi Flag” (Appendix D.3). To Hopis, this depiction of a circle with four sections signifies Tuuwaqatsi, the Hopi Earth Symbol.

In addition to petroglyphs, Hopi cultural advisors see *itaakuku* (“footprints”) among other types of cultural resources within the Great Bend of the Gila area, including geoglyphs, intaglios, and other types of rock features. Many of these are spiritually significant to the Hopi and may represent trailmarkers, shrines, or other offering places of their ancestors (Anyon 1999). Shrines and offering places often exist as isolated features on the landscape, although Hopis believe that most ancestral habitation sites also have

shrines associated with them. For Hopis, shrines are sacred features that serve as portals to the spiritual world, and only certain individuals have the religious knowledge and authority to build or clean shrines. The power of these features is everlasting, and they should not be disturbed (Ferguson 1998).

In discussing an intaglio on the Barry M. Goldwater Range, Hopi cultural advisors explained that they are probably ceremonial locations where ancestral Hopis performed important rituals (Anyon 1999:57-58). Morgan Saufkie, a member of the Bear Clan from Second Mesa, added that there is an intaglio-like feature near Jeddito, a village near First Mesa, and the Hopis use it to bring rain (Anyon 1999:58). In 2016, Wilton Kooyahoema (personal communication 2016) of the Fire Clan shared that the Agua Caliente “Racetrack,” a large intaglio at Sears Point within the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (Appendix D.1), is similar to the War God racetrack at Orayvi. According to Waters (1977:87; see also Johnson 1985:21-22), some geoglyphs along the lower Colorado and lower Gila rivers depict *wu’ya* of the Hoopq’yaqam clans. Johnson (1985:30-31) suggested the Agua Caliente Racetrack may be the racetrack left by the Lizard and Rattlesnake Clans during their time at Wukoskave in the Great Bend of the Gila.

As is evident from the discussion above, Hopis understand cultural resources based on their knowledge of history, as well as their relationship with ongoing cultural practices that are rooted in past events and places. Although the Hopi Tribe has documented significant information about their traditional history in southern Arizona, this research topic is certainly not exhausted. Additional research in the Great Bend of the Gila area would yield more information to refine the knowledge about which clans migrated from the south, as well as what contributions they made to Hopi culture and society.

HOPi PERCEPTIONS OF A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

In early 2013, then-Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, LeRoy N. Shingoitewa, wrote a letter supporting the creation of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (Appendix E). In light of the 2016 legislation introduced by Representative Raúl Grijalva (Appendix A), current Chairman Herman G. Honanie authored a subsequent, reaffirming support letter that identifies the Hopi Tribe as “a partner in this proposed National Monument designation” (Appendix E). The Hopi Tribe’s interest is in the protection of environmental and cultural resources, which are culturally affiliated with the Hopi Tribe, for the benefit of current and future generations. In that let-

ter, the Hopi Tribe expressed its willingness to contribute information that would build knowledge and understanding about Hopi's ancestors who pioneered the lands of southern Arizona centuries ago. During this project, members of the HCRATT echoed the support of the former Chairman for the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. On behalf of the group, Ronald Wadsworth stated:

There is a general consensus that the area should be preserved. Visitation by Hopi cultural advisors is warranted. The geoglyphs and petroglyphs are very sacred signs and symbols, and a National Monument would be a good plan for Hopi.

Numerous Hopi clans have migration accounts that situate them historically in the vicinity of the Great Bend of the Gila, and many important Hopi religious societies and ceremonies also have roots in southern Arizona. Hopi cultural advisors believe the sites in the Great Bend of the Gila area are important in understanding Hopi connections with the south. "The petroglyphs and rock structures were left for a reason and they are clear evidence that there was an ancestral migration trail through this area," commented one HCRATT member.

Hopis consider the landscape and the archaeological sites of the Great Bend of the Gila to be mean-

ingful places that merit protection and preservation. Members of the Hopi Tribe would like to retain their connections with this area and have a voice in the treatment and interpretation of the landscape so that their interests and values are recognized and represented. Over a century ago, Fewkes (1900b:579) wrote, "There remains much material on the migrations of different Hopi clans yet to be gathered..." At that time, he believed that collaboration with contemporary Hopis was the only way to apply meaning and value onto the places across southern Arizona that were once home to their ancestors. The remarks of Fewkes (1900b) at the turn of the century reflect the sentiments of Hopis today in their support of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. As Stewart Koyiyumptewa stated, "Hopi cultural advisors know that these are Hopi sites, and we would like to visit areas within this proposed Monument."

NOTES

¹Whereas Fewkes (1900b:626-630, 1919:271) attributed the Basket Society Dance to the Water Phratry, and Parsons (1926:186) similarly attributed it to the Water Clan, Voth (1905:47-48) wrote that the Sand Clan is responsible for bringing it to Hopi.

O'ODHAM AND PEE-POSH

The O'odham are of the earth. Their name derives from *o'od* ("water-deposited sands") and *t/ham* ("on top of"), and it was given to them by the creator, Elder Brother (Eiler and Doyel 2008:607). Among other things, the O'odham share a language, a Sonoran Desert homeland, and a unique worldview, all of which are part of *himdag*, the O'odham traditional way that binds the O'odham together and that distinguishes them from their neighbors. The O'odham of different regions and walks of life have always considered themselves a unified cultural group — one people — but today, they are associated with four reservations in southern Arizona (Figure 4.1; Table 4.1), two of which are also home to the contemporary Pee-Posh and Xalychidom Piipaash (Halchidhoma). The O'odham acknowledge the historical and cultural connections among themselves and the four reservations, and these "Four Southern Tribes" often collaborate on matters concerning O'odham cultural heritage (Lewis 2015:xv).

Although noticeable dialectical differences exist and are a basis of distinction among the O'odham, the O'odham language, O'odham Ha-neok, is a key aspect of O'odham identity shared by members of the various reservations, as well as with their relatives below the international border with Mexico, as far south as lower Sonora. O'odham is one of several languages within a southern group of the Uto-Aztec language family, its closest relatives being Pima Bajo and Tepehuan (Miller 1983:120-121). Other languages in this southern group include Mayo, Opata, Tarahumara, Yaqui, Huichol, and Nahuatl, indicating strong historical connections with tribes as far south as central Mexico.

Based on 2010 census data, 48,489 people self-identify as O'odham (see Table 4.1), of whom 6,500 to 8,000 are estimated to be proficient speakers of the O'odham language (U.S. Census Bureau 2010, 2013). Considering these data represent people residing in the United States only, O'odham demographics increase when people living in Mexico are included.

Whereas reservation enrollment is one of the principle ways the United States government identifies them (Meneses 2009:9-10), many O'odham recognize themselves through dialect groups to which they and others belong (Dobyns 1972:10-16; Fontana 1981:47; Gifford 1940:Map 2, 189; Saxton and Saxton 1969:Appendix 5; Underhill 1939:59-69). O'odham dialects are regional phenomena, having definable spatial boundaries and geographical distributions

that reflect historical, social, and familial connections (Figure 4.2; Table 4.2). Therefore, O'odham speakers are capable of identifying others' home region, and sometimes their village, based on their speech patterns. Because the dialect areas are spatially cohesive, Bahr (1983b:186-187) refers to the dialect groups as regional bands, but he notes that such distinctions have little social significance.

Except the Hia C'ed O'odham (see below), who, in the past, were known to be antagonistic toward other O'odham groups that ventured into their territory (Hayden 1967:342), the O'odham of different regions and dialects have a long history of collaboration and camaraderie, and traditionally, people were free to move throughout the broader O'odham landscape. Similarly, neither regional nor dialectal affiliation had a role in determining marriage partners. There are, however, traditional stories and customs pertaining to the different dialect groups, which also factored into O'odham ceremonial life. According to Bahr (1983b:186-187):

Groups within the same regional band [dialect group] normally attended one another's ceremonies; in fact, certain ceremonies such as the prayerstick festival and the summer cactus wine feasts required the attendance of several different local groups. They were performed on a directional scheme with the representatives of different local groups holding the appropriate cardinal positions. It was in this sense that the group's ceremonial ground was the basis for regional integration.

Today, the dialect groups are spread among the four reservations in a way that mirrors their traditional spatial distribution across the Sonoran Desert. Interestingly, the 11 governmental districts within the Tohono O'odham Nation conform loosely to the distribution of eight regional O'odham dialects, showing that these deep historical relations persist within contemporary modes of tribal sociopolitical organization (see Figure 4.2 and Table 4.2).

O'ODHAM ORIGINS

Because O'odham dialect groups are tied to particular regions, geographical knowledge about the immediate landscape around each is embedded in aspects of the dialects and local stories and histories. This is readily apparent in the O'odham cre-

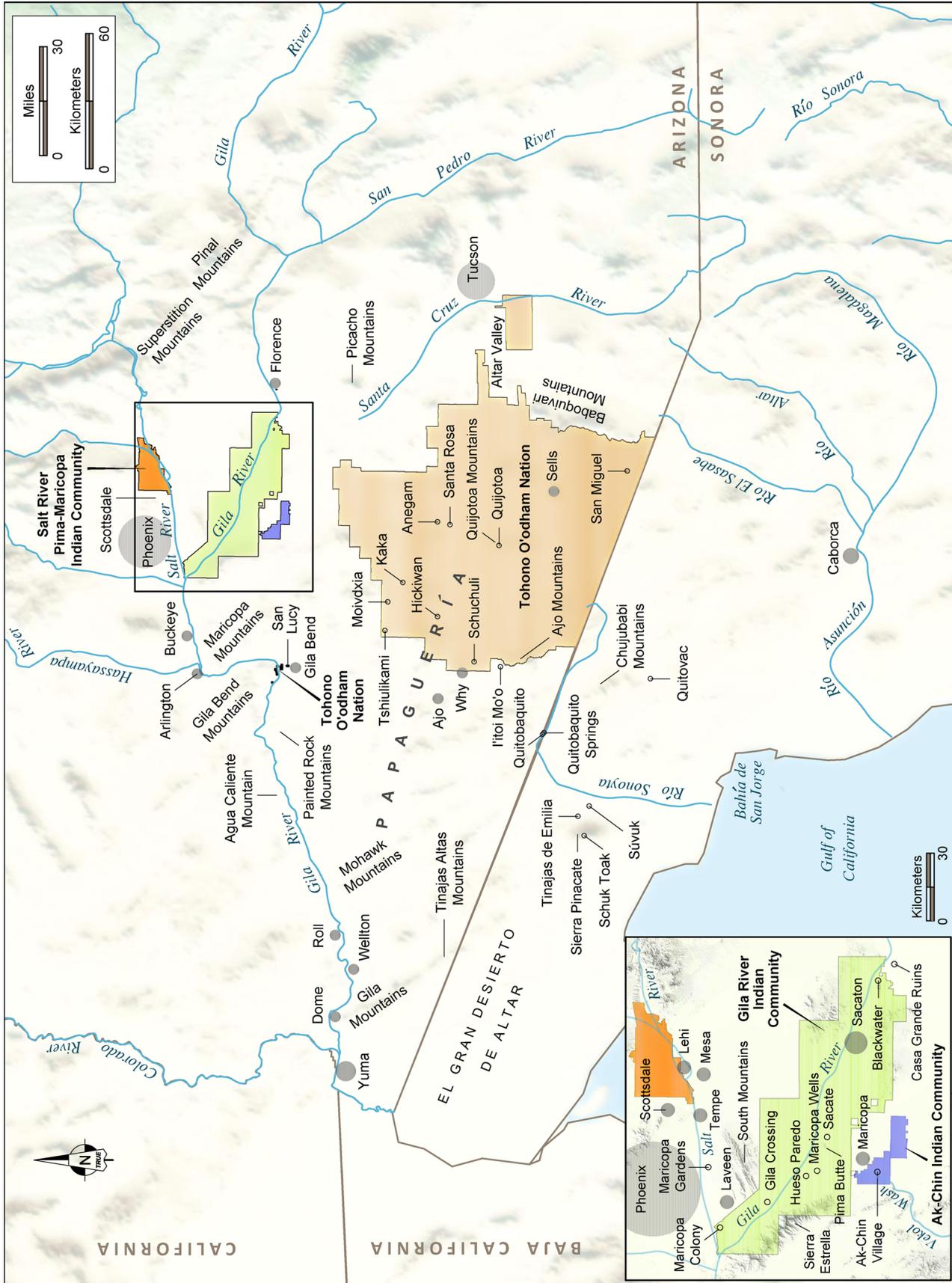


Figure 4.1. Reservations of the Four Southern Tribes and places across the Pimeria Alta. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

Table 4.1. The Four Southern Tribes.

	Enrollment	2010 U.S. Census ^a	Reservation Size (Acres)	Establishment Dates
Ak-Chin Indian Community	575	880	21,840 ^b	1912
Gila River Indian Community	21,312 ^c	19,828	Circa 372,000	1859
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community	10,070	5,555	Circa 52,600	1879
Tohono O'odham Nation	28,083 ^d	22,226	2,855,894 ^e	
San Xavier Reservation	-	-	71,095 ^e	1874
San Lucy District (Gila Bend Reservation)	-	-	10,409 ^e	1882
Tohono O'odham Reservation	-	-	2,774,370 ^e	1916
Florence Village	-	-	20	1978
Totals	60,040	48,489	> 3,300,000	

Note: Unless otherwise specified, all data derive from the information reported on the official website for the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona (2016).

^aData from U.S. Census Bureau (2013). The U.S. Census questionnaire asks respondents who identify as Native American to report the tribe in which they are enrolled or with whom they identify (Norris et al. 2012). These figures, therefore, represent the number of respondents who identify with each tribe regardless of their enrollment status. The figure for the Gila River Indian Community includes 6,859 respondents who answered simply as "Pima" and another nine who answered as "Peeposh." Some of these tribally undeclared respondents are likely associated with the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, as well as other tribes.

^bMeneses (2009:110).

^cProvided by Larry Benalli, compliance specialist with the Gila River Indian Community's Tribal Historic Preservation Office.

^dData from the official website for the Tohono O'odham Nation (2014).

^eData from Fontana (1981:87).

ation account (known as Tcu-ûnnyikita, "Smoke Talk," or Hâ-âk Akita, "Hâ-âk Telling"), where an overarching narrative is shared among different O'odham groups, but with particular historical events occurring at different places relative to each group's traditional landscape. The following, then, is a generalized and abbreviated version—an overarching narrative—of the O'odham creation account abstracted from various published sources (for example, Bahr et al. 1994; Curtis 1908:14-23; Lloyd 1911; Russell 1908:206-238, 247-248; Shaw 1968:1-16; Underhill 1940:41-43, 1946:6-13, 2001).

It all started with darkness and open space, when and where there was nothing. Out of darkness was born Earth Doctor (Juhvud Makai), who proceeded to make the earth, followed by the plants and animals. But everything was still in darkness, so Earth Doctor made the heavenly bodies, which brought light to the world. With the creation of light, sky descended to the earth, and from this union was born Elder Brother (I'itoi or Seh-hu), son of the earth and heavens. Coyote and Buzzard were also born at this time from the same union of earth and sky.¹ Earth Doctor and Elder Brother then proceeded to make human beings (the first people) out of dirt, but they were not of the right form, and they overran the earth because natural death was unknown at that time. The people resorted to killing each other to control overpopulation. To remedy this, Earth Doctor pulled down the sky, crushing everyone while saving him-

self by passing through a hole. Earth Doctor then created everything anew on this other side, including a second group of people, the O'odham.² However, Elder Brother was displeased and chose to destroy them all just as Earth Doctor had done with the first people. So, Elder Brother brought about a devastating flood, but some of the second people managed to survive by hiding in a hole made by Earth Doctor.

With the world vanquished of the second people, Elder Brother took it upon himself to create a third corpus of people, some of whom were O'odham and others being Apache and Pee-Posh. Angered and jealous that Elder Brother had done this, Earth Doctor descended into the earth. Over time, the people grew to dislike Elder Brother, because in his old age, Elder Brother had soured and began assaulting the people. The people rose up and killed him several times, but after each death, Elder Brother revived himself and continued assaulting the O'odham. The people eventually convinced Buzzard to kill Elder Brother on their behalf, and Elder Brother laid dead for a number of years but ultimately arose once more.

Having had enough, Elder Brother followed the sun to the western horizon, where it descends into the earth. There, below the earth's surface, Elder Brother found the survivors of the flood (the second people, also O'odham). With the aid of Earth Doctor, who had previously descended into the earth, Elder Brother convinced the people underground to

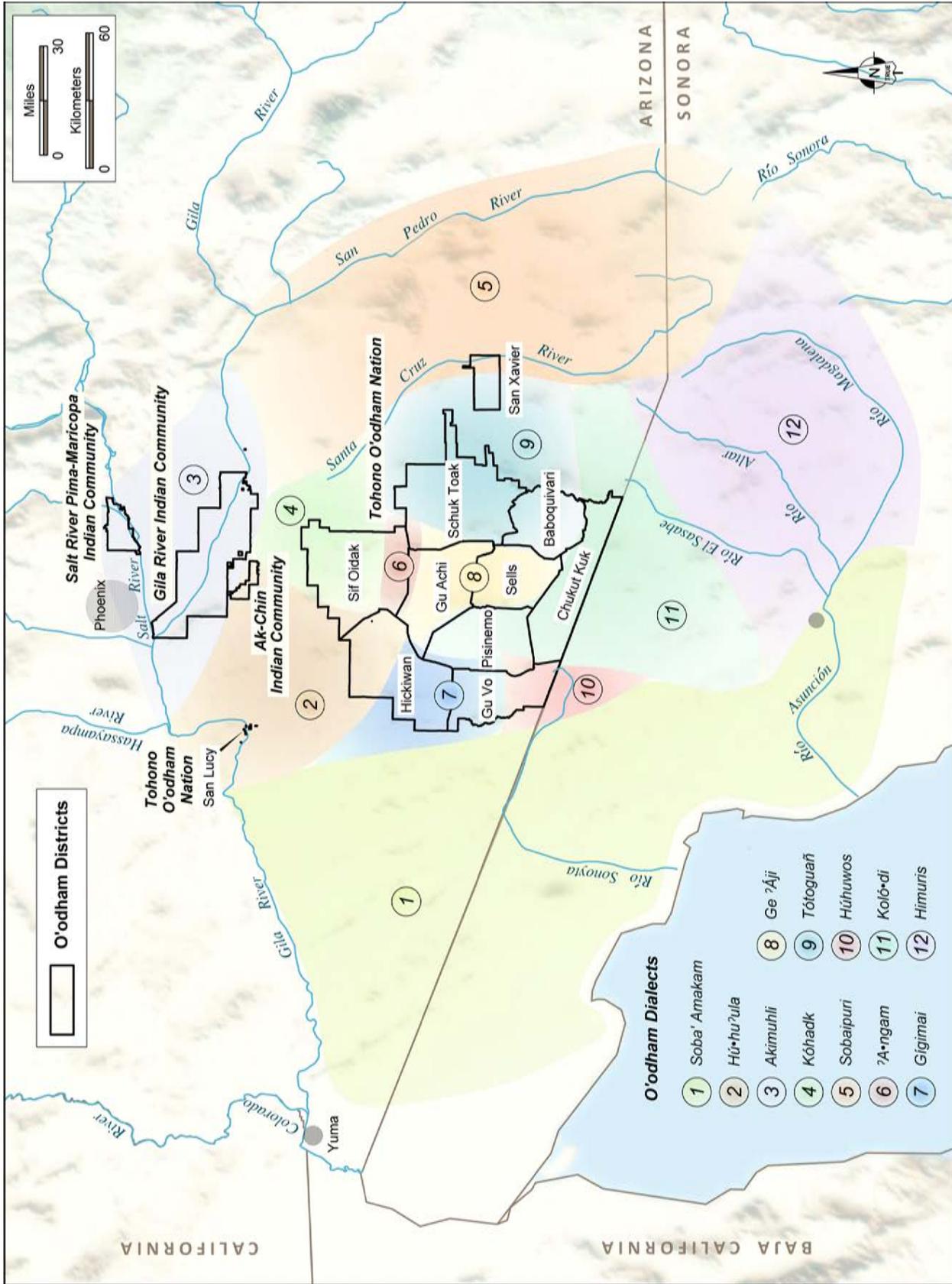


Figure 4.2. O'odham dialect groups. (Figure by Catherine Gilman; adapted from Saxton and Saxton [1969:Appendix 5])

Table 4.2. O'odham reservations and regional dialects.

Reservation	Dialects
Ak-Chin Reservation	Hú-hu'ula
Gila River Reservation	Akimuhli
Salt River Reservation	Akimuhli
Tohono O'odham Nation	
Baboquivari District	Tótoguañ
Chukut Kuk District	Koló di
Gu Achi District	'A-ngam, Ge 'Áji
Gu Vo District	Gígimai, Húhuwos
Hia C'ed O'odham Alliance ^a	Soba' Amakam
Hickiwan District	Gígimai, Hú-hu'ula
Pisinemo District	Koló di
San Lucy District	Hú-hu'ula
San Xavier District	Tótoguañ
Schuk Toak District	Tótoguañ
Sells District	Ge 'Áji
Sif Oidak District	'A-ngam, Kóhadk

Note: Long ago, Gatschet (1877:156) divided the O'odham language into dialects of Pima, Papago, and Névome. Pima is the dialect spoken among O'odham residents of the Gila River and Salt River reservations, and it is referred to here simply as *Akimuhli* (after Dobyns 1972:Map 1). Fontana (1983b:125) and Underhill (1939:60) suggest there may have been more than one dialect among these river groups, but acculturative forces and historical processes have homogenized any evidence thereof. The groupings presented here are from Saxton and Saxton (1969:Appendix 5) and differ in several regards from those of Dobyns (1972:10-16), Gifford (1940: Map 2, 189), Fontana (1981:47), and Underhill (1939:59-69).

^aThe Hia C'ed O'odham Alliance is part of the Tohono O'odham Nation. Although they do not currently have their own district, the Tohono O'odham Nation maintains a committee for them.

wage war against the people on top of the earth who were intent on killing him. The underground people enlisted Gopher to make holes for them, and under Elder Brother's leadership, they emerged and conquered the people on the earth's surface. Elder Brother instructed the victors to establish themselves upon the lands of the vanquished, and they have lived there ever since.

HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE O'ODHAM

The O'odham have long been referred to as "Pimas," a term coined by Spanish missionaries, who used the label to characterize both a language shared across a wide swath of the Sonoran Desert, as well as its speakers. Over time, the missionaries distinguished between northern (Pima Alto) and southern (Pima Bajo) O'odham dialects. The O'odham of

southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, are speakers of the Pima Alto dialect, while Pima Bajo is spoken by the O'odham farther south, including those living in the mountainous region between Sonora and Chihuahua (Dunnigan 1983; Pennington 1979, 1980; Radding 1997; Sheridan 1996).

Spanish colonial administrators found this dialectal distinction useful for organizing their missionization efforts, so Sonora was divided into two administrative districts, the Pimería Alta and Pimería Baja, with the dividing line falling roughly along the Río Sonora in the northern Mexican state of Sonora. The boundary between dialect groups was never considered a social boundary to the O'odham, but the administrative distinction created a political border that cut through the heart of O'odham country. The present international border has carried on the legacy of the administrative, and therefore social, barrier between northern and southern O'odham groups first established under the Spanish Empire. This fissure in the traditional O'odham social landscape, and the hurdles of working around and moving across it, persist as contemporary challenges to O'odham identity (Arrieta 2004; Schultze 2008).

The term "Pima" derives from a variant of an O'odham word that translates as "no," "nothing," or "I don't understand" (Dunnigan 1983:129; Fontana 1983b:134; Hodge 1910a:251; Willson 1954). It may have been Cabeza de Vaca, who passed through the interior of northern Mexico after being shipwrecked on or near Galveston Island (Texas) and subsequently wandering back to Mexico City, who first used an iteration of this term as a label for O'odham speakers. In de Vaca's first account of his fabled experience, dated 1542, he described the "Primahaitu" as a people spread over a 400-league area, all of whom spoke a common language (Cabeza de Vaca 1749 [1542]:39).³

Some 40 years later, in 1584, Baltasar de Obregón, a chronicler in the cohort of famed conquistador Francisco de Ibarra, similarly referred to the O'odham as "Pimahitos" and "Pimaitos," titles taken from *pima aytos* and *pimahaito*, various O'odham words that Obregón applied to speakers of this language (Hammond and Rey 1928:164, 194). As a third example, a 1762 Spanish manuscript (Smith 1861:7) pointed to the O'odham words *pima* ("no"), or *pim'haitu* and *pimahaitu* ("nothing"), as the source for the tribal appellation.

In the eighteenth century, as the Spanish Crown broadened its colonial grasp to encompass communities in the Pimería Alta, friars and administrators began differentiating the O'odham along subtle dialectal, cultural, and geographical lines (Ezell 1956:45-51). The O'odham living along the middle Gila River were one such group, whom the Spanish distinguished by such names as Xilenos (Nentvig

1863 [1763]:20) and Pimas Gileños (Font 1838 [1775]:384). Those residing along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers, the Sobaipuri (Kino 1856 [1694]:226), were another. In the deserts west of the Santa Cruz River, they recognized the Pimas Frijoles (“Bean Pimas”) or Papabotas (Manje 1856 [circa 1699]:360), because beans (*papavi*) were their principal crop. The term “Papabotas” eventually morphed into the more familiar name Papagos (Villa-Señor y Sanchez 1748:395), and their traditional lands—lying roughly between the Santa Cruz on the east and the lower Colorado River on the west, and the lower Gila to the north and the Río Magdalena (in Sonora, Mexico) in the south—have been known as the Papaguera ever since (“Land of the Papagos”) (see Figure 4.2).

Although of O’odham origin, the various labels applied by the Spanish were not how the O’odham referred to themselves. Indeed, the O’odham words for “no” and “nothing,” for which the Spanish took to calling them, were probably their responses to interrogations and harassment (Dunnigan 1983:229; Manuel 1910:7). The O’odham recognize the Akimel O’odham (“People of the River”) as those residing along the middle Gila and lower Salt rivers (formerly the Pimas Gileños), while the Tohono O’odham (“People of the Desert”) are those living west of the Santa Cruz River and south of the lower Gila River (formerly the Pimas Frijoles, or Papagos). Today, the Akimel O’odham are associated with the Gila River and Salt River reservations, and the Tohono O’odham with the Tohono O’odham Nation, although these are not hard and fast divisions. The Ak-Chin Reservation represents an amalgam of Akimel and Tohono O’odham (Castetter and Bell 1942:11; Jackson 1990:6.2; Meneses 2009:4).

Regarding the Sobaipuri, who historically resided along the San Pedro River and surrounding country, conflict with Apaches in the mid-eighteenth century led them to take refuge among the Akimel and Tohono O’odham (Anza 1770, cited in Ezell 1956:138; Bandelier 1890:102n.1; Bourke 1890:114; Loendorf 2014:92-94; Nentvig 1863:105-106), and they are no longer recognized as a distinct cultural or linguistic group.

In addition to the Akimel and Tohono O’odham, the Hia C’ed O’odham persist as a particular O’odham community (Martínez 2013). With *hia* meaning “sand” and *C’ed* “inside,” Hia C’ed O’odham translates loosely as “People inside the Sand Dunes” (Eiler and Doyel 2008:607). Formerly called “Sobas” among the Spanish (Kino 1856 [1694]:226), “Arenños” by later Mexican authorities (the Spanish *arena* meaning “sand”) (Eiler and Doyel 2008:607; see also Ezell 1954, 1955; Fontana 1974; Hayden 1967), and most recently, “Sand Papagos”

among Anglos (Emory 1857:123; Fontana 1983b:125, see also Childs 1954; Zepeda 1985), the Hia C’ed O’odham traditionally inhabited the western Papaguera between the shores of the Gulf of California and the lower Gila River, as far west as the lower Colorado River (Ezell 1955), a large area representing the lowest and driest region of the entire Pimería (Fontana 1974:513-518). The lack of water prohibited agriculture such that the Hia C’ed O’odham were highly mobile, to the point that they have been referred to as “true nomads” (Fontana 1974:513). Nomadic, however, is too simplistic an adjective to describe the logistically complex way the Hia C’ed O’odham traditionally lived on the landscape and maximized the resources available to them (Eiler and Doyel 2008:622).

The need to move frequently, and their residence in one of the most remote and forbidding stretches of country, is partly why the lifestyle and traditions of the Hia C’ed O’odham are the least known of the extant O’odham groups (Erikson 1994:31). The primary reason for this paucity of information is that traditional Hia C’ed O’odham communities were significantly impacted by disease and colonial violence long before ethnographers arrived (Eiler and Doyel 2008:607; Erikson 1994:85; Fontana 1974:516-517; Lumholtz 1912:329). As a result, many joined Tohono O’odham communities in the eastern Papaguera (Ezell 1954:24), while others relocated to frontier Anglo towns, including Gila City (later Dome), Roll, and Wellton along the lower Gila River (Childs 1954:30; Ezell 1954:24; Hayden 1967:341-342; Hoover 1935:262; Lumholtz 1912:332; Vivian 1965:125-126). Long considered extinct by the federal government (Broyles et al. 2007:135; Eiler and Doyel 2008:626), the surviving Hia C’ed O’odham are recognized by the Tohono O’odham Nation, and they continue efforts to gain official recognition from the federal government (Ramon-Sauberan 2013, 2015).

O’ODHAM SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Because O’odham traditional lands are so spatially extensive, they encompass a topographically and hydrologically variable terrain and remarkably diverse ecosystems. The O’odham hold important ecological and technological knowledge that has enabled them to flourish in myriad places throughout the Sonoran Desert, including perennial river valleys along the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, Gila, and Salt rivers, as well as dry plains, dunes, and mountains of the Papaguera. To meet the challenges of sustaining life in one of the least hospitable landscapes, the O’odham engaged in various subsistence practices tailored to the unique environments in which

they lived (Hackenberg 1983). Following McGuire (1982:86):

The 19th century [O'odham] of southwestern Arizona varied greatly within a single cultural group. Even though they all shared a common ethnic identification and language, a wide range of adaptations existed, depending on the environmental situation of local groups. Adaptations ranged from...almost exclusive dependence on hunting and gathering to...primary reliance on agriculture.

The terrain and environment, as well as the strategies people relied upon to sustain themselves and their families, influenced where the O'odham chose to live, how long they stayed in one location, and the periodicity of their movement to new places across the landscape. Fontana (1974, 1983b) popularized the notion that traditional O'odham settlement patterns fell into three modes of residential mobility: (1) one villagers; (2) two villagers; and (3) non-villagers. In reality, however, a continuum existed between a nearly fully mobile lifestyle to one fixed in place year-round (McGuire 1982:86).

The largest and least mobile O'odham communities in the American Southwest were situated in the perennial river valleys along the northern, eastern, and southern edges of the Pimería Alta, including the Gila, Santa Cruz, and San Pedro rivers. Historically, these regions were home to the Sobaipuri and Akimel O'odham, who were the first northern O'odham groups encountered by the Spaniards as they pushed northward following the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Gila rivers and into the northern Sonoran Desert. Due to the availability of water year-round, these river valleys were the most reliable and conducive places for agriculture, and they also boasted the greatest abundance of wild plant and animal resources.

While Sobaipuri communities along the San Pedro and middle Santa Cruz rivers were practicing small-scale canal irrigation when met by the Spanish in the 1690s (Fontana 1983b:133), evidence that other O'odham groups were practicing similar modes of irrigation at the time of Spanish contact is debated (Doelle 1981:62-63; Fontana 1981:40; Hackenberg 1983:165; Wilson 2014:24-25). Nonetheless, canal and ditch irrigation became increasingly important in historic times as the Spaniards introduced Old World cultivars, and new markets developed for O'odham agricultural surpluses.

The fertility of the perennial river valleys encouraged a high degree of sedentism among Akimel O'odham and Sobaipuri farming communities. Agricultural fields were usually located within several kilometers of a farmer's house, and with abundant local flora and fauna in the immediate area, there

was little need to move residence or venture great distances to acquire adequate foodstuffs. Villages in such settings commonly consisted of a loose scattering of 20 to 50 houses, with anywhere from 100 to 800 residents (Doelle 1981:Table 1; Fontana 1974:521; Wilson 2014:20-21). These rancherías were relatively fixed in place, although they tended to drift along the river margins over time (Darling 2011; Darling et al. 2004; Ezell 1956:328).

Lying west and south of the perennial rivers, the Papaguería comprises a vast interior desert landscape of high mountain ranges and intermontane valleys. Washes flow only after substantial rains, and other natural water sources are relatively scarce, principally in the form of mountain springs and *charcos* (puddles) in alluvial flats. This is the traditional landscape of the Tohono O'odham, who, in years past, tended to follow a biseasonal settlement pattern. They spent winters and early springs at village encampments around permanent springs in the mountain foothills. After the summer rains began, families would relocate to their summer villages near the mouths of washes (Bryan 1922:322; Castetter and Underhill 1935:4-5). This is where they planted their fields, directing and impounding seasonal runoff to irrigate crops of corn, beans, and squash, a style of agriculture described as *ak-chin* ("arroyo mouth") farming (Castetter and Bell 1942:168-169). While not permanent, the locations of these winter "well" and summer "field" villages were quite fixed, and seasonal migration between the two settlements conditioned a sense of transhumance among the O'odham in the Papaguería (Castetter and Bell 1942:41-43; Fontana 1974:518, 1983b:131; Underhill 1939:57).

Although the region lacks perennial rivers and the rich riparian habitats they promote, the biota of the Papaguería are nearly identical to that of the eastern Pimería Alta, so the traditional subsistence base among the Tohono O'odham and their Akimel and Sobaipuri kin was basically the same. The principle difference was the extent to which the Tohono O'odham relied on agricultural crops as both a food source and a commodity to be traded (Hackenberg 1962:188). Castetter and Bell (1942:57; also, see Fontana 1974:519, 1983b:131) estimated that, on average, about one-fifth of the Tohono O'odham diet was obtained from family farm plots. The remainder was derived from hunting and gathering, as well as through trade and crop-sharing with their more agriculturally focused neighbors to the east and north (see Ezell 1956:179; Whittemore 1893:81-83).

The far western region of the Papaguería, the traditional landscape of the Hia C'ed O'odham, is the lowest and most arid section of all O'odham lands. Hunting wild game, collecting a wide variety of plants, and gathering various items of seafood from

the Gulf of California comprised the bulk of Hia C'ed O'odham subsistence practices (Eiler and Doyel 2008:615; Fontana 1974:513-518). Rather than circulating among fields and villages, the Hia C'ed O'odham chose their camp and settlement locations principally by the availability of water in the few springs and *tinajas* in their country (Fontana 1974:515, 1983b:129-130; Lumholtz 1912:330).

The strong reliance on seasonally available wild resources necessitated a mobile lifestyle that led some Hia C'ed O'odham to move across vast stretches of the western Papaguería throughout the year (Eiler and Doyel 2008:616). While commonly characterized as nomadic and nonagricultural, there was notable variability in the degree of residential mobility among Hia C'ed O'odham groups, with some practicing farming in select places. Indeed, Hayden (1967) and Fontana (1974:313-318) distinguish between two groups, or "bands," of the Hia C'ed O'odham, based on their home range and degree of reliance on agriculture.⁴ The "Areneños" proper, who descendants refer to as the A'al Waipia band (Eiler and Doyel 2008:615), were an eastern group centered on Quitobaquito Springs, where they practiced some degree of ak-chin farming near their camps and at considerable distances farther afield (Eiler and Doyel 2008:615). Similar small scale runoff irrigation farming was practiced along the Río Sonoyta, and *temporale* farming (floodwater farming in typically dry arroyos) occurred at many other places to the north and west (Childs 1954:35-36; Eiler and Doyel 2008:615; Fontana 1974:517, 1983b:129; Lumholtz 1912:330).

A relatively isolated group centered on the Sierra Pinacate, whom Hayden (1967) distinguished as the "Areneños Pinacateños", or simply "Pinacateños," comprised the other Hia C'ed O'odham band. Thought to be the least reliant on agriculture of all O'odham groups, they conducted a minimal amount of farming in the extremely arid Pinacate region. For example, Lumholtz (1912:330) described a very small farming operation at Súvuk, a tiny settlement in the Pinacate southeast of Tinajas de Emilia, where corn, squash, and beans were planted. Farming was of practically no consequence among this western Hia C'ed O'odham group.

Another distinguishing factor is that while the eastern Hia C'ed O'odham band had close ties with the Tohono O'odham, this western band was, at times, antagonistic toward other O'odham groups (Hayden 1967:341; Lumholtz 1912:329), preferring to maintain social ties and trade relations with Yuman-speaking communities along the lower Colorado River and with whom they shared hunting territory (Dobyns 1972:9-10; Ezell 1955; Fontana 1974:513, 516; Gifford 1933a:262; Hayden 1967; Lumholtz 1912:329-332; Spier 1933:7-8).

TRADITIONAL O'ODHAM SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic unit of traditional O'odham social life above the level of the individual was one's patrilineal extended family, which included a paternal couple, their sons (married and unmarried), and their unmarried daughters (Bahr 1983b:180-182; Ezell 1956:307; Russell 1908:182-184; Underhill 1939:179-198, 1940:45-46). Each adult unit (married couples and unmarried adults) maintained a separate dwelling for themselves or their household, but the households—in addition to shared work spaces and any accessory architecture—were grouped into clusters ("household compounds") (Bahr 1983b:180). The paternal head, usually an elderly individual, was the group's figurehead and spokesperson, who usually made decisions on matters affecting the extended family. Among the more residentially mobile Tohono and Hia C'ed O'odham, patrilineal extended families have been described as "bands" (see Fontana 1983b:131).

Above the immediate household and extended family, related families congregated into larger social formations as paternal heads passed on and the married couples under their tutelage naturally split into independent households with their own children (Bahr 1983b:180). These local groups—synonymous with the single villages of the Akimel O'odham, the biseasonal encampments of the Tohono O'odham, and the perpetually mobile bands of the Hia C'ed O'odham—constituted communities with their own collaborative social identities. Indeed, because they developed from the continued branching of a single paternal line, several related families likely comprised the core of most O'odham settlements and bands (Ezell 1956:336; Underhill 1939:113). Regardless of settlement pattern and mobility, each O'odham community has a unique history, and they traditionally tended to name their settlements after local landforms or features of the immediate environment (Bahr 1983b:182).

Clans and Moieties

O'odham families were also traditionally organized into a structure of five paternal clans (Table 4.3), or what Russell (1908:197) called "gentes," Underhill (1939:32-34) termed "sibs," Lloyd (1911:147) labeled as "bands," and Curtis (1908:9, 32) referred to as "gentile groups" and "phratries." Among the Akimel O'odham, they were called Vá'af, Má'am, Á'kol, Ápap, and Ápükí, which are the names of the "fathers" for each clan (Curtis 1908:9; Parsons 1928:455).⁵ For the Tohono O'odham, they were the Vav, Mam, Ápki, Ápap, and Ákuli (Curtis

Table 4.3. O'odham clans and moieties.

	Akimel O'odham		Tohono O'odham	
Moiety	Buzzard (Red)	Coyote (White)	Buzzard (White)	Coyote (Red)
Clans	Á'kol	Vá'af	Vav	Ápap
	Ápap	Má'am	Mam	Ápki
	Ápũkĩ			Ókul

1908:32; Lumholtz 1912:354).⁶ These five clans are identified by name in the O'odham creation account, which also designates the order of their reemergence after the flood under Elder Brother's leadership (Lloyd 1911:147-148).

By the early twentieth century, Russell (1908:197) claimed that O'odham clan names had lost all meaning, and that the clan system played no role in structuring marriage, nor did it serve any other apparent organizational function (see also Herzog 1936:521; Lumholtz 1912:534; Parsons 1928:455; Spier 1936:10). Whether or not this is true, or simply due to a weakening in the significance of clans after centuries of acculturative pressures (Underhill 1939:33), or to a desire to withhold important cultural information from ethnographers (Ezell 1983:151), the clans had an undeniable influence on O'odham identity, especially among males. For example, O'odham children traditionally referred to their father by his clan name (for example, *mám-ekam* or *váv-ekam*), so it was virtually impossible for the O'odham to not know the clan to which they belonged (Underhill 1939:33). Clan membership also tied people to a key chapter in their creation story—the reemergence and epic conquest of the land—and, in a sense, ranked them in accordance with the order of the clans as Elder Brother led them out of the underworld.

The five O'odham clans were further organized into moieties (see Table 4.3), with Coyote and Buzzard (or Vulture) as primary totems (Herzog 1936; Parsons 1928:456-457; Russell 1908:197; Underhill 1939:31-32, 1946:5-6). Among the Akimel O'odham, Vá'af and Má'am made up the Stóam Óhimal ("White Ants") moiety, also called Coyote's People and the White People, whereas Á'kol, Ápap, and Ápũkĩ comprised the other moiety, Sâwũ'kĩ Óhimal ("Red Ants"), similarly known as Buzzard's People and the Red People.

For the Tohono O'odham, the association was reversed. Ápap, Ápki, and Ókul were of the Stóa Óhimal ("White Velvet Ants," or Coyote's People), and the Vöki Óhimal ("Red Velvet Ants," or Buzzard's People) included Mam and Vav (Lumholtz 1912:354; Underhill 1939:33).⁷

As with the clans, the role of O'odham moieties is unclear and has led to a general perception that they had little significance in terms of social organi-

zation. Moiety membership was relevant, however, in gaming and sport, as the two would often compete as a way to prevent cheating (Herzog 1936:520). As Parsons (1928:457) noted, moiety membership was also one aspect of group social identification, and like the games, it would be expressed in competitive bragging (Underhill 1939:32).

Among the Tohono O'odham, there was some memory of moieties having ceremonial roles when Underhill visited in the early 1930s, and she learned of several examples (Underhill 1939:31-32). In one, part of the Wüikita ceremony (or prayer-stick ceremony) involved a reenactment of four children giving themselves to prevent the flood, and in earlier years, a boy and a girl from each moiety were needed for the reenactment, because that was how it was in the historical account (see Underhill 1946:69, 146). The Corn Dance is another example, with O'odham dancers painting themselves with the corresponding color of their moiety. Similarly, during the final stage of a warrior's purification after killing an enemy, when elder warriors would blow smoke over him, the herbs used to scent the tobacco smoke differed according to moiety membership. The elder selected to care for a warrior during this purification rite was also determined, in some fashion, by moiety membership (Lloyd 1911:90-94). As another example, Lumholtz (1912:355) noted that participants in the salt expeditions to the Gulf of California formerly painted their faces the color of their moiety divisions. These examples demonstrate a nascent relevance of moiety membership in traditional O'odham communal ritualism and show that it factored into O'odham social identity in some respect.

Moieties also came into consideration in other aspects of O'odham life. For example, there was a general rule, or taboo, among the Tohono O'odham that Coyote's People should not kill coyotes, but instead, submit to their mischief (Underhill 1939:32). After successfully killing a deer, Coyote's People would leave portions of their hunt as offerings for coyotes, because coyotes were their totemic partners. Moiety membership also influenced an O'odham man's dreaming of songs and selection of a guardian spirit. Although men could dream of nearly any animal, Coyote's People were more likely to dream

of coyotes and reportedly never dreamt of buzzards (Underhill 1939:32).

Political Organization and Leadership

In addition to conventions of familial and social organization, traditional O'odham communities maintained a series of public and civic offices for which information, albeit limited, is available.⁸ The extent of colonial Spanish and Mexican contact and influence varied considerably among different areas of the Pimería Alta; consequently, early historical descriptions of O'odham social organization are similarly variable. Little has been written about the Hia C'ed O'odham, and Spanish and Mexican contacts with the Akimel O'odham were relatively minimal and unsustainable (Ezell 1956:358-359). Thus, the Akimel O'odham, who were always in control of their relationship with Spain and Mexico (Ezell 1957), accepted relatively few cultural changes until the establishment of the reservation system in 1859 under American governance (Ezell 1956:358, 1994). While this implies that mid-nineteenth century accounts of the Akimel O'odham offer a fair representation of their traditional culture both up to and after Spanish contact, there are few pre-reservation era documentary sources from which substantive information can be drawn (Ezell 1956: 359).

Because the Akimel O'odham settlement pattern involved more closely arranged villages with higher populations, it is reasonable to assume that their political organization was perhaps slightly more complex than that of the Tohono O'odham. How much so remains in question, although Ezell (1956:358) described traditional Akimel O'odham social organization as "not complicated" and "nascent." Assuming any organizational distinctions among the different O'odham groups were primarily a matter of scale rather than difference, the description here of traditional O'odham political organization therefore derives largely from accounts of the Sobaipuri and Tohono O'odham, although the characterization is augmented with information about the Akimel O'odham when possible and relevant.

The two indispensable leadership roles in traditional O'odham communities were the group's headman and at least one *makai* (traditional religious practitioner) (Bahr 1983b:183). Headmen were vested with political matters, while *mamakai* (plural of *makai*) led and oversaw important ceremonies. Although a village *makai* was not essential, as one could be called upon from another community, a headman was necessary. At least one person in each village was looked to as a leader (Ezell 1956:360). Both positions were of the utmost importance to

O'odham public life, but they operated in very different ways. The headmen, by nature, were very public and political figures; *mamakai*, in contrast, avoided publicity and shunned political involvement. Accordingly, there is little to no evidence that an individual was ever both a *makai* and a headman (Bahr 1983b:185), presumably because the two positions are an essential contradiction in O'odham public life (Bahr 1983a:193).

Albeit a public figure, the responsibilities of a village headman encompassed more than politics. He was also one of the community's religious leaders—known variably as a Wise Speaker, the One Above, the One Made Big, the One Ahead, the Keeper of the Plaited Basket, the Keeper of Smoke, and the Fire Maker—whose principal duty was using and safeguarding the ceremonial Rain House and the community's bundle of sacred objects. Reciting the appropriate ritual oratory throughout the annual ceremonial cycle was also one of his duties (Underhill 1939:70-73). Bahr (1983b:185-186) clarified that, as communities grew in breadth and longevity, duties pertaining to the ceremonial song cycle (the Wise Speeches) were often split among a corps of ritual orators and their assistants.⁹ As a religious leader, the headman also directed the ever-important rain ceremonies on which the agricultural cycle depended (Bahr 1983b:186; Underhill 1939:73, 1946:44).

Below the village headmen were informal councils of elder men (Curtis 1908:32; Ezell 1956:361; Russell 1908:195; Underhill 1939:78-83) and usually a village crier. Criers awakened villagers in the mornings, and they summoned the nightly council meetings (Russell 1908:196; Underhill 1939:75-76). Criers also announced emergencies and called out before each ceremony. When possible, the headman organized and hosted council meetings in the community's Rain House; otherwise, they were held in less formal settings. Councils decided on all issues affecting the community at large, such as war, the hunt, the schedule of games with other villages, the ceremonial and agricultural cycles, new residents, and so forth. The headman governed the nightly council meetings only in that he directed the agenda and spoke first and last on each topic (Bahr 1983b:185). In effect, the council "was the real governing power of the community" (Underhill 1939:78; also, Ezell 1956:366-368), and all men were expected to attend, although only those fit to take part in the council (*s'tcu-amitcu't*, meaning "wise" or "able") spoke while others listened.

Traditional O'odham communities maintained public offices additional to the headmen and council members (Underhill 1939:77-78). One of these was the war leader. He planned war parties, and, if not too old, led them into battle. He was also responsi-

ble for performing the war ritual and reciting the associated speeches. A hunt leader (*tópetam*, "rabbiter") organized communal hunts for the autumn cleansing ceremony and before communal feasts. He was in charge of choosing the date, place, and participants for the ceremony, and he also recited the required speech. Because competitive racing was so important to O'odham social life, some villages had a game leader (*tópetam tcíticvi*, "rabbiter for games"). Game leaders organized intervillage races, saw that runners were adequately trained, led them on marches to competing villages, headed the cheering, appointed referees, and saw to other duties, including reciting a speech before the races. Unlike other offices, however, the role of game leader was filled by a woman when the competition was among females, because it was inappropriate for men and women to argue. Finally, there were song leaders, chosen for their memory of songs and loud voices, who led the communal singing at ceremonies. In smaller communities, the duties of these offices sometimes fell under the purview of the village headman, although they were commonly held by others (Bahr 1983b:185; Ezell 1956:361).

Like village headmen, the war, game, hunt, and song leaders were both public and priestly figures, and their performances and duties were highly ritualized (Bahr 1983b:186). Village councils were vested with appointing people to fill each of the public offices; no seat was hereditary, but sons and nephews were often trained, and thus, in favored positions to assume the role when needed (Bahr 1983b:185; Ezell 1956:366; Russell 1908:196; Underhill 1939:75-78). Because a considerable amount of ceremonial knowledge was required for these positions, there was typically a period of apprenticeship, so it was common for that individual to be a relative or prior assistant.

The one leadership role that was purely secular was that of ditch boss among the Akimel O'odham. Bahr (1983b:186) characterizes this position as a sole person under whom a cooperative group of men maintained a village's irrigation works. Observations by Grossman (1873:418) and information shared with Ezell (1956:361-362) suggest, however, that several elder men were chosen to organize and direct digging of canals, construction of dams, and the administration of water to each landowner. Similarly, Russell (1908:88) described how, when a new parcel of land was to be farmed, a six-man committee was selected (presumably by the village council) to make field allotments to the men who helped dig the ditches.

While a village's headman was responsible for the ceremonial cycle, the makai also participated. Only rarely did a woman serve as a makai, and according to Bahr (1983b:186), the makai's role and

actions, as they pertain to magic and divination, were fairly standardized in each of the ceremonies. Having an innate spiritual power, and with the aid of sacred objects and spirit helpers, the makai divined matters important to the ceremony at hand, such as when rain would come or the location of enemies (Russell 1908:256; Underhill 1946:263-265). He could administer love magic and perform rites that weakened opponents, whether they were racers from a competing village or battle enemies. Some mamakai could use their power to summon rain, and, in such instances, they were known as *siwanyi*. Russell (1908:256) noted that each Akimel O'odham village was home to about five mamakai; Tohono O'odham villages likely had fewer, because they tended to have smaller populations.

Among the Tohono O'odham, diagnosing sickness was also the prerogative of the makai (Bahr 1983a; Bahr et al. 1974; Underhill 1946:265). Among the Akimel O'odham, however, this duty fell to another type of traditional practitioner, the *siatcokam* (diagnosing physician), who were more numerous than mamakai and whose position was generally open to men and women (Russell 1908:256). Diagnosing sickness was a very lucrative endeavor, because such services were generally subject to a fee (Russell 1908:261-262; Underhill 1946:265). Sickness had a supernatural origin, and to "see" it required the skills of the makai or *siatcokam*. Curing sickness was another matter. This was accomplished by ritual healers (Underhill 1946:286), who may or may not be the makai. Curing sickness did not require the spiritual power possessed by a makai, because the curing rite's efficacy derived from the sickness itself, not the spiritual power of the makai (Bahr 1983b:186).

Regarding intervillage politics and leadership, and in the general style of most tribal communities across the Southwest at the time of Spanish contact (Spicer 1962:9), local Tohono O'odham settlements and bands were economically and politically self-sufficient, largely autonomous, and had no organized central government that operated to unify the various local groups in any formal fashion (Drucker 1941:194-195; Ezell 1983:151; Underhill 1939:70). Disparate communities banded together in times of war (Ezell 1956:346-347; Russell 1908:196; Underhill 1939:70), as well as for games and ceremonial reasons (Brown 1906:688; Mason 1920:14; Russell 1908:170-171), although they were principally independent units when it came to governance.

Among the Akimel O'odham, Russell (1908:195) noted that different villages were united under a tribal head chief. However, Ezell (1956:358, 1983:151), McGuire (1982:82), and Winter (1973:69), among others, question whether this degree of political unification and mode of leadership was in place prior to

Spanish contact. Ezell (1956:360-361) referenced documentary evidence suggesting a supra-village mode of leadership was in place at the time of contact, suggesting further that endemic warfare with Apache groups was the prime motivator for the political unity of individual Akimel O'odham villages (Ezell 1956:347).

PEE-POSH AND XALYCHIDOM

In addition to the O'odham, the reservations of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community (SRP-MIC) and the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC) are home to contemporary Pee-Posh and Xalychidom, communities often referred to collectively as "Maricopa." The Pee-Posh and Xalychidom are Yuman speakers with strong cultural ties and historical connections to other Yuman-speaking communities along the lower Colorado River, especially the Quechan and the Mojave. Indeed, the languages of all three belong to the River Yuman branch of the Yuman language family (Campbell 1997:127). District 2 of SRP-MIC, known as the Lehi Community, is recognized as that portion of the reservation devoted to the Xalychidom Piipaash (a truncation of Mthxalychidom Piipaash, meaning "Upriver People"), or "Halchidhoma." The Lehi Community is located on the south side of the Salt River between the cities of Scottsdale and Mesa, Arizona.

About 40 km to the west-southwest, near the village of Laveen at the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers, GRIC's District 7 (the "Maricopa Colony") is home to the Pee-Posh ("The People"). Most of the ethnographic information about the "Maricopa-at-large" (as an aggregate of Pee-Posh, Xalychidom, and several other groups of Yuman speakers; see below) derives from Leslie Spier (1933), who between 1929 and 1932, spent approximately seven months with the Pee-Posh at the Maricopa Colony. Subsequent and supplemental ethnographic work has been provided by Ezell (1963), Kelly (1972), and Harwell (1979).

Although often glossed as a single cultural group called "Maricopa," the Pee-Posh and Xalychidom recognize themselves as distinct cultural entities. The Pee-Posh are an amalgam of at least five different groups of Yuman speakers—Maricopa proper, Kaveltcadom, Kohuana, Halyikwamai, and Xalychidom—who migrated from their rancherías along the lower Gila and lower Colorado rivers and into the vicinity of Akimel O'odham communities in the middle Gila River valley. The first group may be considered the "Maricopa proper" (following Harwell 1979:42), as this derives from "Cocomaricopa," one of the terms (the other being "Opa") first used by Father Kino when he encountered Yuman

speakers living along the lower Gila in 1699 (Bolton 1919b:127-129).

"Opa" and "Cocomaricopa," as well as "Tutumaopa" (Bolton 1930a:301, 387)—used in reference to a Yuman-speaking community near Agua Caliente Mountain on the north side of the Gila River and downriver from the Painted Rock Mountains—are apparently names derived from the O'odham word *o'bab* (that is, opa), meaning "foreigner" (Ezell 1963:12-14). Unfortunately, the Spanish chroniclers failed to document the tribal names for these groups.

Kino distinguished between Opa and Cocomaricopa based on geography, with the former residing upstream of the Gila Bend region and the latter downstream. However, whether these were different groups has never been satisfactorily determined. The general consensus is that the distinction was one of ethnicity, or social identity, recognized by themselves and the O'odham, but because the groups were essentially indistinguishable in terms of language and culture, Spanish chroniclers were unable to differentiate them (Ezell 1963:12; Spier 1933:37). According to Pedro Font in 1775, the Cocomaricopas "are the same as the Opas, but are distinguished in name by the district they inhabit" (Bolton 1930a:57), and in 1776, Francisco Garcés (Coues 1900:123) remarked that the "Opa and Cocomaricopa nation...is all one." Nonetheless, the name "Opa" fell out of use after the de Anza expedition (Harwell and Kelly 1983:83), with all Yuman speakers living along the lower Gila thereafter referred to as Cocomaricopa. "Maricopa" is an anglicization of Cocomaricopa that came into use circa 1846, with Kearny's Expedition with the Army of the West (Ezell 1963:20).

According to Spier (1933:1, 11, 39), the Maricopa proper (the Opa and/or Cocomaricopa) of the Maricopa Colony had no memories or traditions that pointed to their ever having lived anywhere other than in the middle Gila River valley. Since their memories and calendar sticks were corroborated by other documents as far back as 1830 (Spier 1933:26), the lack of any recognized historical tie to the lower Gila or lower Colorado River at that time implies that the Maricopa proper had taken up residence near the Akimel O'odham along the middle Gila River, above its confluence with the Salt River, by 1800 (Ezell 1963:23; Spier 1933:ix, 18, 26). This establishes them as the earliest group of Yuman speakers in the middle Gila River valley for whom there is documentary evidence. Their settlements were located on both sides of the river and were concentrated between Pima Butte and Gila Crossing, just downstream from the Akimel O'odham villages.

After their arrival in the middle Gila River valley, the Maricopa proper were joined by the Kaveltcadom ("west or downriver dwellers").¹⁰ Spier (1933:12) learned that the Kaveltcadom had once

lived along the lower Colorado River (Xákwītás, "Red Water"), but they left so long ago that no memories or traditions of their former presence amid the lower Colorado River tribes persisted. Members of the Maricopa Colony shared that the Kaveltcadom were a Xalychidom group (see below) who, while still residing along the Colorado River, had split from the larger group and began migrating eastward up the Gila River (Spier 1933:12). It is unclear when the exodus from the Colorado River began, but since they are not mentioned in Alarcon's 1540 account of his expedition up the Colorado River, nor in subsequent Spanish records, Ezell (1963:23) assumed the departure was before historic times, and Spier (1933:12) placed it prior to 1500.

Following their departure, the Kaveltcadom settled along the lower Gila River, a country they called "Chiduma" (Bean and Mason 1962:92n.5). Settlements stretched east from the Mohawk Mountains (ávikatcákwin, "Granary Basket Mountain") to the vicinity of the Gillespie Lava Flow (Vin,ílkwuk,áva, "Where the Black Mountains Meet") and the Hassayampa River (XataikuvéRá, "Hard Canyon") (Spier 1933:24-26). Based on observations by members of the Mormon Battalion in 1846 and the U.S. Boundary Survey in 1852, it seems that, by that time, Kaveltcadom had concentrated themselves above the vicinity of Gila Bend, known to them as Kwa'akámát ("Mesquite Farm" or "Mesquite Gathering Place") (Spier 1933:24), and by 1852, most had settled alongside the Maricopa proper in the middle Gila River valley (Spier 1933:37-40).

The other three groups incorporated into the Maricopa-at-large—the Xalychidom, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai—were still residing along the lower Colorado River at the time of Spanish contact, so the history of their movements is documented with greater precision. In 1605, Juan de Oñate described the Yuman-speaking Xalychidom ("Alebdoma") as being the first tribe below the Gila River and occupying the eastern bank of the Colorado River (Zarate Salmerón 1856 [1626]:36), and in 1699, Kino observed them ("Alchedomas") in approximately the same location (Bolton 1919b:195). However, the following year, Kino reported them living north of the confluence (Bolton 1919b:252), indicating they had moved some distance up the Colorado River (Dobyns et al. 1963:113; Ezell 1963:9).

Seventy-five years later, Garcés (Coues 1900:423-430) found the Xalychidom ("Jalchedunes") living along a 14-league-long (65-km-long) stretch of the Colorado River between the Trigo Mountains and the Bill Williams River; thus, below the Mojave and above the Quechan. This position corresponds with the earliest locations remembered by Mojave and Pee-Posh elders in the early twentieth century, who recalled stories from their parents and grandparents

of the Xalychidom once living in the vicinity of Parker, Arizona (Kroeber 1925:799; Spier 1933:12-14). As Spier (1933:14) commented, "Presumably they had shifted northward of the [Quechan] to escape them, only to subject themselves to double peril from Mohave above as well as [Quechan] below."

The Kohuana and Halyikwamai were also Yuman-speaking lower Colorado River tribes who fled Quechan aggression and took refuge among their cultural brethren in the middle Gila River valley. The earliest Spanish records place the Kohuana north of the Halyikwamai, and both of these groups below the Quechan (Kroeber 1925:796, 798; Spier 1933:16). In 1605, Oñate observed the Halyikwamai ("Halliquamallas") living on the east bank of the lower Colorado River, opposite the Cocopah and below the Kohuana, and in 1776, Garcés found them on the west bank and slightly north of the Cocopah but still below the Kohuana ("Cajuenche"). As late as 1799, José Cortés (1989:102; see also Whipple et al. 1855:123), a Lieutenant with Spain's Royal Corps of Engineers, witnessed the Kohuana and Halyikwamai ("Talligüamai") living on the west bank of the Colorado River and in close proximity to each other, but still nestled between the Quechan on the north and the Cocopah to the south. Interestingly, Cortés estimated the populations of the Halyikwamai at 2,000 and the Kohuana at 3,000, remarking that they "are of a vivacious nature, and amuse themselves with dancing, which is their chief pastime" (Whipple et al. 1855:123). Nonetheless, conflict with their neighbors was a constant concern, with Cortés observing that they enclosed their encampments with stockades in the event of a surprise attack.

Continually under assault by the Quechan and their allies, at some point shortly after 1799, the Kohuana migrated northward and took up residence in the Colorado River bottomlands near the Xalychidom (Kroeber 1925:799). The situation with the Halyikwamai is less clear. Drawing on information provided by the Mojave, Kroeber (1925:797) only reported that, having been "dispossessed by [their] more powerful neighbors," the Halyikwamai gave up on an agricultural lifestyle and took up an inland residence in the hill country west of the Quechan. The scenario is apparently actually more involved and less direct. Spier (1933:18) inferred that some of the Halyikwamai followed that trajectory, but a sizable number had also been incorporated by the Kohuana. Given Cortés's observation that the two tribes were living side by side in 1799, the process of amalgamation was likely underway at that time. Indeed, Spier (1933:10) contended that they were fully incorporated by the time the Kohuana migrated north to the vicinity of the Xalychidom.

Still, Forbes (1965) showed that the fate of the Halyikwamai was more of a dispersion than a mi-

gration. According to Cocopah tradition, due to feuds with the Quechan and the Cocopah, the Halyikwamai essentially fragmented as a tribe, with people moving to join the Maricopa-at-large (perhaps both the Maricopa proper and the Kaveltcadom) and some staying in the delta region and assimilating into Quechan and Cocopah communities (Forbes 1965:255-256; see also Gifford 1933a:262).

Once resigned to the Parker Valley below the Mojave, the Xalychidom-Kohuana-Halyikwamai amalgam continued to evolve and change. War with the Mojave drove them south from the Parker area but still north of the Quechan. The Xalychidom settled at an inland slough called Aha-kw-atho'ilya, a day's walk west of the Colorado River (Kroeber 1925:800). The Kohuana-Halyikwamai cohort did not move as far, settling instead at Avi-nyakutapaiva and Hapuvesa; after a year, however, they moved south again. The Mojave onslaught persisted (Forbes 1965:251), which eventually drove many of the Xalychidom to migrate east toward their allies the Hatpa'inya (the Kaveltcadom, a Xalychidom group who had split prior to A.D. 1500; see above) along the lower Gila River (Kroeber 1925:800; Spier 1933:14-15) and then southward.

Spier (1933:14-15) placed this migration in 1825-1830, with a two-day provisioning stop among the Kaveltcadom at Kwa'akamát (near Gila Bend), after which they continued their migration into northern Sonora, where they took up residence at a Mexican settlement three days walk southeast of Tucson with an unspecified friendly tribe, perhaps the Yaqui.¹¹ They were living there in 1833, but after a period of pestilence they eventually resumed their migration. By 1838, most of the displaced Xalychidom had taken up residence near Pima Butte in the middle Gila River valley (Harwell 1979:41; Harwell and Kelly 1983:74; Spier 1933:18).

The migration of the Kohuana-Halyikwamai contingent followed a different sequence of events (Forbes 1965:252-253; Kroeber 1925:800-801; Spier 1933:16-17). The Mojave considered them kin and forced themselves upon the colony, using their rancherías as a way station for assaults on the Xalychidom. After the Xalychidom were driven out, the Mojave eventually compelled the Kohuana-Halyikwamai to move northward and join them in the Mohave valley, above Needles, California. In about 1833, after a five-year residence among the Mojave, the Quechan and Mojave brokered an arrangement to have the exiled Kohuana-Halyikwamai transferred to the Quechan as prisoners. Finally, in 1838, after another five years of imprisonment among the Quechan, about half the Kohuana-Halyikwamai managed to escape eastward, where they were welcomed in the middle Gila River valley.

There, they established the village of Cilyáaík-wítítálic ("Sand Higher") amid the sand hills at the western edge of the dispersed Maricopa proper settlements and just upstream of Gila Crossing (Spier 1933:18-20). By that time, the Xalychidom who had been living in Sonora had migrated once more to the opposite end, near Pima Butte (Spier 1933:14-15, 18). A year later, in 1839, a group of the Kohuana-Halyikwamai still captive among the Quechan managed to either flee or negotiate their release, settling among the others near Gila Crossing. Nevertheless, as with the previous migrations, a contingent of the Kohuana-Halyikwamai group remained behind and assimilated among the Quechan and Mojave (Forbes 1965:253-254; Kroeber 1925:801; Spier 1933:18).

By 1852, Yuman speakers of the lower Gila River and their exiled allies from the lower Colorado River had coalesced into at least 16 different villages in the middle Gila River valley between Pima Butte and Gila Crossing (Spier 1933:Figure 3; Wilson 2014:Figure 5.3), and in relatively close proximity to Akimel O'odham communities. Kelly (1972:262) reported that oral histories from members of the Lehi Community at SRP-MIC indicated the Xalychidom, coming from their period of refuge in Sonora, bypassed the other Yuman speakers in the middle Gila River valley, settling directly along the Salt River (near Lehi), where they have remained since. This is in contrast with other oral histories and research. For example, an oral history provided by Ike Gates, a Xalychidom resident of the Lehi Community, whose account originated from his grandfather, a member of the original Xalychidom community who fled the Parker area, recounts an interlude of residence along in the middle Gila River valley prior to moving to Lehi (Cameron et al. 1994:70-71; see also Sunn and Harwell 1976). After leaving Sonora, some Xalychidom may have settled in the middle Gila River valley, while others established new settlements along the Salt River. Kelly Washington (personal communication 2016) indicated that the Xalychidom resided first along the middle Gila River, with some subsequently moving to the Salt River below Phoenix, and around 1877, others, under Xalychidom leader Malay, moved once more to the Lehi area.

Although persistent conflict with neighboring Quechan and Mojave groups was a major catalyst for the migration of multiple Yuman-speaking groups away from the lower Colorado and lower Gila rivers, the hostilities did not cease once the groups amalgamated in the middle Gila River valley. Traveling some 250 km from their home at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, the Quechan continued to lead raids and assaults on villages along the middle Gila River well into the late 1850s, and the allied Maricopa-at-large and

Akimel O'odham retaliated with their own westward marches onto Quechan rancherías (see Table 5.3).

Tensions culminated in the waking hours of 1 September 1857, when approximately 100 Quechan and Mojave warriors (and possibly some allied Yavapai and Tonto Apaches) laid siege to a village near Pima Butte.¹² This village has been identified as either the Akimel O'odham village of Sacate (Kroeber and Fontana 1986:23-27; Spier 1933:173-174) or the Pee-Posh village of Hueso Paredo, near Maricopa Wells (Wilson 2014:95). The Akimel O'odham and the Maricopa-at-large sustained casualties; however, they were considered the victors because they killed the majority of the Quechan-Mojave war party.

This was the last battle between the two warring factions. Between 9 and 11 April 1863, at Fort Yuma, a pact of peace was made between five tribes (the Akimel O'odham, Maricopa-at-large, Chemehuevi, Hualapai, and Quechan) and the United States government (Cameron et al. 1994:72n.2). The agreement promoted safe travel through the tribes' traditional lands. It also mandated unity and cooperation with the government's ongoing war with the Apache, and it forbade treaties with the Apache and uprisings against authorities of the United States (Deloria and DeMallie 1999:711-712).

Unfortunately, the end of war with the Quechan was not the beginning of prosperity for either the Akimel O'odham or the Maricopa-at-large. As Harwell (1979:41, 173-174; also, Harwell and Kelly 1983:75-76) detailed, almost as soon as the various migrant groups of Yuman speakers settled into their new homeland along the middle Gila River and agreed to peace with their former enemies, a cascade of serious challenges began to unfold. By the late 1860s, Anglo farmers upstream in the vicinity of Florence began to dam the river and divert its flow. This left communities downstream with considerably less water and, starting around 1879, ultimately precipitated a long-term desiccation of the aboriginal field systems (Wilson 2014:166-168).

Additionally, the Maricopa-at-large and their Akimel O'odham neighbors were simultaneously beset by a wave of plagues—cholera, malaria, measles, tuberculosis, and smallpox (Harwell 1979:172-173; see also Wilson 2014:80). Under such extreme pressures, many, if not most, of this group, as well as some of their O'odham allies, once again relocated. One contingent moved northeast, to the vicinity of Lehi along the Salt River; another set of families relocated to the Maricopa Gardens (a region now in south Phoenix between Central and 7th avenues); a third group moved downstream (northwest) to the Maricopa Colony near Laveen. Although separated by some distance, these formative Pee-Posh commu-

nities continued to interact, with people filtering in and shuffling between the Lehi and Laveen communities throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century (Russell 1908:60-61; Spier 1933:140; see also Harwell 1979:199-202).

TRADITIONAL PEE-POSH AND XALYCHIDOM SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Because they were living amid, and allied with, the Akimel O'odham by the time adequate ethnographic descriptions were penned, little is known of the traditional modes of political organization among the various Yuman-speaking groups incorporated in the Maricopa-at-large (Curtis 1908:81; Spier 1933:155). Nonetheless, what is evident suggests it was quite similar, if not identical, to that of the Quechan and Mojave (Curtis 1908:83, 116). Therefore, the following is a basic presentation of this broader pattern, and more specific detail is available from the Quechan chapter in this report.

As among the Mojave and Quechan, the visionary dream (*camág*) was of utmost importance to traditional life among the Maricopa-at-large. It was the root of all success, and therefore, it preoccupied them (Curtis 1908:83-84; Harwell and Kelly 1983:81; Spier 1933:236). Dreams were equated with spirits, and the dream experience was unpremeditated and involuntary (Spier 1933:238). Dreaming was the basis for all public roles, and it began in childhood and preconditioned people for certain positions. Dreaming was the source of power for divination, ritual songs, curing, and witchcraft; it was also the origin of sickness. The type of power received depended on the particular spiritual familiars that visited during the dream experience. Although dreamers were visited most often by birds, other animals and insects, as well as mountains and astral bodies, could bestow certain skills and knowledge on the dreamer.

Political authority among the Maricopa-at-large did not reach beyond the village, and it was diffused across a diversity of political positions within each village. Harwell and Kelly (1983:79-80) indicated that tribal "chiefs," "subchiefs," or "*capitáns*" have, on occasion, been referenced in historical documents, but those individuals likely had little social power, their role being more akin to a spokesman or mediator among the various villages rather than a political leader. Among the Quechan, such individuals were known as *k^waxót* and were vested with social and religious responsibilities (Forde 1931:134-137). This was not, however, an apparent social role among the Maricopa-at-large, at least after their resettlement in the middle Gila River valley. There is some indication that this role was more pronounced

in the past, because Spier (1933:158) learned of the corollary *kwaxwat* or *kwaxóťinc* (“good man”), but he noted this was not an official title. It is important to consider that the Quechan’s *kʷaxót* was not an official position either, but rather, one that was dreamed and attained through consensus.

Rather than a single tribal leader, the Maricopa-at-large recognized a leader for each village, called a *hutcáćipic* (“advisor”) or *pipavátaí* (“big man,” compare to Quechan *pi-pá-ta’axán*) (Harwell and Kelly 1983:79; Spier 1933:157). Although they had considerable influence, the formal authority of such leaders was always slight (Harwell and Kelly 1983:80), and as Spier (1933:158) put it, “more admonitory than coercive.” These nascent leaders directed people on when they should wake, hunt, prepare food for their families, repair the ditches, and similar matters. A *pipavátaí* usually had a small council comprised of *matásinyúk* (“those who agree”) or *matáwíkiik* (“helpers”). Nightly meetings, which other men of the community were permitted to attend, were held in a central council house overseen by the *pipavátaí* (Spier 1933:158-160). Regardless, the limited influence of the *pipavátaí* was at least equaled by others within the community. Traditional spiritual leaders, war leaders, orators and singers, directors of ceremonies, calendar-stick keepers, scalp keepers, and dance leaders were other figures of renown and social prominence (Spier 1933:155). These individuals were recognized as specialists who obtained their positions through the appropriate dreams (Harwell and Kelly 1983:80).

In addition to the heterarchical political structure that simultaneously ordered social life while diffusing political power through the community, the groups incorporated under the Maricopa label shared a system of *cimúls* (sibs or clans) that predates their merger in the middle Gila River valley (Table 4.4). Initially described by Curtis (1908:116-117) and elaborated on by Spier (1933:186-196), clans within each of the incorporated Maricopa groups are of the general patrilineal, exogamous, and totemic type found among other Yuman-speaking tribes associated with the lower Colorado River (Gifford 1918; Kroeber 1925:741-744; Chapters 2 and 5, this volume). Clan membership was passed through the father’s line, although connections through the mother’s line were instrumental in establishing certain social relationships (Harwell and Kelly 1983:77). As an exogamous organizational structure, the custom was for people of the same clan to not marry, but this was not always followed (Harwell and Kelly 1983:77; Spier 1933:195-196, 219). The tendency, in fact, was to marry outside the local community.

As with other lower Colorado Yuman-speaking tribes, the postmarital residence pattern of the Maricopa-at-large was patrilocal, meaning that new-

lyweds tended to settle within the groom’s parents’ household (Spier 1933:222). Coincident with the birth of children, the couple started their own household, but still in close proximity to the patrilineage’s other households. Over time, the combination of patrilineality and patrilocality resulted in local groups, or neighborhoods, dominated by a few male lineages (that is, clans) (Harwell 1979:187-227), which is why people tended to marry outside the immediate community. Indeed, members of these local communities continue to conceptualize their neighbors as family (Harwell and Kelly 1983:77).

Partners were free to divorce if either was dissatisfied, and because there was no social stigma associated with divorce and remarriage, it was not uncommon for someone to have had multiple unions throughout his or her life. This, in conjunction with the tendency to seek spouses from beyond the local group, served to interrelate people across rather extensive social and geographical fields. It kept communities at multiple scales – neighborhoods, villages, and even tribes – connected along bloodlines. This system of connectivity probably facilitated the incremental amalgamation of the different Yuman-speaking tribes as reviewed above, and it probably afforded many of them the social resilience to withstand their drawn-out, punctuated, and turbulent exodus from ancestral homes along the lower Colorado River to new settlements in the middle Gila River valley.

Clans of the amalgamated Maricopa groups had well-known totemic associations (Table 4.5). Although the dream experience, during which spirit birds and other animals would visit individuals and divulge esoteric information to them, was the basis of their religion and was, thus, instrumental in social and political life, it was entirely divorced from the clans’ totemic structure (Spier 1933:186). Instead, the totemic associations were “only slightly developed” (Spier 1933:191) and “diffuse” (Harwell (1979: 211), although totems did figure into social life. The most prominent role for the totem was its relevance to social identity, and this was most pronounced in the naming of women. A woman’s name tended to relate indirectly to her paternal clan’s totem (Harwell and Kelly 1983:77; Spier 1933:196-197). For example, the personal name of Ida Redbird, Spier’s interpreter, was *Níkyĩnkýĩk* (“iridescent green”), a clear reference to her clan’s (*Kwík,ĩly^a*) lizard totem (Spier 1933:188). Sometimes, a woman’s name and that of her clan were the same (Spier 1933:187-188). Similarly, it was a custom for the family of the groom, especially female relatives, to refer to his wife by her clan name (Harwell and Kelly 1983:77; Spier 1933:222).

Totemic associations also came into effect in other ways. For example, the clans and their totems were

Table 4.4. Maricopa-at-large clans documented in the twentieth century.

Name ^a	Maricopa Proper	Xalychidom	Kohuana	Halyikwamai	Unspecified
Mavé	x	.	.	.	.
Liách	x	x	.	.	.
Hipá	x	x	.	.	.
Havchúch	x	x	.	.	.
Namitúch	x	x	.	.	.
Kimíthí	x	x	.	.	.
Pakít	x	x	.	.	.
Kwíkyí'ly ^a	.	x	.	.	.
Sikamá	.	x	x	.	.
Qákü	.	x	x	.	.
L _y amúc	.	x	x	.	.
Xílyí	.	.	x	.	.
Siniqús	.	.	x	.	.
Halypót	.	.	x	.	.
Qütakil	.	.	x	.	.
Hütpás	.	.	x	.	.
Qünís	.	.	x	.	.
Salál	.	.	x	x	.
Töxpás	.	.	.	x	.
Ksilá	.	.	.	.	x

Note: Information from Spier (1933:Table IV). Curtis (1908:116-117) provided the first inventory of 16 Maricopa clans, eight of which he denoted as being of Cocopah origin. Curtis's (1908) information was repeated in Gifford (1918) but under different spellings, and he assigned those clans of Cocopah origin to the Kohuana. Kroeber's (1925:742-743) subsequent and better-cited work mirrored these previous lists, although he also used alternate spellings for the clan names. Kroeber (1925) did not cite his source, but it was apparently either Curtis's (1908) or Gifford's (1918) prior works. Spier (1933:Table IVn.1) identified four additional clans (L_yamúc, Kwíkyí'ly^a, Xílyí, and Töxpás) during his fieldwork; however, he did not find reference to five clans (Ksilá, Halpót, Qünís, Hütpás, and Qütakil) originally reported by Curtis (1908). Except Ksilá, these "missing" clans are believed to be Kohuana. Spier (1933:Table IVn.1) suggested these clans may exist among factions of the Kohuana who took up residence elsewhere. Considering the Kohuana were under the auspices of the Mojave and Quechan for 10 years prior to their departure from the Colorado, these absent clans may represent Kohuana groups who stayed and were incorporated into other Lower Colorado tribes. ^aAll spellings are from Curtis (1908:116-117), except Spier's (1933:Table IV) L_yamúc, Kwíkyí'ly^a, Xílyí, and Töxpás.

symbolically integrated into the annual calendar (Spier 1933:143-145, 189-190). The Maricopa-at-large counted 12 months, but used only six names, each of which was repeated. The months bore the same names as the clans, and the totemic plants for each were those planted and gathered at those times of the year. For instance, Havchúch (February and August) is when corn is planted, and corn is one of this clan's totems (see Table 4.5).

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATIONS

With the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, which established the current international border between the United States and Mexico, much of the Pimeria Alta and the Papaguería—the traditional lands of the O'odham and the Yuman-speaking groups incorporated under the Maricopa label—became part of the United States. At this time, the Akimel

O'odham and their Yuman-speaking allies were concentrated in the middle Gila River valley, and various dialect groups of the Tohono O'odham ranged from roughly the Santa Cruz River valley to the lower Colorado and the Gulf of California, and from south of the border north to the lower Gila River. As reviewed above, however, the traditional lands of the Maricopa-at-large had once stretched the entirety of the lower Gila River and, depending on which amalgamated group, even above and below its confluence with the lower Colorado River.¹³

The Gila River and Salt River Reservations

Although Jesuit and Franciscan missionization efforts and the colonial policies of Spain, and later Mexico, reached the Gila River and beyond, non-Indian encroachment upon the traditional lands of the O'odham and allied Yuman-speakers along the

Table 4.5. Maricopa-at-large clans and corresponding totems.

Clan	Totems																																		
	Wildcat	Coyote	Deer	Fox	Buzzard	Eagle	Dove	Roadrunner	Lizard	Frog	Rattlesnake	Beetle	Red Ants	Yellow Animal	Saguaro	Ocotillo	Opuntia Cactus	Cholla Cactus	Screwbean	Wild Gourd	Shrub	White Corn	Sedge	Sand	Rain	Clouds	Sun	Moon	Fire	Unknown					
Mavé	B	.	.	.	.	.	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Liách	B	.	.	.	.	.	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	B	.	.	.	.
Hipá	.	B	.	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	S	.	B	.	S	.	.	.	.	S	.	.	S	.	.	.			
Havchúch	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	S	.	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Namitúch	S	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Kimithí	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	S	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Pakit	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Kwik _v Il _v ^a	S	.	.	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sikamá	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Qakü	.	.	C	.	.	.	S	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	S	.	
L _v amúc	S	.
Xilyí	S	.
Siniqús	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Halypót	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Qüttil	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Hütpás	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Qümis	.	.	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Salál	B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Töxpás	S	.
Ksilá	C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Note: Totemic associations as assigned by Curtis (1908:116-117) and Spier (1933:191). Their lists are not in exact agreement; therefore, this table is a composite of their information; C = Curtis; S = Spier; B = both.

Gila River did not start in earnest until this remote region was annexed by the United States. With the Gadsden Purchase and the flood of Anglo settlement that soon followed, it became imperative on the part of the federal government to set aside lands for the region's tribal peoples who had long flourished in this environment.

After a brief visit in late September 1858, Office of Indian Affairs Special Agent Goddard Bailey recommended a reservation be set aside for the Akimel O'odham and the Maricopa-at-large residing in the middle Gila River valley (Wilson 2014:101); the intent was to prevent encroachment of American settlers on the O'odham and Pee-Posh villages and planting grounds. Congressional action soon followed. In February of 1859, Congress approved an annual appropriations bill requiring President James Buchanan to establish a Pima and Maricopa Indian Reservation, no greater than 260 km² in size, on or near the Gila River, and specifically including the lands then occupied by the Akimel O'odham and the Maricopa-at-large (Wilson 2014:101-102).

From the beginning, there were discrepancies between what leaders of the Akimel O'odham and the Maricopa-at-large considered their traditional lands and what the government was willing to set aside for them. Under the original act of Congress, the reservation could not exceed 260 km²; however, the Akimel O'odham, under then-leader Antonio Azul, held claim to the entire middle Gila River valley, a 160-km-long stretch from the Pinal Mountains to the Gila River's southern bend (Wilson 2014:105, 150). These traditional lands far exceeded the size limits imposed by Congress, yet the special agents simply skirted the controversial issue. When pressed that their mesquite grounds and pasture land had been left out of the reservation area, the worried Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large were assured they could continue to use these areas as long as they resided within the reservation area (Wilson 2014:106).

By 1866, some Akimel O'odham had begun farming unoccupied lands north of the reservation, in the locality of Blackwater Village. For this reason, among others, an expansion of the reservation was proposed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. However, due to the political climate at the time, initial expansion was never officially enacted (Wilson 2014:150-151). Subsequent endorsements for reservation expansion on the part of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs met similar political pitfalls, all of which presaged an oncoming "40 years of famine" (Ezell 1983:158-159).

After a successful campaign in the early 1860s to remove Apache and Yavapai groups from the high country east of the Salt and middle Gila River valleys (Chapter 6, this volume), and with a large reservation of several thousand Akimel O'odham and

allied Yuman speakers—formidable groups well versed in tribal warfare—the safety of Mexican and Anglo settlers upriver of the reservation was virtually ensured. By 1867, the fledgling community of Florence, about 40 km upriver of Sacaton, took root and began to divert the river's water above the irrigable lands of the reservation communities (Ezell 1983:158; Wilson 2014:148).

Facing increased water shortage, in 1870, the acreage of fields under cultivation on the reservation had been reduced by more than 50 percent; in 1871, there was not enough water to produce a summer crop beyond melons and pumpkins (Wilson 2014:158). As a result, people increasingly began to move off the reservation and take up farming elsewhere, sometimes in close proximity to Anglo communities. Heightened demand for increasingly limited farm land on and off the reservation was a source of major stress. For some Xalychidom-Kohuana-Halyikwamai families, who as late-comers were already occupying the far ends of the reservation, the pressure was enough to effectively push them off the reservation in search of land elsewhere. Many of these people resettled along the Salt River, some near its confluence with the Gila River and others farther upstream and near Lehi (Wilson 2014:158-160).

Water shortages persisted (DeJong 1992, 2009). In 1876, a new Special Agent, Charles Hudson, recommended that the easiest and quickest solution to the problem was to add the Blackwater Village and surrounding lands to the reservation, as some Akimel O'odham and Pee-Posh had already been farming and living there for several years without consequence (Wilson 2014:178). President Grant acted quickly by signing an Executive Order that added some 9,000 acres to the reservation (Kappler 1904:806), thereby bringing the Blackwater Village and surrounding slough area within the reservation. This did not, however, increase access to water; rather, it only added acreage to the reservation. Just three years later, another expansion took effect, establishing a separate reservation on the Salt River.

In 1879, a cadre of Anglo settlers attempted to file on lands along the Salt River that were already under development and cultivation by Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large farmers (Wilson 2014:178). During the prior year, Captain Adna Chaffee of nearby Camp McDowell was investigating allegations that the Akimel O'odham were illegally occupying lands between the Salt River and Camp McDowell. By this time, about 1,000 Akimel O'odham were living on the north side of the Salt River above Tempe, 28 Maricopa-at-large families were cultivating land near Lehi, and another 51 Maricopa-at-large families were farming lands on the Salt River below Phoenix (the Maricopa Gar-

dens). The facts on the ground showed Chaffee that the settlers were attempting to unjustly usurp lands from the Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large farmers, so he recommended a reservation be established on the north side of the Salt River to protect their holdings. Chaffee's suggestion rose through the ranks of the War Department, gaining endorsements along the way. It was eventually passed to the Secretary of the Interior, and then to President Hayes.

Hayes's solution was an Executive Order in January 1879 that set apart roughly 500,000 acres of land in the Salt River valley to be used by the Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large (Kappler 1904:806; Wilson 2014:179). The proposed reservation would extend just over 3 km north and south of the Salt River, and from the river's confluence with the Gila River to the White Mountain Apache Reservation (DeJong 1992:389). This would have impacted the land claims of about 5,000 Anglo settlers and added the towns of Phoenix, Tempe, and Lehi to the reservation. Outrage over the proposed reservation induced a second survey and census of off-reservation Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large farmers. Indian Inspector John Hammond confirmed that 240 families (circa 1,300 people) were farming about 1,000 acres opposite Tempe; 47 families (circa 375 people) were farming 400 acres near Lehi; 230 families (circa 1,300 people) were farming 1,200 acres along the north banks of the Gila River between the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers and the reservation boundary; and 43 families (~300 people) were farming the south bank of the Salt River, just above the confluence (Wilson 2014:180).

With the new demographic information, President Hayes issued a subsequent Executive Order in June 1879 that rescinded the previous order, but that also expanded the Gila River Indian Reservation and established a new Salt River Indian Reservation (Kappler 1904:806-807; Wilson 2014:180). Expanded to 155,400 acres, the Gila River Indian Reservation grew to include the north bank of the Gila River to its confluence with the Salt River, thereby encompassing the communities at Gila Crossing and Laveen (the Maricopa Colony). The new Salt River Indian Reservation contained Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large settlements and fields on the north side of the Salt River and south of Camp McDowell.

The Gila River Indian Reservation was expanded twice more (Wilson 2014:195-196). In May of 1882, at the request of Indian Agent Roswell Wheller, President Arthur added a 25,680-acre parcel south of the Gila River, between the reservation's western boundary and the confluence of the Gila and Salt rivers (Kappler 1904:807-808). This expansion added lands already under cultivation by about 1,300 Akimel O'odham and Maricopa-at-large farmers in the vicinity of Gila Crossing and Maricopa Wells.

Eighteen months later, in November of 1883, President Arthur added 176,000 acres—nearly doubling the size of the reservation to 357,120 acres (Kappler 1904:808). Lands of this last major expansion were primarily desert scrub and grassland, presumably to serve as pasturage (Dobyns 1989:58). Additions of land to the Salt River Indian Reservation and the Gila River Indian Reservation (known today as the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community and the Gila River Indian Community, respectively) have since been incremental, although they continue to this day.

The Tohono O'odham Nation

The Gadsden Purchase of 1853 resulted in a similar influx of Anglo settlers into the traditional lands of the Tohono O'odham. Farmers and ranchers were drawn to the riparian environment of the Santa Cruz River valley, site of the long-established Tohono O'odham community at San Xavier del Bac, just south of Tucson (Fontana 1983a:142). Similarly, the mineral-rich mountains of the Papaguería between Ajo and the Santa Cruz River valley were a major draw for prospectors (Fontana 1981:64; Underhill 1939:28). Consequently, outside pressure on Tohono O'odham traditional lands mounted, and it did not go unnoticed. In 1863, Charles Poston, then-Superintendent of Indian Affairs, warned of a limited water supply and that increased immigration to the region would leave 18 large Tohono O'odham villages waterless (Fontana 1981:64). Action, however, was unsurprisingly slow.

After a decade of appeals to numerous Indian Agents requesting to secure land and water rights to the Tohono O'odham, President Grant finally heeded their requests. Through an Executive Order on 1 July 1874, Grant established the 71,095-acre San Xavier Reservation around the old Spanish mission (Fontana 1981:64, 1983a:142; Kappler 1904:805-806), which ultimately became the first of three reservations for the Tohono O'odham Nation.

Shortly after creation of the San Xavier Reservation, a second reservation for the Tohono O'odham was established near Gila Bend. This pivotal bend in the lower Gila River, the Kwa'akámát of the Kaveltcadom, had long supported a blended landscape of Yuman and O'odham speakers. Spanish chroniclers, such as Kino, Font, Sedelmayr, and Anza, who used the lower Gila River as an overland route between missions in Sonora and California, described multi-cultural rancherías inhabited by the Opa-Cocomaricopa (Kaveltcadom) and O'odham for some distance above and below the region of Gila Bend. One of these rancherías, known to the Akimel O'odham as O'bab Oidak ("Friendly Foreigner

Fields"), was a thriving community well into the early nineteenth century.

However, by the mid-1840s, the area was largely void of permanent residents, with only faint traces of habitation and farming noted in military reports and journals (Couts 1961:69; Emory 1848:89; Harris 1960:83). By this time, the Kaveltcadom and some O'odham had largely migrated farther upriver; other O'odham likely relocated south and east to avoid the ever-growing stream of American and Mexican traffic following the wagon roads from Maricopa Wells to Fort Yuma (Bean et al. 1978:5.60). In 1857, the important stage station of Gila Ranch was established in the vicinity of the former *ranchería* of O'bab Oidak (Berge 1968), and in 1872, the town of Gila Bend was formally established.

The Southern Pacific Railroad arrived at Gila Bend in 1879, and circumvented the bend in the river and the Gila Ranch stage station by several kilometers. As a result, the town shifted to the vicinity of the rail station (Barnes 1988:181), and much of the immigrant traffic through the area passed south of the fertile bottom land near the river. The decreased pressure on traditional farm land and water may have been the incentive that drew O'odham farmers back to the Gila Bend area on a permanent basis (Bean et al. 1978:5.60). Anglo farming operations and the railroad also brought a few O'odham back. Some O'odham men, in particular, Hia Ce'd O'odham and Tohono O'odham of the Hú·hu'ula dialect group whose traditional lands encompassed the Gila Bend region, took work as farm hands or as members of railroad construction crews as the rails were laid down alongside the Gila River (Dobyns 1972:45; Ruter 2010:44-45; see also McGuire 1982:65). Underhill (1939:66) was told that the resurgence of an O'odham community at Gila Bend originated with a labor camp for O'odham men laying rail for the Southern Pacific Railroad.

By 1881, an estimated 400 Tohono O'odham were farming nearly 400 acres of land along the Gila River, below the confluence with the Salt River, including in and around the Gila Bend area (and possibly in the Buckeye, Arlington, and Enterprise valleys as well) (Hamilton 1881:100).

With a small O'odham community beginning to take shape again in the vicinity of Gila Bend, government officials deemed it imperative to set aside a small parcel of land for them. The decision served two ends; it would protect the O'odham's reclaimed land base from Anglo and Hispanic encroachment while simultaneously opening the remainder of the lower Gila River valley for settlement and large irrigation projects on the horizon (Bean et al. 1978:5.62). In December 1882, President Arthur signed an Executive Order that established a 22,400-acre Gila Bend Indian Reservation (Fontana 1981:64; Kappler

1904:804). As with the Gila River Indian Reservation, unfortunately the water rights of the O'odham at the new Gila Bend Indian Reservation were not protected under the Executive Order. By 1891, a dam and several canals above the reservation had begun to divert water onto Anglo fields, leaving less and less water for farmers on the reservation.

Nevertheless, the resurgent O'odham community at Gila Bend continued to grow and expand, and eventually, three villages formed on and around the reservation. From west to east, they were the "Lower Village" of Kvívo (known in Spanish as Pelon), the "Middle Village" of Úpatoitak, and the "Upper Village" of Síilimök (Lumholtz 1912:382, 384, 385). Síilimök ("Burnt Saddle"), also known as Si:l Mekk and Sil Murk, was founded in 1892 by 14 Tohono O'odham families, who resettled there from Tshiulikami ("Where Willows Grow," known in Spanish as Saucedá), a village located south of Gila Bend. Úpatoitak ("Catclaw Field"), known in Spanish as Tesota, was founded about the same time by eight families from Moivdxia ("Many Wells"), a village located southeast of Gila Bend and known in Spanish as Pozos Muchos. By 1910, the combined villages totaled approximately 300 people (Bryan 1925:400). Over time, additional villages sprang up on and around the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, including Daik (known today as "The Old Village," and also referred to as Vecho), Tahi, and small O'odham communities formed in or close to the nearby towns of Theba and Gila Bend (Hackenberg 1961:42; Ruter 2010:49-50).¹⁴

Despite gradual population growth and federal recognition, problems for the Gila Bend Indian Reservation increased. The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 mandated that reservation lands be divided into parcels for each individual resident rather than being held in common by the tribe. In 1895, the Office of Indian Affairs issued 679 allotments of just 10 acres on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation (Bean et al. 1978:5.63). Although the allotments never took effect (Fontana 1981:67), government officials and non-Indians coveting tribal land bemoaned that the Gila Bend Indian Reservation was too large for its resident population. Agreeing with them, in June 1909, President Taft reduced the reservation to roughly 10,300 acres through an Executive Order (Kappler 1913:682). This left several O'odham settlements outside the revised reservation boundary.

In 1964, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers acquired a flood easement of more than 7,700 acres of the Gila Bend Indian Reservation for the newly built Painted Rock Reservoir downstream. The government paid the tribe just \$130,000, and encouraged the relocation of Daik (which was to be inundated) to a 40-acre parcel that is the site of present-day San

Lucy village (Wright et al. 2015:34). A series of large floods in the 1970s inundated much of the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, effectively reducing the amount of land viable for habitation and agricultural to around 400 acres. After petitioning the federal government for new lands, the Gila Bend Indian Reservation Lands Replacement Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-503) provided the tribe \$30 million to purchase up to 9,880 acres of replacement land (Parker 1989:63), which has recently been completed.

Foundation of the Papago Indian Reservation, the largest of the three reservations under the Tohono O'odham Nation, is similarly steeped in a complicated history. With continued settlement of the river valleys, Anglo and Hispanic ranchers were increasingly attracted to the wide plains and scattered springs and wells across the Papaguería (Fontana 1981:64-65). This co-optation of scarce water sources and the area's best grazing lands took a serious toll on the traditional Tohono O'odham lifestyle, one they lamented and that did not go unnoticed by the Indian Agents (Vance et al. 1968:419-420).

In 1905, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs began to recommend setting aside land to hold off continued encroachment and to secure land and water for the Tohono O'odham, but action was slow. Eventually, in 1912, an allotting agent was assigned to survey Tohono O'odham settlement and land use in the Papaguería, with the notion that each tribal member would be allotted a 160-acre parcel. In the end, the agent recommended expanding the San Xavier Reservation and establishing new reservations at Ajo, Santa Rosa, Quitobaquito, and in the Altar valley. The recommendations were ultimately rejected, but a series of subsequent Executive Orders would eventually establish a large reservation in the Papaguería.

The seeds of what would become the Papago Indian Reservation were planted before the allotting agent's recommendation when, in 1911, President Taft set aside 80-acre parcels for Presbyterian and Catholic day schools at the villages of Indian Oasis (later named Sells, after then-Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells) and San Miguel (Dobyns 1972:50; Fontana 1983a:143; Kappler 1913:670; Underhill 1939:28). Concern for a much larger reservation persisted, especially when tribal members heard about plans to build a railroad through the heart of Tohono O'odham country, which the allotting agent contended would attract even more settlers (Vance et al. 1968:419-420). Likewise, a reservation was seen as a way to put to rest several fraudulent land dealings in which individuals were attempting to sell traditional Tohono O'odham lands (*The Native American* 1916:83, 85). In January 1916, an Executive Order penned by President Wilson set aside approximately 2.7 million acres of land for a reservation for

the Tohono O'odham in the Papaguería (Kappler 1929:1008-1011).

The placement of such a vast expanse of land in reserve for the Tohono O'odham was not popular among those who had business interests and investments in the region. Although mineral rights were specifically excluded from the Executive Orders, powerful mining interests with media and government ties opposed the transfer of ore-laden land to people who traditionally did not mine (that is, the O'odham) (McIntyre 2008:8). In turn, Wilson signed another Executive Order the following year that retracted a 7-mile-wide, east-west "strip" of land about 475,000 acres in size, placing the parcel back in the public domain, and thus, open for settlement (Kappler 1929:1005-1008). This removal effectively cut the reservation into two discontinuous parcels. Marketed as a way to connect noncontiguous areas of public land on the eastern and western sides of the reservation, in reality, this central sliver of the reservation was thought to be some of the most desirable land for development (Vance et al. 1968:421-422). Nonetheless, subsequent acts of Congress in 1931, 1937, and 1939 returned much of this land to the reservation, resulting in, and creating, the contiguous boundary as currently known.

With the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 came political consolidation of the San Xavier, Gila Bend, and Papago Indian Reservations into a unified political entity, now known as the Tohono O'odham Nation (formerly the Papago Tribe of Arizona). In 1937, the Nation ratified a constitution and by-laws and organized itself into 11 districts, nine on the large reservation and one each at Gila Bend and San Xavier.¹⁵ In 1955, lands on the Tohono O'odham Reservation (former Papago Indian Reservation) were finally closed to outside mineral entry (Vance et al. 1968:421-422), and in 1978, a 20-acre parcel known as Florence Village was added to the Tohono O'odham Nation. Thus, today, the Tohono O'odham Nation holds the second largest amount of land of any tribe in the United States (Fontana 1981:87), but it is still far short of the true range of traditional lands used and lived upon by the Tohono O'odham (Dobyns 1972:50-51).

The Ak-Chin Reservation

The village of Ak-Chin was a late addition to the middle Gila River valley landscape, with the initial residents having settled there some time after the Gadsden Purchase and the development of Maricopa Wells as a stage station, but prior to the arrival of the railroad (Gorelick 2005:34; Marmaduke et al. 1983:37; McGuire 1990:7.3-7.6; Meneses 2009:94-95). Situated within the alluvial fan of the

seasonally active Vekol Wash, the area was once a preferred location for Tohono O'odham summer field camps (Gorelick 2005:34), and was well known to the Akimel O'odham traveling between the Gila River and the desert to the south (McGuire 1990:7.6).

Kaka, a Tohono O'odham village 65 km south of Ak-Chin village, is recognized as the parent village for Ak-Chin and Siilimök (Bryan 1925:25; Hoover 1935:260; Lumholtz 1912:355; Underhill 1939:66), all three of which are settlements of the Hú·hu'ula dia-Hú·hu'ula. There is some confusion as to whether the initial inhabitants moved from Kaka or the nearby Maricopa Wells (Jackson 1990:6.3-6.5), but in all likelihood, people from both, and perhaps other, O'odham villages contributed to the foundation and growth of Ak-Chin village (Meade 1977:9-10, cited in McGuire 1990:7.5-7.6). Community members consistently recall the period of 1874-1875 as the year of first permanent settlement at Ak-Chin (Meade 1977:10, cited in Jackson 1990:6.5; Meneses 2009:95).

As with the historical scenario at Gila Bend, the growth of Ak-Chin as a year-round village, as opposed to the area's previous use as a summer field camp (Meade 1977:10, cited in Jackson 1990:6.5), was strongly influenced by the shift in transportation technology from the stage line to the railroad (Gorelick 2005:34). Prior to the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1879, travel through the area largely followed the Butterfield Overland Stage, which maintained a critical supply station at Maricopa Wells. A tribal community at Maricopa Wells sprang up as a supply point for the stage line. According to Spier (1933:20), "no one lived directly at Maricopa Wells until after the coming of the Americans in the decade 1850-1860," which was a period of rapid change that witnessed the Gadsden Purchase and the development of wagon roads that shuttled soldiers, 49ers, and other immigrants west.

In 1879, the Southern Pacific Railroad placed a rail station some 10 km southwest of Maricopa Wells along the Vekol Wash, which was much closer to the village of Ak-Chin (McGuire 1990:7.6). The demand for goods and services, including labor, for the railroad station and its patrons was probably an important factor in why the O'odham from Maricopa Wells, as well as from other surrounding villages such as Kaka, were drawn to Ak-Chin. The demise of the stage line brought about the decline of Maricopa Wells as a community hub, and many of the town's 1,500 residents and their businesses moved to the site of the railroad station at Heaton (Barnes 1988:265; Meneses 2009:98). Shortly thereafter, the railroad station was relocated about 6 km east to its current location at Maricopa.

The village of Ak-Chin persisted as a small community for several decades, with people farming lands along the Vekol Wash and engaging in wage

labor for the railroad and surrounding communities. The small size and reserved temperament of the village did not draw much attention from federal agencies, so it was not until 1911 that an allotment agent was eventually assigned to identify O'odham-held lands at Maricopa and assist in filing allotments. The purpose of the allotment process, as dictated by the General Allotment Act of 1887, was to establish private farms for the area's O'odham residents. The agent found 71 O'odham living at Ak-Chin, and another 30 or so people were reported as being away from the village (Jackson 1990:6.14). In all, just over 100 applications for 160-acre allotments were filed, but all of them were rejected (Jackson 1990:6.14; Meneses 2009:106). One of the principal reasons for rejecting the allotment applications was that, because they were so close to the railroad and the town of Maricopa, nearly one-third of them conflicted with preexisting land claims, many of which had been filed by the Southern Pacific Railroad (McGuire 1990:7.9). There was discontent over the allotments within the federal bureaucracies as well, many of which centered on a belief that the size of the proposed allotments (160 acres each) was far in excess of what an individual O'odham person could reasonably farm or need (McGuire 1990:7.9-7.10).

As a backup plan to the ill-fated allotment applications, 71 people living at Ak-Chin in 1911 also filed for 63 homesteads in an effort to gain title to the lands they occupied and as a way to secure water rights (Meneses 2009:106-107). As with the allotment requests, the homestead applications were also rejected, and the O'odham residents of Ak-Chin were encouraged to relocate to the reservations at Gila Bend, Gila River, Salt River, and San Xavier. The decision to remain on their traditional lands, in spite of what appeared to government officials as a state of near starvation within the Ak-Chin community (Granville 1911, cited in Meneses 2009:107), drew the scrutiny necessary to have a large tract of land set aside for the O'odham living at Ak-Chin. In May 1912, President Taft signed an Executive Order establishing a 47,600-acre reservation for what he penned as the Maricopa, Chur-Chaw, Cocklebur, and Tat-Murl-Ma-Kot bands or villages of the Tohono O'odham (Meneses 2009:108). This reservation soon became known variably as the Ak-Chin Reservation, Maricopa Reservation, and Maricopa Indian Reservation.¹⁶ On 2 September 1912, after barely enough time for the ink to dry on his Executive Order, President Taft signed a subsequent order that cut the Ak-Chin reservation by more than half, to its current size of 21,840 acres (Kappler 1913:672).

Through it all, the O'odham and their Yuman-speaking neighbors and allies (recognized today as the Pee-Posh and Xalychidom) have remained a re-

markably strong presence on this landscape. Indeed, the current reservations for the Four Southern Tribes total more than 3.3 million acres (see Table 4.1), but this is a small fraction of the vast desert landscape in which the O'odham, Pee-Posh, and Xalychidom people once lived and worked. The most productive agricultural lands were co-opted by non-Indian settlers prior to the reservation era and were never returned. While large stretches of the Papaguería remain unsettled, most consists of public lands now managed by various federal agencies. The Barry M. Goldwater Range, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge, Ironwood Forest National Monument, and Sonoran Desert National Monument cover large swathes of former Tohono O'odham lands. Nevertheless, the O'odham, Pee-Posh, and Xalychidom maintain connections to lands beyond the reservations. The Great Bend of the Gila, which defines the northern reach of the Papaguería, constitutes a stretch of land that is relevant to the Akimel O'odham, Tohono O'odham, Hia C'ed O'odham, Pee-Posh, and Xalychidom. Here, the histories of each of these groups come together in a unique way.

O'ODHAM AND PEE-POSH CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

As discussed, O'odham and Pee-Posh (Opa/Comaricopa and Kaveltcadom) occupation of the Great Bend of the Gila has been documented since the time of initial Spanish entrance to the area in 1699. Starting in the early nineteenth century, intensified conflict with enemy tribes to the west, and after the Mexican-American War, the exponentially increased use of the Southern Emigrant Trail paralleling the lower Gila River between the towns of Gila Bend and Yuma, encouraged tribal residents of the area to relocate to less vulnerable settings. Pinched from east and west, the O'odham and Pee-Posh were effectively squeezed out of this section of their traditional lands. Some people moved upriver away from the Gila River's southern bend, to a relatively isolated 80-km-long stretch of river valley between Gila Bend and the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers (Spier 1933:24-25). Some moved even farther upriver, taking up residence alongside the Akimel O'odham in the middle Gila River valley, and others presumably moved south, away from the river and farther into the Papaguería.

The decision by O'odham and Pee-Posh communities to move away from the Great Bend area of the lower Gila River coincided with the arrival of American colonial enterprises and heightened aggression from enemy tribes. Thus, their departure was less about choice and more of a concerted decision that

gave serious weight to the reality of their situation and their cultural survival. The O'odham and Pee-Posh never relinquished interest in the Great Bend of the Gila, however. Continued use of the river valley north of Gila Bend through the mid-nineteenth century, and the return of the O'odham to the Gila Bend area for the founding of S'ilimök and other villages in the late 1800s, attest to their strong and persistent connection to this area. As the following shows, the O'odham and Pee-Posh maintain strong cultural and spiritual connections to the Great Bend of the Gila and the myriad cultural resources across this landscape. The connections are many and diverse, so this review focuses on the association with traditional lands, the natural landscape, and physical and spiritual travels as three key examples. Combined, they show that the Great Bend of the Gila has always been, and continues to be, an integral place within the geography of O'odham and Pee-Posh cultural landscapes.

Connections through Traditional Lands

Contemporary O'odham recognize the sustained connection to their traditional lands, including the natural and cultural landscapes, as critical to preserving and fostering *himdag*, their traditional ways and worldviews. *Himdag* entails an ontology that considers the interconnectedness of all things — animals, plants, minerals, fire, water, the earth, humans, etc. (Johnson et al. 2013:3). The earth's surface marks the intersection of all these materials, as well as the sky and places below the earth (Darling 2009:65; Johnson et al. 2013:4). However, *himdag* is much more than religion and belief; it is a path, a way of life, unique to the O'odham, given to them by their Creator (Woods et al. 2002:41). Thus, it links the spiritual and material worlds, such that the two are indistinguishable.

Himdag manifests itself in elements of traditional O'odham culture, such as language, medicine, ritual, song, cuisine, and ancestral places. The maintenance of *himdag* — afforded by the continuation of traditional ways, visitation to traditional places, the protection of things and places of O'odham cultural patrimony, and the teaching of these values and practices to future generations — is essential to the spiritual and physical wellness of the O'odham (Lewis 2015; Woods et al. 2002).

The Great Bend of the Gila lies squarely within the traditional lands of the O'odham and Pee-Posh. For more than a century prior to annexation by the United States, the Great Bend supported a nearly continuous distribution of sizeable *rancherías* — large enough to be named and chronicled by mis-

sionary explorers—and numerous smaller residential areas (Figures 4.3-4.5). These communities were described in varying detail by Jesuit and later Franciscan priests and members of their exploratory parties, and it is well documented that they were home to the O'odham and Pee-Posh, especially upriver of O'bab Oidak (see Bolton 1919b:246, 1930a:124, 1930c:52; Matson and Fontana 1996:22; see also Ezell 1963:16-18). In 1774 and 1775, Francisco Garcés estimated the population of the Pee-Posh (combined Opa and Cocomaricopa) living between their upper *ranchería* at Tucabi and lower *ranchería* at Agua Caliente to be approximately 3,000 souls (Bolton 1930a:375; Coues 1900:123; see also Ezell 1963:16; Spier 1933:3-4). Although the number of O'odham residents of these *rancherías* was never noted or tabulated, it is quite likely that the combined population of the Great Bend of the Gila in the late eighteenth century was considerably higher than Garcés's estimate of 3,000.

From the Spanish chronicles, it is clear that the Great Bend of the Gila supported a series of thriving residential communities totaling several thousand O'odham and Pee-Posh into the relatively recent past. Nevertheless, as noted, the population of the Great Bend of the Gila declined in the early nineteenth century to the point that only faint traces of habitation were identified in the mid-1840s (Coues 1961:69; Emory 1848:89), although in 1849, Harris (1960:83) observed "much fresh Indian sign" near the Gila River's southern bend.

Regardless, it is important to recognize that the Pee-Posh and O'odham never entirely left the Great Bend area; rather, they simply shifted their settlement locations and patterns of movement to avoid detection and harassment (Figure 4.6). For example, a resident population persisted at the *ranchería* of *Vin,ilkwuk,áva*, located north of Gila Bend on the west side of the Gila River near the present location of the Gillespie Dam, and several seasonal mesquite-gathering camps were located just upriver from this *ranchería* (Spier 1933:24-25). Further, as the following sections explain, the O'odham and Pee-Posh continue to visit the Great Bend area to conduct traditional cultural practices associated with the natural landscape and to perform important religious activities that are central to the perpetuation of their distinct cultural identities and traditional values.

Connections to the Natural Landscape

The O'odham and the Pee-Posh maintain traditions tied to the natural landscapes in which they live. One clear and tangible example of this is the extensive utilization of wild plants and animals throughout the Papaguería (Castetter and Bell

1942:59-72, 1951:179-223; Johnson et al. 2013:154-170; Russell 1908:66-83; Spier 1933:48-58, 65-78). With an approximate 2,500-ft elevation difference between the river and the surrounding mountains, the Great Bend of the Gila provides a tremendously abundant and diverse assemblage of edible, economically useful, and religiously important plants and animals. Indeed, the water of the Gila River and the riparian habitat it once supported make the Great Bend a unique juxtaposition of desert and riverine biota that distinguishes the river corridor from the surrounding regions.

According to Barnaby V. Lewis, the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for GRIC, the Great Bend of the Gila is within the traditional hunting territory of the Akimel O'odham. Hunting is a highly ritualized endeavor among the O'odham, and it is customary to make hunting speeches and prayers prior to the outing (Russell 1908:299-301; Underhill 1946:85-115). Mr. Lewis shared an example of a hunting custom that includes smoking the *sskaw-sim he-yaw-sic* ("sleepy flower"). This is smoked before the outing, and the hunter blows the smoke in the direction of the hunt, which makes the prey sleepy so they do not run off. Although much of the Great Bend area is no longer under tribal control, the O'odham continue hunting and plant-gathering practices in the region, despite the fact that the river has not run with any regularity for nearly 100 years. The O'odham from the San Lucy District of the Tohono O'odham Nation continue to hunt and collect important plants within the natural landscape surrounding their reservation and the local cities. The Gila Bend Mountains, in particular, are known to be a place where District members still gather medicinal and food plants and hunt wild game (Bean et al. 1978:5.63, 7.38).

The plants and animals of the Great Bend of the Gila are also important to the Pee-Posh, who have traditions tied to the area from when they lived along the lower Gila River, as well as after moving to the middle Gila River valley. Spier (1933:50) suggested mesquite beans and saguaro fruit were the wild plants of chief interest to the Pee-Posh, and mesquite was once in great abundance along the Great Bend of the Gila. As discussed, the area around the lower bend of the Gila River, near the town of Gila Bend, was known as *Kwa'akámát* ("Mesquite Gathering Place") by the Kavelcadom. Even after settling in the middle Gila River valley, the Pee-Posh continued to collect mesquite beans and hunt in the Great Bend area. Three temporary mesquite-gathering camps were located just above the north bend, on the south side of the Gila and opposite the Hassayampa River (Spier 1933:24-25). The camps were named after nearby hills: *KwütupáRá* (Powers Butte), *Tümkuvátc* (Robbins Butte), and an un-

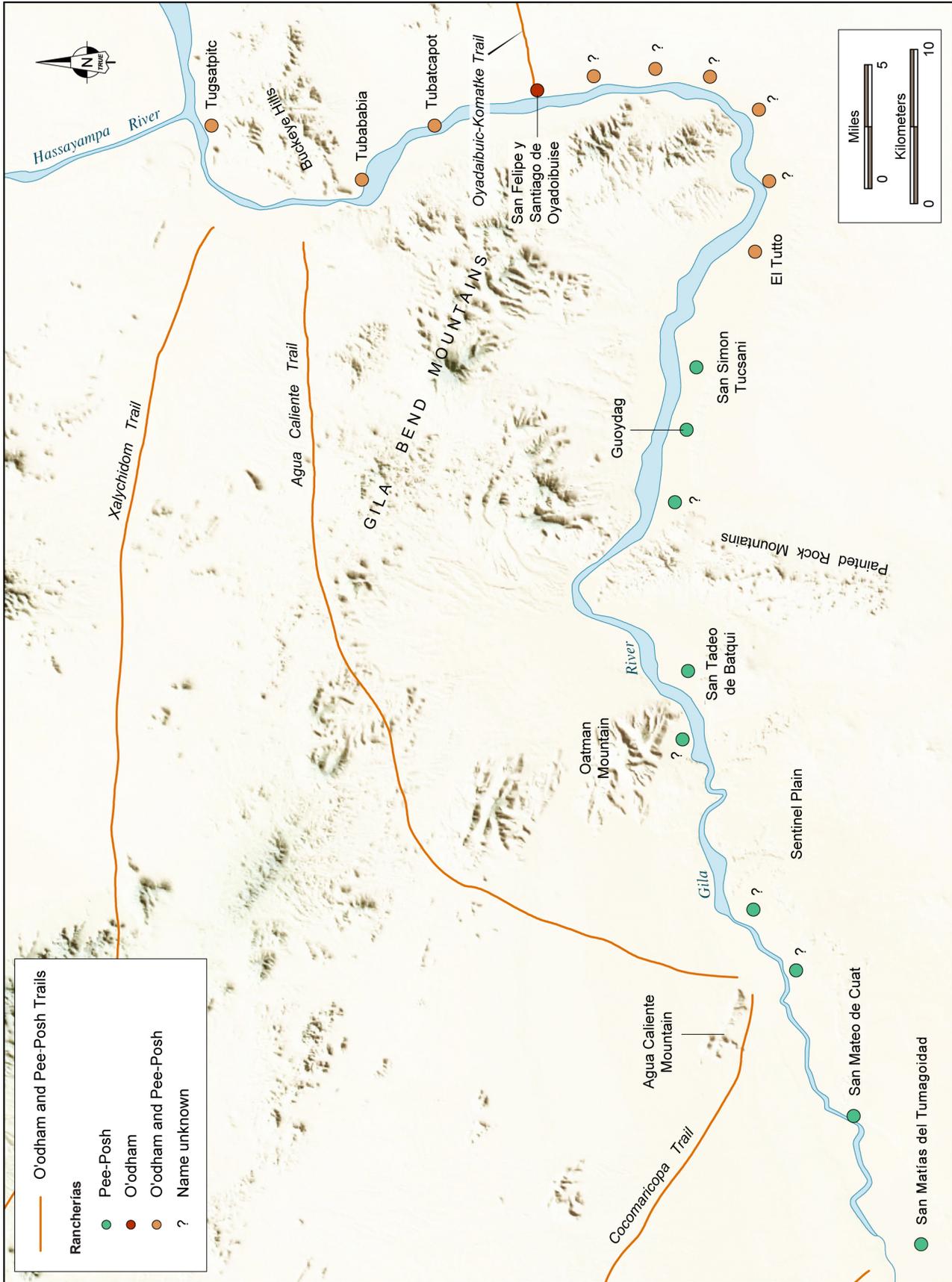


Figure 4.3. Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1695–1700. Locations are based on information in the journals and maps of Father Eusebio Kino (Bolton 1919b:196–197, 246; Burrus 1971:116–118; Kino 1936a [1697], 1936b [1696]), and Captain Juan Mateo Manje (Burrus 1971:232–241; Karns 1954:111–122). (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

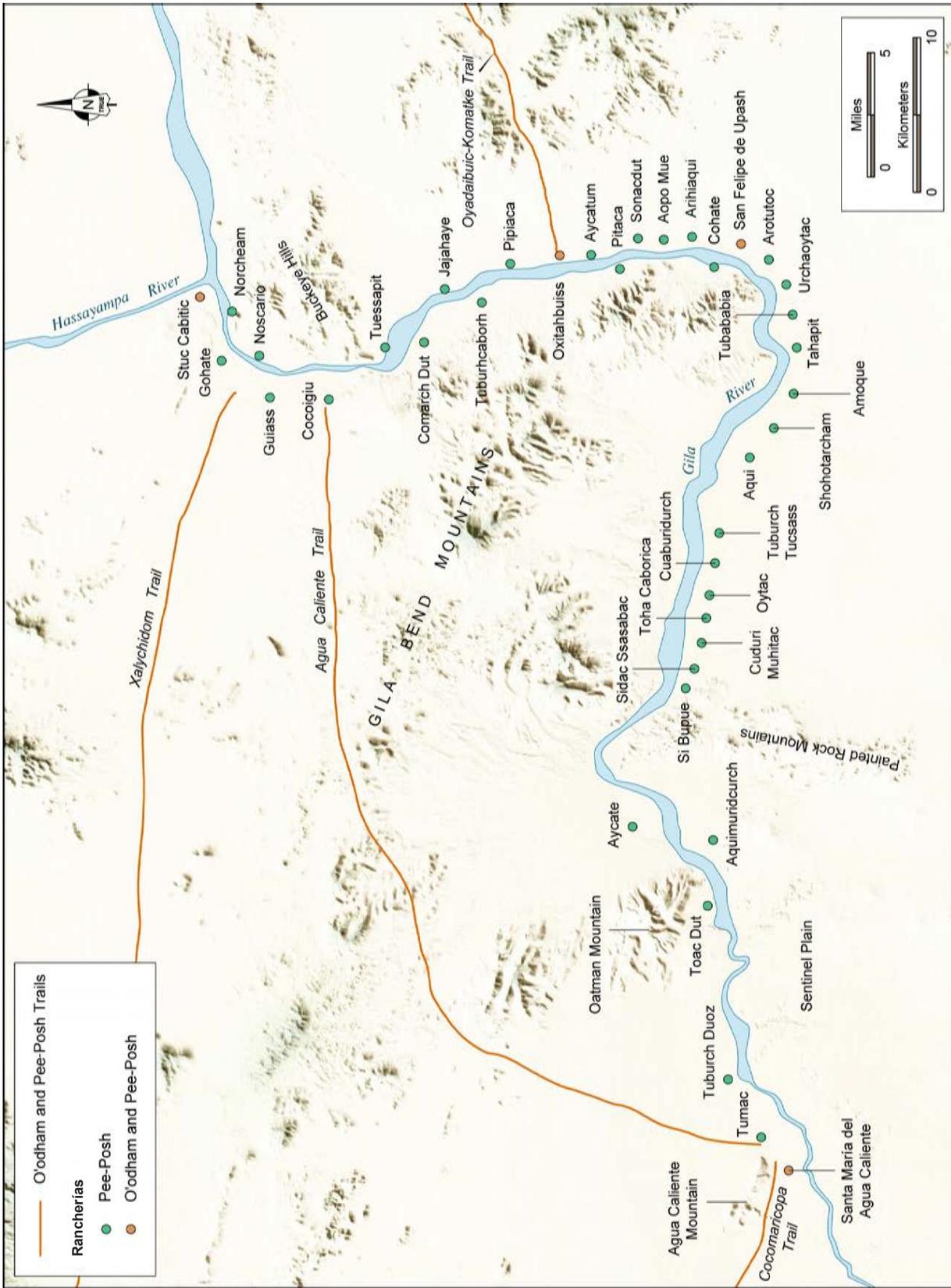


Figure 4.4. Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1743-1748. Locations are based on information in the public writings, correspondence, and journal of Father Jacobo Sedelmayer regarding his *entradas* to the region in 1743, 1744, and 1748 (Dunne 1955; Ezell and Ezell 1987; Ives 1939; Matson and Fontana 1996; Mills 1931). According to Ortega and Balhasar (1754:353-354), Sedelmayer characterized the Pee-Posh Nation as extending for 36 leagues between Stuc Cabbitic and Santa María del Agua Caliente, and consisting of almost 40 rancherías. Sedelmayer listed the rancherías in order as he encountered them while traveling down the Gila River, and he described the villages as being situated on both sides of the river. However, other than Stuc Cabbitic, Tumat, and Santa María del Agua Caliente, Sedelmayer did not identify on which side of the river particular villages were found, nor did he report the distances between them. Based on the recordings of prior and subsequent travelers, Tuessapit, Oxitahbuiss, San Felipe de Upash, Tuburch Tucsass, Oyatac, and Toac Dut can be located with some relatively reasonable degree of accuracy. The locations of the other rancherías are rough approximations. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)



Figure 4.5. Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1770–1781. Locations are based on information in the journals of Captain Juan Batista de Anza (Bolton 1930a:235-239, 1930b:23-41), Father Francisco Garcés (Bolton 1917:321, 1930a:375-377, 387-388; Coues 1900:28-29, 113-133, 436-437), Father Pedro Font (Bolton 1930b:219-225, 1930c:50-71; Teggart 1913:25-31), Father Juan Diaz (Bolton 1930a:299-302), and Captain Pedro Fages (Priestley 1913:15-21). (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)



Figure 4.6. Pee-Posh and O'odham rancherías and camps along the Great Bend of the Gila, 1823–1850. Locations are based on information provided by Kutó'x, Leslie Spier's principal informant (Spier 1933:24–25). Confirmation that rancherías at Avitucupaiba and Kwakamatt were occupied as late as 1825 derives from the journal of Captain Don José Romero (Bean and Mason 1962:15–17) and unpublished manuscripts of Jose Figueroa, Comandante General for Sonora and Sinaloa (Bean and Mason 1962:77–79). (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

named hill east of these (perhaps Bradley or Good-year Hill at the northern end of the Estrella Mountains).

Pee-Posh men also hunted bighorn sheep in the Gila Bend Mountains, competing with the Tolkepayá Yavapai, who descended from the north to hunt bighorns in the same area (Gifford 1936:265). Similar to the O'odham, Pee-Posh bighorn hunting trips were highly ritualized affairs because the animal is considered sacred; disrespect for the creature and mistreatment of its remains would bring about powerful rains and thunder (Spier 1933:69-71).

Another clear example of the connection the O'odham and Pee-Posh have with the Great Bend of the Gila is found in the abundance of place names assigned to particular landforms and other places of cultural, historical, and spiritual importance. The names attributed to places along the Great Bend of the Gila provide glimpses into how O'odham (Figure 4.7; Table 4.6) and Pee-Posh (Figure 4.8; Table 4.7) communities perceive certain landforms and locations in terms of tribal histories and territories. Many of the names pertain to physical properties of the places (for example, "Salty Water," "Hot Water," "Red Mountain"), while others are named after spirit beings (such as, "Kukupur's House") and historical events (such as, "Survivor Mountain") (see below). According to Johnson et al. (2013:27), "Landforms across the Sonoran Desert serve as monuments to the past, reminding the O'odham of who they are and where they came from."

Place names, however, comprise only a part of O'odham connections to places. Songs and stories, which embed place names in comprehensive historical narratives, link landmarks and people to sites of cultural and spiritual importance and relate them sequentially to one another. Some of the ways this is accomplished along the Great Bend of the Gila, and how this relates to O'odham tradition and identity, are explored in the following section.

In addition to recalling place names and retelling stories, the O'odham continue to engage with their traditional lands through visitation and spiritual practices, such as place-based prayers and the creation of shrines in certain areas, especially near mountains. The O'odham revere mountains as places of immense spiritual significance (Lopez 2008:120-121). One reason for this is that mountains serve as the abodes of prominent figures in the O'odham creation account. For example, after Elder Brother made the second people (the first group of O'odham), he took residence atop a nearby mountain, which was also the home of Buzzard. The Akimel O'odham recognized this place as Muhadag Do'ag ("Greasy Mountain"), which are the South Mountains near the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers (Bahr et al. 1994:204-205; Russell 1908:224). For the eastern

Tohono O'odham, Elder Brother lives in a cave in the Baboquivari Mountains, east of Sells, Arizona (Fontana 1981:22; see also Russell 1908:224; Woods 1945). Those on the western portion of the Tohono O'odham Reservation consider a place in the Ajo Mountains, I'toi Mo'o (often but incorrectly labeled as "Montezuma's Head" on many maps), to be his home (Johnson et al. 2013:27). Even farther west, the Hia C'ed O'odham place Elder Brother's home in the lava tubes of the Sierra Pinacate, below the sacred mountain of Schuk Toak ("Black Mountain"), also known as Pinacate Peak (Eiler and Doyel 2008:607; Lopez 2008:120). Elder Brother lived at all of these places at different times in the past, and according to Angela Garcia-Lewis (personal communication 2016), Cultural Preservation Compliance Supervisor at SRP-MIC, this is why O'odham traditional lands are so expansive (see Figure 4.1).

When discussing O'odham shrines in the eastern Papaguería, Manuel Osequeda, Chairman of the Tohono O'odham Nation's Hickiwan District, recently explained they are found across the landscape, and that people go to them to leave offerings and to pray (Johnson et al. 2013:45). The Tohono O'odham call sacred places *iagchudi*, and evidence of their use as places of religious expression and spiritual connection may not be recognizable to non-O'odham, because they are often marked by little more than a low pile of rocks, if anything at all (Underhill 1946:23; also, see Vanderpot and Altschul 2008:361). In addition to stones, the O'odham have traditionally left various items as religious offerings at rock-pile shrines, including pottery vessels and sherds, baskets, tobacco, arrows, beads, fresh creosote branches, and coins (Johnson et al. 2013:45; Pumpelly 1870:37; Russell 1908:255; Underhill 1946:23; Wright 2011:180). The O'odham have also maintained other types of shrines at places within their traditional landscape. Caves, holes, unusual rock formations, springs, graves, and petroglyph and geoglyph sites have all been documented as examples of known O'odham shrines (Russell 1908:82n.a, 254-256; Underhill 1946:23-24). Tohono O'odham cultural advisors have said that mountains are sacred and that is why shrines such as these are found all over them. Mr. Osequeda shared that they are where the O'odham get their strength, and where Elder Brother lives to watch over them (Johnson et al. 2013:45).

Similar to the O'odham, the Pee-Posh and Xalychidom envision certain landforms as the homes of important spiritual beings or places of significant historical events. The principle example is the story of Kumastamxó and his sister, Xaanyé, which is part of a creation story shared among Yuman speakers (Kroeber 1925:788-792; see Chapters 2 and 5).¹⁷ In the narrative, Kumastamxó takes residence atop Avikwaamé, a mountain on the California side of

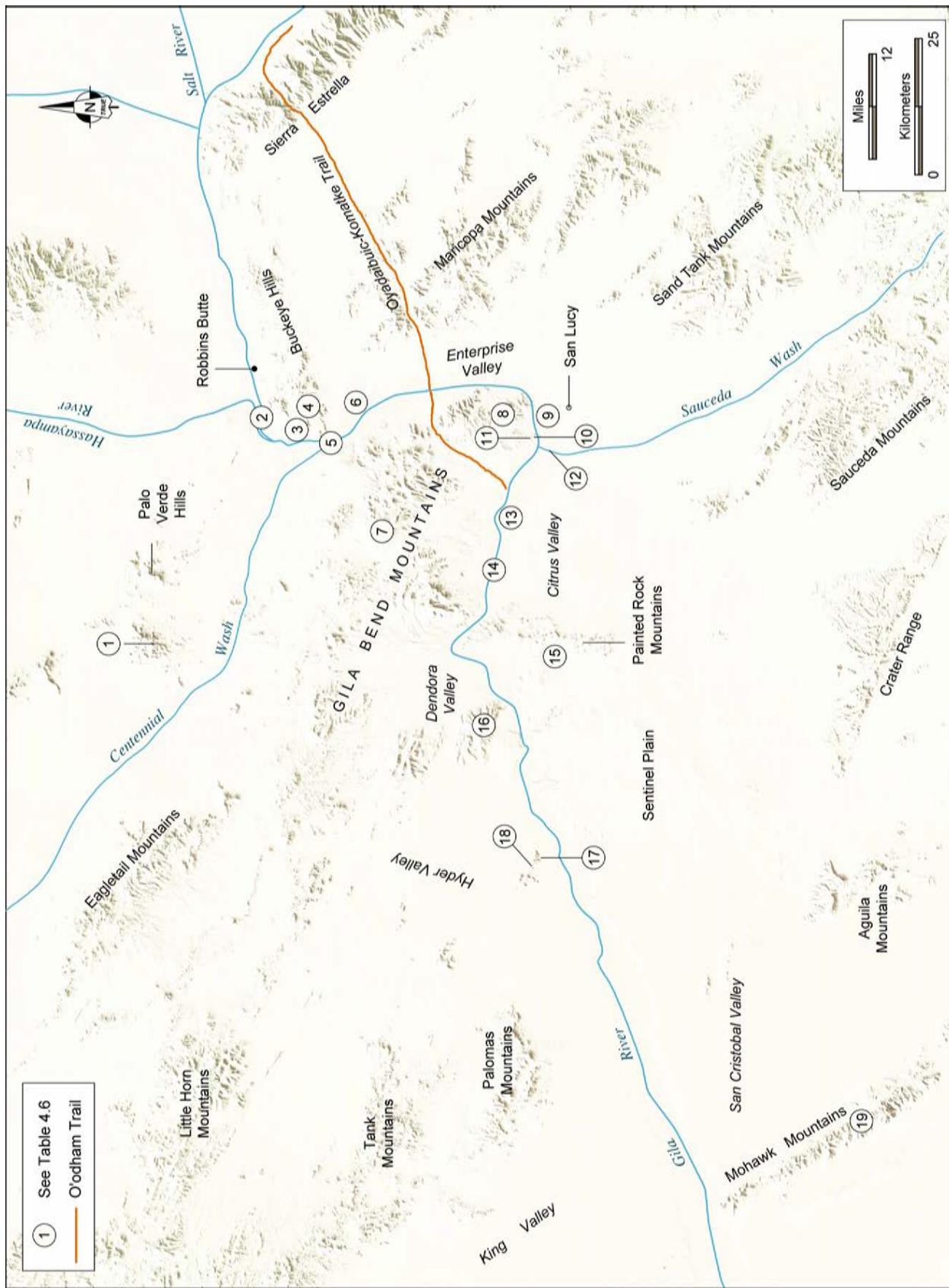


Figure 4.7. O'odham places along the Great Bend of the Gila. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

Table 4.6. O'odham place names along the Great Bend of the Gila.

Map	Landform or Feature	O'odham Name	Translation	Reference
1.	Saddle Mountain	Vavkam	"Place Where There Is a Lot of Outcrop"	Winters (2012:616)
2.	Powers Butte	S-Chuk Kavidk	"Black Ramp-Shaped Mountain"	Winters (2012:299)
3.	Western Buckeye Hills	Kooko'oi Kii	"Rattlesnakes' Home"	Winters (2012:76)
4.	Western Buckeye Hills	Mashad Do'ag	"Moon Mountain"	Bean et al. (1978:6.62); Winters (2012:362)
5.	Gillespie Dam Narrows	Chuk Shapijk	"Black Narrow Gap"	Winters (2012:300, 488-490)
6.	Upper Village ^a	Siiilmök	"Burnt Saddle"	Lumholtz (1912:384)
7.	Woolsey Peak	Mo'ochbad	"Top of the Head"	Winters (2012:372)
8.	Gila Bend Mountains	Kaukukik	?	Bean et al. (1978:5-36)
9.	Old Village	Daik	?	Ruter (2010:49)
10.	Fortaleza Butte	Vi'ikam Do'ag	"Survivor Mountain"	Winters (2012:303)
11.	La Fortaleza	Kokolhisik	"Place Where There Are Rock Walls; Corrals"	Johnson et al. (2013:38); Lumholtz (1912:337); Schroeder (1961:12); Winters (2012:303)
12.	Second Village (Tesota) ^a	Úupatoitak	"Cat-claw Field"	Lumholtz (1912:385)
13.	Lower Village (Pelon) ^a	Kvivo	"Low Down on the River"	Lumholtz (1912:382)
14.	Gila River	Kuriakima	"Old River"	Art Wilson (personal communication 2015)
15.	Painted Rock Mountains	S-Wepegk	"Red Mountains"	Winters (2012:680)
16.	Oatman Mountain	'Ali Do'ag	"Little Mountain"	Winters (2012:164)
17.	Agua Caliente Hot Springs	Ton Su:dagi	"Hot Water"	Bahr et al. (1997:127)
18.	Agua Caliente Mountain	Tutumak Or'dak	?	Bean et al. (1978:5-36)
19.	Mohawk Mountains	Kuswa Toob	"Twisted Neck"	Winters (2016)

^aLocations on Figure 4.7 are approximate. Lumholtz (1912) described these villages as being on the Gila Bend Reservation (prior to its reduction in 1909); however, the distances given from Gila Bend place Siiilmök and Kvivo far beyond the boundary of the reservation.

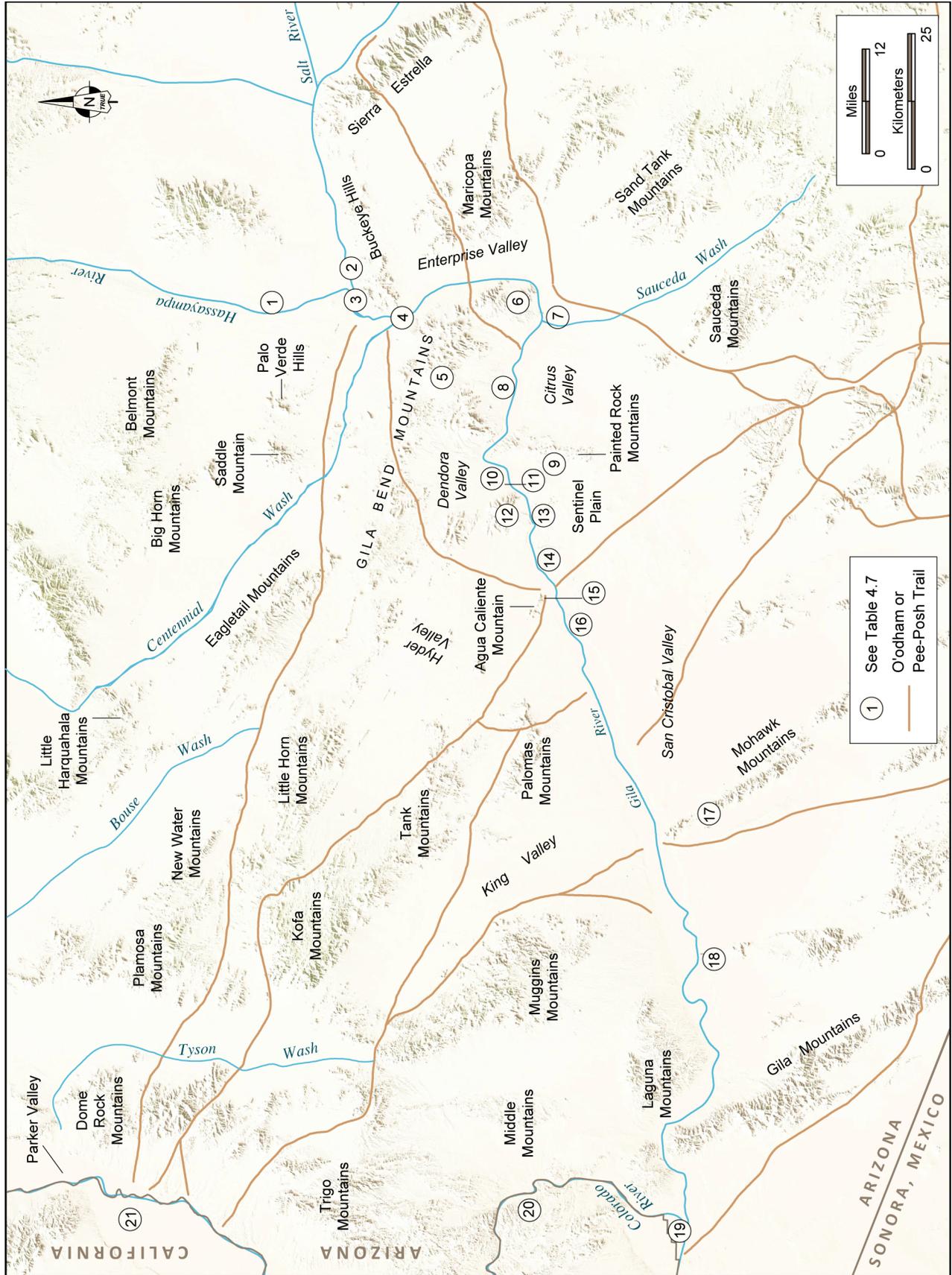


Figure 4.8. Pee-Posh and Xalychidom places along the Great Bend of the Gila. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

Table 4.7. Pee-Posh and Xalychidom place names along the Great Bend of the Gila.

Map	Landform or Feature	Pee-Posh Name	Translation	Reference
1.	Hassayampa River	XataikuvéRá	"Hard Canyon"	Spier (1933:22)
2.	Robbins Butte	Tümkuvátc	"The Middle One"	Spier (1933:25)
3.	Powers Butte	KwütupaRá	"The Last"	Spier (1933:25)
4.	Gillespie Dam Narrows	Vi Hasha'amp	"Mountain Lying on Stomach to Drink"	Winters (2012:299)
5.	Woolsey Peak?	Vi Nyl Dukyeva KákádasóRc	"Where the Black Mountains Come Together"	Spier (1933:24); Winters (2012:490)
		IxoRágwísínúk	"Crow's Fledglings"	Spier (1933:351)
		Xagáspídw'	"Willow"	Spier (1933:351)
6.	Gila Bend Mountains	Kokomalik	?	Spier (1933:351)
7.	Gila Bend Valley	Kwa akámát	?	Bean et al. (1978:5.61)
8.	Gila River	Áxá Xil	"Mesquite Gathering Place"	Bean et al. (1978:5.41); Spier (1933:24)
		KukupuRa Nývách	"Water"	Spier (1933:22)
9.	Painted Rock Mountains	Gwílxón,ivíktic	?	Harwell (1979:169); Spier (1933:22)
10.	^a	Vituru'tc	"Kukupur's House"	Spier (1933:23)
11.	^a	Vivávilyc	"Where the Old 'Board' Lay"	Spier (1933:24)
12.	Oatman Mountain?	Ana.udatúic	"Rocks around in a Ring"	Spier (1933:24)
13.	^b	XumáR'unyí'kwítcám	"Mescal Drink Mountain"	Spier (1933:24)
14.	^b	Xakupí'nc	"Standing Boiled Black Mesquite Sap"	Spier (1933:24)
15.	Agua Caliente Hot Springs	Vulpó'ávaatúic	"A Child Looking for the Road"	Spier (1933:24); Winters (2016)
16.	^b	ávikatcákwinýá	"Hot Water"	Spier (1933:24)
17.	Mohawk Mountains	Axpé'	"Standing Post"	Spier (1933:24)
18.	Antelope Hill	Hömkwítavá vá	"Granary Basket Mountain"	Spier (1933:23); Winters (2016)
19.	Gila-Colorado confluence	Xákwtás	"Metate"	Spier (1933:23)
20.	Colorado River	Havil	?	Spier (1933:10)
		Xaltcáðom N,ýímat	"Red Water"	Spier (1933:22)
21.	Parker Valley	Xaltcáðom N,ýímat	?	Curtis (1908:88)
		Xalychidom's Land"	"Xalychidom's Land"	Spier (1933:12)

^aUnknown location in the Dendora Valley, on north side of the Gila River between Painted Rock Mountains and Oatman Mountain. Locations on map are, therefore, approximate. Vituru'tc may reference a geoglyph.

^bUnknown location west of the Painted Rock Mountains, on south side of the Gila River. Locations on map are, therefore, approximate. Vulpó'ávaatúic was described as western boundary established by Mexico.

the lower Colorado River, and after killing her father, Xaanyé takes refuge in a mountain in south-eastern Arizona (called Avixanʼé by the Quechan; see Figure 5.1) (Spier 1933:345-353).

Other portions of the creation story are tied to landforms along the Great Bend of the Gila. For example, in the Pee-Posh version, as the first people (in animal form) were cremating the Creator, Coyote managed to steal the Creator's heart and run east. Coyote paused at a butte in the Gila Bend Mountains. This butte was slightly higher than the others, so he climbed to the top to see if he was being followed.¹⁸ The heart was still hot from the crematory fire, so Coyote put it down and then realized he should sample it. Pleased by the taste, Coyote decided to eat the heart there, atop the butte, before being chased once again to the middle Gila River valley. Coyote gave the butte in the Gila Bend Mountains three names so that future generations would remember his exploits: *ḲákádásáóRc* ("Crow's Fledglings," as Crow's nest was there), *IxóRágwísínúk* (a type of willow, since Coyote spread some out to place the heart on), and *Xagáspídw'* (unknown meaning) (Spier 1933:351). Although they now live along the middle Gila and Salt rivers, and more recent accounts place Coyote's three blood shrines in the South Mountains, the Pee-Posh still consider the Gila Bend Mountains a place of great cultural importance (Bean et al. 1978:7.38).

As with the O'odham, the Pee-Posh would occasionally venture into the mountains to engage with spiritual essences. For example, Spier (1933:23, 244) learned that *KukupúRa*, a spirit being of unknown identity, lives in a cave on the western side of the Painted Rock Mountains (*KukupúRanyivác* or *KukupúRniva*, "Kukupú's House"). Men would visit *KukupúRanyivác* to dream for things or to give prayers (*matyáxatál*). Powers of oratory, curing, singing, and success in war, as well as sickness ("bad dreams"), were all obtained from the various spirits that visited during dreaming (*cámág*) (Spier 1933:236-254). The spirits included animals and insects, but also thunder and lightning, stars, rain, two unknown spirits (*KukupúRa* and *Cil,aitcuwán*), and even local mountains. During the dream experience, a spirit – which usually assumed human or part-human form – would guide the man from mountain to mountain, where he learned specific songs and cures associated with each peak (Spier 1933:247). The mountains are all connected, all the way back to *Avikwaamé*, via a string-like web over which the spirits lead their dreaming pupils. Mountains in neighboring and enemy lands were incorporated into this spiritual network. However, the spirits attributed to mountains were different from other spirits because they did not grant powers. Instead, they were conjured by traditional spiritual leaders, who

would inquire about their enemies and competitors in races (Spier 1933:252-254, 292-293).

As is customary among other Yuman-speaking tribes (see Chapter 5, for example), Pee-Posh spiritual dreaming occurred at night, when one slept (Spier 1933:247). Pee-Posh men did not perform vision quests, and dreaming was typically not premeditated (Spier 1933:238). *KukupúRanyivác* was one of just two known places where men went specifically to dream, which was possibly induced with the aid of the hallucinogenic jimsonweed (*Datura* spp.) (Spier 1933:243-245). Spier described the experience of dreaming in *KukupúRanyivác* as thus (1933:244):

One can barely creep through the entrance to this cave; far inside is a large room, and the cave extends indefinitely beyond. "Whenever a man wished to be rich or to become a shaman, or have crops prosper, be a good runner, or have many girls about him," he sat in this room facing the opening and holding his right hand out. He prayed for what he desired. Then he heard something coming from the rear of the cave: there was a great draught and the sound of a whirlwind. The spirit put something very cold in the man's hand. He clenched his fist tight and crept out. When he reached home, he avoided fats and salt, "fasting" for four days, and bathing each morning. "Then his wish came true." If the seeker fled from the cave in fear, he would become blind and perhaps insane.

Although Pee-Posh men visited a select few mountain caves to dream and acquire spiritual power, they did not leave offerings or plant prayer sticks as the O'odham are known to have done (Spier 1933:245n.4, 294). This does not, however, diminish the religious significance of mountains to the Pee-Posh. Elements of the physical landscape, especially mountains, are sites of historical and spiritual events and homes of spiritual beings among both O'odham and Pee-Posh communities. The difference lies in how people have traditionally interacted with these places.

The O'odham would make pilgrimages to mountains and other places they consider to be *iagchudi* (sacred locations); the Pee-Posh, on most occasions, would visit mountains not in body but in spirit, led by a spiritual guide while dreaming for power. Moreover, mountains would visit Pee-Posh traditional spiritual leaders when called upon and questioned.

Clearly, O'odham and Pee-Posh connections to the natural features of their traditional landscapes transcend the material world and engender their surroundings with deep religious qualities. As the place names demonstrate, the histories and culturally important stories of the O'odham and Pee-Posh are grounded to landforms. Indeed, these natural

features stand as monuments to the resilience of the uniquely rich cultures and traditions of the O'odham and the Pee-Posh.

Connections through Physical and Spiritual Travel

As outlined above, the migration routes of ancestral Pee-Posh groups from the lower Colorado and lower Gila River valleys to their current homes along the middle Gila and Salt rivers passed through the Great Bend of the Gila. However, they lived in the Great Bend area for centuries, and their Xalychidom allies had once occupied the lower Colorado River valley between the towns of Parker and Blythe. The two allied areas—the Great Bend and the Parker Valley—were connected through a pair of well-known trails (see Figure 4.8) (Beattie 1933; Ezell 1968; Johnston 1980). The Cocomaricopa Trail extended northwest from the vicinity of Agua Caliente on the lower Gila to just below the Parker Valley.¹⁹ The Xalychidom Trail traversed the same general country, but slightly north of the other, as it linked the confluence of the lower Gila and Hassayampa rivers (near the town of Arlington) to the Parker Valley. From the Parker area, both trails continued westward to Spanish missions on the California Coast near San Diego and Los Angeles (Davis 1961:Map 1; Johnston and Johnston 1957:Map 1). The trails veered from the lower Gila River corridor to avoid Quechan rancherías near the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers.

In 1821, a Pee-Posh (possibly Kaveltcadom) leader named José “Cocomaricopa” Gavilan and several companions arrived at the San Gabriel Mission outside of Los Angeles, intent on trading with the residents of the mission (Bancroft 1885:442; Bean and Mason 1962:8-9). Over the next couple of years, José, whose home was a ranchería called Avitucupaiba (known as El Pajonal in Spanish), near Agua Caliente on the northern bank of the lower Gila River (Bean and Mason 1962:92n.5; Beattie 1933:57), and others would oversee a mail courier service that shuttled messages between Tucson and Monterrey, California, for the Mexican government (Ezell 1968). The Pee-Posh couriers, which included some women (Bean and Mason 1962:60-61; Zappia 2008:115), used the general route of the de Anza Trail between Tucson and the lower Gila River, and from there, they relied on the Xalychidom and Cocomaricopa trails (see Figure 4.6) to reach Monterrey and other places on the California Coast. This example speaks volumes about the great distances over which the Pee-Posh traveled. Pee-Posh warriors also reportedly visited the Cocopah rancherías on the lower Colorado River to strategize war efforts against the Quechan, who were their common foe (Gifford 1933a:299).

Even though several generations have passed since their ancestors resided along the lower Gila and lower Colorado rivers and shuttled messages between Mexico and California, some contemporary Pee-Posh continue to travel through the Great Bend of the Gila to rekindle social ties with other Yuman-speaking communities farther west. According to Barnaby V. Lewis, Pee-Posh members of GRIC maintain connections with some of the Colorado River tribes. The relationships include ones of bloodline and family, but also ritual partnerships in which the Pee-Posh meet Colorado River tribes for organized dance groups and song collaborations.

The spatial reach of those social connections is just as vast today as it was when José Gavilan and others sought trading partners near the California Coast. Mr. Lewis affirmed that some Pee-Posh travel as far as the San Diego area to participate in song gatherings and festivals with the Payómkawichum (formerly Luiseño), a group with strong cultural and historical connections to the Ivilyuqaletem (Cahuilla), Kumivit (Gabrielino), and Kuupangaxwicheem (Cupeño). Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these three tribes were part of the larger Pee-Posh-Akimel O'odham alliance that opposed the Quechan-Mojave league (Bean et al. 1978:Table 5-II; Forbes 1965:80-81). The Payómkawichum may have been on amicable terms with various groups comprising the Pee-Posh-Akimel O'odham alliance, thereby fostering a centuries old historical connection between the Pee-Posh and the Payómkawichum that continues to this day.

The Great Bend of the Gila is also within a network of traditional movement by the O'odham. In the early twentieth century, Bryan (1922:375-392) described numerous wagon roads that radiated outward from the town of Gila Bend. These roads were commonly used by the O'odham, and they connect important areas outlined in O'odham ethnography. This is because many of the roads follow earlier footpaths and trails the O'odham and other tribal peoples of the northern Sonoran Desert traveled. To this day, some O'odham remember traveling wagon roads to reach the Great Bend of the Gila as their families moved between their winter and summer villages and to work on Anglo farms. Wilfred Jim, a Tohono O'odham cultural advisor, recalled traveling a wagon road with his family as they moved between their home on the Tohono O'odham Reservation and Gila Bend (Johnson et al. 2013:118). Joe Puffer, another Tohono O'odham cultural advisor, remembered O'odham families taking a wagon road north from the villages of Hickiwan and Stoa Bitak, past Gila Bend and onto Buckeye and Arlington (Johnson et al. 2013:119). They traveled the road in summer and winter, on their way to pick cotton. Some of these travelers were the families of Hia C'ed

O'odham laborers who traveled wagon roads through the Papaguera to work on farms near Arlington (Johnson et al. 2013:121). Tohono O'odham cultural advisor Jimmy Ortega has shared that his family is one of the numerous O'odham families that picked cotton on Anglo farms around Arlington (Johnson et al. 2013:38).

Memories and stories attest to the regularity of O'odham travel to and through the Great Bend of the Gila, but it was not just work and trade that brought the O'odham to the area. For centuries or longer, O'odham men have undertaken an annual salt pilgrimage to the Gulf of California. As described to Underhill (1938b:115-133, 1946:211-242; Underhill et al. 1979:37-69; see also Stewart 1965), the Tohono O'odham version of the ritual journey was an arduous trek taken during the summer, after the spring tides replenished the salt flats near the beaches. This pilgrimage was about more than gathering salt; it was a quest to seek the ocean's moist winds and bring back rain. It was also a rite of passage in which boys became men. It was a spiritual journey, and one of the principal ways to gain power (warfare being the other). In fact, the salt pilgrimage was so special and ritualized that its rules were more stringent than those of a war party (Underhill 1946:212).

In prior times, each main village organized a pilgrimage, the route of which varied, depending on the location of the village. Each expedition was led by the village's *siwanyi*, and upon returning, the men underwent a lengthy period of purification. During the journey, the *siwanyi* would recite a rich repertoire of poetic songs, speeches, and prayers that guided the men in both body and spirit (see also Johnson et al. 2013:70).

Given that the Gulf of California defines the southwestern margin of the Papaguera, and that all known Tohono O'odham villages were located south of the Gila River, most of their salt pilgrimages presumably did not pass through the Great Bend of the Gila. From the villages of Santa Rosa and Anegam, Underhill (1946:215) identified two primary routes men followed during the salt pilgrimage, each of which passed critical tinajas and springs where people could fill their canteens. The shorter, more strenuous route, requiring just four days round-trip, led directly south through the villages of Quijotoa and Quitovac, Sonora, and then around the Chujubabi Mountains before reaching the salt flats at Bahía de San Jorge.

The other route, an eight-day trip, ventured west to *Y'itai Mo'o*, in the Ajo Mountains, where it then turned south, passing the eastern flank of the Sierra Pinacate before reaching the salt flats. These two routes offered the most direct course for most of the Tohono O'odham. Members of the *Hú-hu'ula* dialect group living north of the parent village of Kaka,

at such communities as *Sílimök* and *Ak-Chin*, as well as the *Hia C'ed* O'odham living in the western Papaguera, may have been exceptions. Nevertheless, Mike Flores, a *Hia C'ed* O'odham cultural advisor, has described a route from Gila Bend that traveled south (Johnson et al. 2013:125), and that linked up with one of the others. Alternative routes leading southwesterly from the lower Gila River may have also been used, but if so, they have not yet been documented.

Ritualized salt pilgrimages to the Gulf of California were also taken by Akimel O'odham men.²⁰ An early account of this practice was shared with Russell (1908:93-94; see also Drucker 1941:217-218), who noted that the men would visit the same salt-gathering locales on the Gulf as the Tohono O'odham. Russell (1908:94) claimed the pilgrimage took two days to reach the Tohono O'odham village of Quijotoa, then another two days to the ocean. This implies that the Akimel O'odham route he described went south-southwest from Sacaton, then followed the more strenuous Quijotoa-Quitovac route to the ocean. This also suggests that, in some cases, Akimel O'odham men joined in the Tohono O'odham salt pilgrimages, as Quijotoa and Quitovac, the two principal waypoints along the trail, are Tohono O'odham villages.

Akimel O'odham men also conducted their own salt pilgrimages to the Gulf of California using routes that *did* pass through the Great Bend of the Gila, and that were distinct from those used by the Tohono O'odham. These routes are remembered through a rich body of ritual oratory known as the Oriole Song Cycle (Bahr et al. 1997:107-143). O'odham songs are known and recalled based on the subject of the verse, so the O'odham never gave them titles. Following Bahr et al. (1997:176), the Oriole Song Cycle is a collection of social songs, meaning that the cycle was traditionally recited during periodic all-night festivals and accompanied by dancing (Bahr et al. 1997:21-23). Akimel O'odham songs originate through dreaming, which is when spirit beings, who may come in the form of animals, teach the dreamer (Bahr et al. 1997:66-72; Russell 1908:257). Once learned, dreamt songs can then be taught to others (Bahr et al. 1997:212). Many O'odham social songs recount spiritual journeys across the Papaguera and, therefore, reference known landforms and places, and the song cycles place those landmarks in sequences related to the narrative. The Oriole Song Cycle is a fine example of this, so much so that it has enabled researchers to tie archaeological sites and trails to places mentioned in the songs (for example, Darling 2009; Darling and Lewis 2008).

Multiple versions of the Oriole Song Cycle are known, although the most-cited example of the verses describing the salt pilgrimage is that of Vincent

Joseph (Bahr et al. 1997:107-143). Joseph's version contains 47 different songs that were recorded in three settings between 1983 and 1985. Songs 21 and 22 in the series, in particular, track a route from the Estrella Mountains to the Gulf of California, with a respite at Agua Caliente on the lower Gila River (Figure 4.9). Barnaby V. Lewis, who also knows the Oriole Song Cycle, provided the following transliteration and translation for these two songs:

Song 21

*Thawn-eeh ah shoon-ah-nee, gah nooh muhk aw see
kihy thaum aw kah-ah-chea
Koo-oohn uhk ah nahm ahn ah jeen yeeh vee-yah kaw
neigh uh tha
Ahm eeh muh nah mihy kah, nahn ick ah nahn ah chea
chea-naw
guh yahn ah guh vah
Gah noo yahn ah uh vah kah-ah ah-tch-uh*

Hot water, distantly loudly stands
I arrived there and saw
Then I realized, it was different kinds of dragon
flies
Flapping their wings
Distantly flapping their wings as it exists

Song 22

*Mama kah nahm ah shoon ahn ah kahth-uh
Koon huhng ah nahm muhy you jeen yeeh vee-yah
Ha nooh yah vuhng ahn-nee
Yaw thaum ah muhl-eh-coot ah mahm-mah chea*

Spring water gushing
I came upon where many have arrived
There behind me
O'odham running tracks are visible

According to Bahr (Bahr et al. 1997:127), "hot water" in Song 21 refers to the hot springs at Agua Caliente, and "spring water gushing" in Song 22 references a place near the Gulf of California where salt was gathered.²¹ That the song mentions frequent trips to the Gulf (according to the line "I came upon where many have arrived") indicates this section of the Oriole Song Cycle describes the direction of a salt pilgrimage originating from the Akimel O'odham villages in the middle Gila River valley. In this itinerary, the singer journeys west from the Akimel O'odham villages, passing through the Estrella and Maricopa Mountains along the Oyadaibuic-Komatke Trail (Darling and Eiselt 2008:222-226) to bypass the north bend of the Gila River (see Figure 4.7). From there, the singer continues west, presumably along the river's course or over

a shortcut through the Gila Bend Mountains to Agua Caliente, at which point he turns south to reach the ocean. As Darling (2009:80) and Darling and Lewis (2008:135) have pointed out, the route described in the Oriole Song Cycle is unique to the Akimel O'odham, and it recounts a version of a salt pilgrimage to the Gulf of California that brought them through the Great Bend of the Gila.

As with the Oriole Song Cycle, two other O'odham social songs recount spiritual travels through the Great Bend area, although with less detail and specificity. A published version of the Ant Song Cycle, an Akimel O'odham series sung by Andy Stepp and Claire Seota of SRP-MIC and recorded around 1972, describes a starting point at the SRP-MIC reservation followed by a sequence of events and travels to various places around the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers (Bahr et al. 1997:32-65). After a stay at a peak in the Komatke Do'ag ("Broad Mountain"), known in English as the Estrella Mountains, Song 30 in the series describes a wind that takes the song's narrator—either the dreamer or the Ant spirit-being—west and through the Great Bend area (see Figure 4.9).²² Barnaby V. Lewis' rendition of this song reads as:

*Gah mooh vah huhvul eh muhn-nah
Huh gah moohn muh muhk awn buhy choo-nim
Huh-vuh see vahp ah gahm ha juh-vuhn uh thaum ahn
awn wah-pah him
Gahn ah kah yuh-vuhl eh muhn nah ah coo coo nim
Guh nah kah nuh-niegh pee mahm mah chee muh*

From the distance the wind comes
Takes me far away
Brings me to the land of many ant holes
Wind arrives singing its songs
Inside songs I do not know

The other O'odham social song that traverses the Great Bend of the Gila is the Airplane Song Cycle (Bahr et al. 1997:176-188). This song cycle was provided by singer John Lewis, from Schuchuli ("many chickens," known in English as Gunsight Village) on the Tohono O'odham Reservation, but it did not originate with Mr. Lewis himself. Instead, Mr. Lewis learned it from another singer while they worked together on farms near Gila Bend. As with all O'odham songs, the original singer learned the Airplane Song Cycle while dreaming, but he learned it from an airplane rather than from a spirit-being. The songs are thus modern, dating from the 1940s, when an Army Air Corps installation near Gila Bend was used for training operations for the war effort. Although of a relatively recent origin, the Airplane songs were used in the traditional way of social songs during weekend evenings at farm camps,

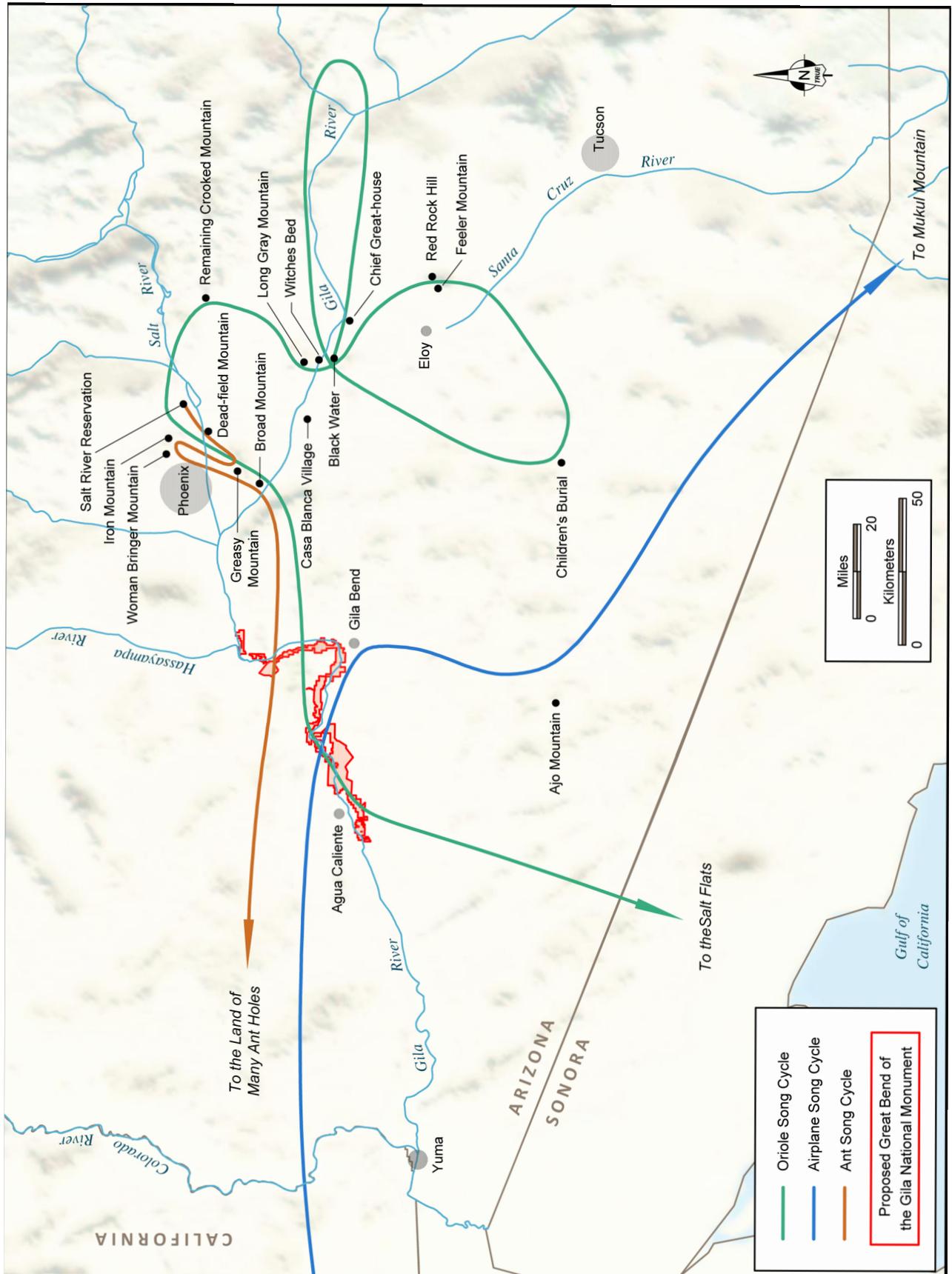


Figure 4.9. O'odham song cycles tied to the Great Bend of the Gila. (Figure by Catherine Gilman; adapted from Bahr et al. [1997:Map 2].)

when O'odham laborers would sing songs and perform "stomp" dances. At the time of recording, Mr. Lewis provided three songs in the cycle, although he recalled there were many more but he had forgotten them (Bahr et al. 1997:176-179).

*Dañ u:g himdam,
Kuñ a:ñ u:g himdam.
Gam hu Kalifona jewed amjed him,
Gam hu Kalifona jewed amjed him.
Gam hu Hila:wi jewed da:m hud,
Gam hu Hila:wi jewed da:m hud*

I'm an airplane,
And I'm an airplane.
Away from California going,
Away from California going.
Away on Gila Bend descending,
Away on Gila Bend descending.

*Kuñ i:ya i wu:sk jumal him,
Kuñ i:ya i wu:sk jumal him.
Gam hu Aho du'ag da:m sikol him,
Ga hu Ajo du'ag da:m sikol him*

And I come out and low go,
And I come out and low go.
Away Ajo Mountain above circling going,
Away Ajo Mountain above circling going.

*Mukul du'ag jewed hogid an ke:k,
Mukul du'ag jewed hogid an ke:k.
S-ap o i ku:g ab siwod mehe,
Kuñ g ai.
S-ap o i ku:g ab siwod mehe,
Kuñ g ai.*

Mukul Mountain at the world's edge stands,
Mukul Mountain at the world's edge stands.
Good, on its tip a fire burns,
And I reach it.
Good, on its tip a fire burns,
And I reach it.

Like other O'odham songs, the Airplane Song Cycle assumes a first-person point-of-view; it is not of the dreamer or singer, but of the non-human being that provided the song to them. Thus, this series is in the voice of a plane traveling from California and landing at the airstrip near Gila Bend. From there, it takes off toward the southeast, circling around the Ajo Mountains and continuing on to Mukul Mountain (see Figure 4.9). Mukul Mountain is an unknown place at "the world's edge," southeast of the Ajo Mountains, and the fire atop it refers to a plane beacon (Bahr et al. 1997:180).

The Airplane Song Cycle provides a good example of how the Great Bend of the Gila continues as part of the traditions and spiritual geography of the O'odham despite radical alterations to the management of their traditional lands. A convoluted web of political and land management boundaries – what can be characterized as "ghostly lines" (*sensu* Ingold 2007:47) between countries, federal agencies, private owners, and reservations – has dissected the Papaguería into parcels of varying degrees of access, yet the O'odham connection has persisted, and perhaps even intensified. The Airplane Song Cycle demonstrates the relationship the O'odham have with their traditional lands is neither erased nor diminished, but rather, has expanded to accommodate current circumstances and incorporate recent events. The Airplane Song Cycle, in both prose and performance, has fused contemporary situations with traditional O'odham practices and narratives.

Ritual oratory, such as the Oriole, Ant, and Airplane Song Cycles, reinforces O'odham connections to the Great Bend of the Gila in two respects. From one perspective, the narratives recount spiritual and historical experiences of traveling through the region, where spirit-beings are personified and events are organized in relation to each other and grounded to actual places on the landscape. The songs, in themselves, perpetuate and enliven a traditional relationship to the Great Bend area. From another angle, the song cycles perpetuate O'odham traditions of traveling through this region. However, rather than physical travel, as with the salt pilgrimage for instance, the songs embody spiritual movements across – and in the case of the Airplane songs, over – traditional O'odham lands. Because the songs originate in dream experiences and are gifts from spirit-beings, their acquisition alone constitutes journeys in which the dreamers are led by spiritual authorities to important places. The tradition of reciting the song cycles takes the singer and their audience along the same spiritual journey through the perspective of the spirit-being. With the Oriole, Ant, and Airplane Songs, those spiritual journeys include destinations within the Great Bend of the Gila and attest to the deep historical and religious connection the O'odham have and continue to foster with this delicate landscape.

Connections through Cultural Resources

In addition to the natural landscape and the many story-laden landforms across it, the O'odham and Pee-Posh recognize the myriad archaeological sites throughout their traditional lands as material connections to their ancestors. Similarly, some of the

archaeological sites for which the Great Bend of the Gila is renowned hold deep spiritual significance for contemporary O'odham communities. A comprehensive review is beyond the scope of this report, so instead, emphasis is placed on three types of archaeological sites that characterize the Great Bend area and for which existing literature exists. The following reviews the contemporary O'odham connection to ancient villages, geoglyphs, and petroglyphs along the Great Bend of the Gila through a select few examples.

As with the historic *rancherías* described in the journals of Kino and subsequent visitors, the O'odham and Pee-Posh recognize ancestral connections to older residential sites along the Great Bend of the Gila that archaeologists attribute to the Hohokam and Patayan traditions (Wright et al. 2015:13-19). One of these has been described as a Hohokam farming area at the northeastern base of the Gila Bend Mountains (Bean et al. 1978:7.38-7.39). The site was reported as also containing a cremation area, indicating the likely presence of an ancestral village near the fields. During consultations for the Devers-Palo Verde Transmission Line (Bean et al. 1978), members of the San Lucy District of the Tohono O'odham Nation explained that they leave offerings at the site, indicating it continues to be an active place of remembrance and religious expression. The place and the cultural resources found there are material manifestations of an ancestral past, and offerings link contemporary O'odham to their ancestors. Destruction of the site, they warned, would bring about "strong winds," indicating that respect for such places was essential for maintaining balance and harmony in the present world.

The Fortified Hill site, or La Fortaleza, is another ancient village along the Great Bend that contemporary O'odham recognize as an ancestral site of profound religious importance (Appendix Figures D.17 and D.18). The O'odham refer to it as Kokolhisik, meaning "Place Where There Are Rock Walls" or "Place of Corrals" (Johnson et al. 2013:38; Lumholtz 1912:337; Schroeder 1961:12; Winters 2012:303). The site consists of an assemblage of masonry buildings and walls atop a steep promontory along the lower bend of the Gila River, across the river from San Lucy village (Greenleaf 1975; Wright et al. 2015:18). Kokolhisik is a very old site, dating to at least the 1200s, but it provided safety for centuries after. For example, Pablo Baptisto, an elder member of the Tohono O'odham Nation's Hikiwan District, recalled that Kokolhisik was a place of refuge when the Tohono O'odham were attacked by Apaches (Johnson et al. 2013:38); the caves and enclosing walls served as defensive fortifications that allowed the O'odham to withstand raids. This understanding was

echoed by Art Wilson, Chairman of the Tohono O'odham Nation's Cultural Preservation Committee, who explained that Kokolhisik and other fortified settings along the Great Bend of the Gila (such as, Fort Pierpoint, Powers Butte, and Robbins Butte) were places of refuge during times of war. Mr. Wilson added that the Pee-Posh were allowed into O'odham lands and villages if they acted as sentinels and served as a buffer against their Quechan and Apache enemies.

Places such as Kokolhisik remind the O'odham of the deep history of social relationships, both friendly and antagonistic, they have fostered and maintained with neighboring tribes while also reifying themselves as a strong and persistent people. Understandably, the bluff upon which the ancient village rests is known as Vi'ikam Do'ag ("Survivor Mountain") (Winters 2012:303), and it is now considered a sacred mountain, an *iagchudi*, where the O'odham pray and make offerings (Johnson et al. 2013:45).

The many other ancient villages along the Great Bend also resonate with contemporary O'odham and Pee-Posh. For example, Shane Anton, Cultural Preservation Program Manager for SRP-MIC, detailed how the existence of Patayan archaeological materials at these villages is unusual. He explained that the traditional Pee-Posh protocol related to death was to burn the body, destroy all evidence of that person, allow them to journey into the afterlife, and remove any memory of them. This is why there is little evidence of Patayan in the archaeological record. "Evidence of Patayan human remains at these places is an indication that the cremation rituals were not done right and is disrespectful to the ancestors," said Mr. Anton. However, the failure for the cremation rituals to fully eradicate the bodies of deceased Pee-Posh ancestors at some ancient villages along the Great Bend of the Gila makes these places unique in both a cultural and legal sense. Barnaby V. Lewis explained that the recent excavations at the Gillespie Dam site, on the eastern bank of the Gila River's north bend, were the first time in the history of Arizona when repatriation issues applied to the discovery of Patayan burials. Repatriation of Patayan and Hohokam human remains in the Great Bend area is the legal and cultural stewardship responsibility of GRIC and SRP-MIC.

The ancient villages of the Great Bend area also remind the O'odham and Pee-Posh of their shared past. According to Mr. Lewis and Mr. Anton, the mixing of the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological traditions at particular villages (Henderson 2011:211-212; Rice et al. 2009:619-622; Wasley and Johnson 1965:70-72)—many centuries before the Spaniards described descendant O'odham and Pee-

Posh living together in this same area – affirms the history of their cooperation and alliance. Mr. Anton explained that “the relationship between the O’odham and Pee-Posh was strong in the past and it is still strong today.” Intermarriage was common between these groups, and “O’odham singers still go to neighboring Yuman-speaking communities to sing side-by-side at events such as wakes for the deceased,” he added. Similarly, Mr. Lewis stated that “it is significant to see Huhugam and Patayan living side-by-side in the past because their descendants still live side-by-side today, as O’odham and Pee-Posh.” Mr. Anton confirmed that the Pee-Posh originally came from enemy tribes of the O’odham, but the two groups have long been on friendly terms. The archaeological sites of the Great Bend of the Gila “represent this long-standing historical relationship,” said Mr. Lewis, “which is still evident in the interaction and intermarriage that still occurs to this day.”

The O’odham also identify with other types of cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila, especially the summit trails ascending low mountains and the geoglyphs and petroglyphs adorning the expansive exposures of desert pavement and countless rock faces. These types of archaeological properties are difficult to date with any scientific rigor, and there are few ethnographic descriptions of people making or using them. Within the Papaguería they are, however, very important to the O’odham, who consider them messages from their ancestors on how to live right and in accord with traditional values. For example, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Anton recognize the summit trails as places of prayer and reverence where someone might have gone to tell stories, sing songs, or simply have an expansive and scenic view of the landscape. When shown pictures of such sites along the Great Bend of the Gila (see Appendix Figures D.14 and D.28), Mr. Lewis was reminded of the summit trails at the Olberg site on GRIC. “People still go there to pray,” explained Mr. Lewis.

The creation and use of geoglyphs in the vicinity of the lower Colorado River and surrounding regions, including the lower Gila River and Papaguería, has not been witnessed among nor reported on by contemporary tribal groups associated with the area (Harner 1953:13). Nonetheless, archaeologists have suggested that some of the geoglyphs – of both rock alignment and intaglio form – throughout the Papaguería date to the last few centuries and can, therefore, be attributed to the Hia C’ed O’odham (Altschul and Jones 1989:24; Hayden 1982:586-588; Vanderpot and Altschul 2002, 2008:374). Vanderpot and Altschul (2008) have meticulously shown that geoglyphs, along with petroglyphs and cairns, are elements of a larger O’odham ritual landscape in

which ceremonies were tied to spiritually and historically significant places.

The ways in which geoglyphs figured into an early O’odham ritual landscape remain an area of concerted study, yet efforts and insights are impeded by the dearth of ethnographic information directly attributing the creation of geoglyphs to O’odham hands. Harner (1953), who also grappled with the lack of pertinent ethnographic information, recognized ground painting as a possible correlate for geoglyphs (see also Rogers 1945:186). The Tohono O’odham have a little-known tradition of ground painting that provides insight to the relevance of geoglyphs to O’odham ritual and spiritual life. According to information gathered among earlier O’odham generations, sand paintings were one measure used to cure wind sickness (Drucker 1941:217; Gifford 1940:76; Johnson 1960). An example of the ritual was described as follows.

Four circles were drawn on the ground, one at each cardinal point, and in them sticks were placed to represent trees, and small images of animals as well. The sticks and images were painted (just how was not known; the informant had heard of but not seen the rite). After the songs all the things were knocked down, and the patient brushed with creosote-bush branches (Drucker 1941:217).

Whether the purpose of sand paintings approximates that of geoglyphs remains speculative, but sand paintings (and the sites thereof) are facets of the O’odham ritual landscape, and by association, they inform on the significance of geoglyphs in some regard.

Because of cultural and physical displacement from traditional lands brought about by the reservation system, previous ethnographic inquiries have failed to elicit memories of making and using geoglyphs among Hia C’ed O’odham elders (Vanderpot and Altschul 2004, 2008:375), even though they are considered sacred ancestral sites to contemporary O’odham (Heilen and Vanderpot 2014:611-612, 625, 630). Continued, concerted ethnographic research has added to the collective understanding of the importance of geoglyphs to past and present O’odham.

Tohono O’odham cultural advisors Joe Joaquin, Beverlene Johnson, and Wilfred Jim have recently reaffirmed the sacredness and spiritual significance of geoglyphs across O’odham traditional lands (Johnson et al. 2013:44, 63, 71). Some geoglyphs were made by mamakai (Johnson et al. 2013:80), and according to Belinda Jim, another Tohono O’odham cultural advisor, disturbing geoglyphs will bring about ill fortune (Johnson et al. 2013:44). Mr. Joaquin suggested they are related to *ga kim haichu* (“vision quests”), which “help people find their life’s pur-

pose" (Johnson et al. 2013:44, 59, 71). Tohono O'odham cultural advisors have also tied geoglyphs in the Papaguería to ritual pilgrimages. For example, Mr. Joaquin and Mr. Jim suggest some may mark routes of the salt pilgrimage to the Gulf of California (Johnson et al. 2013:44, 71; also, Bahr et al. 1997:127n.108; Vanderpot and Altschul 2008:373), an important ritual pilgrimage in which O'odham men would gather salt.

Geoglyphs also depict important themes and events related to the O'odham creation story. As an example, a particular geoglyph in the western Papaguería, consisting of a series of rock alignments in the shape of concentric circles, has been interpreted by Mr. Jim as a maze, which is conceptualized as the home of Elder Brother (Johnson et al. 2013:71; see also Vanderpot and Altschul 2008:374). About 8 km north of Sacaton, on GRIC reservation land, are two human-shaped intaglios, one of which is almost 50 m in length. The place is known as Hâ-âk Vâ-âk ("Hâ-âk Lying") (Russell 1908:254).²³ In the O'odham creation account, Hâ-âk is a female monster who ate children and was ultimately killed by Elder Brother (Russell 1908:222-223); the geoglyph simultaneously depicts Hâ-âk and the place where she slept one night before establishing her home in a cave called Hâ-âk Tcia Hâk atop Ta-atûkam Do'ag.²⁴ When Frank Russell visited at the turn of the twentieth century, he described small piles of stones (cairns) incorporated into the intaglio's layout, each of which contained a mix of recent and older offerings (Russell 1908:254, Figure 102). The recent offerings indicate the intaglio was and, as elaborated below, continues to be an active component of the O'odham ritual landscape.

When shown pictures of geoglyphs along the Great Bend of the Gila (see Appendix Figures D.1, D.5), members of the GRIC's Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) and the SRP-MIC's Cultural Resource Department—who also serve as representatives for and cultural advisors on matters pertaining to the Akimel O'odham and Pee-Posh—were reminded of similar features they had seen at other places within their traditional lands. For example, Barnaby V. Lewis remarked that they reminded him of Hâ-âk Vâ-âk. "The intaglio reminds the O'odham of what she [Hâ-âk] did to the O'odham," he said, as well as how Elder Brother vanquished her and saved the people. Mr. Lewis shared that the Akimel O'odham continue to visit Hâ-âk Vâ-âk to pray and leave offerings. The offerings are made to both the image and the history behind it, and the intaglio serves to remind people of himdag, the traditional O'odham lifeway and worldview. Mr. Lewis said that in O'odham belief, it is "wrong to place yourself before the people." He emphasized that O'odham stories, such as the one associated with

Hâ-âk Vâ-âk and other sacred places, teach traditional values, including the importance of humility.

With Hâ-âk Vâ-âk as a case in point, journeys to geoglyphs and other ancestral sites are part of himdag. Mr. Lewis said that intaglios and archaeological sites are associated with journeys and pilgrimages, and it is customary to offer prayers before visiting such places today. A physical offering is sometimes made, but silent prayers are always offered in the minds and hearts of people to the spirits who still reside at these places. The O'odham petition the help of Elder Brother through such traditional practices and there are always certain protocols and sacrifices involved. The level of understanding a person has of the oral tradition of Hâ-âk influences how they approach this place and pray there. "The spirits in those places know we [the O'odham] come with good hearts," clarified Mr. Lewis.

Petroglyphs are equally important to the O'odham, who know them as *o'ohadag* ("pictures") (Darling and Lewis 2008:136-137; Saxton and Saxton 1969:36) and *hu ku haichu ackchad* ("long ago told") (Johnson et al. 2013:43). In 1935, Gifford (1940:154) learned from Jose Santos, the keeper of a calendar stick (*hikanaba*) at San Xavier (see Underhill 1938a, 1939:124-127), that some Tohono O'odham men made petroglyphs, and there are likely examples of historical O'odham petroglyphs and pictographs at various places throughout the Papaguería (see Bostwick 2002:38-39; Hartmann et al. 2008:328; Haury 1950:468-472; Martyneec and Martyneec 1995). Tohono O'odham cultural advisors acknowledge that they do not know the specific meanings of petroglyphs (Johnson et al. 2013:72, 73), but they understand their significance to traditional O'odham practices and consider them a permanent record of O'odham history. Barnaby V. Lewis shared that they are messages from O'odham ancestors, the Huhugam, about himdag, the traditional ways and worldview. Petroglyph sites are "multiple messages in central locations," he explained.

Tohono O'odham cultural advisors have recently offered various explanations for petroglyphs in the western Papaguería (Johnson et al. 2013:43, 64, 72-73, 80), most of which likely apply to those along the Great Bend of the Gila (see Appendix Figures D.2-D.4, D.7-D.11, D.20, D.21, D.25-D.27, D.29). Manuel Osequeda Jr. suggested they share stories about where O'odham families once lived and their experiences in those places. Joe Joaquin echoed this interpretation, adding that some may describe events and experiences during vision quests. Wilfred Jim agreed they might depict ancient journeys. As messages from their ancestors, the petroglyphs instill pride among contemporary O'odham. Delphina

Mark, a Hia C'ed O'odham cultural advisor, said she feels proud when viewing ancestral O'odham petroglyphs because they remind her of family stories about traveling across the landscape. Sally Osequeda felt that they evidence ancient knowledge and constitute a form of O'odham art. However, Pablo Baptisto explained that some petroglyphs convey specialized knowledge and were not intended to be understood because they contain secret information.

The multiple Tohono O'odham interpretations for petroglyphs in the Papaguería are not contradictory. Rather, they show that petroglyphs were created for various reasons and by different people, and the information they convey was not uniform, but instead, pertains to different aspects of traditional O'odham practices, some public and some personal and private, and others spiritual. In this regard, they are culturally and spiritually important to contemporary O'odham, because they are tangible links to their ancestors with vital information regarding himdag. Mike Flores said that because the petroglyphs are part of the past, the O'odham derive cultural and historical meaning from them (Johnson et al. 2013:43). There is general consensus among Tohono O'odham cultural advisors that petroglyphs in the Papaguería are important to their tribal history because they show where ancestors have been, and they are important for maintaining connections to the past, a sense of identity, culture, and language (Johnson et al. 2013:73). This position has been specifically voiced with regard to Sears Point (Underwood 2009:53-55). In that recent consultation on a key location at the western edge of the Great Bend region, an anonymous O'odham elder commented:

These places [i.e., Sears Point] and symbols connect us to our ancestors. We feel a connection to the place and the area. It meant something special by just walking around and looking around. You didn't question anything, you just felt a connection. It is like a connection to your grandparents through an item, something passed on and passed on. By the time it gets to you it is very valuable. These petroglyphs are our connection to our past (Underwood 2009:55).

The Tohono O'odham sentiments toward petroglyphs in the Papaguería are generally mirrored among the Akimel O'odham. With specific reference to the Great Bend of the Gila, Barnaby V. Lewis and Shane Anton believe the geoglyphs, intaglios, and petroglyphs indicate permanency of the people (and the spirits); they were left there with the intention of being seen and remembered—"always remember, never forget," said Mr. Anton. Mr. Lewis explained that "these messages from our ancestors are

still here and the interpretation today depends on one's experience and understanding of our culture." Although the meanings of some of the symbols depicted in petroglyphs and geoglyphs may not be clear to everyone, Mr. Lewis is sure that they "demonstrate religious use of the area," and he believes many of these places were used seasonally for traditional cultural purposes.

O'ODHAM AND PEE-POSH PERCEPTIONS OF A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

The long-term protection and preservation of cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila is a point of agreement among the Four Southern Tribes, three of which have passed tribal resolutions in support of a national monument (Appendix E, this volume). Indeed, O'odham cultural advisors have previously shared concerns and recommendations about how places within this important landscape should be managed in accordance with tribal values and goals (see Underwood 2009:55-58). This is because the O'odham and Pee-Posh recognize this area as part of their traditional lands and consider the cultural resources throughout it as a way to connect spiritually to their ancestors. Mr. Anton elaborated that contemporary O'odham and Pee-Posh still have a spiritual connection to this area. "We want to protect this area; these places are always under threat," he said. "This area represents a time capsule because it is so well preserved, and there is great significance there for us."

As Mr. Lewis (2015:xv-xvi) has written elsewhere:

Archaeological sites define and establish the connections O'odham have with their *Huhugam* ancestors. The spiritual, reverent, and respectful associations assist in maintaining our links to these ancestral and sacred places. Spiritual associations to sacred places in the landscape define the existence and extent of the O'odham world. These places are not only historically significant; by virtue of their role in annual cycles of universal and spiritual renewal, religious practice, and traditional knowledge, they are critical to O'odham beliefs about cultural perpetuation and survival.

The O'odham believe that everything in nature within the proposed boundary of the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument is of great cultural significance. Evidence of the existence of our *Huhugam* ancestors' travels throughout this land—such as shrines, prehistoric trails, archaeological sites, and petroglyphs—is certain. We all share a strong interest in the long-term protection of the many things our ancestors left behind for O'odham as messages to continue the traditional ways of life.

This statement expands on the O'odham connection to the Great Bend of the Gila by establishing the equally significant contribution the natural component of the traditional landscape has for contemporary O'odham. Mr. Anton and Mr. Lewis conferred that the natural state of ancestral O'odham and Pee-Posh sites is important. "Because traditional religious knowledge emanates from nature, preservation of the sites' natural states is critical," explained Mr. Lewis. "These places enhance our lives." Indeed, the O'odham feel a responsibility to preserve the cultural resources, as well as their natural settings within their traditional lands, because both pertain to O'odham himdag. Mr. Anton explained that "the Great Bend should be protected because that's what we're supposed to do," adding, "it is a duty of the O'odham to preserve ancestral places." This sentiment is codified in the Gila River Indian Community's Tribal Historic Preservation Plan:

The Community THPO will serve as a tool to further the Community's goals to participate more fully in the National Heritage Preservation Program for the protection, preservation, and perpetuation of the languages, history, traditions, and cultural heritage of the Akimel O'odham and Pee Posh peoples, including the protection and preservation of their sacred and culturally significant sites. The Community Council has determined that the protection and preservation of the Akimel O'odham and Pee Posh sacred and culturally significant sites is critical to ensuring the political integrity, economic security, and health and well-being of the Community and its members (Gila River Indian Community 2008).

When asked what makes the Great Bend of the Gila special and culturally significant, Akimel O'odham cultural advisors shared that it is not one particular site, or the total number of sites, relative to the remainder of their traditional lands. "The significance of sites can't be rated and compared to one another," said Mr. Lewis. "What makes the Great Bend great is not the resources per se, but that the resources have been largely avoided." Mr. Anton offered the same opinion:

The density of the resources in the Great Bend is indicative of a capsulized area of spiritual significance. However, the resources of the Great Bend are found in other places as well, and probably were once as concentrated. Unfortunately, urban development has damaged much of them. So what is special about the Great Bend is that the resources are intact. The lack of development is noteworthy.

Thus, Akimel O'odham cultural advisors see a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument as an

effective way to guarantee that one of the more pristine and archaeologically dense portions of traditional O'odham and Pee-Posh lands remains sheltered from the effects of continual urban development emanating from the region's metropolitan areas and thereby protected and respected into perpetuity. The O'odham and Pee-Posh, collectively, are particularly concerned about the preservation of the region's petroglyphs, estimated to number close to 100,000 (Wright et al. 2015:39-46). Mr. Lewis pointed out that, unlike subsurface sites and ground surface features such as geoglyphs that are indiscernible by most people, petroglyphs are very obvious and are therefore the most prone to theft, vandalism, and desecration. "The current BLM honor system doesn't work," he exclaimed, so a heightened and permanent level of protection is warranted and needed. Mr. Anton concurred, remarking that "National Monument status is the way to go." As the Ak-Chin Tribal Council explained after a community meeting, the Great Bend of the Gila is not just about O'odham history; it is about the history of Arizona and our nation.

NOTES

¹In the Tohono O'odham version (Underhill 1946:6-13), both Buzzard and Earth Doctor existed in the primordial state before the latter created the earth and everything else. Moreover, humanity began with the creation of the O'odham after Elder Brother's birth. In the Akimel O'odham version (Russell 1908:208-237), Earth Doctor created the first people before Elder Brother's birth. Seeking the union of male sky and female earth to create a helper, Earth Doctor pulled the sky down with his staff, crushing all of the first people in the process. Earth Doctor escaped by thrusting his staff in the earth and passing through a hole to the other side. There, he summoned the astral bodies to follow, and they did, but there was not a sky for them to move through. Earth Doctor created a new sky with new stars, and then he created the second people (the Rsâsanatc). On the western horizon, the moon gave birth to Coyote, and after a time, the earth bore Elder Brother. Elder Brother asserted his power to Earth Doctor, and displeased with the second people, Elder Brother brought about their destruction with a massive flood.

²The O'odham refer to their ancestors, from time immemorial to the present, as Huhugam, translated loosely as "those who have gone" (Lopez 2008). Archaeologists recognize the material culture of their ancestors who lived from about A.D. 400 to 1450 as distinct from what came before and after. They call this material culture tradition "Hohokam." As such, Hohokam and Huhugam are not synonymous, since the latter pertains to ancestral people rather than material culture. Unlike the Hohokam concept, Huhugam is not a period bounded in time, and it includes living people who will one day become ancestors (Lewis 2009).

³Curiously, both Obregón (Hammond and Rey 1928:194) and Smith (1861:7) contend that Cabeza de Vaca's "Primahaitu" were the O'odham of Pimería Baja. They disagree, however, about how widespread the O'odham linguistic group was. Obregón felt that the 400-league estimate was an exaggeration and suggested Cabeza de Vaca's many turns on his wandering course were the source of error. Obregón dismissed Cabeza de Vaca's claim, because he knew that the people along the coast (Gulf of California shores) and in the mountains (Sierra Madre) spoke other languages, which they did. Based on his reasoning, however, it seems Obregón assumed Cabeza de Vaca's route through this region was generally east to west, which may not have been the case. It is important to note that Obregón's expeditions with Ibarra did not venture northward beyond Pimería Baja, so he was not familiar with the long north-south range of O'odham speakers between the coast and the Sierra Madre.

Smith, whose missionary sources were, by then, far more knowledgeable about the Pimería Alta, did not find fault with Cabeza de Vaca's assessment that the Primahaitu inhabited a continuous 400-league stretch of land, although he speculated that the length of Cabeza de Vaca's "league" may have been closer to a mile. Smith recognized that the O'odham language group ranged from the Gila River in the north to the divide between the Mexican states of Sonora and Sinaloa at its southern boundary (Smith 1861:6-7), a distance of approximately 650 km (400 miles). Had Cabeza de Vaca been wandering north to south through the land of the Primahaitu, his approximation of 400 leagues is not difficult to believe. Of course, this would put Cabeza de Vaca in the vicinity of the Gila River, and although there has been speculation that Cabeza de Vaca and his party had visited the Casa Grande, on the south flank of the middle Gila River, it is generally accepted that their travels did not stretch that far north.

⁴Gifford (1940:189) reported on two dialect groups among the Hia C'ed O'odham: the northern Iatak Kowatam ("Sandy Hills Root Eaters"), who resided between the lower Gila River and the Growler Mountains, and the more southern So'opa Makam ("Early Morning Movers"). Ezell (1963:21) referred to the Iatak Kowatam as "the northern band of Sand Papagos," while Gifford only referred to them as a dialect group. Subsequent researchers have only noted So'opa Makam as the Hia C'ed O'odham dialect (see Table 4.2). Dobyns (1972:Map 1), however, divided Soba' Amakam into a northern and southern group along the same geographic parameters for which Gifford (1940:Map 2) distinguished between Iatak Kowatam and So'opa Makam.

⁵Curtis (1908:9) recorded the names as Vâh, Mam, Apk, Ápap, and Ókalí.

⁶Underhill (1939:33) documented the same five clans among the Tohono O'odham, but with slightly different names or spellings: Waahw, Maam, Apki, Aapap, and Ókari (compare with Lumholtz's [1912] Vav, Mam, Ápki, Ápap, and Ápki, and Curtis' [1908] Vaf, Mam, Apk, Ápap, and Ákulí). Rather than five clans, in Lloyd's (1911) rendition of "The Story Of Ee-ee-toy's Army," storyteller Comalk-hawkih (Thin Buckskin) identified six original O'odham clans: the Vah-vah (Russell's [1908] Vá·af), Mahmahk (Russell's [1908] Má·am), Ah-pah-pah (Russell's

[1908] Ápap), Ah-pah-kee (Russell's [1908] Ápūki), Aw-gee (Russell's [1908] Á'kol), and Ah-pel-ee (Lloyd 1911:147-148). The six clans were led by Elder Brother as they ascended from the underworld through a hole created by Yellow Gopher. However, Coyote's laughter at their numbers preemptively closed the hole, leaving a portion of the Aw-gee and all of the Ah-pel-ee (the sixth clan) trapped in the earth (Lloyd 1911:148). Underhill (1939:33) also learned of a sixth and even seventh clan among the Tohono O'odham. The Sipát were bad people who never emerged from the underworld (and are thus possibly analogous to the Ah-pel-ee). The seventh clan was Áto, Elder Brother's clan, and those people followed Elder Brother back underground and, therefore, are not represented among the O'odham on the earth's surface.

⁷Regarding moiety membership, Underhill (1939:33, 1946:6) was unsure if the Ókari (Curtis' [1908] Ókalí, Lumholtz's [1912] Ókul, and Russell's [1908] Ákol), an O'odham group living on the Mexican side of the border, was actually a clan, because no one could recall to which moiety they belonged (see Curtis 1908:9). Lumholtz (1912:354) acknowledged them as a third clan among the Stóa Óhimal (White Velvet Ants), which is reasonable, because it corresponds with his own statement (Lumholtz 1912:355), as well as that of Underhill (1939:33) that the White People were more numerous than those of Buzzard.

As Spier (1936:10-11) commented years ago, the literature presents a discrepancy in associations of the White and Red moieties with totems of either Coyote or Buzzard/Vulture. While there is unanimity among which clans are red or white, both Russell (1908:197) and Herzog (1936:520), writing about the Akimel O'odham, associate white with Coyote and red with Buzzard. In contrast, Parsons (1928:456) reverses it for the Akimel O'odham, citing Lloyd (1911:147) as her source (Parsons 1928:456n.15). Lloyd's (1911) account, however, is that of the Tohono O'odham, and as discussed, the clan-moiety associations are opposite between the Tohono and Akimel O'odham. Indeed, Lloyd (1911:147) did not even recognize any of the clans as being associated with Coyote or Buzzard, just the colors red or white/yellow.

Parsons' (1928) confusion may stem from Curtis' (1908) earlier work, since he also associated Ápap and Apk with Coyote and Mam and Vâh with Buzzard, with Ókalí unaffiliated (Curtis 1908:9). It may also stem from Russell's (1908:197) statement that the world was ruled by the Red People, under Coyote's influence, when Elder Brother led the White People out of the underworld and onto their reconquest of the earth (see also Lloyd 1911:148 and Lumholtz 1912:355). However, this scenario of the origin story is not the source of the association of colors with either totem. As Herzog (1936:520) clarified, Buzzard and his people are red because Buzzard's "ceremonial father" is red whirlwind (associated with heat), and Coyote and his people are white because Coyote's ceremonial father is white whirlwind (associated with cold). Similarly, Underhill (1939:31) recognized the difference as Coyote having a white heart and Buzzard a red one.

There is also a suggestion that Russell's (1908:197) identification of ants as subsidiary totems for the Akimel

O'odham moieties, as in the Red Ants (Sūwú'kí Ohimal) and White Ants (Stóam Óhimal), may be incorrect. Both Parsons (1928:456n.16) and Herzog (1936:520) remarked that the moieties are identified with red and white "cow-killers," *wihimür*, a type of tarantula. For the Tohono O'odham, however, both Lumholtz (1912:354) and Underhill (1939:31) learned that these sub-totems refer to a wingless wasp in the Mutillidae family, the species of which are commonly called velvet ants, because they are covered in fine hairs.

⁸Bahr (1983b:185) contends that the number of public offices within O'odham settlements was dependent upon how frequently a community would move (that is, their residential mobility), with more mobile groups having the fewest, and vice versa. This seems reasonable, although only in the sense that community size tended to be inversely correlated with degree of residential mobility (more mobile groups had fewer members) and that population size is the principle influence over the number of leaders and public offices in any given community.

⁹Russell (1908:196) noted that among the Akimel O'odham, the "ceremonial talker," a position distinct from the village headman, organized and administered the community's cycle of rituals and festivals. However, the distinction between the village headmen and ceremonial talkers for the Akimel O'odham may have been encouraged by the policies of Spain and the United States regarding tribal relations. Ezell (1956:352-358) detailed the policy of Spanish officials to designate leaders to formalize native governments that could then be managed within the broader framework of the Crown's colonial government. Indeed, Underhill (1939:73-74) suggested that the political functions of Tohono O'odham village headmen were once the responsibilities of the ceremonial leader, but over time, they divided into two separate offices, presumably due to the influence of Spanish colonial policy.

¹⁰There is considerable confusion and some academic debate as to whether or not the Kaveltcadom were either the Cocomaricopa or Opa. Spier (1933:37) concluded that the Cocomaricopa were the Maricopa proper who moved into the middle Gila River valley first, followed by the Kaveltcadom, who were presumably the Opa. Ezell (1963:26), however, drew multiple lines of evidence into a strong case – arguably a stronger and more compelling case indeed – that the Maricopa proper were probably the Opa, while the Kaveltcadom were the Cocomaricopa. In either scenario, an original group of Yuman speakers had clearly migrated to the middle Gila River sometime prior to 1800, and the Kaveltcadom, being the last group of Yuman speakers living along the lower Gila River, followed suit.

¹¹The location in Sonora to which the Xalychidom fled is not clear. Spier (1933:15) was told that the community was called Tamalé'n or Lamalé'n, a three-day walk southeast of Tucson. Forbes (1965:252-253) suggested it may have been near Caborca, because the Xalychidom had connections with Faustino González, the Father President of the local mission. The relationship dates to the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Father González was visited by people of the "Tadchidume" tribe from the Colorado River (Velasco 1861:147).

(Velasco dated this visit to 1801, but according to McCarty [1997:25] and Kessell [1976:294], Spanish-born Father González did not arrive in Sonora until 1805).

In 1827, American trapper James Ohio Pattie encountered 100 members of the "Cocomarecopper" tribe along the lower Colorado River. Forbes (1965:252) equated Pattie's Cocomarecopper with the Xalychidom, suggesting at least a faction of them were still living below the Mojave at that time (see also Dobyns et al. 1963:132). Further, word of a pending Xalychidom-Mexican attack on the Quechan in 1829 implies that the Xalychidom had fled the Colorado for refuge south of the border sometime between 1827 and 1829 (Dobyns et al. 1963:135). However, in or around 1833, presumably after many had fled the Colorado River, Father González visited some Xalychidom still residing along the Colorado River. Forbes (1965:253) speculated that Father González made the trip to recruit converts. Nevertheless, as with the Halykwamai, not all of the Xalychidom had left the Colorado River; some apparently stayed and assimilated into Quechan and Kumeyaay communities (Forbes 1965:253).

¹²The actual size of the Quechan-Mojave war party is unknown, with estimates ranging from 94 (Woods 1968:106) to more than 1,500 warriors (Russell 1908:47n.a). The number of slain is similarly variable among different reports.

¹³It was likely less than a decade prior to the Gadsden Purchase when Kaveltcadom people were still residing around the Kwa'akámát area near Gila Bend. For example, on 15 November 1846, having taken the "40-Mile Desert" shortcut from Maricopa Wells through passes in the southern Sierra Estrella and Maricopa Mountains, Emory (1848:89) observed "modern Indian tenements" in the vicinity of Kwa'akámát. Similarly, two years later, on 7 November 1848, and in the same general area, or perhaps a little farther downstream past Kwa'akámát, Coutts' (1961:69) party found corn growing along the banks of the lower Gila River, implying a winter crop had been planted just a few months prior. Bean et al. (1978:5.59-5.60) considered these accounts as signs of O'odham "phantom cultivators;" however, it may have been Kaveltcadom hold-outs who had not yet moved to the middle Gila River valley (Coutts 1961:77n.44).

¹⁴Occasionally, and among some members of the San Lucy District, the "Old Village" of Daik is referred to as Sil Murk. This should not be confused with the older village of the same name (Sílímök) located about 29 km north, just below the Gillespie Dam. The O'odham name for the village was Daik, while government officials and records insisted on calling it Sil Murk (David 1964a, 1964b). Another small village called Sil Murk may have been located a short distance downstream (west) of Daik (Johnson 1964:5-6), although future research is needed to verify this. If so, perhaps the residents of that Sil Murk relocated to Daik, leading to multiple names for the "Old Village."

¹⁵In 2003, the Tohono O'odham Nation bought a 1 mi² parcel of land adjacent to Why, Arizona, to serve as a land base for the Hia C'ed O'odham. In October 2012, the Nation passed legislation that established a twelfth district for the Hia C'ed O'odham, who until then, had been members of other districts. In June 2013, the Dis-

trict's officials were sworn in and the Hia C'ed O'odham District was officially recognized (Ramon-Sauberan 2013). However, in April 2015, members of the Tohono O'odham Nation passed Petition INT-01-14 that effectively dissolved the Hia C'ed O'odham District (Ramon-Sauberan 2015).

¹⁶The "Maricopa" nomenclature in the government's references and documents derives from the nearby town of Maricopa and railroad station and not the presence of either Pee-Posh or Xalychidom amid the Ak-Chin community. Indeed, members of the Ak-Chin Indian Community maintain that the Pee-Posh and Xalychidom have never been part of their community, with the possible exception of a few marrying into the community (Jackson 1990:6.2; Meneses 2009:108-109).

¹⁷The principle distinction between the Pee-Posh creation account and those of the Mojave, Quechan, and Kumeyaay is that in the Pee-Posh narrative, Kumastamxó, Kukwiimáatt's son, has a much diminished role, so much so that Kroeber (1925:790-791) asserted the character was not accounted for (however, see Spier 1933:352-353). Other, less significant differences are also apparent. For example, in the Pee-Posh version, the Creator (named Kukwiimáatt in the other accounts) is named Isacipas or Cipás, whereas the name Kukwiimáatt is given to the character of Blind Old Man (named Kweraák Kutár in the other accounts) (Spier 1933:346-347).

¹⁸Which butte this portion of the creation account refers to is not known, but it may be Woolsey Peak. As the highest point in the Gila Bend Mountains, the 3,720-ft-high Woolsey Peak is a darkly tinted, extinct volcano that stands in stark contrast to the surrounding golden-colored metamorphic formations of the Gila Bend Mountains. Unlike the jagged peaks around it, Woolsey Peak is also dome shaped, and it has the profile of a high, level butte.

¹⁹An alternate route for the Cocomaricopa Trail likely went south from the region of Agua Caliente, and passed through Cocopah territory, thereby avoiding the Quechan (see Figure 2.1, this volume) (Zappia 2008:115; see also Bean and Mason 1962).

²⁰Underhill (1946:211n.4, 212) stated that the Akimel O'odham did not undertake salt pilgrimages, obtaining the coveted mineral instead through trade with the Tohono O'odham (see also Drucker 1941:172; Stewart 1965:91). Although they did get the bulk of their salt supply from their southern kin (Russell 1908:93-94), that does not imply the Akimel O'odham did not make salt pilgrimages to the Gulf. Akimel O'odham men have their own stories and traditions surrounding the annual salt pilgrimage. Underhill (1939:v, 1946:v) worked exclusively with the Tohono O'odham, and she may not have learned of the practice among the Akimel O'odham. It is also possible she assumed they did not go on the pilgrimage because they acquired most of their salt from the Tohono O'odham.

²¹Joseph's versions, transliterated and translated by Bahr (Bahr et al. 1997:124-125, 154-155) are:

Song 21:

To ñi wi su na ni
Hot Water
Ga me ko si ka kai da amo ka ha ce
Far noisily lies.
Ku ñege na mane ñi ñi wia ake ñee hi da
Above it I arrive and watch.
A mi we na mai ge na nako ma masi
Above various colors of
Wa ni ce ce no opi yane ge wa
Dragonflies hovering.
Wa to yane ge wa ha ka ha ce
Hovering lies.

Song 22:

Mama ka ñime su nani ka ce e
Spongy Water lies,
Ku ñege na mane mui ho cu me ñi ñi wia
Above I often come.
A no ya we ña yi
There around it
Yo o ta me me li ku do ma ma si
Peoples' running path shows.

Blaine Pablo and Vincent Joseph, with whom Bahr consulted regarding the Oriole Song Cyle, interpreted "Spongy Water" in the first line of Song 22 as a reference to the salt flats near the ocean shore where O'odham men gathered the precious mineral (Bahr et al. 1997:127). Whereas Joseph's "Spongy Water" differs from Barnaby V. Lewis' "spring water gushing," they refer to the same general location near the ocean shore. "Spring water gushing" may be a reference to one of the final water tanks in either the Quijotoa or Pinacate Mountains along the Tohono O'odham routes (Underhill 1946:223-224). Bahr (Bahr et al. 1997:127) speculated that the "running path" in the last line of Song 22 refers to a geoglyph near the Gulf of California. Although this may be so, in Ruth Underhill's (1946) account of the Tohono O'odham salt pilgrimage, she described how, upon reaching the salt flats, the young men would run to a headland on the other side of the bay. The run was 65 km roundtrip, and the men would stop only to turn around when they reached the headland. This run was an essential part of the pilgrimage because the young men would receive visions of their future lot in life. Indeed, the run was so important that the young men trained for it their entire boyhood (Underhill 1946:234-235). Given this aspect of the salt pilgrimage, it is quite likely that "peoples' running path" in Song 22 is not a reference to a geoglyph per se, but rather, to actual paths young men followed on their approach to the salt flats or their run to the other side of the bay.

²² Andy Stepp's version, transliterated and translated by Bahr (Bahr et al. 1997:38, 64) is:

Song 30:

Gam hu hewel medk
 Away off the wind runs and
Gam hu me:ko gam o ñ-beicug.
 Away off far takes me.
Ge we s-wapkam jewed
 To the Cane Lane
Da:m o ñ-uapa.
 Surface takes me.
K eda g hewel med, kuhu,
 Where wind runs hooting,
K eda, g ñeñei si ma:c.
 Where songs are really known.

In Barnaby V. Lewis' version, the wind takes the singer west to *see vahp ah gahm ha juh-vuhn* ("the land of many ant holes"), but in Stepp's version, the wind goes to s-

wapkam ewed ("Cane Land"). Neither Don Bahr nor Lloyd Paul, an Akimel O'odham singer with whom Bahr worked, knew of an O'odham village named S-wapkam ("Cane") or S-wapkam Jewed ("Cane Land"), but Bahr speculated that the song could be referencing just such a place. However, they both believed "Cane Land" referred to the home of spirits on the western horizon (Bahr et al. 1997:94).

²³ There is a reference to this geoglyph in the fourth song of Vincent Joseph's version of the Oriole Song Cycle (Bahr et al. 1997:116). The song (Bahr et al. 1997:148) references Yohoke Woikune ("Witch's Bed"), a place Bahr explains as being synonymous with the geoglyph at Hâ-âk Vâ-âk (Bahr et al. 1997:118, 127n.108, 147n.g).

²⁴ Don Bahr (Bahr et al. 1994:100n.m, 147n.g, 149n.l, 308n.10) translated Ta-atûkam as "Feeler Mountain" and placed it east of Eloy and north of Picacho, two towns in southern Arizona, 65 km south of Superstition Mountain. This places it in the vicinity of the Picacho Mountains.

QUECHAN

The Quechan have called the banks of the lower Colorado River and its tributaries home for centuries, if not millennia. Kwatsáan Iiyáa, the Quechan language, falls within the River Yuman branch of the Yuman language family (Campbell 1997:127), and the Quechan are linguistically and culturally related to neighboring Yuman-speaking tribes in southern California, Baja California, and southwestern Arizona, such as, among others, the Mojave, Cocopah, Pee-Posh, and Kumeyaay. Today, the federally recognized Quechan Tribe is associated with the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation near the confluence of the lower Colorado and Gila rivers, between the towns of Yuma, Arizona, and Winterhaven, California. At the time of the 2010 Census, residents of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation numbered 2,197, although 3,166 people identified themselves as Quechan (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). The Fort Yuma Indian Reservation encompasses approximately 45,000 acres of land, most of which falls along the western bank of the lower Colorado River; however, the reservation does extend slightly onto the eastern bank of the river and, thus, into Arizona (Figure 5.1). The tribe's current holding is just a small portion of their traditional lands, which stretched dozens of kilometers along the Colorado River to the north and south and eastward up the lower Gila River.

The name "Quechan" is a self-referential term that derives from the Yuman word "Kwacá-n," translated as "Those Who Descend (in a group)" (Halpern 1947:105), a direct reference to descent from the sacred mountain Avikwaamé. Forde (1931:88) considers this a "true tribal name," because it is distinct from the Quechan terms for "person" (*ipā*) and "people" (*pīpa*). Kwacá-n is a shortened version of Xá m Kwacá-n, translated as either "Those Who Descended by a Different Way" or "Those Who Descended by Way of the Water" (Bee 1983:97; Bryant and Miller 2013:4; Forde 1931:88). "Those Who Descended by a Different Way" is a reference to the notion that the Quechan are a chosen people who descended Avikwaamé independently from other tribes and under the guidance of Kumastamxó, a prominent figure in their creation account; "Those Who Descended by Way of the Water" considers how the Quechan, after descending Avikwaamé, followed the Colorado River south to their traditional lands around its confluence with the Gila River.

QUECHAN ORIGINS

The Quechan account of creation and their history of migration down the Colorado River from Avikwaamé ("High Mountain" or "Spirit Mountain"), also known as Newberry Peak, north of Needles, California (see Figure 5.1), is the pillar of Quechan cultural identity (Bryant and Miller 2013:4). The account explains the beginning of the world, the creation of the Quechan and their neighbors, and the origin of many Quechan traditions. It frames the deep spiritual and historical connection the Quechan have with the lower Colorado River valley and adjacent desert country, and it situates them in a series of religious and historical events that condition the social relationships the Quechan maintain with other tribes and their environment to this day.

John Peabody Harrington's (1908) "A Yuma Account of Origins" is the most cited rendition of the Quechan creation account, although another version was published just a year later (Curtis 1909), and an earlier one appears in Trippel (1889b:2-4). While neither Trippel (1889b) nor Curtis (1909) identified, by name, the sources of the narratives they published, the account recorded by Harrington (1908) was shared by Joe Homer, a Quechan man born in the 1860s, who acquired the narrative through dreaming (Gifford 1926). Different families, however, maintain their own versions of the Quechan creation account, so there are many nuances to it that pertain to particular lineages and traditions (Bryant and Miller 2013:4). Regardless, the accounts all share a core narrative; as Trippel (1889b:2) stated, "It is but fair to explain that no two of the medicine men tell exactly the same story. While differing in details, the various versions, however, indicate a common origin..."

According to Bryant and Miller (2013:4), while no version of the Quechan creation account is considered more legitimate than another, each adds to the vibrancy and richness of Quechan oral history and culture. The following is an abbreviated version of the Quechan creation account that draws primarily from the narrative of Quechan elder George Bryant (Bryant and Miller 2013:19-58) and secondarily from that of Joe Homer, as told to Harrington (1908; see also Bryant and Miller 2013:59-169). Most recently, Trafzer (2012:36-82) penned a version of the Quechan creation account that reconciles contemporary Quechan perspectives with that

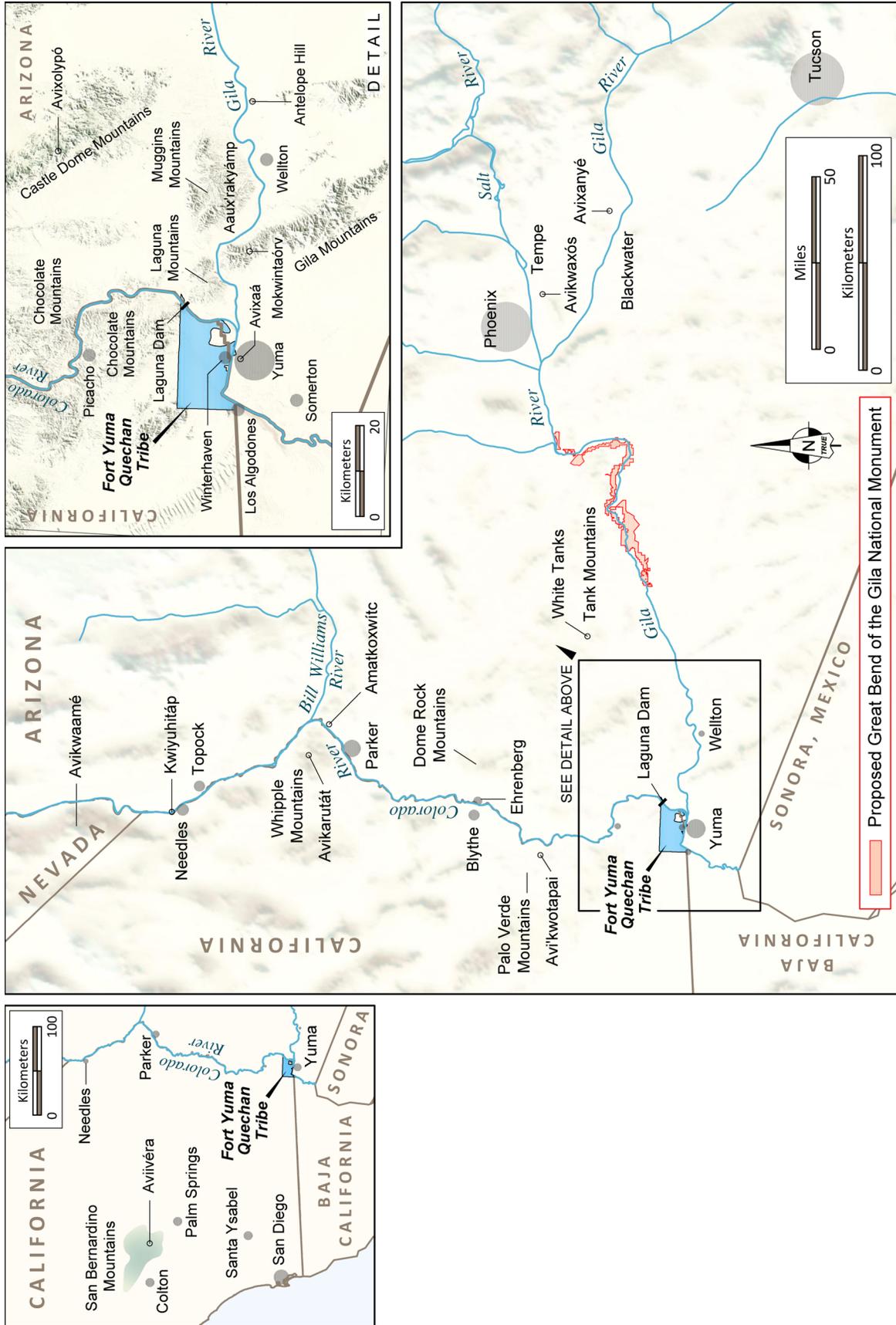


Figure 5.1. The Fort Yuma Quechan Reservation and places mentioned in the text. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

of Joe Homer, as recorded in the writings and notes of John Peabody Harrington. Where relevant, the following also draws on Trafzer's (2012) work.

In the beginning, there were no people nor land, as water covered the earth's entire surface. At the bottom of the water was a cave in which lived Kukumat ("Body of Cloud") and Asákumat ("Body of Fog"). Kukumat grew restless and went to the surface of the water to look around, but as Asákumat attempted to follow, he opened his eyes too soon and was blinded by the water. Kukumat thus named him Kweraák Kutár ("Old Man Sharing," also known as Old Blind Man).¹

Once at the surface, Kukumat began creating land and then the heavenly bodies. At the same time, Blind Old Man was at work molding clay dolls (*hantapáap*) in his likeness; these were to be the people who would live upon the newly created land. After making the moon and a single star, Kukumat noticed what Blind Old Man was doing and feared he would make people incorrectly. Indeed, instead of fingers and toes, Blind Old Man's dolls had solid, web-like appendages at the ends of their limbs.

Perturbed by this, Kukumat asked Blind Old Man to cease so he could show him how to do it properly; however, Blind Old Man did not comply. Kukumat was displeased with Blind Old Man's people, so he kicked them into the water, where they would eventually become the duck, beaver, turtle, and wild goose. Hurt and angry, Blind Old Man jumped in after his people, creating a whirlpool from which sickness emitted. Kukumat stood on the whirlpool in an attempt to plug it, but some pestilence managed to escape.

Kukumat then created the Quechan, Cocopah, Kumeyaay, and Pee-Posh out of mud, molding one man and one woman for each tribe and giving them their tribal names. He then taught the men how to speak, who, in turn, taught the women. Kukumat instructed them to not intermarry, but the Quechan woman objected. Blind Old Man approached her, trying to convince her to follow his lead rather than Kukumat's directive. Kukumat soon caught wind of the Quechan woman's betrayal and became infuriated. In his wrath, Kukumat flooded the earth and decided to turn the people into beasts. The Cocopah became mockingbirds, the Kumeyaay turned into deer, and the Pee-Posh changed to buzzards. Kukumat spared the Quechan man and named him Marxókavék.² Kukumat taught him how to make things, and Marxókavék proceeded to create animals. In the meantime, Kukumat returned to making people, starting again with a man, named Xavasumkuwá, and a woman, named Xavasumkul'í.

Xavasumkul'í wished to bear children but did not know how, so she sought counsel from Kuku-

mat. However, instead of teaching Xavasumkuwá and Xavasumkul'í how to procreate, Kukumat simply copulated with Xavasumkul'í. Xavasumkul'í quickly gave birth to a son, Kumastamxó, and soon thereafter, a daughter, Xavasúmkulapláp ("Blue-Green-Bottom-of-Her-Foot"), who is also known as Xanyé ("Frog"). As Kukumat's son and assistant, Kumastamxó was vested with helping to build the world. He added more stars and the sun, and he entrusted Marxókavék (the original Quechan man) with creating daylight and darkness. Later, Kumastamxó created plants and taught people how to farm. He also invented the bow and arrow and instructed the people in how to hunt.

Kukumat continued making people, including the Walapai, Havasupai, Chemehuevi, Apache, and new versions of Cocopah, Pee-Posh, and Kumeyaay. To these, he later added the Mojave, as well as Anglo and Hispanic people. The last person he created was Ahkoykwitc'án ("Old Quechan Woman"). Kukumat never took a wife, but he lived with his daughter, Xanyé. One day, Kukumat felt sick, and as he went outside to defecate, Kukumat defiled his daughter. In consequence, Xanyé secretly followed him and consumed Kukumat's excrement, at which point Kukumat became deathly ill.

Filled with fear and guilt, Xanyé burrowed into the earth, later emerging at four places: (1) a circular pit near Parker, Arizona called Amatkoxwítc ("Red Earth"); (2) a hole in the ground along the Bill Williams River, almost 5 km upstream of its confluence with the Colorado River; and (3) Avix'á ("Cottonwood Mountain"), a low rise in Yuma known locally as Black Hill. At her last point of emergence, near the community of Blackwater on the middle Gila River, Xanyé turned into a mountain, which became known as Avixan'é ("Limits between Spirit and Mountain") (see Figure 5.1).³

Kukumat's demise was the first death among people, and to prevent Coyote from stealing his heart, the people decided to cremate his body.⁴ Coyote conspired to steal Kukumat's heart, believing that if he ate it, he would gain the Creator's power. To lure Coyote away, the people sent him off in the direction of dawn (east) on a quest to find fire. In the meantime, the people learned to make fire and set about with the cremation. However, after finding fire on the eastern horizon where Kukumat created the moon, Coyote returned and managed to leap over the others and snatch Kukumat's heart before it was consumed in the cremation. He then ran to the land of the Pee-Posh, where he ate the heart at Avikwaxós ("Greasy Mountain"). The place where Coyote ate the heart became Double Butte in Tempe, and where the blood spilled over became the adjacent South Mountains (see Figure 5.1). The

people mourned Kukumat's death, and by doing so, they learned how to cry.

Kumastamxó created the Colorado River by piercing the earth with his spear and dragging it all the way to the ocean. He then led the people on a journey up the river, stopping first at a whirlpool north of Topock called Kwiyuhitáp ("Place where Kwiyu Was Killed"), then at a place called Avikarutát ("Jagged Mountain") in the Whipple Mountains (see Figure 5.1). Kumastamxó instructed the Yavapai to live there, but to stay on the east side of the river. Kumastamxó led the people onward north, to his homeland atop Avikwaamé. There, Kumastamxó continued to teach the people, and he gave them their clan names. After a period of time, Kumastamxó decided to send the people away from Avikwaamé. He told the Hualapai and Havasupai to go northeast, the Chemehuevi to go northwest, and the Ivilyuqaletem (Cahuilla) to go west. He then instructed the Kumeyaay, Cocopah, Pee-Posh, and Quechan to go south. The Mojave stayed near Avikwaamé, because they were too young for the journey.

Marxókavék led the Quechan and the Kumeyaay westward across the desert, away from Avikwaamé, stopping at Aviivéra, a mountain on the eastern slopes of the San Bernardino Mountains. The Cocopah and Pee-Posh followed, and after reaching Aviivéra, they attacked the others. Not wanting the various tribes to quarrel, Kumastamxó led Marxókavék and the Quechan back to Avikwaamé, but as they neared the sacred mountain, Marxókavék fell gravely ill. The Quechan carried Marxókavék south through the valleys of the Colorado River, to his homeland at Avixolypó, the peak for which the Castle Dome Mountains are named.

Before dying, Marxókavék instructed the Quechan to live there and to burn his body at Mokwintaórv, a place atop the Gila Mountains, south of the Gila River and near the community of Kwihaátk (the latter location of Gila City).⁵ They cremated him at the base of the mountain. The fire used to cremate Marxókavék was large and of such intense heat that it scorched the earth all around Mokwintaórv. For this reason, the area encompassing the Muggins, Laguna, and Gila mountains is known as Aaux'rakyámp ("Fire All Around"), where many of the outcropping rocks remain reddened from the fire (see Figure 5.1).

After the mourning ceremony for Marxókavék, Kumastamxó decided that his role on the earth was complete, so he chose to leave the people. He first descended into the earth at Avikwaamé, where he stayed for four days. Upon resurfacing, Kumastamxó announced to the people that he would retire to the sky. Upon his ascent, Kumastamxó transformed into four eagles: White Eagle in the

north, High Eagle in the east, Fish Eagle in the south, and Black Eagle in the west. From then on, Kumastamxó's spirit has resided at Avikwaamé, overseeing the people. Today, the Quechan can visit Avikwaamé in dreams and obtain knowledge and spiritual power from Kumastamxó.

HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUECHAN

As reviewed, the Quechan derive their tribal name from Xám Kwacá-n, "Those Who Descended by Way of the Water," a clear reference to their origin and former home atop Avikwaamé. However, others have long referred to the Quechan as the "Yuma." The first published misidentification of the Quechan as "Yuma" was by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699 (Coues 1900:544), but the etymology of the word "Yuma" remains unresolved (Forde 1931:89).⁶ According to Whipple (1860:115), "Yuma" is a Yuman word that translates as "Sons of the River," and it was used in reference to a group of five lesser tribes, or bands, along the banks of the Colorado River, one of which was the "Cuchan."

In contrast, Henshaw (1910b) speculated that the term originated with the early Spanish missionaries, who misconstrued Yahmáyo, the name of a local Quechan leader, and inappropriately applied it to the Quechan people (see also Kroeber 1925:782). Henshaw's (1910b) position seems to be based in a misreading of Hardy's (1829) narrative. Hardy (1829:368-372) referred to the Quechan as "the Axúa nation," whose leader was Comáyo ("Great Captain"). Hardy (1829:372) referenced early Jesuit maps that labeled the delta region as "Camáyo nation," after the Quechan leader or his surname. Comáyo was the father of Yahmáyo ("Son of the Captain"). This is likely the root of Henshaw's (1910b) incorrect position that "Yuma" derives from application of Yahmáyo's name to the Quechan as a whole, when it was, in fact, Comáyo's name that the Spanish used in reference to the Quechan tribe.

Instead of being a Yuman word or a Hispanicized version thereof, Bee (1983:97) suggested "Yuma" may be of Uto-Aztec origin, because the O'odham and Ivilyuqaletem terms, both of the Uto-Aztec language family, for the Quechan are "Yumhi" (Saxton and Saxton 1969:101) and "Yuhmu" (Seiler and Hioki 1979:255), respectively. However, the question remains as to if the Spaniards borrowed an Uto-Aztec word or if the neighboring groups adopted the Spanish term (Forde 1931:89).⁷ The first scenario seems most probable, however, because there is considerable phonetic homogeneity among the terms of neighboring Yuman-speaking groups (Kroeber 1925:782), each of which was more or less influenced by the Spaniards. Names for the Quechan

from other Yuman-speaking groups include the Pee-Posh "Couchan" (Whipple et al. 1855:99), the Kumeyaay "Kwichan" (Kroeber 1925:710), the Cocopah "Kwisain" (Gifford 1933a:262), and the Yavapai "Kuchana" and "Kichan" (Gifford 1932:182, 1936:253).

TRADITIONAL QUECHAN SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Prior to the reservation system, the Quechan organized themselves into multiple settlements, or *rancherías*, along the banks of the lower Colorado River and its tributaries (Bee 1963:208, 1983:87, 1989:22; Forde 1931:140; Trippel 1889a:572). As Forde (1931:140) observed, "There is little doubt that the aboriginal organization was so loose and the scattering of settlements so extensive that there was comparative autonomy and independence of the village units." *Ranchería* affiliation was so integral to community dynamics and Quechan social identity that Forde (1931:139-140) consistently referred to these communities as "bands." Although the Quechan resided in a series of dispersed, seemingly autonomous *rancherías* around the Colorado-Gila confluence (Forde 1931:Map 2), the Quechan consider themselves a unified tribal body and have long exhibited a strong tribal solidarity (Forde 1931:140).

Quechan *rancherías* were agamous communities, meaning individuals were free to seek marriage partners from within as well as beyond their *ranchería* (Bee 1963:209-210). This was only an ideal state, however, as there was a tendency to marry within one's *ranchería*, perhaps out of convenience or familiarity, which, over time, tended to yield strong patterns of intra-community kinship (that is, endogamy) (Bee 1963:209-210; Forde 1931:139). The Quechan followed a loosely structured pattern of patrilocality in which newly married couples tended to take up residence with or near the husband's family. This practice was more of a custom than a rule, however, as the arrangement was flexible to accommodate the desires and labor needs of each spouse's family, as well as the wishes of the bride (Bee 1963:212-213).

As a patrilocal society, Quechan households typically consisted of extended families of related males, their wives and children, and possibly other relatives (Bee 1983:88, 1989:23). Upwards of 30 or more households comprised the larger *rancherías* (Bee 1963:208), with each being home to several hundred people (Steward 1955:159). Related households would cluster within the *rancherías*, such that, over time, community layouts would exhibit large districts of distantly related people (Bee 1963:209-210; see Trippel 1889a:572). This undoubtedly fostered a sense of family and kinship across the different

households within a *ranchería*, and likely contributed to the sense of community independence and autonomy described by Forde (1931:140) and Bee (1963:209).

Dream Power and Quechan Leadership

Traditionally, *shumaak* ("dreaming") is the source of spiritual power among the Quechan, and when recognized by others as valid and indeed divinely inspired, that spiritual power becomes, in essence, social power that permits men to achieve status and authority within the tribe. Unlike normal dreams to which everyone is subject, *shumaak* involves a dreamer (also known as *shumaak*) traveling to Avikwaamé in his sleep, where he is instructed by Kumastamxó or spirits in the qualities of becoming a leader (Bee 1963:208, 1983:92-93, 1989:30; Forbes 1965:64-65; Forde 1931:134, 201-202; Gifford 1926; Harrington 1908:326; Trafzer 2012:135-138; Trippel 1889a:570-571, 1889b:2).

A leader's strongest virtue was competence obtained through *shumaak*. Community elders would determine the strength and value of a potential leader's dreams, and one's ability to continually demonstrate the power of his dreams was paramount to holding that authority (Bee 1983:92). In addition to political leadership, *shumaak* was a requisite for achieving other public roles, such as war dreamers (*axveshumaak* and *kwámámishumaak*), scalpers (*nye' kwitsadā*), curers (*kwathidhe*), singers, and speakers. Indeed, the performance of nearly all civic duties was traditionally based on dreamed power (Bee 1983:93; Forde 1931:181), and therefore, many Quechan men were dreamers, in one way or another (Forde 1931:182).

Traditional political leadership among the Quechan was largely heterarchical, in that each settlement had a cadre of headmen, *pi-pá-ta'axán* ("real men" or "good for the people"), and authority in religious, political, and war-related matters was not held by a single person or corporate group. The *pi-pá-ta'axán* included the active family heads from within the community, and there was no limit to the number of *pi-pá-ta'axán* within a settlement (Forde 1931:139). There was a tendency for *pi-pá-ta'axán* to come from certain families, but the position was certainly not ascribed. Community leadership was ultimately achieved and maintained through personal accomplishments and persuasion.

The *pi-pá-ta'axán* involved themselves in issues affecting the immediate community, such as arbitrating quarrels and deciding when and where to move the settlement. *Pi-pá-ta'axán* were expected to be wise, generous, charismatic, and humble (Bee 1989:29-30), and their power and influence were lim-

ited by their effectiveness as leaders. No single *pi-pá-ta'axán* had sole authority, as activities and decisions affecting the larger community were determined through group consensus (Bee 1983:92; Forde 1931:134; Heintzelman 2008 [1857]:98). Thus, ample opportunities were available for charismatic and virtuous men to influence others within their communities and to eventually move into leadership roles. Whereas *pi-pá-ta'axán* were responsible for the majority of leadership duties, councils of *pi-pá-ta'axán* from multiple *rancherías* would convene to deal with matters of tribal relevance (Forde 1931:139; Heintzelman 2008 [1857]:98).

From among the *rancherías'* *pi-pá-ta'axán* would rise a single representative, or spokesman, for the entire tribe. This person's title was *k^waxót* ("good"), variably described as the "civil chief," "captain," or "governor" (Bee 1983:92, 1989:30; Forbes 1965:70; Forde 1931:134-137). As with other leadership positions, the role of *k^waxót* was voluntary, the position was achieved, and poor decisions and behavior could lead to another man superseding him as *k^waxót*. Approval of a *k^waxót's* authority rested in the value of his dreams.

A man who believed he should be a *k^waxót* would share his dreams with a group of knowledgeable and respected elders who could interpret the dream. If they saw the dream as virtuous and full of power, evident in the dreamer's character and behavior (Bee 1989:30), the man would one day assume the role. On occasion, the Quechan had more than one active and recognized *k^waxót* at any one time. When this occurred, the two or more *k^waxót* collaborated in their responsibilities (Forde 1931:136-137). Multiple *k^waxót* were considered a boon, because, as sources of profound spiritual power, the more *k^waxót* there were, the safer and more powerful the tribe was.

As the leader of the tribe, the *k^waxót* was responsible for the betterment of all Quechan (Forde 1931:137). He was expected to treat everyone in the tribe kindly, and he was especially liable for taking care of the poor and widowed. The *k^waxót* hosted feasts in which he redistributed foodstuffs, gave inspiring speeches, and instructed the people on how to stay healthy. There is some confusion over the role of the *k^waxót* in civil affairs (Bee 1983:92). However, because he was the person with the most potent dream power, the *k^waxót* can also be understood as the tribe's religious leader (Bee 1989:30). The *k^waxót* was "an embodiment of spiritual power" (Forde 1931:135), and by virtue of this role, he had religious obligations to the community (Forde 1931:137). The *k^waxót* was the *ñihū'voshumaak*: ("rain maker"), who could deter or summon thunderstorms to disrupt enemies and bring spring rains for the fields. The *k^waxót* could control all living crea-

tures, cure sickness, and direct winds (Forde 1931:137, 197).

The heterarchical system of traditional Quechan leadership also included authoritative positions for accomplished warriors. A *k^wanamí* ("brave man") was an influential warrior who had repeatedly demonstrated his military prowess and spiritual power through successful war expeditions (Bee 1983:92, 1989:91; Forde 1931:138). *K^wanamí* were responsible for organizing, arranging, and overseeing Quechan war parties. There were multiple acting *k^wanamí* at any one time, and there may occasionally have been several residing in the same *ranchería* (Bee 1989:31).

As with the community headman, a *k^wanamí's* authority and status were not permanent, but could be challenged by aspiring warriors. Some war parties were organized independently, and sometimes, contrary to the wishes of the *k^wanamí*, and if successful, the organizer could attract followers and ultimately challenge the *k^wanamí's* authority. The *k^wanamí*, therefore, achieved his position through succession after a previous *k^wanamí's* death or by demonstrating his superiority in decisions and matters pertaining to war. The power relationship between the *k^wanamí* and the community headmen is unclear, but because they were respected men of the tribe and many decisions were consensus based, the *k^wanamí* likely also had some degree of influence in community affairs. The *k^wanamí* were, nonetheless, deferential to the *k^waxót*.

Quechan Clans

Although the practice has waned considerably since the nineteenth century, the Quechan traditionally organized themselves into an arrangement of patrilineal, exogamous groups called *cimúl*, a mode of social organization anthropologists define as clans or sibs (Bee 1963:217-219, 1983:90-92; Forde 1931:142-145; Gifford 1918:156-167). As a patrilineal system, Quechan clan membership is passed down through the father's line, although men do not use their clan affiliation as a personal name. Only women take their clan affiliation as a personal name, although the clan name is also applied to the clan as a whole, which is distinguished by the addition of the phonetic prefix "*pa*" (from *ipi'pa*, "people") to the clan name.

There is some indication the clan systems of the Quechan and other lower Colorado River tribes are relics of a pre-tribal era in which regionalized, patrilineal groups (something akin to local bands) eventually coalesced into larger groupings or alliances described in historical accounts (Bee 1983:91-92, 1989:26; Forbes 1965:36-37; Halpern 1942:440-441; Kelly 1942:689-690; Kroeber 1902:278, 1925:744).

Evidence for this position can be found in the fact that some of the Quechan clans share names and totems with those of neighboring groups, such as the Cocopah, Mojave, and others (Forde 1931:142-143; Gifford 1918:Table 3; also Chapters 2 and 4, this volume), pointing to the possibility that clan designations existed before the formation of the larger tribal identities.

There is no accurate tally of Quechan clans, and as might be expected, the number has increased with continued research. Harrington (1908:344-345) recorded 11 clan names in the creation narrative as told to him by Joe Homer. Gifford (1918:156n.1, Tables 1-3) documented 14 among the records of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation, to which he added two more for a total of 16. Forde (1931:142-143)

learned of 23 clans, and most recently, Bee (1963:217-218) recorded 26 clans. Comparing these lists and eliminating duplicate names yields a total of 32 Quechan clans known in the twentieth century, and whose names have been shared with ethnographers (Table 5.1).

Although Quechan clans have totemic associations (Table 5.2), the references are loose and are considered simply reminiscent of the totem (Bee 1963:217). There is no evidence the totemic associations relate to any mythological ancestors, nor are there particular ritual observances or avoidances concerning each clan's totem. Bee (1963:217, 1989:27) asserted that totems simply served as clan names, although a Quechan person's character traits may be attributed to their totem. Quechan clans are lead-

Table 5.1. Existing and recently extinct Quechan clans documented in the twentieth century.

Name	Origin	Reference
Cikupás	Quechan	Harrington (1908:345)
Elymúc	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Estamađum	Quechan	Harrington (1908:345)
Hí'pa	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Hí'pa Haktcađúm	Xalychidom	Forde (1931:142)
Hí'pa Kwíkwíjl	Quechan	Bee (1963:218)
Hí'pa Panyá	Pee-Posh	Forde (1931:142)
Hí'pa Xetpá	O'odham?	Forde (1931:142)
Ijá	Kumeyaay	Bee (1963:218)
Kwecakū'	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Kíjmíthíj	Pee-Posh	Bee (1963:218)
Líō'ts	Mojave?	Forde (1931:142)
Líō'ts HatsmiyátL	Kumeyaay	Forde (1931:142)
Líō'ts Kwéstamuts	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Líō'ts Xetpá	O'odham	Forde (1931:142)
Ma vé	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Ma vé Metámái	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Mat'á	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Síkuma	?	Gifford (1918:Table 3)
Síkus	?	Gifford (1918:Table 3)
Sin'kwáL	Kumeyaay	Harrington (1908:345)
Tcia	Kumeyaay	Gifford (1918:Table 1)
Vaxás	Mojave?	Forde (1931:143)
Xákcí	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Xalpō't	Quechan	Forde (1931:143)
Xavtcáts Anyī'k	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Cetnadōón	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Hákwíts	"From the western coast" (Kumeyaay?)	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Hapúk	O'odham?	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Kwátcán	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Tuđi'l	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)
Xavtcáts Xetamún	Quechan	Forde (1931:142)

Note: Many of these clans were identified from the names of women living among the Quechan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of the clans of a non-Quechan origin may, therefore, represent women from other tribal groups who had married into Quechan families (Bee 1963:218).

Table 5.2. Continued.

Totems	
Clan	Coyote
Xavcáts Cetnadóón	.
Xavcáts H kwíts	.
Xavcáts Hapúk	.
Xavcáts Kw tcán	.
Xavcáts Tuðil	.
Xavcáts Xetamún	.
	Deer
	Beaver
	Frog
	Rattlesnake
	Sidewinder
	Fish
	Dove
	Roadrunner
	Eagle
	Night Hawk
	Buzzard
	Red Ant
	Cricket
	Insect
	Corn
	Ocotillo Cactus Blossom
	Screwbean
	Moon
	Rain Clouds
	Deer Hide
	Hard Earth
	Willow Bark Heading
	Cremains
	Unknown

Note: Table compiled from information in Bee (1963:218), Forde (1931:142-143), Gifford (1918:Table1), and Harrington (1908:344-345).

erless, lack proprietary songs or rituals, and do not clearly correspond with community membership. According to Forde (1931:145), the only apparent surviving purpose of the clan designations among the Quechan he interviewed was to regulate marriages within their system of patrilineal exogamy, which led him to conclude that “[t]he totemic concept is, indeed, tenuous and weak.”

Whereas clans in the early twentieth century seemed to have held little, if any, significance beyond their purpose for naming and structuring marital arrangements, some were more prestigious than others, which suggests they may have been informally ranked in the past (Bee 1983:90). The Xavtcáts Kwátcán, for example, is repeatedly referred to as the preeminent Quechan clan (Bee 1963:218; Forde 1931:142; Snider 1986:54). The Hi’pa Haktcađúm, a clan of Xalychidom origin, are also considered a prestigious group, and marriage into either Xavtcáts Kwátcán or Hi’pa Haktcađúm was supposedly desirable among Quechan women (Bee 1963:218).

Both Forde (1931:144) and Bee (1963:218-219) observed an increasing tendency for younger Quechan to disregard the clan exogamy rule. In addition to many other factors resulting from the reservation system, the subsidence of traditional patrilocality and clan exogamy, which has carried across several generations, has undeniably contributed to a weakening in the role and importance of clans among the Quechan. Therefore, what has been witnessed by ethnographers and gleaned through interviews during the twentieth century is likely a “watered down” caricature of pre-reservation Quechan clan organization and roles.

Community ritual, specifically the Kuruk mourning ceremony, is one arena in which clans were once delegated specific functions.⁸ The Kuruk was traditionally performed after the death of an important leader or noted warrior, or when a family or group of families wished to commemorate their recently deceased (Bee 1983:93-94). The multi-day event was a reenactment of the first death and cremation, that of Kukumat, followed by a mock battle and subsequent pilgrimages to Avikwaamé (Bee 1983:93-94, 1989:29; Cleland 2005:133, 2008:46; Forde 1931:214-251; Halpern 1997). It served to remind the Quechan of their origin and shared heritage, and it emphasized the place of warfare in tribal identity (Bee 1989:29). In the 1920s, men from one clan in particular, the Ma-vé, were remembered as being responsible for erecting the Kuruk house (Forde 1931:145).

More information about the ritual roles of certain clans was proffered in the 1960s; Bee (1963:217) learned that certain Ma-vé members also used bells to signal the onset of the Kuruk, members of Xavtcáts Kwátcán were responsible for making the ceremonial shields, while members of Xavtcáts Tuđil shot

arrows into them, and Hi’pa members purified the ceremony by scattering corn. Most recently, Cachora (2015:xviii) stated that the Akyet Kuma ’t, a Quechan community comprised almost entirely of a single clan (Hi’pa Panya’), were once vested with an essential role in an unspecified ceremony, possibly one pertaining to the Kuruk.

QUECHAN TRADITIONAL LANDS

Traditionally, the Quechan relied on horticulture for nearly half of their foodstuffs (Bee 1989:20), and rather than relying on ditch irrigation, Quechan farmers and those of the other lower Colorado River tribes preferred a style of floodwater irrigation tailored to the overflow regimes of the Colorado and Gila rivers (Casterter and Bell 1951:131-139; Forde 1931:108-113). Prior to damming, the volume of water carried by these two rivers fluctuated considerably throughout the year, although flooding was most pronounced during the late spring and early summer months. After the floodwaters receded, Quechan farmers planted crops in the naturally irrigated soil along the floodplain. These summer crops, which included corn, beans, melons, squash, and various grasses, were harvested several months later in the fall, after the waters had fully subsided. In addition to winter wheat that was planted in the fall and harvested in February, the Quechan had a series of late winter crops that could be sown in particularly damp places in February and reaped before the summer planting. These included a 60-day maize cultivar (“Apache maize”) and some melon varieties (Bee 1989:20; Forde 1931:109).

Quechan Settlements

Because traditional horticultural practices were patterned on the flood behavior of the Colorado River, and to a lesser extent the lower Gila River, the Quechan settlement pattern also ebbed and flowed in proximity to the rivers throughout the year. In winter and during the spring floods, the Quechan located themselves in rancherías on high ground at some distance from the rivers. With the summer growing season, however, the Quechan would leave their rancherías and disperse within the floodplain to be in close proximity to fields. Thus, the traditional Quechan settlement pattern was bi-seasonal (Bee 1963:209, 1983:88, 1989:23-25), in which families moved between their fields and rancherías on an annual basis (see Chapter 2). Albeit enduring, settlement locations were not permanently fixed. If a family member died while residing near their summer crops, those lands would be

abandoned and the family began cultivating new fields elsewhere (Bee 1963:209). Entire *rancherías* would also occasionally relocate, such as when the river changed course or cut new channels, or if the community felt threatened by neighboring enemies or raids (Bee 1989:24-25).

The flexible nature of the traditional Quechan settlement pattern enabled communities to persist despite the need to periodically relocate their *rancherías*. This flexibility, however, in conjunction with the bi-seasonal settlement pattern, makes pinpointing the locations of historic Quechan settlements even more difficult (Bee 1983:87). From written accounts, the number of Quechan communities at the time of Spanish contact is not exactly clear. The Quechan, however, remember most, if not all, of the larger settlements of the nineteenth century.

Based on information elicited through interviews, augmented with details from diaries of the Anza Expeditions (1771-1775), Forde (1931:100-102, Map 2) identified four sizable, late eighteenth century Quechan *rancherías*, the first two of which were visited and described in 1774 (Figure 5.2). The first is Axakweðexor (“Water Reed Place”), a community Forbes (1965:120) suggested was known to Spaniards as San Dionisio, a Quechan settlement Kino visited in 1700. Forde (1931:100) referred to Axakweðexor as Palma’s *ranchería*, after Salvador Palma, the community’s headman at the time of Juan Bautista de Anza’s visit. Salvador Palma’s Quechan name was Olleyquotequiebe (“Wheezy One”) (Forbes 1957:63; Forde 1931:135). According to Forde (1931:101), the importance of Axakweðexor persisted into the twentieth century, although as the town of Yuma spread outward, Axakweðexor has since been subsumed by the larger metropolitan area and has lost distinction as a Quechan community.

Axakweðexor was home to the Akyet Kuma’t (“Sunflower Eaters” or “Sunflowerseed Eaters”), but its exact location has been reported in different places. For example, in February of 1774 and December of 1775, both de Anza (Bolton 1930a:37) and the accompanying Franciscan Missionary Pedro Font (Bolton 1930c:88) sited Salvador Palma’s *ranchería* (presumed to be Axakweðexor) as a short distance east of Yamkukeav (Indian Hill or Fort Yuma Hill) along the east side of the Island of La Santísima Trinidad. This island was nestled between two channels of the Colorado River that forked just below the present Laguna Dam and merged immediately upriver of Indian Hill. At the time of Forde’s (1931) research, the Quechan described Axakweðexor as a sizable cluster of houses about 3.2 km northeast of Fort Yuma but still on the west bank of the Colorado River, in close proximity to where Anza and Font found it more than 150 years prior.

In contrast, Bee (1983:Figure 1) located the Akyet Kuma’t’s *ranchería* some 4.8 km east of the Colorado and another 1.6 km north of the Gila. In a subsequent publication, Bee (1989:56) put the location of the *ranchería* on the north bank of the Gila River 16.0 km upstream of Indian Hill (thus, approximately 11.3 km east of the confluence). Most recently, Cachora (2015:xviii) placed it on the east side of the confluence but at an unspecified distance north of the Gila.

There are several reasons why historical records place Axakweðexor (and other communities) at several different locations, none of which is mutually exclusive. Because it was customary to relocate after the death of a community member (Bee 1989:24-25), Quechan households—the core units of Quechan social organization—would have shifted locations through successive generations. It would be expected, therefore, that, over time, *rancherías* would gradually drift along the rivers’ margins as a result of repeated relocations of extended households. Similarly, as Bee (1968:31) noted, the locations of some Quechan settlements had shifted during the nineteenth century due to various social and economic factors associated with the presence of the U.S. Army, and Axakweðexor may have been one example. Further, the traditional Quechan settlement pattern had communities moving annually between the floodplain and higher ground in response to the flood regime of the Colorado, so in a sense, communities had multiple settlements. In addition to all of these factors, Quechan communities remembered by elders and described in historical records were amalgams of multiple *rancherías* spaced out over some distance, so Axakweðexor and other communities were not simply one settlement, but were rather, *ranchería* communities that, at times, were dispersed in multiple household clusters across several kilometers.

Xaksily (“Sandstone”) was the other large Quechan *ranchería* visited by the Anza Expedition (Bee 1968:32-33; Forde 1931:101-102). Named after the local sand dunes, this settlement was located directly south of Avikwál (Pilot Knob), on the Mexican side of the international border, near the modern town of Los Algodones (see Figure 5.2). Xaksily was home to the Kavē’ltaðum (“South Dwellers”), and its location south of the border proved useful for the Quechan seeking sanctuary from U.S. policies until the onset of the Pancho Villa uprising in 1910, at which time the Kavē’ltaðum chose to move to the Fort Yuma Reservation (Bee 1968:33).

Forde (1931:102) described two other early Quechan communities that were not noted by the eighteenth century Spanish chroniclers, but instead, were remembered by Quechan elders in the early twentieth century. One of these, for which the name



Figure 5.2. Quechan settlements, circa 1770–1900. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

had been forgotten, was situated on the east side of the Colorado River, at the foot of the Chocolate Mountains, east of the unincorporated community of Picacho, California. This would place the ancestral Quechan settlement roughly 32 km north of the Fort Yuma Reservation (see Figure 5.2).

The other Quechan community mentioned by Forde (1931:102) was called Kwerav Ava'io ("Pneumonia Living"), and it was home to the Metvalcaðum

("North Dwellers"). As with Axakweðexor, there is some discrepancy in the actual location of the Metvalcaðum settlement. Forde (1931:102) stated that Kwerav Ava'io was located "about two miles south of the present Laguna Dam on the California side" (see Figure 5.2).

Bee (1968:32), however, did not mention the settlement of Kwerav Ava'io, but instead, described Methal'v Siyðúwm (his spelling of "Metvalcaðum"),

a community named after its residents (the North Dwellers). According to Bee (1968:32), Methal' Siyδúwm was located within the present reservation around the base of Indian Hill, an area some 11 km southwest of where Forde (1931) sited Kwerav Ava'io. Like the Akyet Kuma't settlement, the Metvalcaðum community may have relocated their ranchería sometime during the nineteenth century.

In addition to the four eighteenth century Quechan communities described by Forde (1931), Bee (1968) reported the existence of three other Quechan communities apparently founded in the nineteenth century. One of these was the community of Amái ("High"), situated on a mesa above the floodplain of the Colorado River on the California side of the river, and several kilometers west of Methal' Siyδúwm (Bee 1968:33) (see Figure 5.2). Amái was home to the "Blythe Group," a reference to the community's prior residence near Blythe, California. While at Blythe, the community consisted of approximately 50 families, but pressures from Anglo settlers drove them south and closer to other Quechan communities sometime before 1890.

By at least 1872, another community of about 40 families, known as the Homesteaders, had settled approximately 4 km north of present-day Somerton, Arizona (see Figure 5.2). This group had broken off from the Kavē'lcaðum community at Xaksily at some point during the nineteenth century, settling several miles to the south. Although a distinct community, the Somerton Homesteaders are still considered part of the Kavē'lcaðum by other Quechan (Bee 1963:209). Rather than accept 10-acre allotments on the Fort Yuma Reservation in 1912, the Somerton branch of the Kavē'lcaðum chose to stay in the Somerton area and filed for 40-acre lots as homesteaders. A sixth Quechan community, the Townsend Group (Bee 1968:34-35), was located near the defunct Fort Yuma stage station, approximately 10 km east-southeast of Indian Hill, east of the confluence and on the south bank of the Gila (see Figure 5.2). Some 20 families were living there in 1887, most of whom eventually moved onto the reservation, although 12 members eventually moved to the area of the Somerton Group and also filed for 40-acre land allotments as homesteaders.

These seven Quechan communities, each situated within 32 km of the Colorado-Gila confluence and the present Fort Yuma Reservation, apparently delimit the core area of the Quechan world as it existed in the late eighteenth century and again in the late nineteenth century. This region was not the full reach of Quechan settlement, but rather, represents what was described by the Spanish and what was best remembered (and therefore probably was most recent) by Quechan tribal members interviewed in the 1920s and 1960s. Indeed, as Forde (1931:102-103) com-

mented, there may have been a period of Quechan expansion after the Yuma Revolt of 1781, in which the Spanish were driven out, never to return. Several decades later, in the first half of the nineteenth century, groups of Xalychidom and Kohuana, the Quechan's neighbors to the north and south, respectively, migrated eastward and joined Pee-Posh communities farther up the Gila River (Ezell 1963; Spier 1933; also, see Chapter 4). This would have left large tracts of valuable bottomland open for the taking. Because it was the aggression of the Quechan that presumably drove the Xalychidom and Kohuana from the lower Colorado River valley (Forbes 1957:123-128, 1965; Kroeber 1925:799-802), the Quechan may have moved into the former territories of those groups in the 1820s and 1830s.

Evidence for a nineteenth-century Quechan expansion is found in official U.S. government reports. In 1853, Samuel Heintzelman, captain of the military outpost at Fort Yuma, described the Quechan territory as extending almost 100 km above the Colorado-Gila confluence and 65-80 km below it, with most living south of the confluence (which at that time, was still "on the Mexican side of the line") (Heintzelman 2008 [1857]:91). Four years later, Joseph Ives (1861:42-54), a topographic engineer in the employ of the U.S. War Department, recorded the Quechan as concentrated in a cluster of rancherías within 16-24 km north and south of Fort Yuma, but that his exploration party also met Quechan communities far to the north, spaced intermittently for about 215 km above the Colorado-Gila confluence (ending near present-day Ehrenberg).

Thus, mid-nineteenth century Quechan settlements stretched from the Cocopah settlements in the south to allied Mojave communities in the north, with whom the Quechan intermingled (Stewart 1983:1). Some of the Quechan interviewed in the 1920s and 1960s remembered settlements in these more distant regions. For example, the father of Steven Kelley, one of the Quechan tribal members interviewed by Forde (1931:103), lived at a Quechan ranchería along the foot of Avi'kwotapai ("Leaning Mountain") in the Palo Verde Mountains southwest of Parker (see Bean et al. 1978:5.47).⁹ Bee (1963:208, 1968:33) inferred that this may have been a ranchería inhabited earlier by the Blythe Group who eventually moved onto the Fort Yuma Reservation in response to pressure from Anglo settlers in the late nineteenth century.

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATION

The Colorado-Gila confluence was a strategic location for the Spaniards who were looking for an overland route from Sonora to California. Just be-

low this confluence, the Colorado flows through a narrow passage of bedrock massifs rising from the floodplain, and this restriction in the river's channel provided the most stable and least flood prone point of crossing above the delta. In the late eighteenth century, the Franciscan priest Francisco Garcés founded two mission pueblos with hopes of entrenching a permanent presence at the crossing (Forbes 1965:189-192). Mission Puerto de la Purísima Concepción (1780) was situated atop the western bedrock massif (Indian Hill), and Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer (1781) was built about 13 km to the northeast, atop a low rise at the far southeastern tip of the Chocolate Mountains (see Figure 5.2). There, the Chocolate Mountains and the Laguna Mountains pinch the Colorado River, thereby providing another crossing for which the Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer was established (Yates 1972).

Spanish settlers, however, soon wore out their welcome with their extreme liberties on Quechan fields, harsh modes of punishment, and domineering insistence on Christianization. As elsewhere in the New World, Spanish colonization placed shackles of subjugation on and spread disease among countless indigenous people. In July of 1781, less than a year after the missions were founded, the Quechan led an uprising against the Spaniards, killing the priests and many others (Forbes 1965:165-220). The insurrection drove the Spaniards from the crossing area, which left the region around the confluence once again under the sole dominion of the Quechan. Although the Spaniards had laid claim to vast territories of northern Mexico and the American Southwest, their efforts near the Colorado's crossing and among the Quechan were ill-fated and short-lived.

While Spanish and, later, Mexican and American travelers, merchants, miners, and migrants continued to cross the Colorado near the Quechan rancherías as they moved east and west along the Camino del Diablo and the Gila Trail, the area remained solely under Quechan control until 1849. On 2 October of that year, 1st Lieutenant Cave J. Coust of the First Dragoons founded Camp Calhoun on the site of the former Franciscan Mission Puerto de la Purísima Concepción atop Indian Hill (Hart 1965) (see Figure 5.2). Camp Calhoun and an associated ferry service were established to serve the needs of the boundary survey party under 2nd Lieutenant Amiel Whipple of the Corp of Topographic Engineers.

A year later, Captain Samuel P. Heintzelman formed Camp Independence at the site of the ferry crossing on the Colorado floodplain, less than 1.6 km below the Colorado-Gila confluence (see Figure 5.2). By that time, the crossing had become a major

point of conveyance for tens of thousands of 49ers and other migrants streaming across the Southern Emigrant Trail and into California (Brigandi 2010). Whereas Camp Calhoun served as a temporary station for the boundary survey, Camp Independence was vested specifically with protecting the crossing and, thus, was located in close proximity to the ferry station. Nevertheless, the flood prone military post was soon beleaguered by raids, and in March of 1851, Captain Heintzelman moved Camp Independence to the elevated site of former Camp Calhoun and renamed it Camp Yuma.

Three months later, the post was abandoned by most of its garrison as they ventured to Santa Ysabel, near San Diego, for much-needed supplies (Heintzelman 2008 [1857]:89). A garrison of 10 soldiers held Camp Yuma for several months, and they were reinforced by a small party in November. Unrest, however, continued to build among the Quechan, and the U.S. troops completely abandoned the camp in early December of 1851.

About three months later, in February of 1852, Captain Heintzelman returned with a 400-man army and reestablished a military presence at Camp Yuma (Forbes 1965:332). Heintzelman also changed the name of the post to Fort Yuma at this time, signaling its permanency on the far western frontier of the United States. Over the ensuing months, Heintzelman and his men directed numerous raids on their indigenous neighbors, burning and plundering Quechan and Cocopah rancherías and fields along the lower Colorado River in an effort to subdue resistance by these tribes (Bee 1989:53; Forbes 1965:333).

A truce was finally reached in August of 1852, and a treaty of peace was ratified the following October (Forbes 1965:335-336). As part of the treaty, Heintzelman instructed the Quechan to depose Santiago (the tribe's *k^waxót*) and Caballo en Pello (a noted *k^wanamí*) based on their involvement in the Quechan's resistance, and to select a single tribal leader in their place (Heintzelman 2008 [1857]:98). The Quechan chose Macedón, a *pi-pá-ta'axán*, but Macedón was killed in a conflict with the Cocopah in May 1853. In his stead, Heintzelman (1989) recognized Pascual, one of six community "chiefs" he appointed after the truce (Heintzelman 1989; Love 2004), as the new tribal leader. Pascual, who may have been a *k^wanamí* (Forde 1931:136n.131), served as the principal Quechan leader until his death in 1887.¹⁰

After the 1852 truce, the garrison at Fort Yuma eased its stranglehold on the Quechan, who were then largely free to conduct their affairs undisturbed. With the crossing secured and the annexation of lands south of the Gila River as part of the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, settlers and frontier industries

flocked to the Colorado-Gila confluence. This led to the rise of two small Anglo towns on the banks of the Colorado, each about 1.6 km down river from Fort Yuma (Lingenfelter 1978:15) (see Figure 5.2). Jaeger City (also known as Jaegerville) was founded on the California side, and Colorado City was established on the Mexican side that later became part of New Mexico Territory in 1854 and then Arizona Territory in 1863.

At about the same time, a cluster of adobe buildings took shape on the high ground across the river from the fort. With the arrival of a U.S. Post Office in 1858, this fledgling settlement took the name Arizona City. Jaeger City and Colorado City were devastated by a flood in January of 1862, and only Colorado City was rebuilt. Due to its elevated position, Arizona City escaped the floodwaters and eventually grew to subsume Colorado City. Arizona City was formally incorporated in 1871, and the community renamed itself "Yuma" in 1873.

Due to its strategic location along the lower Colorado River, Yuma quickly became a transportation hub and economic center that supplied services to burgeoning population centers in Tucson and San Diego. The Quechan continued to farm the fertile bottomland along the Colorado, but some took jobs as low-wage laborers in the surrounding towns (Bee 1983:94, 1989:54-55; Walker 1872:58). Although pressured by government officials to relocate to the new Colorado River Indian Reservation in the mid-1860s, the Quechan refused (Walker 1872:58), opting instead to continue their traditional lifestyles as best as possible as they witnessed the continued coopting of their traditional lands by Anglo settlers.

The Fort Yuma Indian Reservation

With the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1877, Fort Yuma and the Yuma Quartermaster Depot were no longer needed for supplying the western military garrisons. Further, the Quechan had upheld their end of the truce, and government officials deemed them sufficiently pacified so that protection of Yuma Crossing and the surrounding Anglo community by the U.S. Army was no longer warranted (Bee 1989:55). Therefore, the U.S. Army decommissioned Fort Yuma in May 1883. On 6 July 1883, President Chester A. Arthur issued an executive order to establish a reservation for the Quechan northeast of the Colorado-Gila confluence, in Arizona Territory (Kappler 1904:831-832).

Both Euro-American settlers and the Quechan opposed the location of this reservation, and on 9 January 1884, President Arthur issued a subsequent executive order that rescinded the earlier order. Rather than lying east of the Colorado, the new ex-

ecutive order transferred the abandoned Fort Yuma from the War Department to the Department of the Interior and mandated that it be "set apart as a reservation for the Yuma and such other Indians...to be used for Indian purposes" (Kappler 1904:832). At that time, only the Metvalcađum and the Blythe Group were living within the boundary of the new reservation, and for years, many Quechan continued to resist confinement on the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation (Bee 1989:57).

Although the reservation for the Quechan was established in California, the Department of the Interior placed it under the purview of the closest Indian Agency, the Colorado River Agency in Parker, Arizona. The distance between Parker and Yuma, however, was an administrative challenge for the agent, so he recommended a subagency be established at Fort Yuma. The Interior Department did not take his recommendation, but instead, placed the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation under the jurisdiction of the Mission Indian Agency in Colton, California, and equipped it in 1886, with a Catholic boarding school (Preston 1888). The boarding school was under contract to the Mission Agency, but the agent designated the school's superintendent, Mary O'Neil, as the disbursing agent, thereby vesting her with the responsibilities of an actual Indian Agent (Bee 1968:40-41). Fort Yuma became an independent Indian Agency in 1900, and with that change, the contract for the Catholic school was transferred to a government superintendent, J. S. Spear, who became the acting agent (Bee 1968:47-48) at the Fort Yuma Indian Agency. The Fort Yuma Agency once again became a subagency under the Colorado River Agency in 1935, and a year later, the administration of the school shifted from the federal government to the California State School System (Bee 1968:70-71).

A few years after the establishment of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation, the General Allotment Act of 1887 was passed by Congress, and it directed the federal government to divide reservations into individual plots to be given to each member of the tribe (Bee 1989:61). The act was marketed as a way to encourage individuals to farm more productively, believing that Indians would reap greater profits from personally owned plots than communally held land. In reality, however, the General Allotment Act was not benevolent, because it permitted the federal government to sell surplus reservation land after the allotments were finalized (Bee 1981:48-84).

In 1893, the Quechan were pressured into signing an agreement that allotted each member a five-acre parcel of land, and that permitted the government to surplus remaining tracts. The proceeds were intended to fund the development of an irrigation system for the allotted Quechan farms. The govern-

ment estimated that approximately 8,000 acres would be allotted, and over the ensuing years, many Quechan left their rancherías and moved to the reservation in anticipation of their allotments (Bee 1983:95, 1989:73). However, as noted, the Somerton group opted to stay put and filed for 40-acre homesteads rather than accept smaller allotments on the reservation.

In 1904, Congress passed a law that opened irrigable land on the Fort Yuma Reservation, in excess of the estimated 8,000 acres that would be allotted, to public auction (Bee 1989:77). The richest farm lands were subsequently sold by the government to local townspeople without consultation with the Quechan tribe, and by 1910, the most productive region, known as the Bard District, was owned entirely by non-Indians. The reservation was eventually partitioned into 812 allotments in 1912, with individuals granted 10 acres instead of the 5 acres as stipulated in the original agreement (Bee 1983:95). However, many Quechan were left with alkaline, unfertile lands, because all the prime reservation land was sold before tribal members were given the opportunity to choose an allotment. Those allotments, however, shrank into smaller and smaller parcels, because, as the allottees passed away, their holdings were often subdivided among their children. Over several generations, the tracts became so small and fragmented they could not be productively farmed by their owners or lessees (Bee 1989:84-85).

The Quechan tribe has long contended that their participation in the allotment of the Fort Yuma Reservation was based on deliberate misinformation and even fraudulent grounds (Bee 1968:23, 1983:95, 1989:64). The underhandedness of the 1904 provision that enabled the selling of prime reservation land before Quechan individuals were allowed to select allotments, as stipulated in the 1893 agreement, only exacerbated the distrust and animosity the Quechan tribe felt for federal policies that impact their communities. Since the 1912 allotment, and particularly after they were permitted to form their own tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1937, the Quechan have persistently lobbied for tribal reclamation of land that falls within the original reservation boundary.

For example, after a flood in 1920, the Colorado River followed a different channel to the east, leaving 4,572 acres of fertile farmland on the Island of La Santísima Trinidad on the west (California) side of the river. Because the Colorado River legally defined the reservation's eastern boundary, the tribe pressed to have the "Island" added to their reservation (Bee 1989:87-88). In 1960, the federal government offered to return a portion of the Island to the Quechan, but the tribal council saw it as an unjust compromise and refused it.

Tensions flared once more in 1973, when officials from Imperial County, California, negotiated lease agreements with nontribal parties for a portion of the original reservation land. Tribal leaders led protests that brought much needed national attention to the Quechan's recurrent land disputes with the government. Unlike the 1960 affair, the Quechan proved victorious in this dispute, when the government agreed to return 25,000 acres of the original reservation, including a portion of the newly created Island, to the tribe (Bee 1983:95, 1989:94-95). The transfer was finalized in 1978, when Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus approved the return. The Quechan continue, however, their struggle to reclaim rights to their traditional lands.

The Quechan tribe's loss of vast stretches of their traditional lands, first to the U.S. military and later to non-Indian settlers, occurred through force, duress, and coercive actions and not through a treaty of cessation (Forbes 1965:339). In spite of the sheer size, power, and, on occasion, brute force of various U.S. agencies and policies that have impacted the Quechan tribe, the Quechan have retained their tribal identity, many aspects of their traditional religion, and a rich oral culture (Bee 1989:102-103; Forbes 1965:340; Forde 1931:86). Their population, numbering around 4,000 in the eighteenth century, is on the rebound after a devastatingly low figure of about 1,000 in the late nineteenth century (Forbes 1965:Appendix I). The tribe is actively engaged in many cultural revitalization programs and projects that will ensure elements of traditional Quechan culture and language persist for future generations (see Bryant and Miller 2013, n.d.; Halpern 1997; Halpern and Miller 2014; Hinton and Watahomigie 1984), just as they have survived through nearly 250 years of attempted suppression on the part of colonial powers. The Quechan remain united in their efforts to direct the future of their tribal identity on their terms, part of which includes a continued connection to their traditional lands beyond the reservation boundary.

QUECHAN CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

Because Spanish and early U.S. government accounts often conflated the Quechan with other tribal groups along the lower Colorado River, thorough and accurate ethnographic and historical records pertaining to the Quechan are relatively few. Exacerbating this blurry view of traditional Quechan cultural practices is the fact that the two main ethnographic research projects conducted among the Quechan, those of Darryl Forde in 1928-1929 and Robert Bee in 1961 and 1966, postdate the establish-

ment of the reservation by at least 45 years and the total contraction of Quechan communities away from the lower Gila and onto the reservation by 25 years. Much of the cultural information shared with Forde and Bee that related to the presence of the Quechan along the lower Gila River derived from memories, and those memories were undoubtedly impacted, at least to some degree, by the persistent trauma the Quechan experienced through the processes of Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonization.

As Bee (1968:46) noted, the 1890–1900 period was a particularly tumultuous time for the Quechan. The establishment of the reservation, indoctrination by the attendant Catholic school (which chastised and punished children for engaging in traditional cultural practices), and the continued evangelizing efforts of Catholics and Methodists had wreaked havoc on the traditional Quechan lifestyle (Bee 1968:41–52). Values, customs, and practices tied to traditional Quechan politics, religion, kinship, economics, and settlement were deemed uncivilized and were targeted for eradication by U.S. policies.

In the context of extreme acculturative efforts over the past 235 years, especially in the last 150 years, it is remarkable that the Quechan, as a tribe and as a culture, persist. The effects on the traditional Quechan lifestyle have been substantial, however, and they were quite noticeable within the first two generations after the founding of the reservation and the Catholic school in the mid-1880s. Forde (1931:86, 88) commented:

This unusual degree of assimilation...resulted in rapid disappearance of native crafts, so that, although the sense of tribal solidarity is remarkably strong, American culture has penetrated deeply into their material life.

Although the greater part of their religion and non-material culture has been preserved up to the present time, American control and changed economic circumstances have extinguished their tribal organization, obliterated the old settlements, and above all, ended the constant warfare which they practiced.

Even though much information has been lost as a result of dislocation, time, and trauma, the Quechan still recognize historical and contemporary connections to the landscape and cultural resources along the lower Gila, and particularly around the Great Bend region. The following discussion elaborates those connections, as they are available through published sources, and augments them with recently acquired information that was shared through meetings and discussions with the Quechan Cultural Committee, cultural advisor Mr. Lorey Cachora, and the Quechan Tribal Council (Appendix B). Based on available information, the Quechan connection to the

Great Bend of the Gila revolves around five themes: (1) the Quechan creation account and ties to places on the landscape; (2) Quechan traditional territory and ancestral settlements; (3) trade relations and resource collection east of the Colorado River; (4) frequent raiding and warfare that brought the Quechan eastward and up the Gila River; and (5) continued identification with the ancient cultural sites and natural resources of the region.

Connection through Creation

The Quechan creation account demonstrates a familiarity and deep ancestral and spiritual connections with places east of the Colorado River. The history of Xanyé is telling in this regard. Xanyé, Kukumat's daughter, was the sister of Kumastamxó, the culture hero of Quechan oral tradition. As discussed, in her fright and guilt, Xanyé, who brought about her father's demise in retaliation for defiling her, burrowed into the ground. She subsequently arose in four places, the last being near Blackwater, Arizona, nearly 320 km east of the Colorado-Gila confluence and beyond the Great Bend of the Gila. There, she turned to stone and became a mountain, Avixanvé (see Figure 5.1). Xanyé's final stop near Blackwater, far to the east, links the Quechan, both spiritually and physically through history, to a region far beyond the stretch of lands occupied by the Quechan as described by Spanish and American chroniclers.

The part of the Quechan creation account relating to Kukumat's death ties the Quechan specifically to the Great Bend of the Gila. According to the account, the people intended to cremate Kukumat's body to prevent Coyote from stealing his heart. However, they first had to distract Coyote to perform the cremation. To do so, they sent him eastward in search of fire. Early published versions of this account (Curtis 1909; Harrington 1908; Trippel 1889b:2–4) do not specify where Coyote went to find fire, but after he returned and succeeded in snatching Kukumat's heart, Coyote again ran east to the land of the Pee-Posh. The Great Bend of the Gila is the land of the Pee-Posh. Cachora (2015:xvii) states that Coyote went to the Gila Bend Mountains, and then a bit farther to the Salt-Gila confluence where he ate the heart. The Gila Bend Mountains are the geological uplift that forces the Gila River to turn south, thereby creating the Great Bend.

Connection through Traditional Lands

The core of the Quechan landscape centers around the confluence of the Gila and Colorado riv-

ers, some 120 km west of the Great Bend of the Gila. However, as noted, the range of Quechan rancherías has shifted through time. Most researchers agree that, based on Spanish accounts from 1775 (Bolton 1930c:67) and 1781 (Priestley 1913:141), Quechan settlements once extended up the Gila perhaps as far as 32 km above the confluence, just east of the Gila Mountains, and somewhere between the ghost town of Gila City and modern-day Wellton (Castetter and Bell 1951:47-48; see also Hogan and Bischoff 2000:68; Trafzer 2012:200).

Indeed, the far end of the lower Gila was the location of several known historic Quechan rancherías (see Figure 5.2). One of these was Axakweḏexor, home to the Akyet Kuma 't ("Sunflowerseed Eaters") (Bee 1983:Figure 1, 1989:56; Cachora 2015:xviii), located within the 24-km-long stretch above the confluence. Axakweḏexor was visited by Father Kino in 1700 (Forbes 1965:120), and later by de Anza in 1774 (Forde 1931:100-101), making it one of the older Quechan rancherías for which historical records exist. The other ranchería was the late nineteenth and early twentieth century community referred to as the Townsend Group (Bee 1968:34-35), located several kilometers above the confluence as well, but on the south side of the Gila River. The agent with the Fort Yuma Indian Agency estimated that approximately 300 Quechan were living along the lower Gila in 1900, but by 1905, he counted only 69 Quechan residing in Arizona, most having moved to the reservation and a few having relocated to the Somerton area (Bee 1968:52-53).

Archival, historical, and archaeological sources have yet to unequivocally demonstrate that Quechan settlements once extended to any significant distance beyond where the river bends around the Gila Mountains. However, the lower Gila River is one of the least-explored archaeological regions in the Southwest (Wright et al. 2015:37-38), and the potential to find such settlements remains. The Quechan are sure of their ancestral presence along the lower Gila. Indeed, the tribe considers the whole of the lower Gila River was once part of their territory, and they believe ancestral settlements can be found throughout this region.

In recent discussion of the Great Bend of the Gila, members of the Quechan Cultural Committee noted the existence of ancestral habitation areas in the White Tanks region of the Tank Mountains, northwest of Sears Point. During a previous consultation regarding Sears Point, Quechan elders shared that their territory once stretched from Avikwaamé to Baja California, Mexico, and from Palm Springs to the Phoenix Basin, and that the Quechan moved widely about this area in the past (Underwood 2009:50). According to Cachora (2015:xviii), Quechan communities and their neighbors comprised a Native Gila River corridor that extended to the river's

eastern reach. "[T]he Gila River and adjacent geological features have served as landmarks and comprise part of the ancient Quechan homeland" (Cachora 2015:xviii).

Connection through Trade and Resource Collection

Although the distribution of Quechan settlements contracted to around the Colorado-Gila confluence at some point in the fairly recent past, the Quechan continued to venture east and up the Gila River on a regular basis, to collect tool stone and other resources. For example, Cremony (1868:145-146) encountered a group of some 30 Quechan men at Antelope Hill, about 25 km upstream of the Gila Mountains and 65 km downstream from Sears Point. The men, who Cremony described as "warriors," were there to collect sandstone slabs for making metates (*axpés*). He noted that, because this was the closest suitable source of material for making ground stone implements, the Quechan from the area of the confluence would come each year to quarry new stones (Cremony 1868:146). The tradition persisted for some time. In the late 1920s, Steven Kelly shared that even into recent times, the Quechan regularly visited Antelope Hill to collect rock slabs for metates (Forde 1931:102).

Quechan hunters also traveled east of the Colorado River to hunt deer (*akwák*), antelope (*moül*), and mountain sheep (*amó*) in the Dome Rock and Castle Dome mountains (Forde 1931:118). The vicinity of Castle Dome Landing was also a meeting place where Quechan traders exchanged dried pumpkin (*axmáta*), watermelons (*tsuméto nya*), maize (*tāḏi' ts*), and various beans (*axma*, *amaḏotar*, and *marék*) for animal skins, baskets, and agave from Tolkapaya allies (Gifford 1936:253-254). The Quechan likely traveled even farther east and upstream from the confluence in pursuit of other resources. Indeed, Cachora (2015:xviii) wrote that the Quechan traveled up the Native Gila Corridor "for trading, exploiting resources, and reaching distant regions in Arizona."

Connection through Warfare

Warfare was an incessant element of the traditional Quechan social landscape, and the Quechan tribe has long maintained a reputation as a warrior society (Forbes 1965). According to Bee (1989:31), "Warfare was a tribal passion...[it] was a way to strengthen the tribe's spiritual power and at the same time demonstrate it to others." The Quechan make a distinction between tribal warfare and raiding (Forde 1931:164-165). A raiding party (*axwē' omán*, "waking the enemy") was usually a small, informally organized group of men who ventured into

enemy territories to plunder settlements and take captives. In contrast, a war party (*axwē' hayáog*, "going to the enemy") was a larger, more formal affair. War parties were organized by a *kʷanamí*, or someone aspiring to achieve that status, and they tended to engage enemy armies in highly ritualized pitched battles (Forde 1931:162). Quechan war parties were recognizable by the feathered staves (*áokwíl*) they carried into battle (*metápuí*) (Forde 1931:165, 265), and men sought scalps (*nyé'uđao*, "hair taken") of the enemy tribe's great warriors and war leaders as proof of their victory and valor (Forde 1931:165-166).

The catalysts that prompted the Quechan and other tribes along the lower Colorado River into frequent battle remain a matter of debate (Forbes 1965:76). Some suggest that food shortages were to blame, and that warfare enabled people to acquire more productive agricultural land to feed growing populations (Stone 1981; White 1974). Others have argued that the Spanish slave trade and a desire for horses on the part of various tribal groups fueled intertribal warfare on the frontier of New Spain, and that the Quechan, among many other tribes, were active participants (Dobyns et al. 1957; Forbes 1965:133-135). Forde (1931:168-170) specified that women and children were prime targets for raids against the Quechan's enemy neighbors, and the captives were often sold, bartered, or gambled away to Mexicans and other tribes.

Regardless of the causes, the scale and frequency of warfare along the lower Colorado River and surrounding areas necessitated an elaborate arrangement of social relationships among the numerous tribes throughout the region. For some groups, maintaining alliances was a constant balancing act, but historical records document two fairly stable alliances, or what Forbes (1965:80-81) considered "leagues," that united and divided tribes across what is now western Arizona and southern California.

The Quechan were at the center of one such league, and their allies included the Mojave, Kumeyaay, Yavapai, Chemehuevi, and at times, western O'odham groups including the Hia C'ed O'odham. The opposition league consisted of a core alliance between the Pee-Posh and Akimel O'odham, with the Xalychidom, Cocopah, Ivilyuqaletem, Paipai, Kiliwa, Walapai, Havasupai, and Tohono O'odham as firm allies. The Halyikwamai and Kohuana alternated their allegiance between leagues (Bean et al. 1978:Table 5-II).

Centuries of constant raiding and warfare molded the social and demographic landscapes along the lower Colorado and lower Gila rivers. It was this intertribal conflict that continually pushed groups of Yuman speakers up the lower Gila as they sought solace among their O'odham allies. The earliest groups include the Kaveltcadom some time prior to the eighteenth century, followed by the

Xalychidom, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai in the early nineteenth century (Ezell 1963; Spier 1933; also, see Chapter 4). As noted, beginning in the seventeenth century, the frequency and intensity of conflict and raiding increased in concert with the thriving slave trade among Spanish settlements (Bolton 1930c:102; Forbes 1965:77, 271). The fierceness of the conflict, particularly against the Pee-Posh, Akimel O'odham, Xalychidom, and Kohuana, likely exacerbated after 1782, in retaliation for their complicity and collusion with the Spaniards (Forbes 1965:79, 221).

The reciprocal warfare tactics practiced by the two leagues regularly brought large groups of warring Quechan and their allies up the Gila, into the Great Bend region and even farther, as they laid siege to communities aligned with the Pee-Posh-Akimel O'odham league. The conflict between the two sides was dramatic, ritualized, and recurrent (Spier 1933:160-179), so much so that it was practically continuous between 1839 and 1845 (Forbes 1965:290). Akimel O'odham and Pee-Posh chroniclers recorded some of the major battles on their calendar sticks, the earliest dating to 1833 (Table 5.3).

In the later part of that year, a warring party of Quechan attacked a Pee-Posh ranchería and took an unknown number of women captive. However, before they could cross the Gila on their return home, a group of retaliating Akimel O'odham warriors came upon the Quechan, and the captives were able to escape during the melee (Forbes 1965:255; Russell 1908:38). The last major battle between the two leagues occurred in 1857 (Kroeber and Fontana 1986), and according to one O'odham chronicler, this final assault was "the bloodiest fight known" (Russell 1908:47).

Memories and stories of persistent warfare between the Quechan and the Pee-Posh and Akimel O'odham remain strong to this day, and some of the cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila speak to this epic chapter of the Quechan past. For example, Quechan elders recall that a meeting between their tribe and the Pee-Posh was once held near Sears Point to discuss the boundary between the respective tribes' lands (Underwood 2009:50). Sears Point was identified as the dividing line, with Quechan lands to the west and Pee-Posh lands to the east. The Quechan elders affirmed a marker at Sears Point that grounds this truce onto the land, and that there may be a petroglyph or geoglyph among the rocks depicting the agreement.

Connection through Cultural Resources

With the potential truce marker at Sears Point being one case, the Quechan identify culturally and ancestrally with the multiple types of cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila. Regarding

Table 5.3. Quechan-Pee-Posh battles recorded in calendar sticks, 1833-1857.

Date	Event	Source
Late 1833	Quechan raid a Pee-Posh village; women taken captive but later escaped	Russell (1908:38)
1841/1842	Pee-Posh and one Akimel O'odham march to Quechan villages; pitched battle ensues	Russell (1908:40-41)
1842	Quechan war party, accompanied by some Tolkaypaya, march on a Pee-Posh village; pitched battle ensues	Russell (1908:41)
1843/1844	Large group of Quechan lead summer raid on Pee-Posh and Akimel O'odham	Russell (1908:42)
1844/1845	Quechan and Mojave lead assault on Pee-Posh village	Russell (1908:42)
1848	Pee-Posh travel to Quechan villages for battle	Spier (1933:140)
1850/1851	Quechan lead surprise attack on Pee-Posh village; O'odham retaliate, killing 134	Russell (1908:44-45)
Late 1857	Quechan, Mojave, and possibly other tribes lead massive campaign against the Pee-Posh and O'odham near Maricopa Wells; hundreds involved and scores killed	Russell (1908:46-47); Spier (1933:140)

the countless trails and numerous petroglyphs, in previous consultations, Quechan cultural advisors recognized this region as a place through which numerous people, Quechan and non-Quechan alike, traveled. For them, this is apparent in the diversity of petroglyphs, and their likeness with designs far to the south, in Mexico and South America (Underwood 2009:49). The number of glyphs at these places may serve as a proxy for the number of people who traveled through the area and visited these sites (Underwood 2009:50). Mr. Cachora shared that petroglyphs are a way for the Quechan to acknowledge their ancestors. Petroglyphs "are records, they are records of truth," said Mr. Cachora, and they are what "tribes pass on to future generations."

Evidence of Quechan movement through the Great Bend region is clearly preserved in the trails (see Appendix Figures D.5-D.6, D.13). Many people used these trails to visit the Quechan, and the Quechan traveled these trails to reach distant places (Trafzer 2012:195; Underwood 2009:50). While visiting trails at Sears Point, a Quechan elder recalled how his family's community, far to the north, had been destroyed long ago, and his ancestors traveled south over such trails before joining the Quechan rancherías near the Colorado-Gila confluence (Underwood 2009:50).

Trails are deeply ingrained in Quechan cultural identity. The origin account specifically identifies the Quechan with a sacred trail, the Xá-m Kwacá-n, that descends Avikwaamé. The trails connect all the petroglyph sites, extend far into California and Mexico, and thus, link the Quechan to these far-off places and sites of spiritual importance, including Avikwaamé. The physical trails themselves are sacred, because they are the same routes the shumaak

(Quechan dreamers) travel during spiritual dreams to reach Avikwaamé (Cachora 1994:14).

As the example with trails demonstrates, the Quechan relationship with the cultural resources along the Great Bend transcends ancestry and tribal history and assumes a highly spiritual dimension. Sacred locations, such as Sears Point, were the sites of spiritual ceremonies and vision quests, where people would sketch their visions on the rocks (Underwood 2009:50-51). While Quechan spirituality cannot be explained, only learned over time, cultural advisors have elaborated on how many of the cultural resources manifest and embody a spiritual power, and it is this spiritual essence that binds the people and the resources to the land (Trafzer 2012:122-129, 194-196; Underwood 2009:51). This spiritual power never dies, and it unites all the sites, as well as the people, animals, and river, into a cohesive sacred landscape that cannot be divided (Cleland 2008). "The people are all connected, as well as the rivers. This land and the people are all related," said Mr. Cachora. Ancestral sites offer the Quechan a connection to this spiritual power (Cachora 1994, 2000). Indeed, as Mr. Cachora recently related, areas such as Sears Point "are places of enlightenment and describe illumination."

QUECHAN PERCEPTIONS AND CONCERNS FOR A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA MONUMENT

The Quechan Cultural Committee and Tribal Council agree that the preservation of land and the natural and cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila is of great importance to the Quechan. The Quechan Cultural Committee sees a need for

heightened protection of this landscape and has already endorsed the establishment of the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (*Quechan News* 2016). The Fort Yuma Quechan Tribal Council followed suit by passing a tribal resolution on 19 July 2016, in support of the national monument effort (Appendix E).

The Quechan nation and the Quechan Cultural Committee view the efforts to establish a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument as a way to glue time back together. It honors the last pieces of wilderness for the purposes of educating people and enchanting every child. The Great Bend of the Gila is part of the story and history of our Quechan ancestors. It is a subject sometimes complicated to non-Indians, but we recognize this landscape as a dramatic portrait of life on the Gila Corridor (Cachora 2015:xviii-xix).

In recent discussions, Mr. Cachora emphasized that the artifacts, geoglyphs, and settlements along the Great Bend of the Gila “are all that’s left of our ancestors. This is how we connect to our past.” The Quechan consider the petroglyphs, in particular, as records of their tribe’s affairs (Appendix Figures D.2-D.4, D.7-D.11, D.20-D.21, D.25-D.27, D.29). Mr. Cachora explained that, even though the Quechan no longer make petroglyphs, it is important to preserve them because they hold crucial cultural information. “It is a responsibility of Quechan to continue to pass on information to their future generations...[so] we need to preserve these things,” he said. Councilman James Montague shared the same sentiment and perspective. “The petroglyphs are a database,” he said, and foresight should be used in managing them to ensure they are preserved for future generations. Councilman Montague emphasized that there is an immediate need for action. The urgency was echoed by Councilwoman Juliana Comet, who likened the continued non-Indian development of Quechan traditional lands to the widespread clear-cutting and devastating loss of the Amazonian rainforest. “We are losing our land...this is overwhelming,” she passionately remarked.

When discussing the purpose and significance of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, the Quechan Cultural Committee, as well as members of the Tribal Council, voiced mutual concerns over the proposed monument’s spatial scope and how it might be managed. In the Quechan perspective, everything within their traditional lands is connected, and placing boundaries on what is important or significant may not be practical in terms of comprehensive heritage management (Cleland 2008). For example, in reference to Antelope Hill, a prominent landform along the lower Gila west of the Great Bend area, Mr. Cachora (2000:79) has written the following:

Because the web of spirituality and power runs along paths of conductivity, all are connected; when there is a break in the web, it effects [sic] the entire cosmos. For this reason, although peaks are most important, the valleys between the peaks, and the desert pavements, are also important in that they are pathways for the web that must run through them from one peak to another.

This “web,” or interconnectedness between and through places, is not limited to landforms and archaeological properties. Although a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument would serve to celebrate the remarkable cultural resources found within this area, the meeting with the Quechan Cultural Committee revealed a profound concern for protecting the region’s flora and fauna as well. This is due, again, to the interconnectedness of the landscape and everything upon it—natural, material, and metaphysical—now and in the past. This position was similarly voiced in a previous consultation with Quechan cultural advisors about Sears Point:

Elders stated that the creatures, ecology, are important, they should be respected, they are all over. There are creatures in the petroglyphs, they are important since they are depicted. If the ecology and land are destroyed, the connections will be lost. Destruction of land/ecology will lead to loss of the tribes. The land will be totally ruined (Underwood 2009:51).

Mr. Cachora (2000:79) used a chemical recipe as a metaphor for how to conceptualize the Quechan sacred landscape. Each of the “resources,” whether they be topographic, cultural, biotic, aquatic, or geologic, are ingredients in a recipe. “When you’re missing an ingredient, you can’t finish the recipe.” Elsewhere, he described this connectivity as:

A web of continuity of power or spirituality connects these locations with other features on the landscape that may be less powerful, spiritually, but have their own importance in that the major focal points of the web (i.e., almost as nervous-system nuclei) are visible (Cachora 2000:79).

For the Quechan, the interconnectedness of their traditional lands requires the region be approached as a cohesive, holistic landscape, where impacts to places or beings ripple throughout the whole, just as energy vibrates through a web.

If you damage one thing you are damaging the whole body, it is an extension of the whole group of sites... Tribal people are still bound to these sites because of the spirits that are there... Those things... out there are important, you can’t damage them without damaging Quechan existence today. Even today, there is a connection there... Quechan

lives are still there. If the sites are destroyed, it is damaging to tribal people (Underwood 2009:50).

The vast geographic scope of interconnections across the traditional Quechan cultural landscape, and the near certainty that there are places and resources important to tribal people that are not readily apparent to land management agencies and cultural resource professionals, place obvious challenges on delineating areas that merit protection versus those that do not. Indeed, deciding what places should be preserved at the expense of others puts the Quechan tribe in a difficult position. In the view of Vice President Michael Jack, the Quechan “want the whole desert preserved as a monument. It’s hard for us to say we want only a piece to be a monument.”

In Mr. Cachora’s opinion, while the protection of the desert and all of Quechan traditional lands is important, the enormous obstacles to that goal do not preclude that segments of this larger area be preserved before there is nothing left to pass on to future generations. Understandably, this issue of scale awaits further consideration and discussion among tribal elders and leaders. For some, it is all or nothing, while for others, preserving something small is better than nothing at all.

In addition to scale, the Quechan Cultural Committee and Tribal Council hold reservations about how a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument would be managed. President Mike Jackson Sr. shared that the tribe’s primary worry is that monument designation will attract visitation, which they believe will lead to further deterioration of important archaeological sites, such as Sears Point. Manfred Scott, acting Chair of the Quechan Cultural Committee, offered Painted Rock Petroglyph Site and Campground as an example. Even though this important site has existing park infrastructure, as well as educational and informational kiosks, “no one is out there to monitor or supervise it,” Mr. Scott lamented. Consequently, vandalism continues despite the efforts of Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to manage visitation. Mr. Scott has informed BLM personnel of the situation and the tribe’s concerns, but from his perspective, nothing has been done to remedy the problem. Ernestine Noriega, a member of the Quechan Cultural Committee, recommended permitting as a way to manage visitation to sensitive archaeological sites, and Councilwoman Comet suggested the BLM could hire more rangers to patrol the area and put more emphasis on enforcing existing laws.

In line with Mr. Scott’s frustration over the management of Painted Rocks, there is a general consensus that the BLM and other federal agencies have not previously considered Quechan concerns (see Trafzer 2012:222-223), so they are unlikely to do so

now, let alone if and when a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument is established. Councilwoman Comet expressed that the BLM has done little to mitigate adverse effects to important cultural properties, and that the tribes have “big concerns” about the BLM. There is a history to the apprehension felt among Quechan elders concerning existing land management practices of the Great Bend region on the part of the BLM. When queried about how the BLM currently manages Sears Point, Quechan cultural advisors offered the following:

Higher level of respect must be given to these sites and landscapes. Not just when consultation is required, but as part of overall management of all traditional, native landscapes. Input into all aspects of management and preservation should be requested from tribes (Underwood 2009:52).

Mr. Cachora expressed that “tribes have seen that their concerns are a low priority for the U.S. nation.” In the context of the history of conflict with the U.S. Army, dealings with the various federal Indian Agencies and the establishment of the Fort Yuma Reservation, and the Quechan tribe’s continued efforts to reclaim lands unjustly taken from them (as reviewed above), Mr. Cachora’s words are perhaps an understatement.

While supportive of greater efforts and investment in protecting and preserving the cultural and natural landscape of the Great Bend of the Gila, specifically their endorsements for establishing a national monument, the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribal Council and Cultural Committee are uncertain about how a national monument would actually protect these places. They contend that involvement on the part of culturally and historically associated tribes is critical to the successful implementation of a national monument, and members of the Quechan Tribal Council and Cultural Committee have clearly expressed their desire to have a larger role in managing these important lands. Councilman Virgil Smith and others are particularly concerned about how associated tribes, not just the Quechan, can be involved in planning and management.

Echoing what cultural advisors had suggested regarding better management of Sears Point (Underwood 2009:53), Mr. Scott recommended collaboration as a way to engage the different tribes and to ensure that their interests are seriously considered and equally weighed as part of any future management of this area. The Quechan are clearly most concerned about the pragmatism of managing and the reality of protecting the Great Bend of the Gila. They understand that a national monument designation is a move in that direction, but preservation is of the utmost importance because it is critical to cultural continuity and survival. “These places

are vital,” emphasized Mr. Cachora. “They are very important to the health and well-being of our culture.”

NOTES

¹According to Lorey Cachora (personal communication 2016), Kweraák Kutár (“Old Man Sharing”) derives his name from the fact that he had the opportunity to share in the creation of the world with Kukumat, but he ultimately failed.

²Neither the account of Harrington (1908), nor the expanded version of Bryant and Miller (2013), detail the fate of the Quechan woman, and this entire component of the creation narrative is omitted in the versions published by Curtis (1909) and Trippel (1889b:2-4).

³Harrington (1908:340) described Amatkoxwítc as being near Mellen, Arizona (today known as Topock); however, Lorey Cachora (personal communication 2016) placed it farther south, a short distance northeast of Parker. Mr. Cachora also identified Avixan^é as a low rise northeast of Blackwater and a short distance west of Walker Butte (see Spier 1933:350; Trafzer 2012:62). This rise may very well be Twin Buttes along the southeast periphery of the San Tan Mountains, north of Coolidge, Arizona. Working from Joe Homer’s account, Harrington (1908:340) translated Avixan^é as “Frog Mountain” and sited it close to Tucson, perhaps Mount Lemmon in the Catalina Mountains.

⁴The location of Kukumat’s cremation is not specified in any of the published versions of the Quechan creation account. Trafzer (2012:64n.88) speculated it may have been at Avikwaamé, as in the Mojave version, or at Pilot Knob or a peak in the Muggins Mountains.

⁵Trafzer (2012:67-68, 76-78) placed Marxókavék’s cremation in the the Muggins Mountains. Working from contemporary interviews with Quechan cultural advisors Lorey Cachora and Barbary Levy, he further explained that Mokwintaórv is not a mountain (as in Joe Homer’s telling), but rather, is a large region east of the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers that encompasses the Muggins, Laguna, and Gila mountains.

⁶Bee (1989:13) suggested the name “Yuma” was ascribed to the Quechan by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. This is an apparent editorial error, because in a pre-

vious work, he correctly notes that “the earliest specific reference to the Quechan appeared in Spanish documents of the late seventeenth century” (Bee 1983:86). Indeed, there are only two documented sixteenth century encounters between Spaniards and the lower Colorado tribes, but evidence that “Yuma” derives from either account is lacking. Whereas the sea-faring Hernando de Alarcón likely traveled as far north as the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, if not farther, in 1540, he makes no specific mention of the Quechan nor uses the word “Yuma,” or anything akin to it, in his letter to the Viceroy of New Spain (Hakluyt 1600). Melchior Diaz traveled through this same region a few weeks or months after Alarcón, but due to his untimely death on the voyage, no first-hand documents of Diaz’s observances exist. While Broyles et al. (2012:71-73) believe Diaz encountered the Quechan, there is nothing to suggest Melchior Diaz was the source of “Yuma.”

⁷Quechan cultural advisors Lorey Cachora and Manfred Scott (personal communication 2016) suggested the “Yuma” may derive from the Spanish *fuma* (“smoke”), as the Spanish missionaries who approached the delta region must have seen the smoke of the large Quechan rancherías as they approached the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers.

⁸Kuruk translates as “bending,” and the ceremony is so named, because the manufacture of certain ceremonial accoutrements, such as the house, rattles, shields, and bows, requires the wood be bent into shape.

⁹According to Lorey Cachora (personal communication 2016), this village was also called Avi[’]kwotapai, after the mountain that rose above it. This may be a ranchería that was called Ahpehwêlyeve (“Groundstone”) by the Mojave (Kroeber 1951:143, Map 2; see also Gates 2012:40, 59).

¹⁰Bee (1983:Figure 10) points to the possibility that Pascual, as the new tribal leader, became a k[’]axót. As a traditional tribal leader, Quechan elders vetted and approved a k[’]axót by virtue of his dream power, but Pascual obtained his position through appointment by the U.S. government due to his sympathies for the objectives of the government. Based on his previous role as k[’]anamí, Pascual likely had charisma and traditional attributes worthy of leadership (Bee 1989:54), including some degree of dream power, but it is unlikely he was recognized as a true k[’]axót among the Quechan (Forde 1931:136n.131).

YAVAPAI

Contemporary Yavapai are associated with three federally recognized and politically independent tribes with reservations in west-central Arizona (Table 6.1). The Yavapai traditionally speak Upland Yuman, a sub-branch of Pai within the Yuman language family (Campbell 1997:127). Hualapai and Havasupai groups, who historically inhabited lands north and west of the Yavapai, also speak Upland Yuman, but with recognizable dialectical nuances (Biggs 1957; Kendall 1983; Winter 1957). Although Coder et al. (2006:7) and Hayden (1999:2.1) note that the Yavapai refer to themselves collectively as Abahjah (“People”), there is no indication they ever considered themselves to be one politically united group with a single overarching tribal name (Braatz 2003:36-38; Khera and Mariella 1983:47). Instead, the principal social groups with which the Yavapai identify, in addition to their reservations, are the Wipukpaya, Yavepe, Kewevkepaya, or Tolkapaya.¹ The Yavapai distinguish these four groups, or “subtribes,” by traditional territorial range and subtle linguistic nuances (Braatz 2003:38-39; Gifford 1932:177-178, 1936:248-251; Khera and Mariella 1983:38).

YAVAPAI ORIGINS

Yavapai creation accounts vary among storytellers and regional groups (Gifford 1933b), although they all follow a singular baseline narrative. The Yavapai believe that at the beginning of time, all living beings emerged from a hole in the center of Arizona’s Red Rock country (Curtis 1907:330; Gifford 1932:243, 1933b:349, 353n.1, 403, 1936:251; Gould 1921:319; Harrison et al. 2012:167-169; Hayden 1999:4.1; Ruland-Thorne 1993:1). Humans reached the hole by ascending either a tree or the first maize plant, and this place of emergence is identified today as Montezuma Well, near Camp Verde in Yavapai County (Braatz 2003:25-26). The Yavapai name for this place of emergence is Ahagaskiaywa (Harrison et al. 2012:168), although the Tolkapaya call it Hakeskaiva (“Breaking Up Water”) (Gifford 1933b:403-404, 1936:251).

According to the Yavapai origin story, we are in the fourth creation, or cycle, along a timeline in which cataclysmic events destroy successive worlds. The first world was underground, the place from where everything emerged. The second world was eradicated by fire, and flood destroyed the third world. A woman named Komwidapokuwia (“Old Lady White Stone”) survived destruction of the third

world by hiding in a log as the floodwaters washed away all the others. Komwidapokuwia opened herself to Sun and Cloud, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. This daughter was also impregnated by Sun and Cloud, and she birthed a son, whose name is both Skatakaamcha (“Lofty Wanderer”) and Amchitapuka (“First Man on Earth”), or Matinyaupakaamcha among the Tolkapaya. Skatakaamcha taught everyone how to live properly. People eventually quarreled and dispersed, but the Yavapai stayed near Ahagaskiaywa, the center of the world where everything emerged. This origin story emphasizes the timelessness, truth, and strength of the Yavapai’s connection to the places they have inhabited forever and the landscape in which they continue to live.

HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE YAVAPAI

As noted, the Yavapai do not recognize an inclusive tribal name, preferring to identify instead with the various regional subtribes or, most recently, their reservations. Indeed, “Yavapai” is a label applied to them by other tribes. The word is a derivation of Enyaéva Pai, a Yuman phrase that translates loosely as “East People” (Wares 1968:13), or “People of the Sun” (Gifford 1932:177; Henshaw 1910a:994). The neighboring Mojave, Quechan, and Pee-Posh, all Yuman speakers who have traditionally resided along the lower Colorado and lower Gila rivers west and south of the Yavapai’s territorial range, call the Yavapai “Yavapay,” “Ya-vapáy,” and “Yav’i-pay,” respectively.

The first Spanish rendition of the Yuman terminology appears as “Yabipai” in a 1774 journal entry of Spanish Franciscan friar and explorer Francisco Garcés (Bolton 1930a:381). Garcés, who was accompanying Captain Juan Bautista de Anza on a quest for an overland route between Spanish missions in Sonora and southern California, apparently adapted the name “Yabipai” from the lower Colorado River tribes he encountered as he moved northward from the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers. Members of some of these communities likely served as guides for Garcés’ party as they entered Yavapai lands. Prior to Garcés, Spanish chroniclers had routinely referred to the Yavapai as “Cruzados” after the crosses of cane they allegedly wore on their foreheads (see, for example, Bolton 1919a:27).

In the mid-1800s, around the time the United States annexed what is now Arizona through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and with the

Table 6.1. Contemporary Yavapai tribal distribution.

	2010 U.S. Enrollment ^a	Census ^b	Reservation Location	Size (Acres)	Establishment Dates
Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation					
	Circa 925	801	Former Fort McDowell (Fountain Hills)	Circa 24,680	1903
Yavapai-Apache Nation					
	Circa 3,300	1,427	Camp Verde, Middle Verde, Clarkdale, and Rimrock	Circa 635	1909, 1914, 1916, 1969
Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe					
	Circa 175	507	Former Fort Whipple (Prescott)	Circa 1,395	1935, 1956
Total	Circa 4,400	2,735		Circa 26,710	

^aAs reported by Harrison et al. (2012:89-90). Fort McDowell and Yavapai-Apache Nation data are from 2012; the Yavapai-Prescott data are from 2011.

^bData from U.S. Census Bureau (2013). The U.S. Census questionnaire asks respondents who identify as Native American to report the tribe in which they are enrolled or with whom they identify (Norris et al. 2012). Therefore, these figures represent the number of respondents who identify with each tribe regardless of their enrollment status.

Gadsden Purchase five years later in 1853, Euro-Americans began calling the Yavapai “Apache-Yumas” and “Apache-Mohaves” (see Bourke 1884:80; Corbusier 1886; Curtis 1908:103-106), a misapplication of the term “Apache” that evidently also started with Garcés in 1776 (Coues 1900:208). The misunderstanding may either have been due to what outsiders perceived as very similar cultural practices and lifestyles between the Athabaskan Apache and the Yavapai (Euler 1999:1.6; Gifford 1932:249; Khera and Mariella 1983:40; Stoffle et al. 2008:45), or simply that the term “Apache” was a synonym for “hostile or war-like” (Henshaw 1910a:994). Alternatively, due to phonetic similarities, Yavapai cultural advisors suggest “Apache” is a corrupted pronunciation of “Abahjah,” the Yavapai term for “People” (Hayden 1999:2.1-2.8).

This confusion was repeated and seemingly compounded by official U.S. government reports. For example, in an annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, Arizona Territorial Governor Charles Poston (1865:156) referred to the Yavapai as “a mongrel race of Indians...calling themselves Apache Mojaves.” The historical misconception that the Yavapai are Athabaskan Apache is an unfortunate distortion of Yavapai social identity.

YAVAPAI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Although there is a tendency for younger Yavapai to emphasize their membership in one of the three federally recognized tribes, some Yavapai continue to identify with the four subtribes that long predate the reservation system (Khera and Mariella 1983:38) (Figure 6.1; Table 6.2). The Wipukpaya (Northeastern Yavapai) centered themselves on the

upper Verde Valley and ranged from the Bradshaw Mountains to the San Francisco Peaks. Gifford (1932, 1936) documented a single regional band, the Wipukyipa (“People at the Foot of the Rocks”), among them. According to tribal elder Nellie Quail (1967), Wipukyipa also translates as “the Original Mountain People.” The Yavepe (Central Yavapai) occupied the canyons, valleys, and mountains around Prescott and Jerome. The Yavepe are whom Corbusier (1886) referred to as the “Apache-Mohave.” Gifford (1932, 1936) acknowledged two smaller regional groups within the Yavepe, the Yavepe proper and the Mat-haupapaya (Western Yavepe), each of which was composed of several bands.

The lower Verde Valley was central to the Kewevkepaya (Southeastern Yavapai), who ranged along a stretch of rugged country below the Mogollon Rim from the Bradshaws to the Pinal Mountains. The Wikedjasapa (“People of the Chopped-up Mountains”) and Walkamepa (“People of the Pine Mountains”) were two regional Kewevkepaya bands documented by Gifford (1932). The Tolkapaya (Western Yavapai) inhabited the largest, lowest, hottest, and driest territory, from the lower Colorado River to the Hassayampa River, and from the Bill Williams River to the lower Gila River. The Tolkapaya are Corbusier’s (1886) “Apache-Yuma.” The Hakehelapa (“People of the Running Water”), Haka-whatapa (“Red Water People”), and Hakupakapa (unknown translation) are three regional Tolkapaya bands described by Gifford (1936).

In addition to a particular subtribe, the Yavapai once identified themselves with smaller social groups, at geographic and social scales anthropologists tend to define as local and regional bands (Khera and Mariella 1983:47-48). Local Yavapai bands generally consisted of consanguineously and

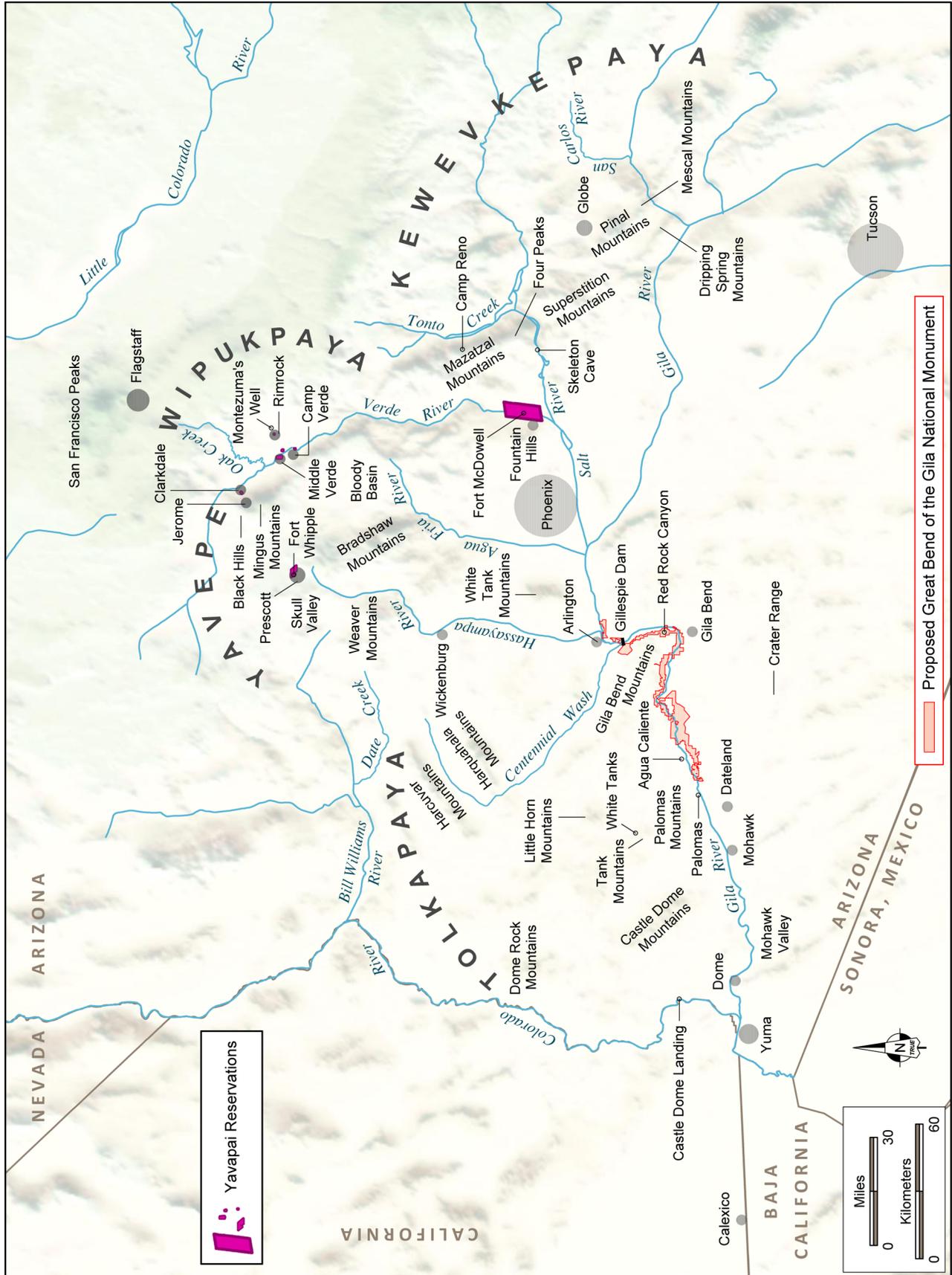


Figure 6.1. Yavapai reservations and places mentioned in the text. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

Table 6.2. Yavapai subtribes and regional bands documented by ethnographer Edward Winslow Gifford (1932, 1936).

Subtribe	Regional Band	Translation	Territory
Yavepe^a (Central Yavapai)			
Yavepe Proper	Walkeyanyepa Matkitwawipa (Matidipa) (Matkitkavavepa) (Matkoulvapa) Matkitorvapa (Matkitotwapa)	Pine Tableland People ? ? ? ? ? ?	Mingus Mountain (Jerome) Upper Verde Valley and its tributaries Southern Black Hills
Mat-haupapaya (Western Yavepe)	Wikutepa Wikenchapa (Wikanadjapa)	Granite Peak People Black Mountain People (Crown King People)	Northern Bradshaw Mountains (Prescott) Southern Bradshaw Mountains
Wipukpaya^a (Northeastern Yavapai)	Wipukyipa (Wipukupa)	People at the Foot of the Rocks	Red Rock country and Oak Creek Canyon
Kewevkepaya (Southeastern Yavapai)	Wikedjasapa Walkamepa	People of the Chopped-up Mountains People of the Pine Mountains	Mazatzal and Superstition mountains Pinal, Mescal, and Dripping Spring mountains
Tolkapaya (Western Yavapai)	Hakehelapa (Wiltakapaya) Haka-whatapa (Matakwarapa) Hakupakapa (Inyokapa)	People of the Running Water (People of the Two Mountains) Red Water People (People of Flat and Waterless Land) ? ?	Harquahala and Harcuvar mountains Lower Colorado River Castle Dome Mountains Weaver Mountains

Note: Parentheses denote alternate names, pronunciations, and translations.

^aGifford (1932) originally considered the Wipukpaya as the Northeastern Yavapai, omitting mention of the Yavepe altogether. He later described the Wipukpaya as a band under the Yavepe, and referred to the Yavepe as the Northeastern Yavapai (Gifford 1936). Instead of a band, most modern scholarship considers the Wipukpaya to be a distinct subtribe. Accordingly, the Yavepe are generally considered the Central Yavapai and the Wipukpaya the Northeastern Yavapai. Gifford (1936) also identified two groups within the Yavepe above the level of the band, the Yavepe proper and the western Yavepe (Mat-haupapaya). There is very little mention of this distinction within modern scholarship.

affinally related members of extended families who would convene at winter camps (Braatz 2003:36-37; Khera and Mariella 1983:47).² Gifford (1936:254, 297) noted that up to 10 families were known to camp and travel together. Because local bands were composed largely of extended families, and because kin exogamy was strongly encouraged, if not strictly enforced (Gifford 1932:189-195, 1936:296-297; Harrison et al. 2012:344-345), spouses were sought from outside the immediate group. Kin exogamy kept band membership fluid and tied different groups along familial lines. This promoted a flexible system of band membership and permitted families and individuals to splinter and join other bands in which they had relatives (Gifford 1932:189).

Traditional Yavapai leadership consisted of unofficial headmen who gained their roles through success in combat, charisma, and wisdom (Braatz 1999), and their sway did not extend beyond the local band. Thus, the local band was the extent of political organization among the Yavapai. However, the Yavapai historically recognized regionally defined social distinctions above the level of the local band. Braatz (2003:38) considered these to be regional bands, the most complete record of which was documented by Gifford (1932, 1936) (see Table 6.2). Regional bands lacked formal modes of political and social organization, however, and had little apparent purpose other than to serve as regional categories for local bands (Braatz 2003:243n.38).

Given the Yavapai's wide territorial range over much of central and western Arizona, there is noticeable, regionally based dialectical variation in their grammar and diction (Kendall 1983:5-7). The Yavapai acknowledge and recognize regionally based linguistic differences among themselves, but they do not perceive such nuances as meaningful cultural distinctions. Indeed, as Kendall noted (1983:5), there is more dialectical diversity among the Yavapai than between Havasupai and Hualapai. Therefore, linguistic distinctions within Upland Yuman do not correspond with cultural or ethnic differences among people. Although the various subtribes exhibit nuances in language, custom, and diet, the Yavapai consider the similarities greater than the differences (Coder et al. 2006:7). What distinguishes the Yavapai from their linguistically related neighbors, and simultaneously ties the various reservations, subtribes, and bands together culturally as Abahjah, are shared histories, origin, kinship, and senses of place.

Yavapai Social Identity and a Sense of Place

Yavapai social identity has traditionally been defined predominantly, if not solely, by one's per-

sonal geography. The names of Yavapai bands and subtribal groups embed references to certain regions, landforms, and other natural features (see Table 6.2). Kin exogamy and the general freedom to move among bands meant that one's social identity was not fixed throughout their lifetime. However, in spite of the relatively lax organization and loose cohesion of Yavapai bands, subtribal identity was far less flexible. Association with either Wipukpaya, Yavepe, Kewevkepaya, or Tolkapaya derives through birth. Braatz (2003:39) suggested that, because one's birthplace is fixed, and because the Yavapai apparently rarely relocated beyond their subtribe's territorial range prior to their imprisonment at San Carlos, the subtribe is the primary reference for one's sociogeographical identity, and possibly why this level of identity endured while more flexible local and regional band organizations did not.

The landscape of one's personal geography is clearly critical to Yavapai identity at many levels. The use of geographical references as social identifiers, in the form of place-based names for subtribes and bands, shows how the Yavapai's connection to the landscape is deeply engrained in their social identities, histories, and sense of self. Personal geographies establish a Yavapai individual's relationship with the landscape and its environment. They define a person's affinity with historical and spiritually important events that occurred at certain places, and they situate Yavapai individuals in larger geographical and social worlds.

As shown, place is also the central theme in the creation stories that detail the origin of the Yavapai. Yavapai creation stories place them at the beginning and at the center of the world, and accordingly, as stewards for Ahagaskiywa, the most important place. The fact that the Yavapai continue to inhabit what they believe is the center of the world bridges material and spiritual truths, and it grounds the Yavapai to their traditional lands in a way that transcends history. This is why Yavapai traditional lands, while far more expansive than the lands allotted them under the current reservation system, are integral to the continuation of Yavapai social and cultural identity.

YAVAPAI TRADITIONAL LANDS AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

In their entirety, Yavapai traditional lands cover a vast, roughly triangular expanse of central and western Arizona, with vertices near the modern towns of Yuma, Flagstaff, and Globe (see Figure 6.1) (Braatz 2003:28; Corbusier 1886:276; Gifford 1932:177-188, 1936:247; Schroeder and Thomas 1974:122). This area measures approximately 52,000

km² and ranges from 200 to 8,000 ft in altitude (Gifford 1936:247). Because Yavapai traditional lands include a highly variable topography, a large diversity of natural resources and foodstuffs were available that enabled and encouraged a flexible subsistence pattern among the pre-reservation Yavapai.

Traditional Yavapai mobility consisted of an annual round synchronized to the seasonal availability of plant and animal resources, and yet, it was flexible enough to accommodate variable climatic conditions (Braatz 2003:28-34; Gifford 1932:206-213, 1936:254-264; Khera and Mariella 1983:45-47; Trafzer 2009:48-54). The annual rounds of traditional Yavapai groups were strategic and logistical, and they ensured that the Yavapai continually revisited places within their territorial range. This intimacy with their environment, and the repeated engagement with particular places on the landscape season after season and year after year, instilled, and continues to foster, a deep physical and spiritual connection with the land among the Yavapai.

While strategic collecting of wild resources comprised the bulk of Yavapai subsistence practices, farming, where feasible, was also part of their traditional lifestyle (Braatz 2003:32; Gifford 1932:214, 1936:248, 262-263; Harrison et al. 2012:211, 325-327; Khera and Mariella 1983:45-47; Trafzer 2009:40). Corn, beans, squash, and tobacco are among the crops the Yavapai commonly grew prior to Euro-American incursion into their traditional lands and implementation of the reservation system (Khera and Mariella 1983:46). The extent to which the Yavapai farmed likely varied with access to irrigable land, proximity to traditional enemy communities, availability of water, abundance of wild food resources, and custom.

Of the four Yavapai subtribes, the Tolkapaya may have had the greatest reliance on agriculture (Gifford 1936:263). The Tolkapaya territorial range was the lowest, hottest, and driest area of all Yavapai lands, so wild foodstuffs are less abundant here than elsewhere. For this reason, among others, the Tolkapaya supplemented their diet with agriculture more so than other Yavapai groups. Some Tolkapaya farmed the damp soils around water tanks and near riverbanks, the few places where agriculture was feasible (see Gifford 1936:263).

It is ironic that in the face of low and unpredictable yields of wild resources, which are due primarily to the region's xeric climate, the Tolkapaya turned to agriculture, a water-dependent subsistence practice, for a solution. Braatz (2003:33) refers to this as a "geographical paradox," but it is understandable in the context of the larger social world in which the Tolkapaya operated. The Tolkapaya periodically farmed within their territorial range, but they also obtained foodstuffs through other means. Histori-

cally, the Yavapai were known to have good relations with several other Yuman-speaking tribes residing along the lower Colorado River (Khera and Mariella 1983:40; White 1974), each of which practiced a fairly intensive style of floodwater irrigation agriculture (Castetter and Bell 1951). These social ties with more established agricultural communities enabled the Tolkapaya to trade wild resources for agricultural surpluses, and in some cases, led to opportunities for them to farm on foreign land (Braatz 2003:34).

The Tolkapaya have a long history of trade relations with Mojave (Makhava) communities on the western edge of their territorial range (Gifford 1936:254, 256, 298). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Tolkapaya traded with O'odham farmers along the lower Gila River between Gila Bend and Dome, and with the Quechan (Kichan) farther downstream near Castle Dome Landing (Gifford 1936:253-254). The Quechan acknowledged that their tribe was friendly with the Yavapai, and that they traded with the Tolkapaya in exchange for animal skins (Forde 1931:105, 126). The Yavapai also reportedly traded baskets and agave (*biyel*) with the Quechan in exchange for corn (*tiyach*), beans (*marika*), dried pumpkins (*hamte*), and watermelons (*komto*) (Gifford 1936:253-254). Tolkapaya farmers obtained some crop seed from Quechan farmers, and on occasion, they were even permitted to cultivate fields in the vicinity of Quechan territory (Gifford 1936:263). The Tolkapaya also planted a certain species of wild grass (*ikete*) (Gifford 1936:263), a cultivar known as *akata'i* among the Quechan and Mojave (Forde 1931:113).

Gifford (1936:253, 297) reported on intermarriage between the Yavapai and Quechan, underscoring the extent to which these two tribes were "firm friends (*niwaha* [italics added])." The friendly, mutually beneficial relationship between the Tolkapaya and Quechan has considerable historical depth. For example, during his stay among the Quechan in the mid-1770s, Francisco Garcés was told that the Yavapai were "old friends" (Coues 1900:108), and that they would visit the Quechan villages for an annual winter feast and dance (see also Bolton 1930b:343-344).

The Tolkapaya were not always on good terms with their other neighbors. Historical relations with the Cocopah (Kwikapa), who traditionally and currently reside along the Colorado River below the Quechan, are less clear, but appear to have involved periodic disagreements. Whereas Gifford (1933a:262, 299, 1936:253) explained that the Cocopah and Yavapai consider each other warring enemies, Khera and Mariella (1983:40) cite several Cocopah families with ancestral ties to the Tolkapaya. This may be due to the Yavapai practice of banishing couples

who broke exogamy rules. Commenting on the practice, Yavapai elders Mike Harrison (1886–1983) and John Williams (1904–1983) stated:

Some of them they send away from here [Fort McDowell]. Down to Yuma some place. Let them go there. They don't come back no more. They live down there at the other side of Yuma. They call them *Kewevkepaya Hauyam*, "*Kewevkepaya*, water washed them away." That's what it means. There is now lots of them down there, but we don't know them any more [sic]. My friend, he is a Cocopah, he comes up here some time and he sees me. He told me, "There is lots of your tribe over there. They talk just like you" (Harrison et al. 2012:345).

Yavapai enmities continued in other directions, as well. Although Tolkapaya traditional lands stretch from the lower Gila River in the south to the Bill Williams River in the north, these riverine margins were sparsely inhabited by Tolkapaya in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These buffers were part of a defensive strategy on the part of the Tolkapaya (Gifford 1936:249; Harrison et al. 2012:57; Heider 1956:5), who were routinely at odds with Tohono O'odham (Hatba'maya), Akimel O'odham (Hatba), and Pee-Posh (Ichewa) farmers residing along the lower Gila, and Hualapai (Walpaya) and Havasupai (Havsuaapa) groups frequenting the valleys along the Bill Williams River (Gifford 1932:182, 1936:251; Harrison et al. 2012:212-220; Khera and Mariella 1983:40). While rare, outright conflicts were known to occur, and some Yavapai even allied themselves with the Quechan and Mojave during raids against the Pee-Posh (Gifford 1926:64, 1936:253, 303-305; Kroeber 1925:753; see also Table 5.3, this volume).

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATIONS

The Yavapai of today reside primarily on or around reservation lands in central Arizona as part of three federally recognized tribes: the Yavapai-Apache Nation, Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, and the Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe (see Figure 6.1; see Table 6.1). These reservations total approximately 26,710 acres, a small fraction (less than three one-thousandths, in fact) of the lands traditionally inhabited by the Yavapai. Although the spatial configuration of the three reservations corresponds loosely with the territorial ranges of three Yavapai subtribes, the reservations are not recognized as solely representing any one of them. Historical contingencies, which include an informal extermination policy, followed by a prolonged period of government-imposed exile, have influenced not only the location and size of the different reservations, but also the distribution of Yavapai subtribes among them.

The resiliency of Yavapai social identity is remarkable in light of the complicated history of subjugation and confinement to reservations by the U.S. government. The Yavapai had little contact with Euro-Americans until the 1860s, when discoveries of gold and copper in Arizona lured settlers and industry into what had long been traditional Yavapai lands. Although the Yavapai were willing to work with Anglo settlers to maintain control of enough of their traditional lands to support themselves, conflicts ensued as pressure on the region's limited resources mounted (Braatz 2003:82-100; Khera and Mariella 1983:40-41; Schroeder and Thomas 1974:12-18).

Seeking resolution to the turmoil, in 1864, some Tolkapaya agreed to join members of several other tribes in settling at a newly established Colorado River Indian Reservation (Braatz 2003:101; Khera and Mariella 1983:41; Ogle 1940:72). Designed to accommodate 10,000 people, the reservation was established by a Congressional act on 3 March 1865 (13 Stat. 559) (Farish 1916a:166-186; Kappler 1904:803). However, with the infrastructure soon underfunded, a community beleaguered by intertribal disagreements, a whooping cough epidemic, and ultimately, the murder of Quashackama, a Tolkapaya leader, many Yavapai walked away from the Colorado River Reservation to resume their traditional lifestyle (Braatz 2003:101-111; Farish 1916b:331; Feudge 1868:137).

The Wipukpaya and Kewevkepaya voiced similar interests in establishing reservations at Camp McDowell (established in 1865; renamed Fort McDowell in 1867) on the lower Verde River and Camp Reno (established in 1867) along Tonto Creek, but the government failed to meet their requests (Braatz 2003:113-119; Khera and Mariella 1983:41).

In light of the several failed attempts to provide the Yavapai with adequate allotments of land, on 9 November 1871, President Ulysses S. Grant penned an executive order establishing the Camp Verde Reservation in the middle of the Verde Valley (Braatz 2003:124; Kappler 1904:801-802, 811-812; Khera and Mariella 1983:41). Shortly thereafter, U.S. military policy under General George Crook gave the Yavapai an ultimatum: to willfully confine themselves to the Camp Verde Reservation or to be treated as hostile.

Thus began Crook's "Yavapai Wars," in which the army attempted to round up the Yavapai and forcefully relocate them to the reservation (Braatz 2003:137-143). This military campaign was an assault on the Yavapai who found reservations a poor substitute for their traditional territorial range and who opted to continue following their traditional lifestyle as best as possible. When found, the Yavapai rarely went willingly, and the Army retaliated with ruth-

less aggression, resulting in numerous assaults on Yavapai men, women, and children, including infamous massacres at places such as Bloody Basin, Date Creek, Skull Valley, and Skeleton Cave (see Figure 6.1). Crook's campaign failed to subjugate all the Yavapai, but by 1873, a significant number had been imprisoned at the Camp Verde Reservation.

In 1874, the military closed the Camp Verde Reservation and relocated its residents to the San Carlos Reservation (Braatz 2003:170-177). Although a small number of Kewevkepaya were already confined at San Carlos (which was established at the same time as the Camp Verde Reservation; see Kappler [1904:810-812]), it was primarily an Apache reservation, and it was located in a land foreign to most Yavapai. In the winter of 1875, the military forcibly marched the ill-supplied Yavapai at Camp Verde across nearly 290 km of rugged mountainous country. Some Yavapai managed to flee before the march, some escaped during the trek, but approximately 1,000 Yavapai ended up at San Carlos (Braatz 2003:177), and some 100 perished along their March of Tears (Corbusier 1969). On 23 April 1875, President Grant revoked and annulled the Camp Verde Reservation and remitted the lands to public domain (Kappler 1904:802).

Almost as soon as the Yavapai arrived at San Carlos, they began to lobby for the right to return to their homelands; some were able to sneak away. Nevertheless, the bulk of Yavapai prisoners remained and began to establish themselves alongside the Apache. By the late 1880s, after well over a decade of confinement among an alien people and in a foreign land, political sentiments began to shift in favor of the Yavapai. General Nelson Miles had replaced Crook as the commanding officer of the Department of Arizona, and he favored allowing the Yavapai to return to their traditional lands.

Miles began to develop a plan to alleviate suffering of the Yavapai, part of which consisted of allowing them to settle at Fort McDowell and Camp Verde, several of the old military installations in which they had been imprisoned prior to their March of Tears. These were places chosen by the Yavapai, because they were located within their traditional territory and the existing buildings and infrastructure would ease the process of building new communities. Euro-American settlers in these areas largely opposed Miles' plan, so action was slow.

In early 1891, large floods on the upper Gila and San Carlos rivers destroyed much of the farmland and canals on which the Yavapai at San Carlos relied. Needing new land, the Yavapai pressed Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Johnson, who had replaced General Miles, for authority to return west. Soon thereafter, Johnson began issuing passes that permitted the Yavapai to leave for up to a year. Many

never returned. This relatively open-door policy regarding the Yavapai imprisoned at San Carlos continued under subsequent commanding officers, and by 1902, those Yavapai who wished to leave had done so. After three decades of forced confinement, 27 years of which were spent at San Carlos, all but approximately 50 Yavapai returned to their homelands (Braatz 2003:212-213).

Even after a generation of alienation, Yavapai connections with their homeland remained strong and continued to influence and guide them. Most of the Yavapai who left San Carlos returned to locations in their subtribe's traditional lands (Braatz 2003:212; Khera and Mariella 1983:41). By 1903, nearly 200 Kewevkepaya had resettled near the defunct Fort McDowell, more than 500 Yavepe and Wipukpaya relocated in the middle and upper Verde River watershed and that of the adjacent upper Agua Fria River, and several hundred Tolkapaya had returned to the lower Gila and Hassayampa rivers (Braatz 2003:211-213). Life at San Carlos, however, had changed the traditional Yavapai lifestyle in some ways, principally, their economic practices. While at San Carlos, the Yavapai were forced to assume many aspects of the prevailing Euro-American economy, which on the Arizona frontier, consisted largely of farming, ranching, and mining. Consequently, many Yavapai adopted intensive agricultural practices to sustain themselves and to meet surplus demands imposed by the U.S. Army. They also found themselves raising livestock and taking on skilled trades as low-level entry points into the market economy that was pressed upon them (Braatz 2003:180-186).

During their exile, the best lands within the Yavapai traditional territory had been co-opted by Anglo and Mexican settlers and squatters. This left the returning Yavapai with little opportunity to own agriculturally viable land and, thus, prevented full self-sufficiency (Morris 1971:46). As a result, many Yavapai relied on the wage-labor practices they adopted at San Carlos as a way to support themselves after their confinement. At that time, no reservations were established for the Yavapai, and many resettled near Anglo communities, which had arisen in their traditional lands, where they could work for cash income and interact with local merchants.

During the San Carlos exile, a strong American demand for Yavapai baskets had developed (Braatz 2003:183), and many Yavapai women continued this craft economy among their post-confinement communities (Braatz 2003:214; James 1903). Yavapai men, women, and children worked numerous odd and labor-intensive jobs for local farmers and ranchers. Some found employment working in the mines and smelters, and others took work in road construc-

tion (Braatz 2003:214; Khera and Mariella 1983:41). To supplement their meager wages, some Yavapai continued to hunt and collect plant resources. Understandably, the cash-poor, landless Yavapai soon began pressing government officials for rights to their traditional lands.

Many Yavapai (mostly Kewevkepaya) resettled on and near the old Fort McDowell after the exodus from San Carlos began. The military officially abandoned Fort McDowell in 1890, at which time the land was transferred to the U.S. Department of the Interior, and it became the site of the Yavapai Indian Agency in 1891. In 1894, the undeveloped portions of old Fort McDowell, including some of the best farmland, were opened to Anglo and Mexican settlers (Coffeen 1972:349). This left the returning Yavapai with second-rate lands and few prospects at agricultural self-sufficiency. The Yavapai Indian Agency was well aware of the Yavapai's plight, and in 1901, the Department of the Interior even stipulated that the General Land Office make agriculturally viable lands available for the Yavapai at Fort McDowell (Alflen 2011:24). Unfortunately, objections by the local non-Indian settlers overshadowed these policies, as well as several legislative attempts in Congress to grant land to the Yavapai (Coffeen 1972:349).

It eventually required action by the White House to quell the social unrest at Fort McDowell and to begin addressing (albeit inadequately) the needs of the Yavapai. On 15 September 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt signed an executive order establishing the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation (Kappler 1913:667). This action allotted the unsold federal lands of the former Fort McDowell to the Yavapai. Over the following year, the U.S. government bought out the Anglo and Mexican settlers, thereby turning over the whole of old Fort McDowell to the Yavapai (Braatz 2003:218-220; Khera and Mariella 1983:42). Other Yavapai reservations soon followed.

In 1909 the government set aside a new 40-acre Camp Verde Indian Reservation for the Yavapai (mostly Wipukpaya and Yavepe) who had returned to the valleys of the upper Verde River after leaving San Carlos. Admittedly too small for the large Yavapai population of the middle and upper Verde Valley, in 1914 and 1916, a 248-acre Middle Verde Indian Reservation, 13 km west of Camp Verde, was created to accommodate approximately 400 Wipukpaya, Yavepe, and Tonto Apaches.

In 1937, three years after the Indian Reorganization Act, the Yavapai and Apache residing at the Camp Verde and Middle Verde reservations became a single, federally recognized sovereign Indian tribe known as the Yavapai and Apache Indian Community. In 1969, they reclaimed another 60 acres of their

traditional land near Clarkdale (Braatz 2003:221; Khera and Mariella 1983:43), and after revising their constitution in 1992, the tribe elected to rename themselves the Yavapai-Apache Nation.

Government officials believed that the Yavapai who settled farther west, after being freed from San Carlos, had fewer problems assimilating into the local Anglo and Mexican communities (Braatz 2003:221); therefore, it took longer for them to obtain reservation lands from the federal government. The abandoned Fort Whipple near Prescott was one of the destinations for early Yavapai escapees and returnees from San Carlos, most of whom were Yavepe whose traditional lands encompassed this region. On 7 June 1935, 75 acres of the former Fort Whipple military reserve were set aside in trust for Yavapai Indians (Kappler 1941:429), and another 1,320 acres were added on 18 May 1956 (Braatz 2003:221; Kappler 1971:729-730; Khera and Mariella 1983:44).

The post-San Carlos experience was quite different for many Tolkapaya, whose traditional lands encompass the lower Gila River between its confluences with the Hassayampa and Colorado rivers. About 50 Tolkapaya opted to stay at San Carlos, and some settled among the Kewevkepaya at Fort McDowell. Most, however, returned to communities along the lower Gila, Centennial Wash, and the Hassayampa River. Indeed, this sparsely inhabited and remote region of Yavapai territory had long been a refuge for the Tolkapaya evading Crook's Yavapai Wars and the subsequent trauma they endured. One significant advantage the Tolkapaya had that many other Yavapai did not have, was that Anglo and Mexican farmers actively recruited them as farm hands and laborers (Braatz 2003:199-201, 210-212). Quality labor was difficult to find in this harsh environment, and the Tolkapaya were willing to work for lower wages than Anglos and Mexicans.

Starting in the 1870s, plans for large-scale reclamation of irrigable land along the lower Gila took root, and by the 1890s, several major canal projects were in operation or under construction (Newell 1894:22-32; Southworth 1919; Wright et al. 2015:31-33). In exchange for digging the ditches, Tolkapaya laborers were granted water rights and took up farming (Braatz 2003:211). By 1900, sizable groups of Tolkapaya were farming and working among the frontier communities at Yuma, Palomas, Agua Caliente, Mohawk, Arlington, and Wickenburg (Bean et al. 1978:5-70-5-71; Gifford 1936:249, 251; James 1903) (see Figure 6.1). Of the four Yavapai subtribal groups, the Tolkapaya who returned to their homeland had the most ease in assimilating into the American economy, which is the primary reason a Tolkapaya reservation has never been proposed (Braatz 2003:221; Khera and Mariella 1983:42).

YAVAPAI CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

Based on existing records and recent interviews with cultural advisors from the Yavapai-Apache Nation (Y-AN), the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation (FMYN), and the Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe (Y-PIT) (Appendix B), the connection of the Yavapai, both historical and ongoing, to the Great Bend of the Gila is manifest in myriad ways. The most direct association is that the Great Bend is located squarely within the traditional lands of the Tolkapaya (see Figure 6.1). In fact, there may have once been Yavapai regional bands whose territories encompassed the Great Bend of the Gila. According to Linda Evans, a Tolkapaya member of Y-AN, a Yavapai group known as the Tokopaya once lived in this area. Other cultural advisors from Y-AN identified the Quevcapaya as another regional band associated with the Great Bend, and they asserted there was an ancient Yavapai group that was “the mother of both the Tokopaya and Quevcapaya.”

Although there was an apparent buffer zone between the Tolkapaya and O’odham and Pee-Posh farming communities along the lower Gila that seems to have limited Yavapai habitation in that area (Gifford 1936:249, 251; Harrison et al. 2012:57; Heider 1956:5), the Tolkapaya routinely ventured into the uplands along the river valleys in pursuit of certain wild resources. For example, the Tolkapaya gathered seeds of the ironwood tree at White Tanks (Hakimatava, “Water Clear”), an important water source in the north-central region of the Tank Mountains on the northern side of the Gila, north of the towns of Mohawk and Dateland (Gifford 1936:258) (see Figure 6.1). Gifford (1936:265) also reported that the Tolkapaya hunted *amu* (“mountain sheep”) at Helwate’ (“Big Rock”), at the north end of the Gila Bend Mountains. Hunters targeted fattened sheep, whose flesh was eaten and whose skins were used for blankets. These are just two examples shared with ethnographer Edward Gifford in the early twentieth century; such subsistence-related activities of the Tolkapaya likely occurred throughout the Great Bend of the Gila.

In addition to moving through the Great Bend of the Gila on their annual rounds, the trade and social relationships of the Yavapai with neighboring tribes kept them constantly circulating through the region. The Tolkapaya likely used the lower Gila River valley as a travel corridor to reach some of the lower Colorado River tribes. Linda Evans said the Tolkapaya regularly traded with the Mojave, Cocopah, Chemehuevi, and Paipai, and that some Tolkapaya frequently married members of the Mojave and Chemehuevi tribes (see also Gifford 1936:297).

According to Gifford (1936:253-254), Tolkapaya traders met the Quechan near Castle Dome Landing, on the lower Colorado River, where they exchanged baskets, skins, and agave for agricultural products. Agricultural products were also obtained from Tohono and Hia C’ed O’odham farmers along the lower Gila River. Agave was also traded to the Mojave, and shell beads were received from the Chemehuevi (Gifford 1936:254). Trail systems running north-south and east-west through the Great Bend of the Gila (Brown 1982:348; Stone 1991:36; Wright et al. 2015:52-55) kept the Yavapai, especially the Tolkapaya, connected with people and places south and west of their traditional lands (Trafzer 2009:77-81).

While the Gila River is recognized as the southern and southeastern boundary of traditional Tolkapaya lands (see Figure 6.1), the river and the inter-tribal boundary along it did not prevent pre-San Carlos Tolkapaya from using lands south of the Gila. Schroeder and Thomas (1974:54, 213-215, 410) noted that the Yavapai often crossed the Gila River along an 80-km-long stretch in the vicinity of the Great Bend (something he likened to a “highway”) as they traveled south into the Papaguería (see also Hayden 1999:Map 1).

Ongoing outreach and consultation with the Yavapai continues to show that their presence south of the Gila River was greater than previously thought and portrayed in territorial maps. For example, Molly Starr Fasthorse, a Tolkapaya elder from Fort McDowell, commented on the biannual movement of some Tolkapaya, who would spend summers in the uplands around Prescott and travel south into Mexico for the winter (Lucero 2000, cited in Underwood 2009:43). Similarly, Coder et al. (2006:24) report that the Abahjah, the ancestral Yavapai, regularly entered the land south of the Great Bend of the Gila on their seasonal round as they traded with southern neighbors and gathered specific resources (see also Hayden 1999:5.15).

There is also growing realization that some Yavapai once lived south of the Gila River. Coder et al. (2006:7) describe an extinct Yavapai subtribe, or regional band, the Mahtagwatapaya (“Red Dirt People”), whose territorial range stretched from Tucson to the desert south of Gila Bend³. Some Yavapai reoccupied this ancestral land in the 1870s, as they sought refuge from the federal government during the Camp Verde and San Carlos round-ups (Coder et al. 2006:24). According to Gordon Lewis, a member of Fort McDowell who identifies as Yavabe Inde Ba A, some Yavapai lived as far south as the Mexican states of Sonora and Baja California, and at large border towns such as Calexico.

The connection of the Yavapai to the Great Bend of the Gila persisted, perhaps even intensified, after

their exile at San Carlos. Many of the Tolkapaya who either fled or awaited formal release from San Carlos joined fledgling frontier towns along the Great Bend, where they were recruited as laborers to dig canals and work agricultural fields. For example, 20 to 30 Tolkapaya families were living at Palomas and Agua Caliente in 1903 (James 1903:147). Indeed, all five of the Tolkapaya interviewed by Gifford (1936:248-249) had once resided at Palomas, Agua Caliente, or Arlington after the San Carlos atrocity. Y-AN, Y-PIT, and FMYN cultural advisors commented that returning Tolkapaya settled in these regions because the land was good for farming, a practice they honed while at San Carlos.

While many of these small frontier communities are now ghost towns, contemporary Yavapai connections to them remain strong. For example, the great-grandfather of Gertrude Smith, Director of the Yavapai Cultural Office for Y-AN, once lived at Palomas, and the family of Frank Martinez, a respected Yavapai elder, were long-time residents of Arlington until moving to Fort McDowell. Bean et al. (1978:7-42) describe a historic Yavapai cemetery near Arlington that was used at least until the 1920s, showing that many Yavapai families have ties to this area and to the community.

Native American connections to their traditional lands are self-evident, clearly expressed, and constantly reified through memories, place names, and stories tied to landforms (see, for example, Basso 1996; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Winters 2012). The Yavapai relationship to their traditional lands is particularly strong:

Land, especially their own traditional land, is of such value to the Yavapai that Euro-Americans have difficulty comprehending the depth of cultural meaning involved. The Yavapai Holy Land is not a commodity to be bartered away. From the traditional perspective, land is the physical and symbolic context of the very existence of the Yavapai as a persistent people. With land, they can survive as Yavapai. Without land, they cannot (Bean et al. 1978:6-92).

Although the reservation system has resulted in greater physical distance between the contemporary Yavapai and large portions of their traditional lands, Yavapai names and stories about the Great Bend of the Gila keep their ancestral connections to particular places strong. Y-AN cultural advisors explained that the entirety of their traditional lands are a metaphor for the shared Yavapai idea that “life is strong.” As Reba Franco, Yavapai Cultural Resource Specialist for Y-AN, said, the Yavapai language is “in the land.” Traditionally, the Yavapai used names of landforms and regions as names for subtribes and bands, a practice that grounds Yavapai social iden-

tity to place and that gives them a unique cultural identity. As Ms. Franco said, “These places are what make us who we are; it’s our sovereignty. Otherwise we are just like everyone else. These are our legends.”

The Yavapai maintain names for many of the landforms along the Great Bend of the Gila. Gordon Lewis shared that, in order to learn the Yavapai language or culture, you have to know the land. “The Yavapai are from this land [around the Great Bend], and all the landforms have names,” he said. Prior consultations with Y-AN documented A Ha Kichikecha (“Little Water”) as the Yavapai name for the Gila River (Coder et al. 2006:18). According to Linda Evans, the Hassayampa River derives its name from a Tolkapaya word (*haseyamo*, cited in Gifford [1936:251]) meaning “water coming through.” The southeastern boundary of the Tolkapaya’s traditional lands was the confluence of the Hassayampa and Gila rivers, at the north end of the river’s Great Bend (see Figure 6.1). Gifford (1936:251) recorded Hasiyam (“Confluence”) as the Tolkapaya name for this region.

In addition to landforms, some archaeological sites have Yavapai names. Linda Evans shared that there are Yavapai names for some large petroglyphs sites, such as Painted Rocks. One of these is Wikinava (“Talking Rocks”), one of the largest petroglyph sites in Arizona located near the Gillespie Dam south of Arlington (Appendix Figures D.25-D.27). Likewise, Gifford (1936) recorded Hakinyur (“Petroglyph Water”) as the Yavapai name for the Palomas Mountains, a low range north of Dateland (see Figure 6.1), due to a deep tank there with perennial water and many petroglyphs.

Places along the Great Bend also remind contemporary Yavapai of their traditional lifeways. For example, Donna Nightpipe, a renowned Yavapai basketweaver and Clarkdale resident, described how seeing photographs of rockshelters in Red Rock Canyon in the Gila Bend Mountains (see Figure 6.1), brought back tales of how her grandmother lived in a cave before she was married (Appendix Figure D.19). “It was common for Yavapai to live in caves,” Donna said. Similarly, Reba Franco recalled a consultation trip for the Bureau of Land Management that brought Y-AN elders to Sears Point, a large petroglyph site at the western end of the Great Bend. When seeing a series of rock alignments that ascended from the valley floor to the mesa top, one of the Yavapai elders remembered her grandfather stopping at the hill during travels to leave prayers. According to Ms. Franco, the Yavapai are very spiritual people, and traditionally, all altars and places of prayer were located on mountaintops.

Ms. Franco’s account highlights the fact that the Yavapai relationship with the land transcends sub-

sistence-related practices and geolocational uses for landforms. As Trafzer (2009:19) learned recently, “Yavapai people consider their former lands to be sacred...because it is an ancient landscape to them where their *Pataya* or elders once lived,” and particular places and landforms within this broader ancestral landscape are considered especially important (see Trafzer 2009:64-84). For example, previous interviews with members of the Y-PIT and the FMYN singled out the Gila Bend Mountains as a particularly sacred locale (Bean et al. 1978:7-38).

Similarly, certain places are home to spiritual beings important in Yavapai history and religion, while other locales were sites of significant historical events recorded in the Yavapai creation account. Gifford (1932:237, 1936:252, 308) described how the Kewekpaya, Wipukpaya, and Yavepe traditionally believed that anthropomorphic spirits, called *akaka'*, resided in caves and some cliff ruins. *Akaka'* ate a wild fruit known as *akakama* (“*akaka'* food”), but they needed very little of it to survive. Although rarely seen, *akaka'* could be heard at night, and baby-sized footprints in the sand were evidence of their presence. Interactions with *akaka'* were the responsibility of traditional spiritual leaders who would summon them during curing rituals.

Traditionally, the Tolkapaya believed in similar other-than-human agents called *kakaka'* (Gifford 1936:308). *Kakaka'* were dwarf-like beings who flew from mountain to mountain, and like the *akaka'*, they were heard at night but seldom seen. A drumming sound attributed to the *kakaka'* was occasionally heard by women while collecting sumac berries. *Kakaka'* subsisted off a shrub called *kakakanipa*, and because they had power over deer, *kakaka'* occasionally aided hunters in finding prey. Like the *akaka'*, *kakaka'* were summoned by traditional spiritual leaders at night to assist in curing rituals. The Four Peaks (Wikedjasa) in the Mazatzal Mountains, as well as the Kofa Mountains (Wikasayeo), were the principal homes of the *kakaka'* (Gifford 1936:308), although they may also have resided in other mountainous places, such as volcanic caves in the Little Horn Mountains (Bean et al. 1978:7-36) (see Figure 6.1).

The belief that spiritual beings reside in mountainous areas around the Great Bend of the Gila continues among contemporary Yavapai (Trafzer 2009:67). For example, Linda Evans described how phoenixes once lived in caves in the Mohawk Valley, just downstream from the Great Bend. As another example, Gordon Lewis recounted how Crown Dancers reside in the White Tank Mountains, northeast of the Gila Bend Mountains (see Figure 6.1). Mr. Lewis explained that Yavapai Crown Dancers are simpler than Apache Crown Dancers, and he has

heard that the Apache got their Crown Dancers from the Yavapai.

Yavapai Crown Dancers came from the Four Peaks east of Phoenix. He said that clouds once formed over the Four Peaks and four bolts of lightning came down and struck each peak, after which four faceless people came out of the mountain where the lightning had struck. These were the Crown Dancers, and they assumed human form as they descended the mountains. On the way down, the Crown Dancers' toes turned upward from stubbing them on the rocks. Thus, one of the ways to recognize Yavapai depictions of Crown Dancers (as opposed to Apachean versions) is that their toes are bent upward.

Because places, principally mountains, within the traditional Yavapai landscape are inhabited by spiritual beings, they assume a degree of animacy for the Yavapai. Animistic relationships with one's environment are maintained through continuous engagement with the landscape (Bird David 1999; Descola and Pálsson 1996; Ingold 2011; Latour 2005). This dialectical relationship is apparent in Yavapai conceptions of the land. The Yavapai consider material and immaterial elements—mountains, plants, animals, sky, wind, color, stars, sun, and so forth—of the desert environment, particularly within their traditional lands, as part of their community (Trafzer 2009:17-18). As such, they are social actors with whom the Yavapai interact. For instance, as Gordon Lewis stated, “songs are in the mountains, and they'll come to you when you visit the places.” Moreover, Y-AN cultural advisors described that the spirit of the Crown Dancers is in the wind, it passes through the earth and through the bodies of humans. The Yavapai thus believe that these holy beings exist all around.

Yavapai connections to the Great Bend of the Gila are most emphatically demonstrated through the cultural resources that are physical evidence of an ancestral and historical Yavapai presence in the area. Petroglyphs, in particular, are of great cultural and spiritual importance to contemporary Yavapai. Y-AN cultural advisors shared that *bá-á* is the Yavapai word meaning “ancient people,” and it is used in reference to “those who made these ancient images” (note the phonetic similarity between *bá-á* and Abahjah). Gifford (1936:290) recorded *kinyuriki* (“to mark, to write”) as the Yavapai term applied to pictorial symbols, such as pictographs, petroglyphs, and moccasin designs, although there are inconsistencies in his portrayal of the Yavapai's connection to petroglyphs.

According to Gifford (1936:252), the Yavapai denounced authorship of any petroglyphs, preferring instead to attribute them to their predecessors,

the *Ickikiyuka* ("First People Doing"), who once resided in the stone ruins scattered throughout their traditional lands (see also Trafzer 2009:38). However, when remarking on the Tolkapaya, Gifford (1936:290) noted how younger Yavapai would peck out new designs in imitation of the older ones, albeit the ancient glyphs were allegedly not understood and their origin was unknown.

Y-AN cultural advisors remarked that the Yavapai consider petroglyphs as holy sites (see also Coder et al. 2006:18). Because petroglyphs are sacred to the Yavapai, there may have been some reticence on their part to share information with Gifford and other ethnographers, let alone ascribe authorship to any one person or group. According to Bean et al. (1978:6-92), "Yavapai religious beliefs are a private matter that should not be discussed any more than is necessary." It is not surprising, then, that the individuals interviewed by Gifford may not have been entirely forthcoming about their views on and knowledge of petroglyphs.

More recent interviews have cast a different light on the matter. Yavapai elder John Williams recounted that some of the petroglyphs near Montezuma Well are the signatures of Yavapai women (Quail 1967, cited in Kwiatkowski et al. 2012:210). Reba Franco shared that the ancestral Yavapai left petroglyphs as records of legends. According to Linda Evans, petroglyphs are "meaningful to the Yavapai. They are a part of prayer." She described further how the Painted Rock Petroglyph site was a historical place of prayer for the Tolkapaya. "Snake images are meaningful because medicine men use snakes. Medicine men still go to these places to pray," Ms. Evans said. Gordon Lewis detailed how the Yavapai performed the Crown Dance long ago, and it is read in the petroglyphs in the White Tank Mountains and at places along the Great Bend of the Gila. "Crown Dancers are evidence of the Yavapai," he said. "They [Crown Dancers] live by talking to the mountains and water."

Contemporary Yavapai contend that many of the petroglyphs along the Great Bend of the Gila are of Yavapai manufacture. Sylvia Wilson, a Tolkapaya resident of Clarkdale, shared that she once attended a fieldtrip to some petroglyphs sites near Arlington. The trip was led by Yavapai elder and long-time Arlington resident Frank Martinez, who identified many of the images as Yavapai in origin. The cross, in particular, is a sacred motif recognized as a tribal symbol among all Yavapai (Hayden 1999:3.4, 5.5). During previous consultations at Sears Point, elders from Y-AN recognized cross-like images as ancestral Yavapai symbols and evidence of their former presence at that place (Underwood 2009:63). When shown images of cross petroglyphs from Humming-

bird Point (Appendix Figure D.9), Gordon Lewis immediately recognized them as Yavapai symbols.

To the Yavapai, crosses indicate clan alliances and were depicted in tattoos and on baskets. Similarly, because the Yavapai are "People of the Sun," petroglyphs depicting suns at Sears Point are also considered Yavapai symbols (Underwood 2009:63). Mr. Lewis also noticed distinctive depictions of Yavapai Crown Dancers among the petroglyphs along the Great Bend. One set of glyphs from Quail Point, showing a Crown Dancer and a dog-like figure (Appendix Figure D.2), was rather telling, because, as Mr. Lewis elaborated, dogs are important in the Crown Dancer ceremony.

In addition to being Yavapai symbols, some petroglyphs found along the Great Bend of the Gila encode important cultural information, such as morals and stories, that can be recounted by the Yavapai to this day. For example, in looking at images from Quail Point, Mr. Lewis identified a Yavapai symbol that signifies "the lives of all things." This image appears as a circle, split into quadrants with a small circle in each quadrant (Appendix Figure D.3). "All lives matter," he said. "We're inside an eternal circle. The Yavapai territorial round was a large circle that encompassed much of Arizona." Similarly, when shown a petroglyph image of a bird at Hummingbird Point, Mr. Lewis recalled a Yavapai story of a giant bird that came and took people and placed them in a burden basket (Appendix Figure D.7). He believes the petroglyph may be depicting this story.

YAVAPAI PERCEPTIONS OF A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

When asked about the relevance of a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, cultural advisors from each of the tribes collectively agreed that a monument would benefit the Yavapai. Both the Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe and the Yavapai-Apache Nation have issued formal Letters of Support for the National Monument effort (see Appendix E). Although their three reservations are located at some distance to the north and east, the contemporary Yavapai recognize the Great Bend as part of their traditional lands. There is unanimous consensus among Yavapai cultural advisors that landforms and archaeological sites within the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument are important Yavapai places. "I know these are Yavapai," said Mr. Lewis. "These places should be protected." Mr. Lewis went on to explain that "it is critical to have this place preserved as a monument, and it is important for us to get our tribe out there so we can continue to teach our people."

To the Yavapai, the land and the cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila are links to their ancestors and, as such, are critical to the future of Yavapai culture. From Reba Franco's perspective, "it is important for the Yavapai to see these places and learn the symbols because these are what we carry forward in our crafts and other traditions we maintain today." According to Gordon Lewis, national monument status is important so people can visit the area and be educated about it. He went on to say, "if I had the money, I'd take everyone to visit these places, and we'd drum, sing, and teach others about the importance of these places and the cultural resources." Donna Nightpipe commented, "we should make it [the Great Bend area] a national monument now while elders are still around. They can teach the people why this landscape is important to the Yavapai." She added, "a national monument will contribute to cultural survival. All the tribes should get together to support the national monument designation."

NOTES

¹Consultations between the U.S. Air Force and the Yavapai-Apache Nation concerning tribal association with lands encompassed by the Barry M. Goldwater

Range East, just south of the Great Bend of the Gila, point to the possibility of a fifth, although "extinct," Yavapai band known as the Mahtagwatapaya ("Red Dirt People") (Coder et al. 2006). According to Coder et al. (2006:7), the territorial range of the Mahtagwatapaya stretched between Tucson and the Crater Range, but this band was either absorbed by other bands or tribes, or went extinct, in the mid- to late eighteenth century.

²Gifford (1932:189-195) reported on the existence of nine non-totemic, exogamous clans among the Kwevkepaya, although this characterization has been scrutinized by more recent scholarship (see Braatz 2003:242n.35; Khera and Mariella 1983:47-48). Apparently, Gifford (1932:189) translated the Yavapai word *tiyuiche* as "clan," even though he knew its literal translation is "relative." These social groups did not have specific terms for other members, did not follow rules of postmarital residence, and seemingly lacked origin tales, yet Gifford (1932) likened them to clans, because they consisted of families and they identified themselves with landforms and regions. Braatz (2003:242n.35) suggested Gifford (1932) used the word "clan" to refer to what would otherwise be congruous with local Yavapai bands. Alternatively, the Kwevkepaya, who have strong historical ties with the Western Apache, may have been influenced by the Apachean clan system, especially so after their shared experiences at San Carlos in the late nineteenth century (Braatz 2003:24n.35; Gifford 1932:190; Khera and Mariella 1983:48).

³See note 1.

ZUNI

The Zuni are a Puebloan people who reside predominantly in west-central New Mexico along the Arizona border. Zuni people refer to themselves and their ancestors as A:shiwí (plural for “flesh” and translated as “the people”) and to their traditional homeland as Shiwinnaqin (“At the People”) (Curtis 1926:85n.1; Hodge 1910b:1016; Stevenson 1904:24n.a). The term “Zuñi” first appeared in Hernán Gallego’s chronicle of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado entrada of 1581-1582 (Hammond and Rey 1966:137). Curtis (1926:85n.1; see also Hodge 1910b:1016) contends that the name derives from the Keres “Súñi,” which he suggests is an adaptation of the Tewa *súnyú*, meaning “rock slide for children.” It is arguably just as plausible it is a Spanish phonetic rendition of a Zuni word, perhaps *shiwí* (singular for “flesh” or “person”). Zuni Pueblo, the central and preeminent village on the Zuni Reservation, is the heart of the contemporary Zuni World. Zuni people refer to it as Halona:Itiwana, the “Middle Place,” because it lies at the center of the universe (Figure 7.1).

ZUNI ORIGINS

Zuni origins are recorded in the *Chimiky’ anakona penane*, the Zuni oral history of creation. The account details the emergence of the ancestral Zuni people (Ino:de:kwe or A:lashshina:we) within a canyon along the Colorado River, and their subsequent migrations to the Middle Place at Zuni Pueblo. Numerous versions of this Zuni creation narrative have been collected and published over the years (see, for example, Benedict 1935; Cushing 1896; Kroeber 1917; Parsons 1923, 1939; Stevenson 1904). These early ethnographers, most of whom were well-respected scholars at that time, took liberties to fill in perceived gaps in the cultural information they observed, or they infused Zuni oral narratives with conjectural anecdotes. Consequently, none of these previous versions offer an unadulterated and unbiased account of Zuni creation and history (Bunzel 1932a:547; Tedlock 1983:34-36). Additionally, because each religious society at Zuni (see below) maintains an origin and migration account particular to their order (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21), there is no single, comprehensive version of the *Chimiky’ anakona penane* known by all tribal members.

In an effort to remedy the errors and oversights of previous ethnographers, and to find concordance

among the origin stories of different religious societies, Ferguson and Hart (1985:21-24; also, Ferguson 2007) reconciled and synthesized prior published versions and newly acquired cultural information into a comprehensive ethnohistorical account of Zuni origins. Their narrative was written at the behest of, or under contract for, the Zuni Tribal Council, and it was reviewed and approved by Zuni religious and political leaders (Ferguson and Hart 1985:xi). A synopsis of the narrative they recorded follows.

According to Zuni oral history, Zuni ancestors were created within a fourth world, the innermost womb, and their gods and religious leaders led them on an arduous journey through a third, then second, and finally into a first world, that is, the present surface of the Earth (Figure 7.2). The Zuni emerged at Chimik’yana’kya Deya (“Place of Beginning”), a deep canyon somewhere along the Colorado River, but realized they were still far from their ultimate destination at Halona:Itiwana. In search of this “Middle Place,” the Zuni traveled from place to place, building villages, only to later uproot and continue their trek. Their migrations led them south, to Sunha:k’yabachu Yalanne (San Francisco Peaks), and from there to Kyawanahononnai (Little Colorado River).

While shuffling between locales along the Little Colorado River, they were given a choice of two eggs as gifts. One egg was plain and the other was covered in brightly colored blue splotches. One group chose the beautiful blue egg, and from it hatched a black raven. This group was destined to continue their search for the Middle Place. Instead of a raven, the plain egg bore a wonderfully colored parrot. The group who selected this plain egg broke from the other group and migrated far to the south, to the Land of Everlasting Sunshine, never to return. For this, they are known as I’nodekwe Wshimalde Dekyalenakwe Ahwakona (“Ancient Ones Who Journeyed to the Land of the Everlasting Sun”), a group Cushing (1896:405) referred to simply as the “Lost Others.”

The remaining Zuni continued their epic quest eastward but eventually branched into three groups (see Figure 7.2). A central group continued up the Little Colorado River to its confluence with the Zuni River. From there, they traveled to the canyon of Hanlibinkya, along Hardscrabble Wash, where the Zuni clans obtained their names. This central group then continued up the Zuni River, but at Heshoda

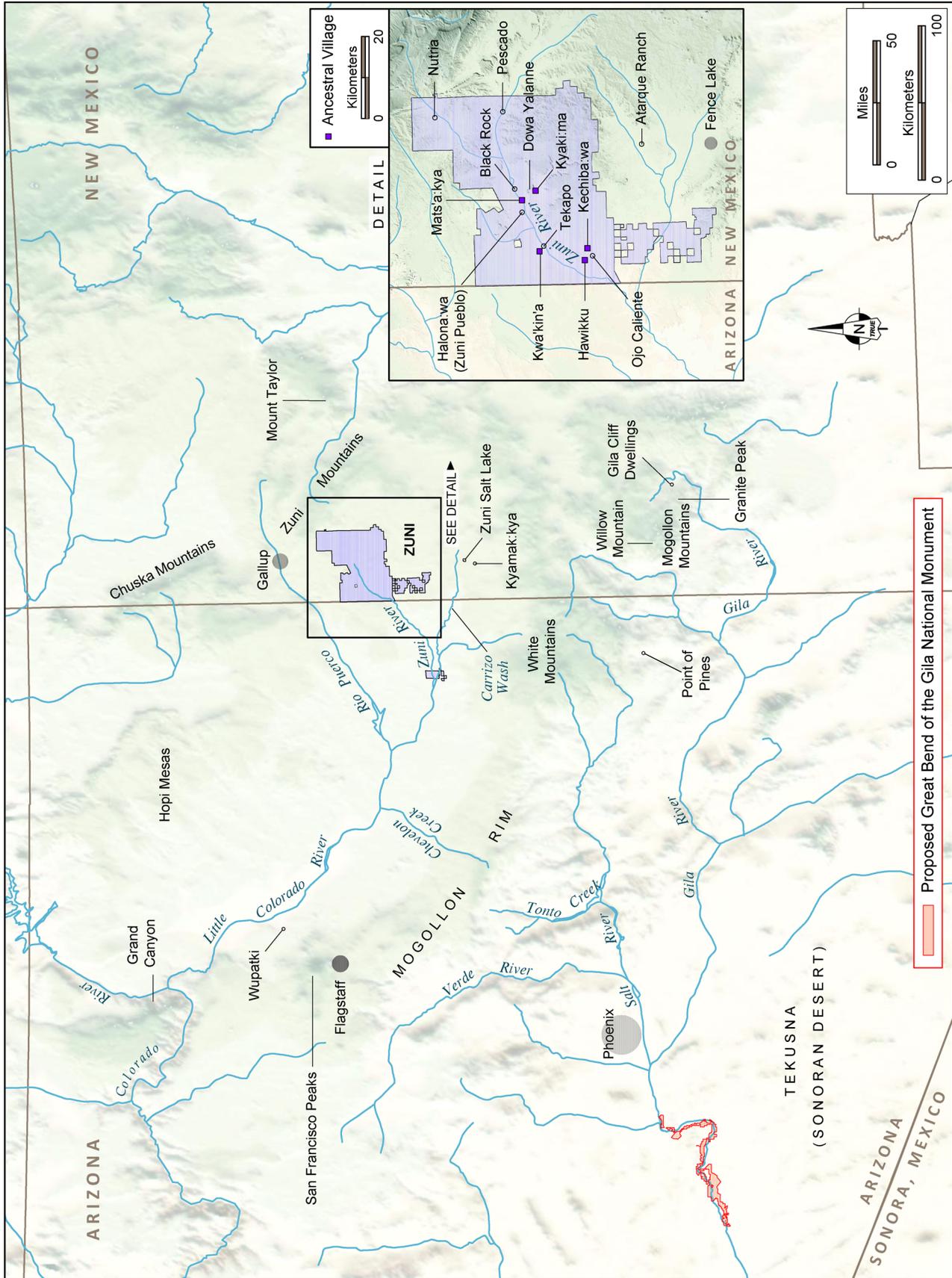


Figure 7.1. The Zuni Reservation and places mentioned in the text. (Figure by Catherine Gilman.)

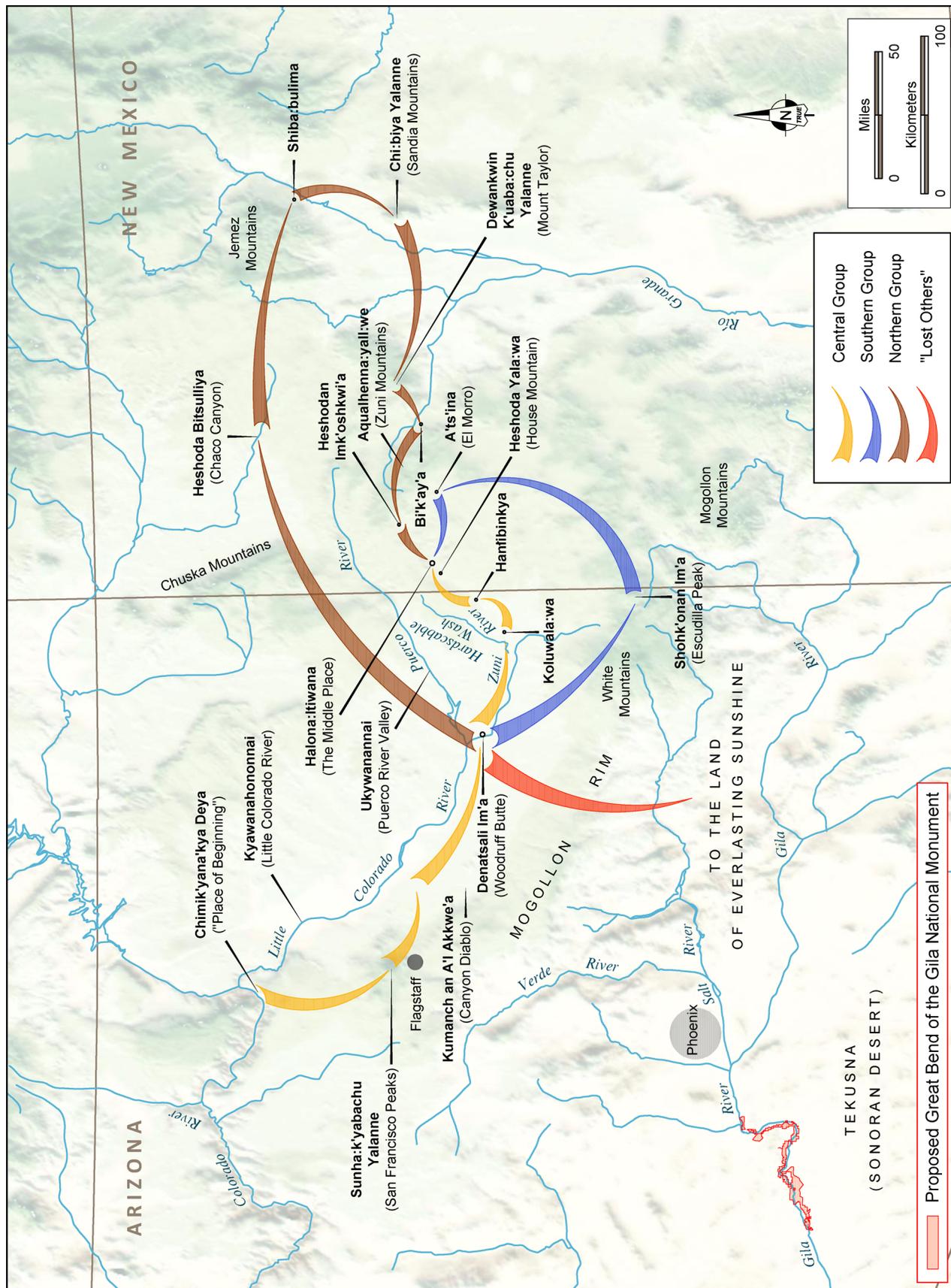


Figure 7.2. Schematic map of ancestral Zuni migrations from Chimik'ya'ya Deya to Halona:Itiwana. (Figure by Catherine Gilman; adapted from Ferguson and Hart [1985:Map 8]).

Yala:wa (House Mountain), they encountered the people of the Yellow Corn and a momentous battle erupted. The Zuni people retreated to Hanlibinkyá, where this time, the Sun Father created the Ahayu:da (the twin deities of war). The Ahayu:da led the Zuni people into battle against the people of the Yellow Corn, and this time, they prevailed. After a series of migrations between several villages in the Zuni River valley, a water spider called K'yhan'asdebi helped the Zuni people find Halona:Itiwana, their final destination. K'yhan'asdebi spread its legs to the oceans north, south, east, and west, as well as to the nadir and zenith. K'yhan'asdebi's heart thus marked Halona:Itiwana, the Middle Place between the six directions.

The migration routes of the other two groups were not as direct as that of the central group. A south-bound group traveled to the valley below Shohk'onan Im'a (Escudilla Peak) in the White Mountains, then turned northward and settled at Heshoda Yalt'a, a pueblo atop A'ts'ina (El Morro) in the Aqualhenna:yall:we (Zuni Mountains). After a respite there, they circled west and joined the central group, who had already settled at the Middle Place. A northern group ventured to Ukywanannai (the Puerco River valley), then to Heshoda Bitsulliya (Chaco Canyon) and on to Shiba:bulima along the eastern front of the Jemez Mountains. From there, they migrated south along the Rio Grande to the crest of Chi:biya Yalanne (Sandia Mountains), then veered west, first to Dewankwin K'uaba:chu Yalanne (Mount Taylor), then to the Zuni Mountains, and finally, onto the Middle Place.

When first encountered by Spaniards in 1539, the Zuni people resided in six large villages—Halona:wa, Hawikku, Kechiba:wa, Kwa'kin'a, Kyaki:ma, and Mats'a:kya—all within the watershed of the Zuni River (see Figure 7.1). Although situated at comparatively high elevations, these villages were placed on low rises alongside major drainages or springs. Such reliable water sources supported an agricultural lifestyle for centuries, and the Zuni people have long flourished in their mountainous homeland. Despite almost five centuries of sustained contact with Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial forces, Zuni Pueblo continues to thrive as a bustling agricultural community within the center of their traditional lands.

The population of Zuni Pueblo in 2010 was just over 6,300 people, 6,122 of whom identified as Native American (U.S. Census Bureau 2015). The Zuni Reservation hosts an even larger population; 11,218 respondents to the 2010 U.S. Census identified themselves as enrolled or traditionally associated with the Zuni Tribe (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Also, in spite of the near 500 years of contact with Europeans and a long period of conflict with surrounding

Navajo and Apache people, the Zuni have retained a remarkable degree of their traditional culture, including their language. The U.S. Census Bureau (2010) estimates there are between 8,400 and 10,000 speakers of Zuni, a figure close to the entire population of the Zuni Reservation.

TRADITIONAL SOCIORELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION OF ZUNI SOCIAL IDENTITY

Zuni social identity is grounded in an overarching socioreligious organization comprised of kinship, clans, kiva groups, curing societies, and priest-hoods. These five organizational subsystems are operationally independent, yet they work in tandem to meet the needs of the community and to regulate the power and influence of any one organizational subsystem (Eggan 1950; Ladd 1979). Zuni children are born into their kinship and clan organizations, which together, comprise the social organizational system of the community.

Zuni society is matrilineal, implying that familial descent is traced through the mother. Thus, at birth, children are ascribed membership in the mother's household and clan. The newborn is also considered a "child of" the father's clan, which has some influence on later responsibilities and allegiances; however, the child's loyalties lie most strongly with the mother's household and clan. Kinship and clan membership set the stage for a child's future social relations with other clans, and they delimit permissible marriage partners later in life. They also influence, dictate, and restrict which positions within the community's religious order are open to a child, which also determines their responsibilities within the religious system.

Zuni clans (*annoti:we*) are totemically named, exogamous groups (Eggan 1950:182), and several of the larger clans are divided into subclans. There are currently 14 Zuni clans (Table 7.1), although this number has fluctuated as some clans have gone extinct while some subclans have gained in numbers and risen to prominence as distinct clans. There were 16 clans during Cushing's (1896) studies in the 1880s, and Kroeber (1917) noted 15 a few decades later. Ladd (1979:495) observed that nine Zuni clans have gone extinct since 1896, but in that same period, the total number of clans had only diminished by a factor of two, presumably because some subclans assumed clan status.¹ According to Ferguson (1996:38-39), each clan is responsible for its own esoteric rituals, many of which are conducted within the household of, and thus under the purview of, the clan's matriarch.

Zuni religious organization is tripartite, consisting of one's membership in a kiva group, a curing

Table 7.1. Zuni clans and subclans.

Clan	Subclan	English Translation
Bitchi:kwe		Dogwood
	Kabitch:kwe	Twig Dogwood
	Mula:kwe	Macaw
K'yak'yali:kwe	K'walashi:kwe	Crow
	Boshkwe	Golden Eagle
	Ba'koha	Bald Eagle
Dona:kwe		Turkey
	Dona k'ohanna:kwe	White Turkey
Dowa:kwe	Dona k'winna:kwe	Black Turkey
		Corn
Yadokkya:kwe	Dowa kohanna:kwe	White Corn
	Dowa kwinni:kwe	Black Corn
Donashi:kwe		Sun
Dakya:kwe		Badger
K'olokda:kwe		Frog
Sanniya:kya-suski:kwe		Crane
Anshe:kwe		Coyote
Ana:kwe		Bear
Ayaho:kwe		Tobacco
Shohhi Da:kwe		Tansy Mustard
Boyyi:kwe		Deer
		Roadrunner

Note: Originally reported in Ladd (1979:Table 2); reviewed, corrected, and updated by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) on 7 March 2016.

Table 7.2. Zuni kiva groups.

Kiva Group	Direction	Color	Animal Symbol
He'i:kwe	North	Yellow	Mountain Lion
Chuba:kwe	South	Red	Badger
'ohe:kwe	East	White	Wolf
Mmuhe:kwe	West	Blue	Bear
He'kyaba:kwe	Nadir	Black	Mole
Uptsana:kwe	Zenith	Multicolored	Eagle

Note: Originally reported in Gonzalez (1966:2-3) and Ladd (1979:Table 1); reviewed, corrected, and updated by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) on 7 March 2016.

society, and a priesthood. There are six kiva groups (*'upa:we*) at Zuni (Bunzel 1932b:518-519, 1932c:877-878; Ladd 1979:484-485), each of which is responsible for its own ceremonial chamber (kiva), has its own internal leadership, and is associated with a color of ritual significance to Zuni religion (Table

7.2) (Ferguson 1996:39; Tedlock 1979:499). Combined, the kiva groups comprise a single, unified Kachina Society (Kotikanne), with its own set of officers with authority over communal endeavors. The Kachina Chief (Komoss'ona), Kachina Spokesman (Kopek^winne), and their attendant Kachina Bow Priests (Kopi'la siwani) oversee the Kachina Society (Tedlock 1979:502). With few exceptions, membership in a kiva group is restricted to males, who between ages 8 and 12 are initiated into a kiva group chosen by their mother or father. During initiation, the young men learn esoteric knowledge and are taught the responsibilities that come with adulthood. Kiva group membership is not permanent, and one is free to change membership for various reasons.

According to Ladd (1979:485) and Stevenson (1904:407-577), Zuni curing societies (*tika:we*) consist of the eight Societies of the Completed Path ('ona:ya:naka tika:we) and four other societies. In 2016, the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team shared that two of the other societies (Ko'shi:kwe and Łewe:kwe) were actually also Societies of the Completed Path (Table 7.3). However, they also

Table 7.3. Zuni curing societies.

Societies of the Completed Path		Other Societies	
Šiwana:kwe	(Priestly People)	Sanniya:kya	(Coyote Society)
De'dikkyana	(Clowns)	Shuma:kwe	(Helix People)
Halo:kwe	(Red Ant People)		
Uhuhu:kwe	(Uhuhu People)		
Chik'yali:kwe	(Snake Medicine People)		
Beshat'silo:kwe	(Bedbug People) [extinct]		
Makk'e łana:kwe	(Ember People)		
Makk'e c'ana:kwe	(Little Fire People) [extinct]		
Ko'shi:kwe	(Cholla Cactus People) [extinct]		
Łewe:kwe	(Sword People) [extinct]		

Note: Originally reported in Ladd (1979:Table 1) and Tedlock (1979:502-506); reviewed, corrected, and updated by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) on 7 March 2016.

noted that four of the curing societies are now extinct. Membership in the curing societies is open to males and females, but not every person is privy to membership. Each society specializes in the cures for a particular ailment, and thus, members of the curing societies hold vast amounts of mundane and esoteric knowledge on medicinal plants and remedies. Membership is obtained either by "choice," permitted after one is cured by a particular society, or "capture," as when caught trespassing during one of the society's rites. Membership is usually life-long, although people have been known to renounce it (Ladd 1979:485).

Zuni religious organization also includes Rain Priests (ʔa:siwani) and Bow Priests (ʔa:pi'ła ʔa:siwani). The Rain Priesthood is divided among six Daylight Priests (Tek ʔohannan ʔa:siwani), each of whom is associated with a direction, and 8 to 10 Night Priests (Tehkʷinan ʔa:siwani) (Table 7.4; compare [Ladd 1979:Table 1] and [Tedlock 1979:507]). Membership in a Rain Priesthood is open to males and females but is restricted by clan affiliation. Rain Priests are vested with divinatory agencies, and their services are sought when questions of relevance to the whole community arise. It is also the duty of the Rain Priests to commune with the ʔuwanammi for the betterment of everyone (Stevenson 1904:173-178; Tedlock 1979:506).

The ʔuwanammi are nonhuman Rain Priests of the six directions who materialize as precipitation (dew, fog, clouds, rain) (Bunzel 1932b:513). During the summer months, between the June solstice and September, the Rain Priests retreat into seclusion to contact the ʔuwanammi. The retreats are four or eight days long and run consecutively, starting with the Daylight Priests and following through with the Night Priests.

The Bow Priesthood (ʔa:pi'ła ʔa:siwani) is the executive arm of the religious hierarchy. Once consid-

ered leaders in war, protectors of the village, and mediators against witches (Eggan 1950:207-208), the roles of the Bow Priesthood today lie predominantly in ceremonial and ritual activities (Ferguson 1996:40). The Bow Priesthood includes an Elder and Younger Bow Priest and their assistants. The two Bow Priests, who represent the Twin War Gods (Ahayu:da and Matsaylima) in Zuni cosmology, are appointed by the House Chief proper of the Rain Priesthood. Membership in the Bow Priesthood was traditionally only open to men who had taken an enemy's scalp. In fact, for Zuni men who had killed an enemy, membership in the Bow Priesthood was necessary to ward against the ghosts of their fallen foes (Bunzel 1932d:674). Although the Bow Priesthood continues to be a key component of Zuni religious organization, the need to have killed and scalped an enemy is no longer a prerequisite for membership.

ZUNI TRADITIONAL LANDS

Shiwinnaqin, the core of the Zuni World, centers within the upper watershed of the Little Colorado River, including the arable valleys of several major tributaries such as the Zuni River, the Rio Puerco of the West, Chevelon Creek, and Carrizo Wash. However, the region traditionally associated with the Zuni people, including their historically sovereign lands, is much broader. Zuni traditional lands stretch from Mount Taylor in the east to the San Francisco Peaks in the west, and from the Chuska Mountains in the north to the headwaters of the Gila River in the south (see Figure 7.1).

Long before the governments of Spain, Mexico, and the United States exerted control over the American Southwest, the Zuni held sovereignty over this wide, topographically and ecologically variable

Table 7.4. Zuni Rain Priests, in order of retreat.

Daylight Priests (Tek 'ohannan 'a:siwani)	Night Priests (Tehk'winan 'a:siwani)
North - House Chief proper (K'yakwe:mossi) ^a	Eagle Clan's Priest (K'yak'yali:kwe)
West (K'yalishi)	Little Group Priest (Kye'heyalo:kwe t'sulana)
South (Onna:kwe Shiwanni)	Corn Clan's Priest (Dowa:kwe)
East (Demako'ha Shiwanni)	Kolo:wisi Priest (Kolo wisi:kwe)
Zenith (Yaddokya Shiwanni) ^b	Helix Peoples' Priest (Shuma:kwe)
Nadir - Bow Priest of the House Chiefs (Biya Shiwanni) ^c	Sun Clan's Priest (Yaddokya Shiwanni)
	Priest of the K'yana:kwe (K'yana:kwe)
	Red Door Priest (Shammi:a:ehi)

Note: Originally reported in Tedlock (1979:506-507); reviewed, corrected, and updated by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) on 7 March 2016. This outline differs from earlier versions. For example, Ladd (1979:Table 1) lists 10 Night Priests, but he does not enumerate them. One of the others to which Ladd (1979) refers is probably the head of the Big Shell Society (C ' u'ana). Tedlock (1979:507) states that even though the Big Shell Society is largely defunct, the head is also a Rain Priest who goes into seclusion during part of the Kolo:wisi Priest's retreat.

^aPriests of the four cardinal directions are considered the House Chiefs (K'ak'wa:mossi). Because they represent four directions in which the 'uwanammi reside, the House Chiefs are also called Water-Bringing Birds (K 'ašima wowe) (Bunzel 1932c:639, 695).

^bThe Sun Priest (Zenith) is also considered Spokesman (Pek'winne) of the House Chiefs, is keeper of the calendar, and is representative of the Sun Father. The seat of the Sun Priest has been empty since the 1950s, and his responsibilities have been assumed by the House Chief proper.

^cBow Priest of the House Chiefs is called Daylight Bow Priest (Tek 'ohannan Pi'fa Šiwani). He is both a Rain Priest and a Bow Priest, and he is responsible for communing with the Bow Priest of the 'uwanammi.

swath of land (Ferguson and Hart 1985:56-57). For centuries, this sovereignty was recognized by Zuni and non-Zuni alike, and Zuni control over their traditional lands even persisted through the 300 years of colonial occupation by Spain and then Mexico. It was not until the mid-1800s, when Anglo, Hispanic, and Navajo ranchers and settlers, aided by the U.S. military and abetted by official policies emanating from Washington, D.C., effectively wrested much of the region from the Zuni (Ferguson and Hart 1985:89-90).

Ferguson (2007; also, Ferguson and Hart 1985) has elaborated that the reach of Zuni traditional lands is currently recognized by the range of documented land-use loci that, together, comprise a variegated pattern of Zuni land-use. The Zuni system of land-use can be classified into five general zones (Ferguson 2007:398; Ferguson and Hart 1985:35-51). The villages and surrounding areas of intensive farming comprise the first and innermost zone. Beyond this, in a second zone, is the area of extensive agriculture. The third zone reaches out to incorporate the lands on which the Zuni grazed their cattle and sheep, and the fourth zone consists of the more distant places in which the Zuni hunted and sought natural resources. The widest zone encompasses the full range of places the Zuni visited for religious purposes.

When overlaid atop one another, Zuni land-use zones appear as a nested set of irregularly shaped polygons, where activities conducted in the outer

zones were also performed in the inner zones (Ferguson 2007:398-399). The information on which this understanding of Zuni land-use is based comes from contemporary and historical sources (Ferguson and Hart 1985:xi), and it represents a nineteenth century system of land-use (Ferguson 2007:398). Some practices, such as grazing, show that, by the nineteenth century, some Zuni people had incorporated Euro-American practices into their traditional land-use system, but the underlying pattern and its reach had been in place for centuries.

FROM TRADITIONAL LANDS TO RESERVATION

Most Zuni people today reside on the Zuni Reservation. The main body of the reservation land lies in New Mexico's McKinley County and abuts the border of Arizona. However, the federal government holds small parcels of noncontiguous land in Catron County and in the southern portion of Arizona's Apache County in trust for the Zuni (see Figure 7.1). The Pueblo of Zuni, located in McKinley County, New Mexico, is the central and largest village on the Zuni Reservation. The reservation also includes several smaller villages, such as Pescado (Heshoda Ts'in'a), Nutria (Doya), Ojo Caliente (K'ya'na'a), Blackrock, and Tekapo. Nonetheless, the Zuni Reservation encompasses just a fraction of Zuni traditional lands found across the southern Colorado Plateau. A synopsis of how the current area of Zuni

sovereignty, the reservation, was reduced to only 5 percent of their traditional lands follows.

The legal origin of the Zuni Reservation, as recognized by the United States, was apparently based on fraudulent documents. For many years, it was believed that, in 1689, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, Governor of the Spanish province of New Mexico, issued the Zuni people a land grant of four square leagues (Eggan and Pandey 1979:474). This square-shaped land grant encompassed the area around Zuni Pueblo, the core zone of Zuni traditional lands. Reportedly, in an effort to reward compliance with the Spanish Crown after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Cruzate issued land grants to nine Pueblos under his jurisdiction. The land grants were apparently more of a political show than effective legal documents, as under Spanish law at the time, each Pueblo was already entitled to four square leagues of land (Ebright et al. 2014).

These “Pueblo leagues” were square-shaped parcels oriented to the cardinal directions, measuring 5,000 *varas* (approximately 4 km) from the focal village, and were thus, approximately 17,350 acres in size (Ebright et al. 2014:11). Although the Pueblo league and the size of Cruzate’s purported land grant to the Zuni were a far cry from the breadth of Zuni traditional lands, the Spaniards acknowledged and honored Zuni rights to traditional lands beyond the boundary of the land grant (Ferguson and Hart 1985:93). After independence in 1821, the Mexican government continued to honor Zuni rights to traditional lands outside the supposed grant area.

With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, political control over much of the territory of New Mexico was transferred to the United States. The treaty obligated the United States to respect the property rights of the former Mexican citizens, including the Zuni people, residing within the newly acquired lands. The U.S. government therefore referred to the alleged Cruzate land grants to determine the property rights of the Pueblo people, including the Zuni. The U.S. Congress confirmed eight of the Spanish land grants in 1858, but the grant to Zuni was not confirmed until 1931 (Ebright et al. 2014:8; Ferguson and Hart 1985:93). Unlike the Spanish and Mexican governments, however, the United States did not honor Zuni rights to lands outside the documented land grant. As a result, the Zuni were left in control of the mere four square leagues recorded in the Cruzate grant, and over the following 150 years under United States political control, they saw more than 90 percent of their traditional lands divided, fenced, mined, grazed, and settled by Americans (Ferguson and Hart 1985:57).

Pressure on the Zuni way of life mounted as traditional Zuni lands increasingly fell into the private ownership of Anglo and Hispanic settlers. To alle-

viate some of the stress on the Zuni people, on 16 March 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes set aside, through executive order, the first Zuni Reservation (Kappler 1904:880). This initial 285,000-acre land allotment, which was more than 16 times larger than the Cruzate land grant, reached from the territorial border between Arizona and New Mexico, near Ojo Caliente, to just east of Pescado. Regardless of the broad expansion of Zuni lands, the size of the reservation soon proved to be inadequate for meeting the grazing, hunting, farming, and water needs of the Zuni people, and a series of expansions followed over the next century.

In 1883, after several years of lobbying efforts urged by Frank Hamilton Cushing, President Chester A. Arthur issued an executive order to add the Zuni village of Nutria and surrounding lands to the Zuni Reservation (Kappler 1904:880). Thirty-four years later, President Woodrow Wilson again expanded the reservation through executive order (Kappler 1929:984-986). Subsequently, two New Deal-era acts, the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, enabled the government to purchase lands within the United States and hold it in trust for tribes. This has permitted the Zuni to reclaim additional parcels of their traditional lands, but their current holding of 462,940 acres (just over 1,870 km²) remains minuscule in relation to the approximately 38,000 km² of land they held sovereign for centuries prior to annexation by the United States.

ZUNI CONNECTIONS TO THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA

Cultural information regarding Zuni history, religion, and tradition is maintained and shared through the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) (Appendix B). ZCRAT was formed by a tribal resolution that designates religious leaders at Zuni to consult with different entities on behalf of the tribe. ZCRAT is comprised of holders of Zuni religious and cultural knowledge, including Rain Priests, Bow Priests, and traditional spiritual healers. ZCRAT includes members of different medicine societies to provide multiple perspectives on the topic at hand. ZCRAT members pointed out that they take issue with many publications on Zuni religion and history. They feel that these earlier sources are one-sided and highly embellished. They also feel that previous scholars were unethical in how they collected information, as well as how they disseminated important religious knowledge. Accordingly, ZCRAT members contend that much of what has been published is largely inaccurate. To that end, this report emphasizes newly acquired information

from ZCRAT members and refers to previous works only as supplemental material.

According to Octavius Seowtewa, member of the Corn and Crane clans and leader of ZCRAT, the Zuni refer to the Gila River as Sho'kona Yalanne ("Flute Mountain" or "Flute Mountain River"), a name also given to a prominent landform at the river's headwaters. The watershed of the upper Gila falls within the recognized area of Zuni sovereignty, and the Zuni people have strong historical and religious ties to places in this area. For example, Piliayalla:we (Willow Mountain), Granite Peak, and the Gila Cliff Dwellings are traditional Zuni hunting areas in the upper Gila watershed, with Piliayalla:we being a shrine area, as well as a place of plant collecting for the Zuni people (Ferguson and Hart 1985:Appendices 1-2) (see Figure 7.1).

Zuni connections to places along the lower stretch of the Gila River, including the Great Bend just below the confluence of the Gila with the Salt River near Phoenix, have received far less attention than areas around the upper Gila. The greater distance from the Zuni Reservation is, understandably, one reason this is the case. Zuni Pueblo lies, as an eagle flies, more than 320 km north-northeast of the Great Bend of the Gila, and because the region falls outside the recognized area of Zuni sovereignty, areas along the lower Gila have not been included in research concerning Zuni land claims (Hart 1995). This may be why traditional land-use areas, as studied by Ferguson (1995, 2007; also Ferguson and Hart 1985), have not yet been documented in the region. As shown here, this blank slate is not due to a lack of information from Zuni people, but rather, to the fact that researchers have failed to ask them about their connections to southwestern Arizona until recently.

Interest among members of ZCRAT in identifying ancestral sites is shedding light on the Zuni connection to the Great Bend of the Gila and other regions in southwest Arizona. Indeed, through legally mandated government to government consultations concerning federal lands, cultural advisors from Zuni Pueblo have explained how Zuni people are traditionally and historically associated with places south and west of the Great Bend (Panteah 2000; Tisdale 1998). Those meetings and recent interviews with ZCRAT members, in addition to information available in previously published sources, substantiate that the Zuni are connected to the region through three factors: (1) ethnohistorically documented trade routes and pilgrimages through the area; (2) ancestral cultural associations with the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological traditions; and (3) elements in their creation account that link Zuni people to the south and west. These connections are discussed, in turn, below.

Connection through Trade and Travel

At Spanish contact, Zuni villages were at the center of a vast regional trade network across the southwestern corner of the continent (Vokes and Gregory 2007). Two specific trade items that brought Zuni interest to southwest Arizona and northwest Sonora were coral and shell (Appendix Figure D.12), both of which were gathered from the California Coast and the Gulf of California and made their way to Zuni Pueblo and places farther east (Heizer 1941; Riley 1976). Routes to the Pacific Ocean passed through the Great Bend of the Gila (Brand 1938; Hayden 1972; Tower 1945; Wright et al. 2015:52-55). While some of the shell and coral that arrived at Zuni villages may have been peddled by traders and middlemen, ZCRAT members affirmed that Zuni people did (and continue to) travel to the ocean to collect shell for personal use and for trade, and that there is a shrine on the Yuma Proving Ground Zuni people visited on their sojourns to the Pacific. Zuni shrines can be recognized by the types of offerings placed in them, including cornmeal, hematite, and turquoise. Anything collected from the ocean is important to Zuni people, and Mr. Seowtewa explained that anywhere Zuni people have traveled is connected to the Zuni Reservation, the Middle Place. In this way, Zuni people are still physically tied to places all the way to the ocean.

Members of ZCRAT shared that the Zuni people have various uses for many different kinds of shells they collect, including personal wear and ceremonial usage. Mr. Seowtewa also commented that Zuni ritual leaders collect ocean water from the Pacific, but he emphasized that "this is esoteric ceremonial information" and did not elaborate further. As with sea water, some of the shells Zuni people collected from the Pacific Ocean were of an esoteric nature. Mr. Seowtewa described how shells used in ceremonies were to be collected in person. Zuni people believe a person must make the sacrifice of traveling to the ocean and endure the hardship associated with that journey if the shell was going to be used in a ceremony. This gives the ceremony greater power. Conch shells gathered from the Pacific are of particular importance to Zuni religious life (Mills and Ferguson 2008). As Mr. Seowtewa detailed, one of the Zuni Rain Priests uses a conch shell in ceremonial activities. This priest is in charge of the conch shell, and it connects him with the ocean.

The Sonoran Desert, called Tekusna ("Dry Place") among the Zuni, lies between the Zuni Reservation and the Pacific Ocean (see Figure 7.1). Trade and travel through the Sonoran Desert, especially along the Gila River corridor, on the way to collect shell, coral, water, and possibly salt from the shores of the Pacific kept Zuni people socially connected

with numerous southern tribes. According to Ferguson and Hart (1985:53), “Zunis visited, and were visited by, tribes in what are now California and Mexico, and literally dozens of tribes in between.”

The Zuni people’s historical relationship with the Akimel O’odham is perhaps the best known to ethnographers. According to ZCRAT members, the Zuni people have traditions that involve the Pemakwe, the Zuni term for the Akimel O’odham. The two tribes have trade connections and share elements of cultural information and language. The types of loan words in the languages of Zuni and O’odham pertain largely to ceremonial roles and information, suggesting that, in addition to trade relations, the two tribes have a shared religious history (Shaul and Hill 1998:389-390; Underhill 1946:327-336).

Connection through Cultural Resources

The historical connection between the Zuni and the O’odham is probably of great antiquity. Indeed, the two tribes likely share ties to ancestral cultural traditions across the Southwest. As Mr. Seowtewa detailed, Zuni cultural ties to archaeological remains in the Southwest extend back many thousands of years, to a time archaeologists have classified as the Archaic period.

Cremation is one cultural practice shared historically by the Zuni and the O’odham that likely derives from a shared religious history dating back centuries, if not longer (Underhill 1948). Cremation was a common mode of mortuary ritual among Hohokam and Patayan communities, two archaeologically identified cultural traditions whose villages are well represented along the Great Bend of the Gila (Wright et al. 2015). Interestingly, although the Zuni did not cremate their dead in the recent past (Stevenson 1904:305), the excavated burial assemblages for several ancestral Zuni villages contained relatively high proportions of cremations, including about one-third at both Hawikku and Kechibaiwa (Kintigh 2000:109). (Fewkes [1912:117n.1] stated that the Zuni gave up cremation at the insistence of Spanish missionaries.)

Some archaeologists have relied on this shared mortuary practice to argue for an ancestral connection between the Zuni people and the Hohokam tradition. Robinson and Sprague (1965), for example, suggest cremation ritualism diffused from the Hohokam to communities in the Point of Pines area who later migrated to Zuni. Others (for example, Brunson 1989:473; Riley 1976; Smith et al. 1966:144) have even suggested the cremations found at ancestral Zuni villages are evidence that some Hohokam people

migrated north and east and into established Zuni communities.

Frank Hamilton Cushing (1896) proposed an interesting hypothesis for Zuni origins that attempted to reconcile Zuni oral tradition and archaeology, and one that accounts for the practice of both cremation and inhumation among the Zuni people. Cushing (1896:342) contended that Zuni people were of two distinct physiques, and that among them were cultural practices indicative of at least two cultural inheritances. Thus, he suggested there are two branches to the ancestral Zuni, one of which was aboriginal to the Four Corners region and the other that was an intrusive group that originated to the west or southwest, in the vicinity of the lower Colorado River.

Inhumation was the primary mode of mortuary ritual among the Ancestral Pueblo of the Four Corners and, at times, the Mogollon archaeological traditions of the southern Colorado Plateau and Mogollon Highlands. These are the traces to which Cushing (1896) attributed the elder, aboriginal branch of the Zuni lineage. In contrast, cremation was historically the primary mode of mortuary ritualism among Yuman- and O’odham-speaking communities in southwestern Arizona. Cushing (1896:342) likened an ancient western branch of Zuni to Yuman- and O’odham-speaking tribes, suggesting this branch migrated into the Cibola region and merged with the elder branch. He continued, by positing that the Zunis’ “Lost Others” who ventured south were originally part of this western branch, and that the split occurred during their migration before joining the aboriginal branch at the Middle Place (Cushing 1896:343).

Whereas archaeologists continue to explore the ancestral links of the Zuni people to the Hohokam, Zuni cultural advisors affirm their tribe’s association with cultural resources along the Great Bend of the Gila. ZCRAT members see profound similarities in their traditions and many of the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological features in the Great Bend landscape, and they hold a considerable amount of cultural information that helps explain such features. When shown photographs of cultural resources in the Great Bend area, ZCRAT members identified Zuni traditions and practices for almost all of them. For example, members of ZCRAT shared that geoglyphs are generally landmarks, but that circular geoglyphs with openings are shrines. They also said that the layout of a geoglyph is probably the most important aspect of those features, not their size.

Curtis Quam, member of the Eagle Clan, interpreted the “Agua Caliente Racetrack,” an intagliostyle geoglyph at Sears Point, as being a possible hunting feature (Appendix Figure D.1). He noted that open areas such as this are important for hunters.

Mr. Quam further explained that these archaeological sites are meaningful to the Zuni people today because they show how their ancestors sustained life; these places help facilitate the sustenance of life. "Zuni still pray to a lot of these places and recall them in songs," Mr. Quam said. These hunting features indicate to Mr. Quam that ancestral Zuni hunters had extensive knowledge about the landscape and the movement of animals across the land.

Regarding the enigmatic "summit trails" found along the Great Bend of the Gila (Appendix Figures D.14 and D.28), ZCRAT members suggested they may have been training grounds for long-distance runners, so people could develop the endurance needed to travel from the Pacific Ocean to Zuni. Alternatively, they may have been used to train communication runners. ZCRAT members elaborated that Zuni culture survived, in part, because they never used horses extensively. They always relied on traditional running, and summit trails may have been instrumental in this.

At Zuni, people used a similar trail to train for the traditional stick race. The Wellness Center at Zuni Pueblo calls this place "Coronado's Curse," because it is sandy and is a difficult course for training. Cornell Tsalate, member of the Tansy Mustard and Dogwood clans, said that, in the past, runners and messengers trained on this course. Harry Chimoni, member of the Deer and Crow clans and spokesman for one of the kiva societies, listed the Pueblo Revolt as an example, as runners went from village to village to pass messages. "Running is part of a Zuni tradition," Mr. Chimoni said.

ZCRAT members also believe that some features archaeologists refer to as summit trails are connected with hunting. When shown a picture of a summit trail at Oatman Mountain, they said the rocks would make a barrier for the animals, causing them to slow down (Appendix Figure D.15). Features like this would have been strategically placed so that hunters could take advantage of them. They believe there might also be hunting blinds nearby (and there are).

Mr. Seowtewa said that Zuni people use similar features in conjunction with circular alignments atop the summits. An ancestral village south of the Zuni Plateau, near the Zuni Salt Lake, called Kyamak:kya (known as Cox Ranch Pueblo), has hunting features called *bo'lutchuíwa* (see Figure 7.1). These features are characterized as circular stone enclosures with low walls, and the Zuni confine deer there with prayers—the Corn Clan has the ability to enclose the deer without using high walls. Members of ZCRAT mentioned that something akin to a summit trail is also found at Atarque Ranch, near Fence Lake, New Mexico (see Figure 7.1). They interpret that feature as a game drive also. The nearby springs

attract game animals, and Zuni hunters use the trail and rock alignments to drive the animals.

In talking about fortified hilltop villages along the Great Bend of the Gila, the ZCRAT members stated that defensively postured sites are natural responses to invaders. When shown photographs of the Fortified Hill (Appendix Figures D.17-D.18), they were reminded of Dowa Yalanne ("Corn Mountain"), located adjacent to Zuni Pueblo (see Figure 7.1). This mountain was used as a place of refuge at various times in history, including during the Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish Crown in 1680. These are "places of survival," they commented. According to ZCRAT members, refuge was also needed from Apaches and Navajo when these more mobile groups entered the area around Zuni Pueblo. As Mr. Seowtewa elaborated, hilltop villages allowed the Zuni people to survive, although a shift in lifestyles was required as they moved from valley floors to hilltops. ZCRAT members see similarities in the hilltop refuges of the Great Bend and those around Zuni Pueblo. For example, Mr. Seowtewa mentioned that the walls at Fort Pierpoint look like those at Kyamak:kya (Appendix Figures D.22-D.23). Members of ZCRAT also commented that the Fortified Hill site appears to have plazas and kivas, features indicative of an ancestral Zuni presence.

ZCRAT members also see a cultural connection with the Rock Ballcourt in the Citrus Valley (Appendix Figures D.15-D.16). The Rock Ballcourt is the only full masonry Hohokam ballcourt in southern Arizona; the only comparable feature is the reconstructed ballcourt at the Ancestral Pueblo village of Wupatki near Flagstaff. ZCRAT members explained that the court at Wupatki was a plaza, and that plazas served many uses, one of which included playing games. Plazas were also the sites of public dances, some of which included the *Newe:kwe*, masked dancers of the Galaxy Fraternity who are also known as "clowns" and "mudheads." It is customary to enter a dance plaza through one side and exit through the opposite side. According to ZCRAT members, that is why some Hohokam ballcourts have openings at both ends. Due to similarities with the Wupatki court, ZCRAT members believe the Rock Ballcourt may have also served as a plaza.

Frank Hamilton Cushing (1890), who lived at Zuni Pueblo between 1879 and 1884, and who was the first ethnographer to extensively study and write about Zuni culture, felt strongly that the Hohokam ruins in southern Arizona were ancestral Zuni cities. In fact, it was a search for the Zunis' "Lost Others" that led Cushing to explore the large Hohokam ruins of the Salt River valley, ancient settlements that now lie under the Phoenix metropolitan area (Hinsley and Wilcox 2002). After excavating at the site of Los Muertos and investigating other large Ho-

hokam villages in the Salt and Gila River valleys, Cushing (1890:162) concluded:

...the testimony of identical symbolic characteristics in ritual petroglyphs [petroglyphs] among neighboring mountains, of art in the pottery, shell, bone and stone articles that we exhumed, that the people who had occupied these ancient cities were unquestionably people belonging to the Shiwian [Zuni] culture (if not division or stock of men).

Working from this base assumption, Cushing (1890) imbued his investigations of what is now considered the Hohokam archaeological tradition with liberal allusions to Zuni mythology and ceremony. This included an interpretation of Hohokam ballcourts as the “‘Sun Temples’ of the ancient inhabitants” (Cushing 1890:165). According to Cushing (1890:166), ballcourts were places where the “the Mythic Sun drama and other sacred ceremonials must have been performed during winter, as well as where in the esoteric societies gave there [sic] rare public exhibitions of mysterious feats or Occult Medicine powers.”

When asked if the Rock Ballcourt was a sun temple per Cushing’s (1890) interpretation from Los Muertos, members of ZCRAT emphatically responded that there was only one Zuni sun temple, it was one-of-a-kind, and it was nothing like ballcourts. Mr. Tsalate shared that the Zuni sun temple is known as the Sun Shrine, and the Zuni Sun Priest once used it to monitor the sun and keep it in check. If the sun went too fast in summer, it was asked to slow down. If it went too slow in winter, it was asked to speed up. The Sun Shrine was stolen in the early 1950s, and its whereabouts are unknown. Mr. Seowtewa explained that because the Sun Shrine is gone, the position of the Sun Priest is currently not filled, although his role has been taken up by the K’akwemossi (House Chief). ZCRAT members contend that Cushing’s portrayal of Hohokam ballcourts as ancestral Zuni sun temples is yet another example of how previous ethnographers have misconstrued the Zuni people and profanely shared esoteric knowledge in an offensive and defamatory way.

Whereas Cushing’s (1890) fanciful though unfactual account of Zuni history says more about nineteenth century anthropology than Zuni tradition and religion (Ferguson 2007:383), his likening of the Hohokam petroglyphs in the mountains around Los Muertos to those around Zuni is telling. The Zuni word for petroglyphs is *a’tsina*, meaning “writing on the rock.” Mr. Seowtewa shared that “a’tsina is any place where Zuni petroglyphs are identified.” ZCRAT members explained that petroglyphs mark ancestral travels, so they are important for identifying where ancestral Zuni people have been and the directions from which they arrived at

the Middle Place. Ronnie Cachini, member of the Crow and Turkey clans and a Rain Priest, added that “petroglyphs are learning tools...they are libraries.”

Petroglyphs are a prominent aspect of the cultural landscape around the Great Bend of the Gila, and ZCRAT members identified many of them as being Zuni symbols and pertaining to Zuni history and tradition. One large panel at Hummingbird Point (Appendix Figure D.8), for example, elicited considerable discussion from the cultural advisors. Members of ZCRAT described the anthropomorphic figure as a *Newe:kwe*, or the clown-like masked dancer of the Galaxy Fraternity. *Newe:kwe* comprise one of the Societies of the Completed Path (see Table 7.3).

ZCRAT members added that this symbol also represents a commemoration of the *Newe:kwe* emergence into the present world. Mr. Cachini said that *Newe:kwe* are “children of the universe, and they have multiple roles in Zuni social hierarchy. Their home is the Milky Way.” Among their roles, these masked dancers are part of a healing society, and during festivities they come out into the plaza to entertain people. This is why they are called clowns, although Zuni people do not actually consider them to be clowns. Regarding the numerous handprint petroglyphs around the *Newe:kwe* figure, Mr. Seowtewa remarked that the *Newe:kwe* have an association with medicine societies, which help humans. Several handprints indicate many people were helped here. Zunis consider this place significant for this reason, he said.

Members of ZCRAT said that the *A:shiwi*, Zuni ancestors, are sometimes represented in petroglyphs as anthropomorphic figures with webbed hands and a tail, which is what they looked like after they first emerged from *Chimik’yana’kya Deya*. The group identified several depictions of *A:shiwi* in the photographs of petroglyphs along the Great Bend. One panel in particular, also found at Hummingbird Point, depicts what archaeologists describe as a lizard, or a “lizard man” (Appendix Figure D.9). ZCRAT members corrected this interpretation, suggesting it portrays a human with a tail and webbed feet, an *A:shiwi*. “Such figures represent Zuni emergence,” they explained, “when people actually became humans.”

The group also interpreted the hollow crosses and crescents around the *A:shiwi* as stars and crescent moons, respectively. When shown an image of a stylized bird petroglyph at Powers Butte (Appendix Figure D.29), ZCRAT members explained that *achian* (“thunderbirds”) are mentioned in all ceremonial songs and social songs, and that they are the everlasting symbol of the Zuni people. They are also mentioned in prayers and in medicine society rituals. Thunderbirds are protectors of the sky and of the Zuni people.

According to members of ZCRAT, some of the petroglyphs along the Great Bend of the Gila portray aspects of Zuni culture and therefore indicate Zuni ancestors had passed through this area. When discussing a panel on the Gillespie Lava Flow (Appendix Figure D.26), the men were reminded of waffle gardens at Zuni. Mr. Quam stated that Zuni waffle gardens made the most efficient use of water, unlike the practices of other Southwest peoples. On this topic, ZCRAT members added that some of the rock features at Fort Pierpoint and at other sites around the Great Bend reminded them of gardens traditionally used by Zuni people (Appendix Figure D.24). Members of ZCRAT interpreted another petroglyph at the Gillespie Lava Flow as a plan view of the Gila River (Appendix Figure D.27), with the center line as the water and the other two as the banks of the river. They said that these and many other images at this site are significant to the Zuni people.

On the issue of petroglyphs, Mr. Seowtewa explained that one of the tribe's big hurdles is to clarify and remedy the assumptions imposed by non-Zuni and non-Indian researchers on archaeological remains. He added that there is a lot of esoteric information at Zuni. "We don't reveal it, but we do know how to reveal or share certain information in ways that are appropriate," clarified Mr. Seowtewa. When discussing the broader cultural landscape of the Great Bend of the Gila, Jim Enote, Executive Director of the A:shiwí A:wán Museum and Heritage Center, reiterated that Zuni understandings are quite different from others', and that "old sources should not be *the source*" because that information was collected at a particular moment in time...when indigenous beliefs and values were not acknowledged or respected. "Our understandings have grown, and Zuni people are now equipped to talk about things that were not talked about in the past," he said. Mr. Enote closed by stating that he would like to see a shift in the general lexicon used in archaeological interpretations so that they more accurately represent Native American views.

In summary, Zuni religious leaders recognize many of the cultural resources in southern Arizona that archaeologists attribute to the Hohokam and Patayan traditions as emblematic of the ancestral Zuni people. This connection is sometimes difficult for archaeologists to understand because they tend to approach culture history through a relatively inflexible framework in which ancient cultures are conceptualized as static and somewhat isolated entities (Dongoske et al. 1997:604). As Ferguson (2007:377) contends, the Zuni view, and that of most other indigenous groups, is more dynamic in that the Zuni people trace their ancestry to many different archaeological traditions, and not necessarily in

a directly sequential way. As the following relates, the Zuni connection to the Great Bend of the Gila is part of this broader Zuni understanding of their past and their traditional ways. It is a connection founded upon the Zuni account of their history rather than one formulated by non-Zuni researchers.

Connection through Creation and Migration

Although the Zuni Reservation lies a considerable distance north and east of the Great Bend of the Gila, the connection of the Zuni to this distant, lower stretch of the Gila River remains active today due to their ancestral and primordial presence in the region. Places, both natural and cultural, along the lower Gila and in the surrounding Sonoran Desert are tied to Zuni creation and migration in several key ways. The Zuni creation account holds that their ancestors emerged from somewhere along the Colorado River, from a spot in either the Grand Canyon or the Mojave Desert (Ferguson and Hart 1985:51). Because the Great Bend lies between the Colorado River and the Middle Place at Halona:Itiwana (Zuni Pueblo), stopping points along the ancestral Zuni people's migrations may lie within and around the Great Bend of the Gila (see Figure 7.2).

These places and the route(s) of migration, both of which comprise the spiritual geography encoded in the Zuni creation account, are recounted in prayers of the different religious societies. It is important to note that Zuni elders conceptualize the trail followed during their migrations in a symbolic way, and the places at which they stopped in metaphorical terms (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21). It is understood that the symbolic road to the Middle Place and the actual paths of migration may not be one and the same. As Ferguson (2007:403) expounds:

...the route defined by the places mentioned in prayers was not the exact route taken by all ancestral groups during their quest to find the Middle Place. There is no doubt that the ancestors of the Zuni traveled through and lived in other areas of the Southwest...and that in the process they occupied a considerable number of villages in addition to the ones whose names are commemorated in prayers.

The fact that some elements of the various Zuni accounts of origin and migration may be symbolic does not diminish their religious power and spiritual significance (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21). Rather, the symbolism provides the historical framework for Zuni social, religious, and political organization and fosters an intimacy between the Zuni people and their environment. Mr. Seowtewa shared that the name for ancestral Zuni sites is *a:shiwí*. This is the

same word Zuni people use for themselves and their ancestors, exemplifying the powerful and long lasting connections among contemporary Zuni identity, tradition, and ancestral places.

Many of the stopping points along the Zuni migration routes, including ancestral villages, as well as natural features within the landscape, such as springs, rivers, and peaks, are sacred to the Zuni people (Ferguson and Hart 1985:51). The Zuni memorialize and commemorate these places in prayers and, when given the opportunity, leave offerings at ancestral shrines. Mr. Seowtewa described shrines as physical connections to the Zuni homeland now and in the past. In this way, Zuni shrines transcend time, and the Zuni people consider them, as well as certain archaeological sites and natural places in the broader landscape both within and outside the Zuni Reservation, as corporeal links to their ancestors and spiritual geography. Mr. Seowtewa added, "Our shrines keep us connected to outside places. Anywhere Zuni people traveled in the past is now connected to us here at home through our shrines. We haven't abandoned those places."

During recent interviews, ZCRAT members explained how there are ancestral Zuni places described in their prayers and songs for which the actual locations are currently unknown. Ferguson (2007:Table 19.1) enumerated 112 place names mentioned in the nine most often cited published renditions of Zuni traditional history pertaining to origin and migration, but the corresponding locations of only 77 have been identified by non-Zunis. As Ferguson (2007:385) noted, Zuni religious leaders probably know where more of these sites are but have chosen not to share that knowledge with non-Zunis.

It is also true that historical processes of conquest and subjugation, which have confined Zuni people to only a small portion of their traditional lands, have also dislocated them from important ancestral sites and placed barriers around places of traditional importance. Such barriers are both physical (as in distance) and social, because many places of traditional and religious importance now fall within private or difficult to access federal lands (for example, military installations such as Yuma Proving Ground and Barry M. Goldwater Range).

While the Zuni people have been able to pass down traditional cultural knowledge about important ancestral places, the barriers to visiting and continually engaging those places have left them alienated from vast portions of the pre-conquest Southwest landscape that map onto the Zuni spiritual geography. This is why Zuni religious leaders can recall key ancestral sites in name and spirit, yet the physical locations for some have faded from memory. Although the locations are currently un-

known, these places remain important to Zuni people. As Mr. Quam explained, "These places have always been important to Zunis. We maintain a connection to these places and displacement from them has affected the memory of these places for many tribes."

Because there is the very real possibility that the actual and/or symbolic migration routes ancestral Zunis followed during their epic quest for the Middle Place passed through the Great Bend of the Gila, some of the heretofore un-relocated stopping points recited in Zuni ritual and spiritual oratory may lie in this region of southwest Arizona. "Zuni prayers mention the Gila River, and they may mention other places in the Great Bend region," said Mr. Seowtewa. He added that field trips may allow Zuni religious leaders to tie references in prayers to places on the landscape of which they have yet to connect. As detailed above, members of ZCRAT see evidence of an ancestral Zuni presence among many of the cultural resources along the Great Bend. From photographs, they identified likely plazas and kivas at several sites, including the Rock Ballcourt and stone masonry complexes at Fort Pierpoint, Powers Butte, and Robbins Butte. The ancestral Zuni connection to the Great Bend, seen in the a'tsina (petroglyphs), is especially prevalent. ZCRAT members affirmed that they rely on petroglyphs to identify a:shiwi, their ancestral sites, and they recognized many of the petroglyphs throughout the Great Bend of the Gila as Zuni symbols. Mr. Seowtewa stated succinctly, "we're identified with a lot of the petroglyphs there."

Collectively, the group of Zuni men with ZCRAT agreed that Zuni people have knowledge and information about places around the Great Bend of the Gila, and they need to go to the area to physically see them. Zuni visitation to the Great Bend is critical, because Zuni people need to be at ancestral sites to confidently determine the importance and relevance of the sites. This is because Zuni ancestors, A:shiwi, communicate with Zuni people at ancestral sites. ZCRAT members explained that when Zuni people visit places, they ask their ancestors to tell them what the places are. "We get information from our ancestors at and through these places. Our ancestors are still relevant to us today," said Mr. Seowtewa.

Another reason it is important for Zuni religious leaders to visit places around the Great Bend of the Gila is that, for Zuni people, the broader landscape is vital to the meaning and significance of ancestral sites. ZCRAT members explained that site significance can only be assessed when they can be there in person and experience the connection of a place to the larger landscape. Mr. Seowtewa explained that cultural resources are tied to the landscape, and an-

cestral sites keep Zuni people connected to places. Zuni religious leaders are intimately aware of this connection to the landscape, a relationship they consider to be specific to the Zuni people. As Mr. Quam shared, “for Zunis, the physical environment is important in understanding past places, and Zunis need to take a trip to the Great Bend area to better interpret them...Zunis have a perspective that is uniquely their own, and it differs from that of other tribes.”

Archaeologists and anthropologists alone cannot adequately account for the significance of landscape to the Zuni people, nor can they accurately portray the Zuni perspective on these places. “Zuni people have always understood the cultural connection to landscape, but archaeologists have just recently come onto the scene,” said Mr. Seowtewa. Mr. Enote emphasized that the Zuni people have their own names and understandings of certain features that do not always match the views of archaeologists. This is why Zuni people need to have a role in managing these cultural resources, he added.

ZUNI PERCEPTIONS OF A GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

When asked about how best to manage these lands and the cultural resources, ZCRAT members all agreed that a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument would be good for the Zuni people. They said that ancestral places like those found along the Great Bend of the Gila are what identify them as A:shiwi, the Zuni people. “We need to be able to learn from these places and pass on the information to Zuni children,” said Mr. Seowtewa on behalf of the group. Mr. Quam added that these places have a lot of meaning to the Zuni people. The group was certain that traditional songs connect Zuni to the Great Bend region, and the petroglyphs are teachings from their ancestors. Mr. Seowtewa affirmed that, “Zuni is still physically tied to these areas, all the way to the ocean. Zuni people have not stopped their prayers for these places.”

Zuni religious leaders know that displacement from their traditional lands has created gaps in their

current knowledge of Zuni sacred places and ancestral sites. That is why they emphasize their interest in visiting these places, so that their ancestors can help them fill those voids. As Mr. Quam stated, “These places are important, and our ability to make a physical connection to them is important because that is how we link songs, prayers, and daily traditions back to specific places on the landscape. These places help us connect the dots; it is how we understand our heritage.” Because they see traces of ancestral Zuni people in the cultural resources of the Great Bend, ZCRAT members feel that a national monument designation for this area will help “connect the dots” in their migration accounts and will clarify the Zuni people’s association to places that people often do not consider connected to the Zuni history and tradition. Mr. Seowtewa stated that “places around the Great Bend are important to Zuni history and ongoing research into traditional Zuni lands. The region is important because it contains evidence of Zuni history.”

Because Zuni religious leaders identify a strong ancestral Zuni element to the cultural landscape of the Great Bend of the Gila, they contend the Zuni people should be included in decisions that affect the preservation and interpretation of the region’s cultural resources. ZCRAT members stated that, at a minimum, Zuni people should be involved in monitoring the archaeological sites, regardless of the official status of the land. They support a national monument designation for the area, and they would like to be included as part of the decision-making body, preferably an advisory board, on how the monument would be run and managed. Mr. Enote expressed that collaboration, co-laboring, and co-management should be practiced, and the Zuni people need a role in this.

NOTES

¹In 2016, as part of this project, the status of Zuni clans and subclans was revisited and corrections provided by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team are reflected in Table 7.1.

CONCLUSIONS

Findings of a cultural association study for the Great Bend of the Gila and a collation of tribal perspectives and support for establishing a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument are presented in this report. Prior cultural affiliation studies, tribal affinity maps, ethnographic reports, and ethnohistoric projects have established that at least 13 federally recognized tribes in the United States are culturally, historically, and traditionally associated with the Great Bend of the Gila (see Tables 1.1-1.2). As a comprehensive ethnographic overview, this study has sought to more fully document the histories of these associated tribes and their connections to the Great Bend region, and to examine how those connections have changed over time. Toward this, the lead researchers conducted an intensive survey of existing published sources and records, synthesizing the salient information into six chapters covering seven Native American groups—Cocopah, Hopi, O’odham, Pee-Posh, Quechan, Yavapai, and Zuni.¹

These communities are represented by 11 federally recognized tribes in Arizona, California, and New Mexico. Following background research, the lead researchers met with cultural advisors and representatives from each of the 11 tribes to: (1) gather information not available in the existing documentary record; (2) review drafts of the tribal history summaries for accuracy and sensitivity; and (3) learn about contemporary tribal perspectives concerning the Great Bend of the Gila and its potential designation as a national monument.

While comprehensive, the findings from this study should be considered preliminary, because the research, especially the collection of information from contemporary tribal members, was not exhaustive, and the histories and perspectives of other potentially associated tribes, including the Mojave, are not included. Considerable potential remains to expand on the information and insights shared in this report. Principally, comprehensive land-use and place-based studies, which prioritize visits to the Great Bend of the Gila by tribal members and cultural advisors, are in order. Nevertheless, this study offers a thorough consideration of the many ways in which contemporary Native American communities are connected to the Great Bend of the Gila. It also serves as a solid foundation for future collaboration with tribal members, particularly regarding the preservation and interpretation of the Great Bend landscape and the cultural resources it comprises.

At the most foundational level, the 11 tribes included in this report are connected to the Great Bend of the Gila through their expressed and bureaucratically determined affiliations with the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological traditions, two distinctive and long-lived material culture patterns that overlapped and blended along the lower Gila River (Wright et al. 2015). While the associated tribes share the Great Bend of the Gila as a place of ancestral and historical residence, use, and visitation, these tribes are distinct social groups with unique identities, histories, and traditions that reference and draw upon the Great Bend area in ways unique to their cultural perspectives. Indeed, a careful examination of the histories and traditions of each tribe, as compiled here, underscores the fact that there is no single narrative to describe and explain the relevance of the Great Bend to contemporary Native American communities.

While most of the 11 tribes included here are, today, associated with reservations at variable and sometimes considerable distances from the Great Bend, this study makes clear that their connections to the region have not been severed, despite the 300 years of tumultuous and traumatic social and geopolitical transformations on the part of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial agendas. As a result, the histories of the tribes and the ties to ancestral lands, including the Great Bend of the Gila, are understandably complicated, yet remain strong. To carry on the traditions, customs, and beliefs that identify them as distinct communities with unique histories and values, many of the Native American groups associated with the Great Bend area have found it necessary to reconfigure their relationships with ancestral lands and traditional-use areas, including the Great Bend of the Gila. This does not indicate a weakening or distancing in their connections to ancestral landscapes, but rather, it highlights the resilience of these tribes and the strength of their cultural beliefs and practices.

For some tribes, the Great Bend of the Gila is deeply rooted in their origins, even though they currently reside some distance away from the region. Several dozen Hopi clans, for example, have histories of living along and migrating through the Great Bend region before settling at Tuuwanasavi, the Hopi Mesas, in northern Arizona. Several religious societies and ceremonies still extant among the Hopi reference their tenure in southwestern Arizona, including the Great Bend region.

The Zuni are tied to the region in a similar, though importantly distinct, manner. According to Zuni oral history, when the Ino:de:kwe, or ancestral Zuni, emerged into this world from a point along the Colorado River, they migrated eastward to reach Halona:Itiwana, the Middle Place, along the Zuni River. During their migration, a group of Ino:de:kwe broke away from the others and traveled south, to E'shuł:de'ma Dek'kyuł:na'a, the Land of Everlasting Sunshine. The Zuni recognize the Great Bend of the Gila as a landscape through which their ancestors migrated, and possibly as one of the destinations for their "Lost Others," the group that migrated south. Although the Hopi and Zuni ultimately settled several hundred miles north and east of the Great Bend, they continually traveled to and through the area to trade and gather salt, coral, and shells from the Gulf of California.

For each tribe represented in this report, the Great Bend of the Gila is also a highly spiritual landscape that preserves and embodies their religious beliefs and philosophies. For example, the Cocopah and Quechan, who have resided along the lower Colorado River since before the first Spanish entrada to the area in 1540, consider the Great Bend to be part of their tribes' traditional territories, given to them by the Creator. Both tribes frequently traveled up the Gila River, to and through the Great Bend, to interact with other communities, to trade with their allies, and to wage war on their enemies. They see their cultural legacy among the artifacts, ancient settlements, geoglyphs, petroglyphs, and trails throughout the Great Bend of the Gila. Thus, this landscape is intrinsic to their cultural identities, because the region speaks to these tribes' relationships with their Creator, as well as specific historical relations with neighboring communities.

Prior to their imprisonment at San Carlos, autonomous Yavapai bands moved throughout the mountains and valleys lining the Great Bend of the Gila. The mobility of the Yavapai tied them to the land and instilled values and beliefs that defined them as one people regardless of the social and political independence of each band. Among the Yavapai, the connection to the Great Bend is felt most strongly by the Tolkapaya, a composite of western bands who historically resided throughout the desert country between the Bill Williams and the lower Gila rivers, and, at times, south of the Gila River.

After their release from San Carlos, some Tolkapaya who had once lived along and around the lower Gila River settled at Fort McDowell and Camp Verde. Others returned to their traditional lands and integrated into western frontier towns along the lower Gila River, such as Arlington, Palomas, and Dome. Contemporary members of the three Yavapai reservations recognize the historical

ties of their people to the Great Bend of the Gila through oral histories passed down among survivors of General Crook's Yavapai Wars and the San Carlos atrocity.

O'odham and Pee-Posh rancherías blanketed the river valley of the Great Bend of the Gila when first visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1699, and their residence in this area persisted throughout the colonial regimes of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. For this reason, the documentary record provides more information about the O'odham and Pee-Posh connections to the Great Bend than for other tribes. The Great Bend lies within the traditional lands of the Tohono O'odham, Hia C'ed O'odham, Akimel O'odham, and the Pee-Posh. The San Lucy District of the Tohono O'odham Nation is the only contemporary reservation located along the Great Bend of the Gila, and parcels of their land abut and are encircled by the proposed national monument (see Figures 1.1-1.2). In fact, the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, which would only include federal lands currently managed by the Bureau of Land Management, encompasses land that was part of the Gila Bend Indian Reservation for more than a century, from 1882 to 1986. Some members of the San Lucy District recall living at places that are now on federal lands included in the proposed national monument boundary. It is stories and experiences such as theirs that speak volumes about deep, emotional, and, at times, complicated historical, cultural, traditional, and religious connections the O'odham and other associated Native American communities have and continue to foster with the Great Bend of the Gila.

Because at least 11 federally recognized tribes, representing seven distinct Native American groups, maintain important historical, traditional, and religious ties to the land and resources of the Great Bend of the Gila in myriad, culturally specific ways, the significance of this cultural landscape complements and enlivens the scientific and aesthetic values commonly attributed to cultural resources. It is not only the vast tribal historical ties to the region that make the Great Bend of the Gila a significant cultural landscape, but also, the heritage values each tribe ascribes to it and the virtue of their involvement in ongoing efforts to preserve the region's cultural and natural resources. The Great Bend subsumes "a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources" (Page et al. 1998:12), and for this reason, it deserves special consideration as an ethnographic landscape. Similarly, because the region "retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress" (UNESCO 2012:88), the Great Bend of the Gila constitutes a continuing landscape that

remains an integral part of the lives of associated Native American community members.

The Great Bend of the Gila is clearly a significant, multidimensional cultural landscape to the many Native American communities culturally, historically, and traditionally associated with it. More importantly, as an ancestral landscape that continues to live in the memories, traditions, religions, and daily lives of many tribes, the Great Bend maintains an active role in fostering the continuation of cultural practices and the transmission of cultural knowledge across generations. The importance of land to Native American cultural identity cannot be understated. As explained by Native American legal scholar Rebecca Tsosie (2001:1302-1303):

There is a dynamic and on-going relationship between Native peoples and the land. Although this relationship is often misunderstood by non-Indians and depicted as “nature worship” or something similar, the land carries a critical significance to indigenous peoples...For most Native peoples, land is constitutive of cultural identity. Many Indian nations identify their origin as a people with a particular geographic site, often a mountain, river or valley, which represents an integral part of the tribe’s religion and cultural world view...The land is a source of sustenance and abundance, but the cultural knowledge that comes from the land is also a form of “wealth” for Native peoples...Thus, the value of these resources to Native people is measured in both tangible and intangible ways.

The ability for associated Native American communities to continue connecting with their ancestral lands and traditional use-areas is fundamental to carrying tribal identities forward. The preservation of ancestral cultural landscapes, such as the Great Bend, and the cultural and natural resources of which they are comprised, is intrinsic to the cultural and spiritual well-being of the associated Native American groups. The foresight of long-term preservation of living landscapes, such as this, serves to protect and honor the relationships tribal members maintain with the land. That is why the 11 tribes represented here unanimously support stronger and more permanent measures to protect the undeveloped character, and to preserve the cultural resources, of the Great Bend of the Gila.

NOTES

¹The Mojave, represented by two tribes in Arizona and California, are also associated with the Great Bend of the Gila, but due to scheduling issues, tribal representatives were unable to participate in this project. Although not included in this study, the Mojave have cultural and historical ties to the Great Bend area, and they should be considered in future ethnohistoric research and consulted on matters concerning the preservation, management, and interpretation of cultural resources along the lower Gila River.

APPENDIX A

HOUSE RESOLUTION 5556

114TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 5556

To establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in the State of Arizona, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 22, 2016

Mr. GRIJALVA introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Natural Resources

A BILL

To establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in the State of Arizona, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
5 “Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establish-
6 ment Act”.

7 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for
8 this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Establishment of Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, Arizona.
- Sec. 3. Management of national monument.
- Sec. 4. Management plan.
- Sec. 5. Tribal use of national monument.

- Sec. 6. Off-road use of motorized and mechanized vehicles.
- Sec. 7. No military airspace restrictions.
- Sec. 8. Research, education, and visitor services.
- Sec. 9. Fish and wildlife.
- Sec. 10. Land acquisition.
- Sec. 11. Withdrawal.
- Sec. 12. Effect on existing facilities and rights-of-way.
- Sec. 13. Water rights.
- Sec. 14. Advisory council.

1 **SEC. 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NA-**
2 **TIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZONA.**

3 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the
4 State of Arizona the Great Bend of the Gila National
5 Monument (in this Act referred to as the “national monu-
6 ment”).

7 (b) PURPOSE.—The purpose of the national monu-
8 ment is—

9 (1) to preserve, protect, and restore the archae-
10 ological, cultural, historic, geologic, hydrologic, nat-
11 ural, educational, and scenic resources of the Great
12 Bend of the Gila (Gila River in Western Maricopa
13 County, Arizona) and adjacent land; and

14 (2) to provide for public interpretation and
15 recreation consistent with the resources described in
16 paragraph (1).

17 (c) BOUNDARIES.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—The national monument con-
19 sists of approximately 84,296 acres of public lands
20 and interests in land administered by the Secretary
21 of the Interior through the Bureau of Land Manage-

1 ment, as generally depicted on the map entitled
2 “Great Bend of the Gila National Monument” and
3 dated March 6, 2013.

4 (2) MINOR ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary may
5 make minor adjustments to the boundaries of the
6 national monument to reflect the inclusion of signifi-
7 cant archaeological resources discovered after the
8 date of enactment of this Act on public lands adja-
9 cent to the national monument.

10 (3) AVAILABILITY OF MAP.—The map described
11 in paragraph (1) and the legal description of any ad-
12 justments made under paragraph (2) shall be on file
13 and available for public inspection in the appropriate
14 offices of the Bureau of Land Management.

15 (d) ADJACENT USES.—Nothing in this Act—

16 (1) creates a protective perimeter or buffer zone
17 around the national monument; or

18 (2) affects private property outside of the
19 boundaries of the national monument.

20 **SEC. 3. MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL MONUMENT.**

21 (a) NATIONAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION SYS-
22 TEM.—The Secretary of the Interior shall manage the na-
23 tional monument as part of the National Landscape Con-
24 servation System—

1 (1) to allow only such uses of the national
2 monument as to further the purposes for which the
3 monument was established; and

4 (2) in accordance with this Act and other laws
5 generally applicable to the national monument, in-
6 cluding the Native American Graves Protection and
7 Repatriation Act (25 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.) and the
8 policy described in Public Law 95–341 (commonly
9 known as the American Indian Religious Freedom
10 Act; 42 U.S.C. 1996).

11 (b) **MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES.**—In managing the
12 national monument, the Secretary of the Interior shall—

13 (1) maintain the undeveloped character of the
14 national monument to the maximum extent prac-
15 ticable; and

16 (2) protect and restore cultural resources, spe-
17 cies, and ecosystems of the national monument.

18 (c) **VEGETATION MANAGEMENT.**—

19 (1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of the Inte-
20 rior—

21 (A) shall conduct an inventory of invasive
22 plant species in the national monument;

23 (B) may carry out vegetation management
24 treatments, including efforts to control salt

1 cedar and other invasive plant species, in the
2 national monument; and

3 (C) shall coordinate vegetation manage-
4 ment within the national monument boundaries
5 with ongoing efforts to eradicate invasive spe-
6 cies by the Flood Control District of Maricopa
7 County and neighboring communities.

8 (2) USE OF NATIVE PLANT SPECIES.—The Sec-
9 retary shall utilize native plant species in planning
10 for restoration projects to be conducted in the na-
11 tional monument.

12 (d) GRAZING.—The Secretary shall permit grazing in
13 the national monument, where grazing was established be-
14 fore the date of enactment of this Act—

15 (1) subject to all applicable laws; and

16 (2) consistent with the purposes for which the
17 national monument is established.

18 (e) BACKCOUNTRY ACTIVITIES.—Management of the
19 national monument shall support backcountry hunting
20 and other non-motorized recreation in the national monu-
21 ment.

22 **SEC. 4. MANAGEMENT PLAN.**

23 (a) MANAGEMENT PLAN REQUIRED.—Not later than
24 three years after the date of enactment of this Act, the
25 Secretary of the Interior shall develop a management plan

1 for the national monument that addresses the actions nec-
2 essary to protect the resources described in section
3 2(b)(1). The management plan shall include a transpor-
4 tation plan, including travel restrictions and road closures.

5 (b) CONSULTATION.—In addition to the period of
6 public comment required by subsection (b), the Secretary
7 of the Interior shall prepare the management plan in gov-
8 ernment-to-government consultation with Indian tribes
9 with a cultural or historic tie to the Great Bend of the
10 Gila.

11 **SEC. 5. TRIBAL USE OF NATIONAL MONUMENT.**

12 (a) TRADITIONAL USES.—The Secretary of the Inte-
13 rior shall allow for the continued use of the national monu-
14 ment by members of Indian tribes—

15 (1) for traditional ceremonies; and

16 (2) as a source of traditional plants and other
17 materials.

18 (b) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—Tribal use of the na-
19 tional monument under subsection (a) shall be—

20 (1) subject to any terms and conditions the
21 Secretary of the Interior determines to be necessary
22 to further the purposes for which the national monu-
23 ment is established; and

24 (2) in accordance with applicable law.

25 (c) TRIBAL RIGHTS.—Nothing in this Act affects—

1 (1) the rights of any Indian tribe on Indian
2 land;

3 (2) any individually held trust land or Indian
4 allotment; or

5 (3) any treaty rights providing for nonexclusive
6 access to or in the national monument by members
7 of Indian tribes for traditional and cultural pur-
8 poses.

9 **SEC. 6. OFF-ROAD USE OF MOTORIZED AND MECHANIZED**
10 **VEHICLES.**

11 Except as needed for administrative purposes or to
12 respond to an emergency, the use of motorized and mecha-
13 nized vehicles in the national monument is limited to roads
14 and trails designated for their use.

15 **SEC. 7. NO MILITARY AIRSPACE RESTRICTIONS.**

16 Establishment of the national monument shall not be
17 construed to impact or impose any altitude, flight, or other
18 airspace restrictions on current or future military oper-
19 ations or missions. Should the Armed Forces require addi-
20 tional or modified airspace after the date of the enactment
21 of this Act, Congress does not intend for the establishment
22 of the national monument to impede the Secretary of De-
23 fense from petitioning the Federal Aviation Administra-
24 tion to change or expand restricted military airspace.

1 **SEC. 8. RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND VISITOR SERVICES.**

2 (a) EDUCATION AND INTERPRETATION.—The Sec-
3 retary of the Interior shall provide such minimal facilities
4 within the national monument for education and interpre-
5 tation, such as signage or other interpretive kiosks, as the
6 Secretary considers necessary for visitor enjoyment of the
7 national monument, while ensuring the protection of
8 monument resources.

9 (b) VISITOR CENTER.—Any visitor center for the na-
10 tional monument shall be sited in a community in the vi-
11 cinity of the national monument, rather than within the
12 boundaries of the national monument.

13 (c) RESEARCH AUTHORIZED.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Inte-
15 rior shall allow scientific research to be conducted in
16 the national monument, including research to iden-
17 tify, protect, and preserve the historic and cultural
18 resources of the monument.

19 (2) CLIMATE CHANGE RESEARCH.—The Sec-
20 retary may conduct, or authorize other persons to
21 conduct, research regarding the effects of climate
22 change on monument resources to develop manage-
23 ment techniques to boost resiliency and facilitate ad-
24 aptation to human-caused climate change.

1 **SEC. 9. FISH AND WILDLIFE.**

2 Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction of the
3 State of Arizona with respect to the management of fish
4 and wildlife on public lands in the State.

5 **SEC. 10. LAND ACQUISITION.**

6 (a) ACQUISITION AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of the
7 Interior may acquire land and any interest in land, State
8 and private, within or adjacent to the boundaries of the
9 national monument—

10 (1) by purchase from willing sellers with do-
11 nated or appropriated funds;

12 (2) by donation; or

13 (3) by exchange.

14 (b) TREATMENT OF ACQUIRED LAND.—Land and in-
15 terests in land acquired under the authority of subsection
16 (a) shall automatically become part of the national monu-
17 ment.

18 **SEC. 11. WITHDRAWAL.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to valid existing rights,
20 all Federal land within the national monument (including
21 any land or interest in land acquired after the date of en-
22 actment of this Act) is withdrawn from—

23 (1) entry, appropriation, or disposal under the
24 public land laws;

25 (2) location, entry, and patent under the mining
26 laws; and

1 **SEC. 14. ADVISORY COUNCIL.**

2 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than 180 days after
3 the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall es-
4 tablish an advisory council, to be known as the “Great
5 Bend of the Gila National Monument Advisory Council”.

6 (b) DUTIES.—

7 (1) The Council shall advise the Secretary with
8 respect to the preparation and implementation of the
9 management plan.

10 (2) The Council shall advise, or create a sub-
11 committee to advise, on salt cedar/tamarisk removal
12 within the monument.

13 (c) APPLICABLE LAW.—The Council shall be subject
14 to—

15 (1) the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5
16 U.S.C. App.); and

17 (2) the Federal Land Policy and Management
18 Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.).

19 (d) MEMBERS.—The Council shall include members
20 to be appointed by the Secretary. To the extent prac-
21 ticable, the Secretary shall appoint not more than 13
22 members from Category One and an additional 13 mem-
23 bers, in the aggregate, from Category Two, Category
24 Three, and Category Four, who will represent the pur-
25 poses for which the national monument was established
26 and stakeholders who may have an interest in the planning

1 and management of the national monument. The cat-
2 egories referred to in this subsection are the following:

3 (1) CATEGORY ONE.—Representatives of affili-
4 ated tribes.

5 (2) CATEGORY TWO.—Public land ranchers, ir-
6 rigation districts, and representatives of organiza-
7 tions associated with agriculture, energy and mineral
8 development, transportation or rights-of-way, off-
9 highway vehicle use, and commercial recreation.

10 (3) CATEGORY THREE.—Representatives of na-
11 tionally or regionally recognized environmental orga-
12 nizations, archaeological and historical organiza-
13 tions, and dispersed recreation activities.

14 (4) CATEGORY FOUR.—

15 (A) Representatives of State, county, or
16 local elected office.

17 (B) Representatives and employees of a
18 State agency responsible for the management of
19 natural resources.

20 (C) Representatives and employees of aca-
21 demic institutions who are involved in natural
22 sciences.

23 (D) The public-at-large.

24 (e) REPRESENTATION.—The Secretary shall ensure
25 that the membership of the Council is fairly balanced in

1 terms of the points of view represented and the functions
2 to be performed by the Council.

3 (f) DURATION.—The Council shall terminate on the
4 date that is one year from the date on which the manage-
5 ment plan is adopted by the Secretary.

○

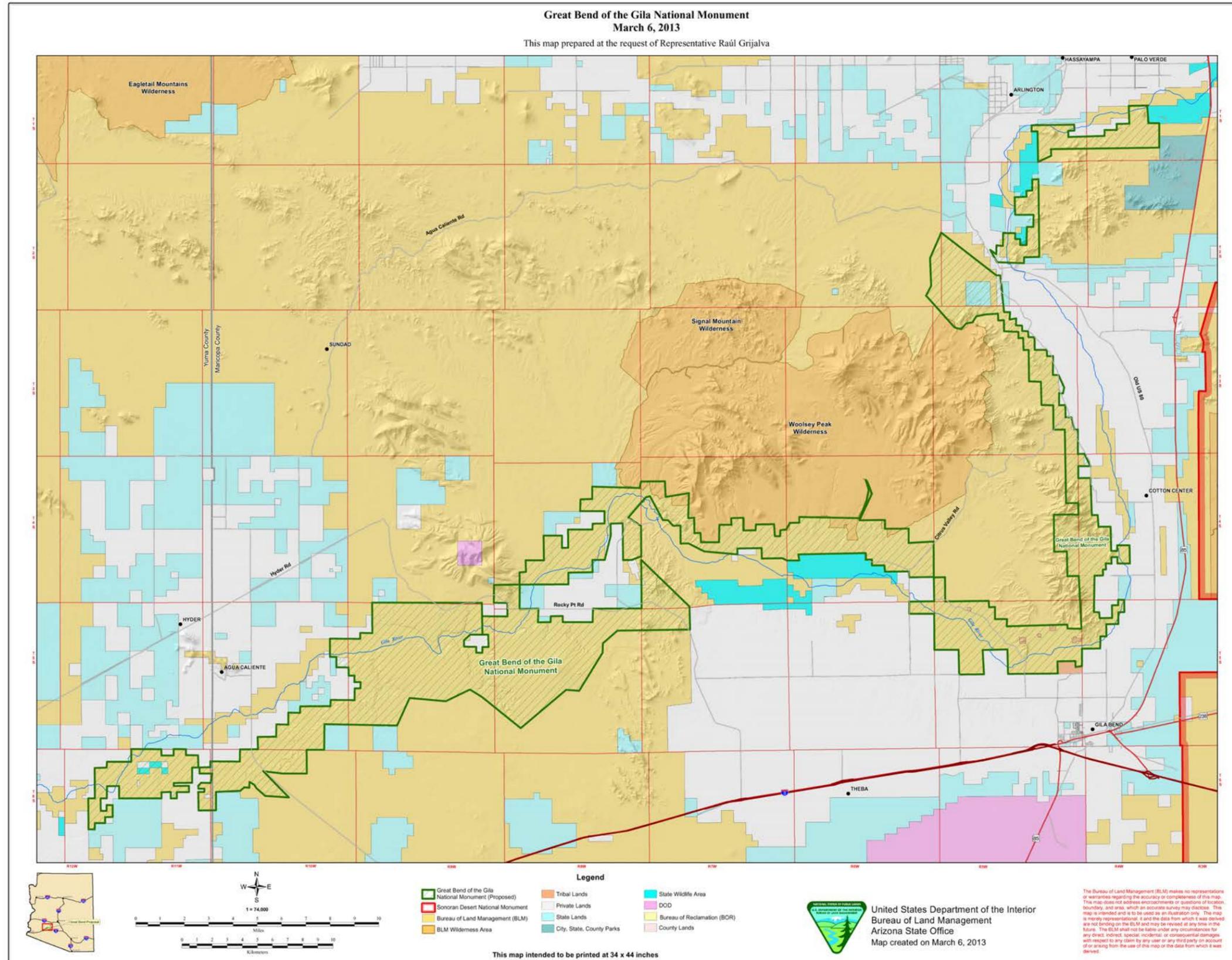


Figure A.1. Proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, House Bill 5556.

APPENDIX B

TIMELINES OF OUTREACH AND QUESTIONNAIRES

Cocopah Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
10/07/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Jill McCormick
11/10/2015	<p>Presentation and meeting with Cocopah Elders' Group, 2-4pm</p> <p>Location: Cocopah Cultural Resource Dept. 14515 S. Veterans Drive Somerton, AZ 85350</p> <p>Participants: Marilyn Hayes Dale Phillips Paula Koolick Irene Sharkey Marjorie Manuel Shelda Twist Jill McCormick Wanda Twist Geneva Miller Cynthia Villanueva Shirley Miller Diane White Flora Palmer Aaron Wright (ASW) Carole Phillips Maren Hopkins (AR)</p>
11/20/2015	<p>Presentation to Cocopah Tribal Council, 10am- 12pm</p> <p>Location: Tribal Council Meeting Room 14515 S. Veterans Drive Somerton, AZ 85350</p> <p>Participants: J. Deal Begay (Vice-Chairman) Rosa Long (Councilwoman) Veronica Menta (Assistant Tribal Administrator) Jill McCormick (Cultural Resource Department) Edgar Castillo (Cultural Resource Department) Bill Doelle (ASW) Aaron Wright (ASW) Maren Hopkins (AR)</p>
05/12/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Jill McCormick
06/15/2016	Initial remarks and revisions received from Jill McCormick
06/27/2016	Additional remarks and revisions received from Jill McCormick
06/27/2016	Revised draft sent to Jill McCormick
06/29/2016	Additional remarks and revisions received from Jill McCormick
06/29/2016	Revised draft sent to Jill McCormick
07/01/2016	Draft approved by Cocopah Indian Tribe

^a AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meeting with Cocopah Elders' Group

Landscape Features

1. Is there a Cocopah name for the Gila River?
2. Are there Cocopah names for some of the landforms along the Great Bend?
3. Are there Cocopah stories or traditions tied to the Great Bend of the Gila?
4. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in Cocopah traditions today?

What is the Cocopah connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. I've read that the Cocopah were in contact with the Hohokam, O'odham, and the Pee-Posh of the Gila River area. Can you tell me more about these relationships? What is the Cocopah relationship with the Patayan archaeological tradition?
2. I've read that the Cocopah traditionally traded with the Maricopa, the Pimas, and the Paipai. What items were traded? Where would these trades take place?
3. Who were the allies and who were the enemies of the Cocopah during warfare? What did typical warfare rituals or traditions entail?
4. Spanish missionaries used the Gila River as a travel route through the area, and they reportedly interacted with the Cocopah. Do the Cocopah have stories about meeting or accompanying Spanish missionaries through the area of the Great Bend?

Petroglyphs

1. Are there Cocopah stories or traditions tied to any sites along the lower Gila?
2. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Cocopah people today?
3. Do you know of any reasons why ancestral Cocopah would make petroglyphs in this area?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. Do you know of any Cocopah stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Is there one general reason for making geoglyphs, or do you know if geoglyphs were made for multiple reasons? If so, what might they be?
3. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Cocopah people today?
4. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. Do the Cocopah have stories or traditions that tell how summit trails may have been used or why they were important?
2. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Did ancestral Cocopah people live at any of the villages along the Great Bend?
2. Are there Cocopah stories or traditions tied to the hilltop villages around the Great Bend?
3. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Hopi Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
08/24/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Leigh Kuwanwisiwma and Stewart Koyiyumtewa
09/25/2015	<p>Presentation and meeting with HCRATT, 9am-1pm</p> <p>Location: Colton Research Center Pearson Hall Museum of Northern Arizona 3101 N. Ft. Valley Road Flagstaff, AZ 86001</p> <p>Participants: Riley Balenquah Ernie Holmes Wilson Huma Sr. Steward Koyiyumtewa Floyd Lomakuyvaya Gregory Jean Lomakuyvaya Harlyn Monongye Terry Morgard Gilbert Naseyowma Joe Nicholas Gerald Numkena</p> <p>Owen Numkena Sharold Nutumya Terrance Outah Lyman Polacca Bill "Bucky" Preston E.J. Satala Sr. Elliott Selestewa Clarice Tafoya Ronald Wadsworth Maren Hopkins (AR) Aaron Wright (ASW)</p>
04/26/2016	<p>Review session with Cultural Preservation Office, 10am-12pm</p> <p>Location: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office 1 Main Street Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039</p> <p>Participants: Leigh Kuwanwisiwma Stewart Koyiyumtewa Maren Hopkins (AR)</p>
05/12/2016	<p>Follow-up review session with Cultural Preservation Office, 10am-12pm</p> <p>Location: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office 1 Main Street Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039</p> <p>Participants: Leigh Kuwanwisiwma Stewart Koyiyumtewa Maren Hopkins (AR)</p>
05/12/2016	Draft approved by Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

^aHCRATT = Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team; AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meeting with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team

Landscape Features

1. Is there a Hopi name for the Gila River?
2. Is there a Hopi name for the Sonoran Desert?
3. Is there a Hopi name for the “south,” or for the group of Hopi clans that migrated from the south?
4. Do the Hopi have stories or traditions tied to the Gila River?
5. Are there Hopi stories about lava fields and mountains that can teach us about those along the Great Bend of the Gila?
6. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in Hopi traditions today?

What is the Hopi connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. Did any ancestral Hopi people live in the area of the Great Bend, perhaps even at some of the villages?
2. What is the Hopi people’s relationship with the Colorado River tribes?
3. I’ve read about Hopi people making pilgrimages from the Hopi Mesas to the Sea of Cortez long ago. Do you know anything about this?
4. I’ve read about the Hopi story or Tiyo, the boy who traveled from Tokonavi down the Colorado River to the land of the Snake People. Upon his return, do you know if Tiyo and his Tsu’mana traveled through the area of the Great Bend of the Gila as they returned to Tokonavi with the sacred knowledge of rainmaking?
5. Spanish missionaries used the Gila River as a travel route through the area. Do the Hopi have stories about meeting or accompanying them through the area of the Great Bend?

Petroglyphs

1. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Hopi people today?
2. Did you see any Hopi clan symbols among the petroglyphs?
3. Do you know of any other reasons why ancestral Hopi people would make petroglyphs in this area?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. Do you know of any Hopi stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Hopi people today? Are they Hopi “footprints”?
3. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. Do the Hopi have stories or traditions that tell how these trails may have been used or why they were important? Are they Hopi “footprints”?
2. Are there trails like these on or around the Hopi mesas? Have you seen or used any?
3. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Are there Hopi stories or traditions that can teach us about the Rock Ballcourt or the Ring Site? Do the Hopi consider these to be “footprints”?
2. The Hopi currently reside on three mesas. Are there Hopi stories or traditions tied to the hilltop villages around the Great Bend? Do the Hopi consider these to be “footprints”?
3. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Mojave Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
10/15/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Wilene Fisher-Holt (CRIT)
10/15/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Linda Otero (FMIT)
10/19/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Wilene Fisher-Holt (CRIT)
10/19/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Linda Otero (FMIT)
10/30/2015	Request to present to CRIT sent to Amanda Barrera, Tribal Council Secretary
10/30/2015	Request to present to CRIT sent to Rebecca Loudbear, Tribal Attorney General
11/19/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Wilene Fisher-Holt (CRIT)

^a CRIT = Colorado River Indian Tribes; FMIT = Fort Mojave Indian Tribe; AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

O'odham and Pee-Posh Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
10/19/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Shane Anton (SRP-MIC)
10/19/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Barnaby V. Lewis (GRIC)
10/21/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Caroline Antone (A-CIC)
10/29/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Peter Steere (TON)
11/11/2015	Presentation and meeting with GRIC and SRP-MIC cultural advisors, 9-11:30am Location: GRIC Cultural Resources Building 192 S. Skill Center Road, Bldg. 200 Sacaton, AZ 85147 Participants: Shane Anton (SRP-MIC) Barnaby V. Lewis (GRIC) Matthew Garza (SRP-MIC) Reylynne Williams (GRIC) Maren Hopkins (AR) Larry Benallie (GRIC) Aaron Wright (ASW) Lisa Little Iron (GRIC)
11/20/2015	Presentation to Four Southern Tribes Cultural Resource Working Group, 9am- 12pm Location: GRIC Governance Center 525 West Gu U Ki Road Sacaton, AZ 85147 Participants: Matthew Garza (SRP-MIC) Barnaby V. Lewis (GRIC) April Lewis (SRP-MIC) Lauaríá C. Anton (GRIC) Mary Anna Soliz (A-CIC) Lisa Little Iron (GRIC) Joseph Joaquin (TON) Gwenn Thomas (GRIC) Diana F. Manuel (TON) Ana J. Joaquin (GRIC) David Tenario (TON) Maren Hopkins (AR) Art Wilson (TON) Aaron Wright (ASW)
11/20/2015	Scheduled presentation with TON Cultural Preservation Committee with Art Wilson
11/20/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Mary Soliz (A-CIC)
11/24/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Mary Soliz (A-CIC)
01/19/2016	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Mary Soliz (A-CIC)
01/22/2016	Presentation and meeting with TON Cultural Preservation Committee, 9-11am Location: Tohono O'odham Nation Legislative Modular Building PO Box 837 Sells, AZ 85634 Participants: Art Wilson Louis Lopez Frances Miguel Diana F. Manuel Sandra Ortega Maren Hopkins (AR) Marcilda Geronimo Aaron Wright (ASW)
01/25/2016	Follow-up request to present to A-CIC sent to Mary Soliz
02/29/2016	Presentation to A-CIC Tribal Council and community, 6-7pm Location: A-CIC Service Center 42507 W Peters and Nall Road Maricopa, AZ 85138

	Participants:	Robert Miguel (Council Chair) Ann Antone Louis Manuel Jr. Gabriel Lopez	Delia M. Carlyle (Council Vice-chair) Maren Hopkins (AR) Aaron Wright (ASW)
04/21/2016	Review Session with GRIC and SRP-MIC cultural advisors, 9am-3pm		
	Location:	GRIC Governance Center 525 West Gu U Ki Road Sacaton, AZ 85147	
	Participants:	Barnaby V. Lewis (GRIC) Reylynne Williams (GRIC) Lisa Little Iron (GRIC) Larry Benallie (GRIC)	Angela Garcia-Lewis (SRP-MIC) Maren Hopkins (AR) Aaron Wright (ASW)
04/21/2016	Comments on draft received from Chris Loendorf, GRIC Cultural Resource Program		
04/21/2016	Draft approved by GRIC, pending requested revisions		
04/21/2016	Draft approved by SRP-MIC, pending requested revisions		
05/05/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Peter Steere (TON)		
05/05/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Mary Soliz (TON)		
05/06/2016	Additional comments on draft received from Kelly Washington (SRP-MIC)		
05/11/2016	Additional comments on draft received from Barnaby V. Lewis (GRIC)		
06/10/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Peter Steere (TON)		
06/14/2016	Draft approved by TON		
07/06/2016	Final follow-up request for review sent to Caroline Antone and Mary Soliz (A-CIC)		

^a SRP-MIC = Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community; GRIC = Gila River Indian Community; A-CIC = Ak-Chin Indian Community; TON = Tohono O'odham Nation; AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meetings with Four O'odham Tribes

Landscape Features

1. What is the O'odham name for the Gila River?
2. Are there O'odham names for some of the landforms along the Great Bend?
3. Are there O'odham stories or traditions tied to the Great Bend of the Gila?
4. Are there O'odham stories about lava fields and mountains that can teach us about those along the Great Bend of the Gila?
5. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in O'odham traditions today?

What is the O'odham connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. What relationship do the O'odham have with archaeological traditions referred to as Hohokam and Patayan?
2. What is the O'odham people's relationship with the Colorado River tribes?
3. I've read about O'odham people making pilgrimages to the Sea of Cortez long ago. Do you know anything about this?
4. The Pee-Posh are part of the Gila and Salt River Indian Communities, but they once lived along the Colorado River and lower Gila River. What compelled the Pee-Posh to move upriver?
5. How did the Pee-Posh come to be such close allies with the O'odham?
6. Spanish missionaries used the Gila River as a travel route through the area. Do the O'odham have stories about meeting or accompanying them through the area of the Great Bend?
7. Can you tell me more about the Oriole Song traditions and how they relate to this issue?

Petroglyphs

1. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to O'odham people today?
2. Some petroglyphs along the Great Bend are like symbols shown on O'odham pottery and calendar sticks. What might explain that connection?
3. Do you know of any reasons why the Huhugam would make petroglyphs in this area?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. Do you know of any O'odham stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Is there one general reason for making geoglyphs, or do you know if they geoglyphs were made for multiple reasons? If so, what might they be?
3. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to O'odham people today?
4. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. The summit trails of the Great Bend look similar to some known on lands of the Gila River Indian Community? Do the O'odham have stories or traditions that tell how these trails may have been used or why they were important?
2. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Are there O'odham stories or traditions that can teach us about the Rock Ballcourt or the Ring Site?
2. Are there O'odham stories or traditions tied to the hilltop villages around the Great Bend?
3. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Quechan Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
10/02/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Manfred Scott
10/19/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Manfred Scott
10/27/2015	Follow-up request to participate in project sent to Manfred Scott
11/10/2015	Presentation and meeting with Quechan Cultural Committee, 10-11 am Location: Fort Yuma Indian Reservation Tribal Headquarters Cultural Committee Office 350 Picacho Road Winterhaven, CA 92283 Participants: Barbarita Aguilar Ernestina Noriega Linda Cachora Manfred Scott (Chair) Lorey Cachora Maren Hopkins (AR)
01/07/2016	Presentation to Quechan Tribal Council, with Cultural Committee in attendance Location: Fort Yuma Indian Reservation Tribal Headquarters Council Chambers 350 Picacho Road Winterhaven, CA 92283 Participants: Aaron W. Brown Manfred Scott Linda Cachora Virgil S. Smith Lorey Cachora Cryselle Montague-Uribe Michael Jack (Vice-president) Bill Doelle (ASW) Michael Jackson Sr. (President) Aaron Wright (ASW) Juliana M. Comet Maren Hopkins (AR) James Montague William Isabell (reporter) Ernestina Noriega
02/15/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Manfred Scott
04/14/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Manfred Scott
06/02/2016	Review session with Quechan Cultural Committee, 10am-4pm Location: Fort Yuma Indian Reservation Tribal Headquarters Cultural Committee Office 350 Picacho Road Winterhaven, CA 92283 Participants: Lorey Cachora Manfred Scott (Chair) Linda Cachora Maren Hopkins (AR) Barbarita Kofeen Aaron Wright (ASW) Gloria McGee
06/02/2016	Draft approved by Quechan Cultural Committee, pending requested revisions
06/03/2016	Request for Quechan orthography corrections sent to Manfred Scott

^a AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meeting with Quechan Cultural Committee

Landscape Features

1. Is there a Quechan name for the Gila River?
2. I've read of how Kumastamxó made the Colorado River by tracing a line in the desert with his lance. How might the Gila River have been created?
3. Are there Quechan names for some of the landforms along the Great Bend?
4. Are there Quechan stories or traditions tied to the Great Bend of the Gila?
5. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in Quechan traditions today?

What is the Quechan connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. What relationship do the Quechan have with archaeological traditions referred to as Hohokam and Patayan?
2. What is the Quechan people's relationship with other Colorado River tribes? How about the Pee-Posh and O'odham farther east?
3. I've heard that Sears Point is the dividing line between Quechan and Pee-Posh lands, and that there is a marker at Sears Point that depicts the agreement. Could you tell me more about this?
4. I've read about the Gila Group of the Quechan people, who lived north and south of the Gila-Colorado confluence and east of Yuma. Could you tell me more about these people?
5. I've also read about the Akyet Kuma't ("Sunflower Eaters") who lived northeast of the Gila-Colorado confluence. Could you tell me more about these people?
6. Spanish missionaries used the Gila River as a travel route through the area. Do the Quechan have stories about meeting or accompanying them through the area of the Great Bend?

Petroglyphs

1. Are there Quechan stories or traditions tied to Sears Point or other petroglyph sites along the lower Gila?
2. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Quechan people today?
3. Do you know of any reasons why ancestral Quechan would make petroglyphs in this area?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. Do you know of any Quechan stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Is there one general reason for making geoglyphs, or do you know if geoglyphs were made for multiple reasons? If so, what might they be?
3. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Quechan people today?
4. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. Do the Quechan have stories or traditions that tell how summit trails may have been used or why they were important?
2. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Did ancestral Quechan people live at any of the villages along the Great Bend?
2. Are there Quechan stories or traditions tied to the hilltop villages around the Great Bend?
3. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Yavapai Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
09/03/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Linda Ogo (Y-PIT)
09/03/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Karen Ray (FMYN)
09/03/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Gertrude Smith and Reba Franco (Y-AN)
09/24/2015	Presentation and meeting Y-AN community with attendance by representatives from FMYN , 10am-5:30pm
	Location: Y-AN Cultural Resource Center 300 E. Middle Verde Road Camp Verde, AZ 86322
	Participants: Nel Engel (Y-AN) Mercedes Lewis (FMYN) Fieda A. Eswonia (Y-AN) Cindy Nahee (Y-AN) Linda Evans (Y-AN) Donna Nightpipe (Y-AN) Reba Franco (Y-AN) Delores Plunkett (Y-AN) Mertle E. Honwytewa (Y-AN) Rianna Wathogoma (Y-AN) Charlene M. Jackson (Y-AN) Sylvia Wilson (Y-AN) Pamela Jackson (Y-AN) Maren Hopkins (AR) Dave C. Kinsey Sr. (Y-AN) Aaron Wright (ASW) Gordon Lewis (FMYN)
01/11/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Linda Ogo (Y-PIT)
01/11/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Karen Ray (FMYN)
01/11/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Gertrude Smith (Y-AN)
01/21/2016	Comments on draft received from Nancy Lee Hayden, Y-PIT Cultural Resource Department
01/21/2016	Presentation and meeting Y-PIT Cultural Resource Department, 10am-12:30pm
	Location: Y-PIT Tribal Offices 530 E. Merritt Street Prescott, AZ 8630
	Participants: Greg Glassco Linda Ogo Nancy Lee Hayden Maren Hopkins (AR) Spring Jones Aaron Wright (ASW) Scott Kwiatkowski
02/19/2016	Presentation and meeting with Yavapai Language Coalition, 10am-12:30pm
	Location: YPIT Tribal Offices 530 E. Merritt Street Prescott, AZ 8630
	Participants: Shirley Bennett (FMYN) Delores Plunkett (Y-AN) Reba Franco (Y-AN) Karen Ray (FMYN) Audrey Ogo Hartley (YPIT) Natasha Sanchez (YPIT) Pamela Jackson (Y-AN) Gertrude Smith (Y-AN) Albert Nelson (FMYN) Pierce Willcutt (FMYN) Darlene Ogo (YPIT) Jordan Williams (FMYN) Linda Ogo (YPIT) Aaron Wright (ASW)
02/26/2016	Revised draft and request for comments/review sent to Linda Ogo (Y-PIT)

02/26/2016	Revised draft and request for comments/review sent to Karen Ray (FMYN)
02/26/2016	Revised draft and request for comments/review sent to Gertrude Smith (Y-AN)
03/11/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Linda Ogo (Y-PIT)
03/11/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Karen Ray (FMYN)
03/11/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Gertrude Smith (Y-AN)
03/29/2016	Comments and revised draft receive from Linda Ogo (Y-PIT)
05/04/2016	Draft approved by Y-PIT
05/04/2016	Draft approved by FMYN
05/04/2016	Draft approved by Y-AN

^a Y-PIT = Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe; Y-AN = Yavapai-Apache Nation; FMYN = Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation; AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meetings with Three Yavapai Tribes

Landscape Features

1. Is there a Yavapai name for the Gila River?
2. Is there a Yavapai name for the Sonoran Desert?
3. Do the Yavapai have stories or traditions tied to the Gila River?
4. Are there Yavapai stories about lava fields and mountains that can teach us about those along the Great Bend of the Gila?
5. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in Yavapai traditions today?

What is the Yavapai connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. How do the Yavapai people today understand the archaeological traditions of the Patayan and the Hohokam? Are they your ancestors?
2. I've read that the Great Bend of the Gila is within the historic range of the Tolkapaya, the western Yavapai. Do you know of anyone whose family once lived in the area of the Great Bend, perhaps even at some of the ancient villages?
3. After petitioning the U.S. government for release from the San Carlos reservation in the 1890s, some Yavapai families settled at communities along the Great Bend of the Gila. These include the towns of Palomas, Agua Caliente, and Arlington. I read that some people worked on farms and others made and sold baskets. Do you know of anyone whose family settled along the Great Bend after leaving San Carlos?
4. Historically, other cultural groups lived to the south and west of the Great Bend of the Gila. These include the O'odham, Pee-Posh, Cocopah, Mojave, and Quechan, among others. Can you tell us something about Yavapai relationships with these neighboring groups?
5. Most of the available maps show the Gila River as the southern edge of the Tolkepaya's historic range. Is this true? Did the Yavapai ever venture south of the Gila River?
6. Spanish missionaries and governors used the Gila River as a travel route to their colonies in California. Do the Yavapai have stories about seeing or accompanying them through the area of the Great Bend?

Petroglyphs

1. Do you know if any Yavapai people made petroglyphs in this area and, if so, why?
2. Do you see any Yavapai symbols among the petroglyphs?
3. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Yavapai people today?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. I've read that some Yavapai healers would make giant ground paintings to protect against disease, and that some were created as part of a young shaman's initiation. Geoglyphs are similar to ground paintings. Do you know of any Yavapai stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Yavapai people today?
3. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. Do the Yavapai have stories or traditions that tell how these trails may have been used or why they were important?
2. Have you seen or used any trails like these, or do you know someone who has?
3. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Are there Yavapai stories or traditions that can teach us about the Rock Ballcourt or the Ring Site?
2. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
3. I've read that during the U.S. military campaigns, some Yavapai built fortifications in canyons and atop some buttes. Are the hilltop villages around the Great Bend defensive fortifications or something else?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Zuni Engagement

Date	Activity ^a
08/18/2015	Request to participate in project sent to Kurt Dongoske and Octavius Seotewa
09/23/2015	Presentation and meeting with ZCRAT, 10am-2:30pm Location: A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center 2 E Ojo Caliente Road Zuni, NM 87327 Participants: Ronnie Cachini Perry Tsadiasi Harry Chimoni Cornell Tsalate Jim Enote (Museum Director) George J. Yawakie Eldred Quam Maren Hopkins (AR) Curtis Quam Aaron Wright (ASW) Octavius Seotewa (Chair)
01/05/2016	Draft and request for comments/review sent to Octavius Seotewa and Kurt Dongoske
02/15/2016	Follow-up request for review and comments sent to Octavius Seotewa
03/08/2016	Review session with ZCRAT, 9am-12pm Location: A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center 2 E Ojo Caliente Road Zuni, NM 87327 Participants: Ronnie Cachini Edlred Quam Harry Chimoni Curtis Quam Jim Enote (Museum Director) Octavius Seotewa (Chair) Presley Hoskie Maren Hopkins (AR)
03/08/2016	Draft approved by ZCRAT, pending requested revisions

^a ZCRAT = Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team; AR = Anthropological Research, LLC; ASW = Archaeology Southwest

Discussion Questions for Meeting with Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team

Landscape Features

1. Are there Zuni names for the Gila River and Sonoran Desert?
2. Do the Zuni have stories or traditions tied to the Gila River?
3. Are there Zuni stories about lava fields and mountains that can teach us about those along the Great Bend of the Gila?
4. Are there any plants, minerals, or other natural and biological resources from the area that are important in Zuni traditions today?

What is the Zuni connection to the Great Bend of the Gila?

1. Did any ancestral Zuni people visit or live around the Great Bend, perhaps at some of the villages?
2. We know that the Zuni people (ancestrally and during more recent historical times) traveled long distances for trade and collection of resources, even as far as northern Mexico. What resources were Zunis trading and collecting? Can you tell us something about Zuni relationships with these other groups?
3. The Great Bend of the Gila lies between Zuni Pueblo and lands where the Tohono O'odham and several lower Colorado River tribes reside. What is the Zuni people's relationship with these neighboring people?
4. I read about how, during the migration to the middle place at Zuni Pueblo, a group branched off and went southward, to the "Land of Everlasting Sunshine." Is there a Zuni name for the "south," or for the group of Zuni who migrated south and never returned?
5. Spanish missionaries and governors used the Gila River as a travel route between Zuni Pueblo and the Colorado River. Do the Zuni have stories about accompanying them through the area of the Great Bend?

Petroglyphs

1. Are the petroglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Zuni people today?
2. Do you see any Zuni symbols among the petroglyphs?
3. Do you know if any Zuni people made petroglyphs in this area and, if so, why?
4. Should the petroglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Geoglyphs

1. Do you know of any Zuni stories or traditions that involved making or using geoglyphs?
2. Are the geoglyphs within the area of the Great Bend important to Zuni people today?
3. Should the geoglyphs be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Summit Trails

1. Do the Zuni have stories or traditions that tell how these trails may have been used or why they were important?
2. Are there trails like these closer to Zuni Pueblo? Have you seen or used any?
3. Should these trails be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

Villages

1. Are there Zuni stories or traditions that can teach us about the Rock Ballcourt or the Ring Site?
2. I've read about Coronado's assault on the Zuni and how Zuni people took refuge atop Dowa Yalanne. Are the hilltop villages around the Great Bend similar to the Heshoda Ayahltona on Dowa Yalanne?
3. Why might people have placed these villages on the hilltops instead of the valley floor?
4. Should these villages be protected and/or preserved? Why or why not?

APPENDIX C

PROJECT CONSENT FORM

**ARCHAEOLOGY SOUTHWEST
AND
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH, LLC
TUCSON, ARIZONA**

For several years there has been a growing effort to establish a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. Legislation was introduced in 2013 by Representative Raúl Grijalva to designate an area including 84,000 acres of land along the lower Gila River in southwestern Arizona as a national monument. This area is currently managed by the Bureau of Land Management. The purpose of this monument would be to protect and celebrate this unique landscape and the many cultural resources it contains.

Representative Raúl Grijalva plans to introduce Great Bend of the Gila National Monument legislation again in September following the summer recess. To support Representative Grijalva's efforts, the National Trust for Historic Preservation has funded Archaeology Southwest to prepare an overview of the prehispanic and post-contact cultural resources known within the proposed monument. To complement that effort, Archaeology Southwest has partnered with Anthropological Research to document the perspectives of tribes whose traditional lands intersect the area so the area and its archaeological resources are better understood and interpreted. Our objective is to learn what value and significance each associated tribe ascribes to the Great Bend's landscape and cultural resources.

With tribal consent, Archaeology Southwest and Anthropological Research will synthesize what they learn into a final report. This report will inform key decision makers in Washington, D.C. on why the Great Bend of the Gila is important to tribes and why this area merits designation as a national monument.

As part of our presentation today, we will be asking questions about your tribe's relationships with the area encompassed by the proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. You do not have to answer every question you are asked. You may refuse to answer any question that asks for information you do not want to reveal.

1. By signing this document, you grant permission for audio recordings and photographs of yourself to be taken during this session for purposes of accurate documentation.
2. Information you provide during this session, including quotes and paraphrases of what you say, will be used in the final report and other educational publications authorized by your tribe.
3. Documentation collected during the project will be archived at your tribal offices for use in future tribal projects.

We thank you for your assistance with our work.

APPENDIX D

CULTURAL RESOURCES REFERENCED IN THE CHAPTERS



Figure D.1. The “Agua Caliente Racetrack,” a complex geoglyph near Sears Point consisting of an elongated elliptical intaglio with adjoining rock alignments and rock piles (referenced in Chapters 3, 4, and 7). (Image by Elias Butler.)

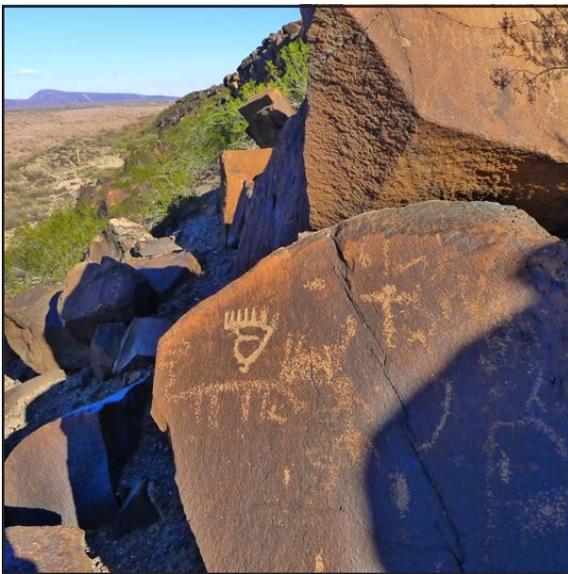


Figure D.2. Petroglyph panel at Quail Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)

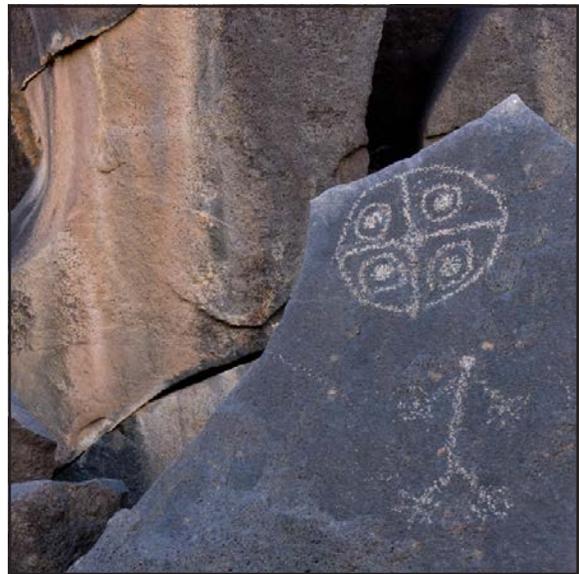


Figure D.3. Petroglyph panel at Quail Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.4. Petroglyph panels at Quail Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.5. Circular rock alignment geoglyph at a fork in an ancient trail near Quail Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.6. Ancient trail near Quail Point (referenced in Chapter 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.7. Petroglyph panel at Hummingbird Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)

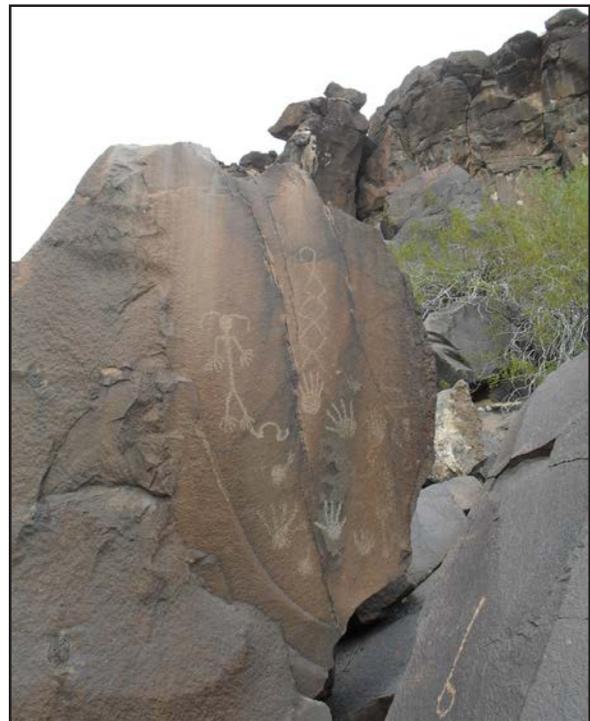


Figure D.8. Petroglyph panels at Hummingbird Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.9. Petroglyph panels at Hummingbird Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.10. Petroglyph panel above Toad Tank (referenced in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.11. Petroglyphs at Oatman Point (referenced in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.12. *Conus* sp. shell, from the Pacific Ocean, found at an ancient village along the floodplain below Oatman Mountain (referenced in Chapters 3 and 7). (Image by John Alcock.)



Figure D.13. Ancient trail near Oatman Mountain (referenced in Chapter 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.14. Summit trail at Rocky Point along east side of Oatman Mountain (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.15. Overview of the Rock Ballcourt, facing south (referenced in Chapter 7). (Image by Aaron Wright.)



Figure D.16. Overview of the Rock Ballcourt, facing southwest (referenced in Chapter 7). (Image by Aaron Wright.)



Figure D.17. Aerial overview of La Fortaleza, the Fortified Hill site, facing east (referenced in Chapters 4 and 7). (Image by Henry Wallace.)



Figure D.18. Aerial overview of La Fortaleza, the Fortified Hill site, facing southwest (referenced in Chapters 4 and 7). (Image by Henry Wallace.)



Figure D.19. Rockshelter in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapter 6). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.20. Petroglyph panel in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 5). (Image by Henry Wallace.)

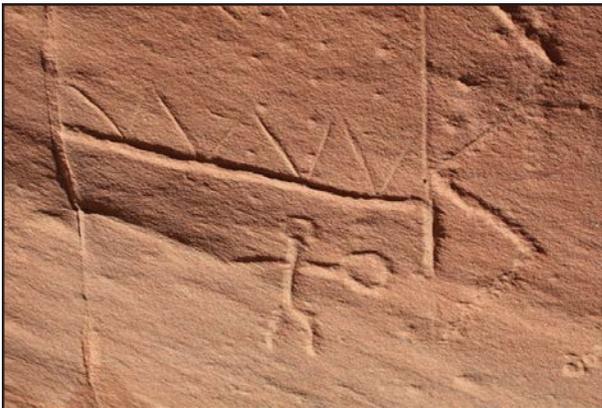


Figure D.21. Petroglyph panel in Red Rock Canyon, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 5). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.22. Standing wall at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapter 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.23. Canyon enclosing wall at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapter 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.24. Circular rock alignment at the Fort Pierpoint site, Gila Bend Mountains (referenced in Chapters 2 and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.25. Petroglyph panels at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.26. Petroglyph panel at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.27. Petroglyph panel at the Gillespie Dam Rock Art Complex (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.28. Summit trail ascending the southwest slope of Powers Butte (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)



Figure D.29. Petroglyph panel atop Powers Butte (referenced in Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 7). (Image by Andy Laurenzi.)

APPENDIX E

TRIBAL RESOLUTIONS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT

**RESOLUTION NUMBER CT-2016-16
OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE COCOPAH TRIBE
OF THE COCOPAH INDIAN RESERVATION**

**THE RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT PASSAGE OF THE “GREAT BEND OF THE GILA
NATIONAL MONUMENT ESTABLISHMENT ACT” BY THE UNITED STATES
CONGRESS**

- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE IS A FEDERALLY RECOGNIZED TRIBE ORGANIZED PURSUANT TO THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT OF JUNE 18, 1934 (48 STATUTE 984), AS AMENDED BY THE ACT OF JUNE 15, 1935 (49 STATUTE 378); AND
- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH TRIBAL COUNCIL IS THE LEGAL GOVERNING BODY OF THE COCOPAH TRIBE EMPOWERED BY ARTICLE V AND VI OF THE CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE; AND
- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE HAS ALWAYS HELD THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL ARCHEOLOGICAL, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS SITES AS A HIGH PRIORITY AND RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO PROTECT THE CULTURAL HERITAGES; AND
- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO PROTECT, PERSERVE, AND MANAGE CULTURALLY SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES ON ITS ANCESTRAL AND TRADITIONAL-USE LANDS ON PUBLIC LANDS; AND
- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE RECOGNIZES THAT URBAN DEVELOPMENT IS ENCROACHING ON THE SIGNIFICANT CONCENTRATIONS OF PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC SITES, AND IRRESPONSIBLE AND UNMANGED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES ON PUBLIC LANDS INCREASES DAMAGE OR DESTRUCTION OF IRREPLACEABLE HERITAGE RESOURCES; AND
- WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE GREAT BEND OF GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT ONCE DESIGNATED WILL BE ADMINISTERED BY THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR, THROUGH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AS PART OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH APPLICABLE LAWS AND REGULATIONS; AND

WHEREAS: THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE UNDERSTANDS THAT DESIGNATION OF THE GREAT BEND OF GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT WILL ASSURE A GREATER MEASURE OF PROTECTION OF THESE PUBLIC LANDS BASED ON THEIR EXCEPTIONAL CULTURAL RESOURCE VALUES WITH THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL RESOURCE VALUES INCLUDING TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: THAT THE COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE HEREBY SUPPORTS CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION INTRODUCED INTO THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BY ARIZONA DISTRICT 3 CONGRESSMAN RAUL M. GRIJALVA THAT WILL ESTABLISH THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT IN THE STATE OF ARIZONA AND HIGHLY RECOMMENDS THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ARIZONA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS SUPPORT THIS IMPORTANT LEGISLATION.

***** C E R T I F I C A T I O N *****

The foregoing resolution was adopted by the Cocopah Tribal Council at a **Special Meeting** held on June 23, 2016 with a quorum present by a vote of 3 **FOR** 0 **ABSTAINED** and 0 **AGAINST**.


Sherry Cordova, Chairwoman
Cocopah Tribal Council


Rosa J. Long, Acting Secretary
Cocopah Tribal Council





QUECHAN INDIAN TRIBE
Ft. Yuma Indian Reservation
Office of Tribal Administration

P.O. Box 1899
Yuma, Arizona 85366-1899
Phone (760) 572-0213
Fax (760) 572-2102

RESOLUTION

R-141-16

A RESOLUTION TO APPROVE THE GREAT GILA RIVER NATIONAL MONUMENT PLAN FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIVE AMERICAN SACRED CULTURAL AREAS.

- WHEREAS:** THE QUECHAN INDIAN TRIBE OF THE FORT YUMA INDIAN RESERVATION IS A FEDERALLY RECOGNIZED INDIAN TRIBE ORGANIZED UNDER A CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS RATIFIED BY THE TRIBE ON NOVEMBER 28, 1936, AND APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ON DECEMBER 18, 1936, WITH REVISED AMENDMENTS APPROVED ON NOVEMBER 18, 1974, AND MAY 21, 1997; AND
- WHEREAS:** THE QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE THE EXECUTION OF THE PROPOSED GREAT GILA RIVER NATIONAL MONUMENT PLAN FOR PROTECTION OF NATIVE AMERICAN SACRED CULTURAL AREAS; AND
- WHEREAS:** INTEGRATE WILDLIFE PRESERVATION AND PROTECT PUBLIC LANDS IN THEIR NATURAL CONDITION, ALL QUALITY OF SCIENTIFIC, SCENIC, HISTORICAL, ECOLOGICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL; AND
- WHEREAS:** AFTER MANY MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON D.C., THE CULTURAL COMMITTEE, THE GREAT GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT GROUP AND THE STATE OF ARIZONA; AND
- WHEREAS:** THE QUECHAN CULTURAL COMMITTEE ASSISTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN, THE GOAL TO CREATE AN AGREEMENT WITH ALL U.S. GOVERNMENT, STATES, CORPORATIONS THAT WILL REMAIN OPEN FOR GOALS, OBJECTIVES, DESIGNATIONS, RESOURCES USE DETERMINATIONS, MONITORING STANDARDS; AND
- WHEREAS:** FUTURE PROPOSED ACTION BE CONSISTENT WITH PLAN; COMPONENTS OF THE APPROVED RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN, TERMS, CONDITION, AND DECISIONS OF THE APPROVED PLAN; AND

R-141-16

Page 2 of 2

WHEREAS: THE QUECHAN CULTURAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE TRIBAL COUNCIL APPROVE THE PROPOSED GREAT GILA RIVER NATIONAL MONUMENT PLAN; AND

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: THAT THE QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL HEREBY APPROVES THE PROPOSED GREAT GILA RIVER NATIONAL MONUMENT PLAN (ATTACHMENT 1); AND

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED THAT: THE PRESIDENT, OR IN HIS ABSENCE THE VICE-PRESIDENT, IS THE AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL TO EXECUTE ALL APPLICABLE DOCUMENTS.

CERTIFICATION

THE FOREGOING RESOLUTION WAS PRESENTED AT A **SPECIAL COUNCIL MEETING** OF THE QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL WHICH CONVENED ON **JULY 19, 2016**, DULY APPROVED BY A VOTE OF: **5** FOR, **0** AGAINST, **0** ABSTAINED, **1** ABSENT, BY THE TRIBAL COUNCIL OF THE QUECHAN INDIAN TRIBE, PURSUANT TO THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN IT BY SECTION 16 OF THE REORGANIZATION ACT OF JUNE 18, 1934, (48 STAT. 984) AS AMENDED BY THE ACT OF JUNE 15, 1935 (49 STAT. 378) AND ARTICLE IV, OF THE QUECHAN TRIBAL CONSTITUTION, AND BYLAWS. THIS RESOLUTION IS EFFECTIVE AS OF THE DATE OF ITS APPROVAL.

QUECHAN TRIBE

BY:



MIKE JACKSON, SR., PRESIDENT
QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL



REGINA M. ESCALANTI, SECRETARY
QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL

Gregory Mendoza
Governor



Stephen Roe Lewis
Lieutenant Governor

GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY *Executive Office*

"A New Generation of Leadership Serving the People"

December 12, 2012

Honorable Raul M. Grijalva
1205 Longworth House Office Building
Washington D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Grijalva,

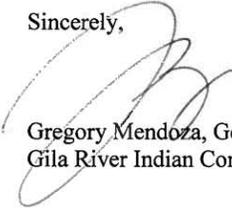
The Gila River Indian Community (the "Community") hereby expresses full support for introduction of legislation to establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. In recent months, the Community has been in consultation with the Archaeology Southwest and the National Trust for Historic Preservation for consideration of support for this legislation.

The Community is a federally recognized tribe located in Southern Arizona consisting of The Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Pee Posh (Maricopa) Tribes. The O'odham are actually one cultural group that consists of four present day federally recognized tribes, the Gila River Indian Community, Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, the Ak-Chin Indian Community, and the Tohono O'odham Nation. Each of these tribes has a shared culture, history, and language. These tribes also have a shared belief that they are the descendants of the people known in the O'odham language as the *Huhugam*. The Pee Posh have a separate and distinct culture, history, and language from the O'odham and share a cultural affiliation with the Yuman Tribes.

The Community recognizes that its culture, languages, and history are vibrant traditions with ties to indigenous peoples throughout the American Southwest, deep into Mexico, and wherever the languages and practices of Yuman and Southern Uto-Aztecan (Sonoran-Tepiman) peoples were once practiced and persist to this day. According to the oral traditions of the Akimel O'odham and Pee Posh, the O'odham once occupied lands that ranged from the California Coast in the west into present day New Mexico in the east, and from the Sierra Madre Occidental in the north to well into Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico. The Pee Posh occupied lands encompassing the Phoenix Basin including the Gila and Salt Rivers, west to the Mohawk Mountains, while maintaining external relations primarily with Yuman language speakers extending to the Pacific and Gulf coasts and throughout the trans-Colorado River region.

The Community believes that the establishment of the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument would protect this significant and fragile cultural legacy that has played an important role in shaping the culture and local communities that are part of the landscape of southern Arizona. The Community appreciates the opportunity to provide our support for this important legislation

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Gregory Mendoza', written over a circular stamp or seal.

Gregory Mendoza, Governor
Gila River Indian Community



GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY SACATON, AZ 85147

RESOLUTION GR-16-13

A RESOLUTION OF THE GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY SUPPORTING CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT IN THE STATE OF ARIZONA INTRODUCED BY ARIZONA DISTRICT 3 CONGRESSMAN RAUL M. GRIJALVA

WHEREAS, the Gila River Indian Community Council (the “Community Council”) is the governing body of the Gila River Indian Community (the “Community”); and

WHEREAS, the Community Council, empowered pursuant to Article XV of the Community’s Constitution and Bylaws (1960) to negotiate with Federal, State, and local governments on behalf of the Community and to do such other acts of government or public nature as are not prohibited by specifically applicable Federal laws or by its constitution; and

WHEREAS, the Community Council has always held the preservation of historical, archaeological, cultural, and religious sites as a high priority and recognizes the need to protect the cultural heritages of the Akimel O’odham (Pima) and the Pee Posh (Maricopa); and

WHEREAS, the Akimel O’odham (Pima) and their ancestors, the Hohokam have inhabited Southern Arizona since time immemorial; and

WHEREAS, the Pee Posh (Maricopa) and their ancestors, the Patayan have inhabited Southern Arizona since time immemorial; and

WHEREAS, the Community recognizes that its culture, languages, and history are vibrant traditions with ties to indigenous peoples throughout the American Southwest and deep into Mexico, wherever the languages and practices of Yuman and Southern Uto-Aztecan (Sonoran-Tepiman) peoples were once practiced and persist to this day; and

WHEREAS, according to the oral traditions of the Akimel O’odham, the Akimel O’odham once occupied lands that ranged from the California Coast in the west into present day New Mexico in the east, and from the Sierra Madre Occidental in the north to well into Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico; and

WHEREAS, according to the oral traditions of the Pee Posh, the Pee Posh occupied lands encompassing the Phoenix Basin including the Gila and Salt Rivers, west to the Mohawk Mountains, while maintaining external relations primarily with Yuman language speakers extending to the Pacific and Gulf coasts and throughout the trans-Colorado River region; and



LeRoy N. Shingoitewa
CHAIRMAN

Herman G. Honanie
VICE-CHAIRMAN

Raúl M. Grijalva
Member of Congress
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0307

Dear Congressman Grijalva,

I am pleased to have received your correspondence on a proposal to create a new U.S. National Monument within the State of Arizona that will address and protect environmental and cultural resources that are culturally affiliated with the Hopi Tribe's ancestral heritage. The proposed Great Bend of the Gila National Monument appears to reflect a respectful acknowledgement of prehistoric cultural traditions of our ancestors (Hohokam, Patayan and Mimbres) to further the need to protect those resources for the benefit of current and future generations. The Hopi Tribe will continue to pursue and support efforts that address heightened awareness and protection of valuable cultural resources so that we may share our enduring cultural heritage with our friends and neighbors.

The Hopi Tribe would like to be a partner in this proposed national monument designation so that we may contribute our knowledge and understanding of our ancestors who pioneered these lands many centuries ago. My office will work towards consulting with the Hopi Tribal Council and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office to fully understand and support this tremendous opportunity extended to us. Please contact Micah Loma'omvaya, Chief of Staff at (928) 734-3106 or MLomaomvaya@hopi.nsn.us to keep us informed of further developments and to engage our support and input as we look forward to raising national awareness of this important proposal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "LeRoy N. Shingoitewa". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a prominent initial "L" and a long, sweeping underline.

LeRoy N. Shingoitewa,
Chairman
The Hopi Tribe



Herman G. Honanie
CHAIRMAN

Alfred Lomahquahu Jr.
VICE-CHAIRMAN

July 1, 2016

Raúl M. Grijalva, Congressman
1511 Longworth House Office Building
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515-0307

Dear Congressman Grijalva,

I am delighted to have received the legislation you introduced to the 114th Congress, H.R. 5556, to establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, which will address and protect environmental and cultural resources that are traditionally associated and culturally affiliated with the Hopi Tribe's ancestral heritage.

Hopi migration is intimately associated with a sacred Covenant between the Hopi people and the Earth Guardian, in which the Hopi people made a solemn promise to protect the land by serving as stewards of the Earth, and in accordance with this Covenant, ancestral Hopi clans traveled through and settled on the lands in and around the Gila River during their long migration to *Tuuwanasavi*, the Earth Center on the Hopi Mesas.

This land is a testament of Hopi stewardship through thousands of years, manifested by the "footprints" of ancient villages, sacred springs, migration routes, pilgrimage trails, artifacts, petroglyphs, and the physical remains of buried *Hisatsinom*, the "People of Long Ago," all of which were intentionally left to mark the land as proof that the Hopi people have fulfilled their Covenant. The Hopi ancestors buried in the area continue to inhabit the land, and they are intimately associated with the clouds that travel out across the countryside to release the moisture that sustains all life.

The Hopi footprints and clouds are part of a living, sacred landscape that nourishes and sustains Hopi identity, and this landscape is steeped in cultural values and maintained through oral traditions, songs, ceremonial dances, pilgrimages, and stewardship, and as a cultural landscape, the archaeological sites and physical terrain situates the Hopi people in time and space, providing a geographical conception of history and religion that connects the past, present and future.

These lands are part of our ancestral lands and Hopi history and cultural values associated with ancestral sites and landscapes are deep and abiding. Pursuant to Hopi Tribal Council

Raúl M. Grijalva
July 1, 2016
Page 2

Resolutions, the Hopi Tribe claims cultural affiliation to prehistoric cultural groups in the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument area, the Hopi Tribe supports the identification and avoidance of prehistoric archaeological sites and Traditional Cultural Properties, and we consider the prehistoric archaeological sites of our ancestors to be “footprints” and Traditional Cultural Properties.

The Hopi Tribe is fully aware that over the last few decades the archaeological, natural and geographic resources in the region have been severely impacted and we have encouraged the Bureau of Land Management to enforce the laws protecting cultural and natural resources on public land.

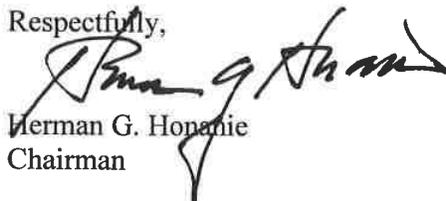
In the enclosed letter from 2013, the we stated that this proposal reflects a respectful acknowledgement of the prehistoric cultural traditions of our ancestors, and to further the need to protect those resources for the benefit of current and future generations, the Hopi Tribe would continue to pursue and support efforts that address heightened awareness and protection of valuable cultural resources so that we may share our enduring cultural heritage with our friends and neighbors.

The Hopi Tribe has become a partner in this proposed National Monument designation, contributing our knowledge and understanding of our ancestors who pioneered these lands many centuries ago through Archaeology Southwest’s ethnographic report entitled *The Great Bend of the Gila, A Nationally Significant Cultural Landscape*.

Therefore the Hopi Tribe hereby supports the permanent long term protection of cultural and natural resources and sacred sites on these public lands through H.R.5556 designating Great Bend of the Gila National Monument. Such a designation and management could accomplish the goal of prioritizing protection of cultural resources while also allowing flexibility in management of traditional Native American uses including wood, plants, medicine, ancestral sites, shrines, and hunting.

Please contact Leigh Kuwanwisiwma at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office at 928-734-3611 or lkuwanwisiwma@hopi.nsn.us to keep us informed of further developments and to engage our support and input as we look forward to raising national awareness of this important proposal. Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully,



Herman G. Hopanie
Chairman

Enclosure: 2013 letter; xc: Aaron M. Wright, Archaeology Southwest



INTER TRIBAL COUNCIL
of
ARIZONA

Support for the Establishment of the Great Bend of the Gila River National Monument

ITCA Resolution 0113

MEMBER TRIBES
AK-CHIN INDIAN COMMUNITY
COCOPAH TRIBE
COLORADO RIVER INDIAN TRIBES
FORT McDOWELL YAVAPAI NATION
FORT MOJAVE TRIBE
GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY
HAVASUPAI TRIBE
HOPI TRIBE
HUALAPAI TRIBE
KAIBAB-PAIUTE TRIBE
PASCUA YAQUI TRIBE
PUEBLO OF ZUNI
QUECHAN TRIBE
SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA
INDIAN COMMUNITY
SAN CARLOS APACHE TRIBE
TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION
TONTON APACHE TRIBE
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE
YAVAPAI APACHE NATION
YAVAPAI PRESCOTT INDIAN TRIBE

WHEREAS, the Inter Tribal Council of Arizona (ITCA), an organization of twenty tribal governments in Arizona, provides a forum for tribal governments to advocate for national, regional and specific tribal concerns and to join in united action to address those issues; and

WHEREAS, the member Tribes of the Inter Tribal Council of Arizona have the authority to act to further their collective interests as sovereign tribal governments; and

WHEREAS, From its source in New Mexico, the Gila River flows for nearly 650 miles in a westerly direction to join with the Colorado River near Yuma, Arizona; and

WHEREAS, 40 miles southwest of downtown Phoenix, the Gila River makes a sharp bend to the south due to the unique geology of the area, and is commonly referred to as the Great Bend of the Gila River (referred hereafter as "the Great Bend"); and

WHEREAS, Since ancient times, many travelers have passed through the Great Bend including the Patayan and Hohokam peoples, as evidenced through petroglyphs, geoglyphs, habitation sites, and areas that may have been used as ceremonial sites ranging in age from the early prehistoric to the protohistoric periods; and

WHEREAS, cultural affiliations of today's Indian Nations and Tribes who have ties to the Great Bend area include the Ak-Chin Indian Community, the Gila River Indian Community, Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, the Tohono O'odham Nation, the Quechan Tribe, the Yavapai-Apache Nation, the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, the Cocopah Tribe, the Colorado River Indian Tribes, the Fort Mojave Tribe, the Hopi Tribe, the Pueblo of Zuni, the San Carlos Apache Tribe, and the Tonto Apache Tribe; and

preserve historically and culturally significant places such as the Gila River including land adjacent to the Gila River for future generations.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESLOVED that the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Council supports congressional legislation entitled the "Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act."

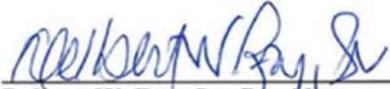
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Council urges the United States Congress to pass and United States President Barack Obama to sign the "Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act" during the next legislative session.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the Council hereby authorizes the President or Vice President to take any and all reasonable and necessary actions to carry out the intentions of this Resolution.

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

Pursuant to the authority contained in Article VII, Section 1(c)(1), (4) and (5) of the Constitution of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community ratified by the Tribe, February 28, 1990, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior March 19, 1990, and amended by the Tribe, February 27, 1996, and approved by the Secretary April 23, 1996, the foregoing resolution was adopted this 14th day of October, 2015 at a duly called meeting held by the Community Council in Salt River, Arizona at which a quorum of 9 members were present by a vote of 7 For, 1 Against, 1 Abstention and 0 Absent/Excused.

**SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA
INDIAN COMMUNITY COUNCIL**


Delbert W. Ray, Sr., President

ATTEST:


Erica Harvier, Council Secretary

Approved as to Form by the
Office of the General Counsel
Marnie Hodahkwen
October 1, 2015


**SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA
INDIAN COMMUNITY
10005 East Osborn Road,
Scottsdale, Arizona 85256**

Resolution Number: SR-3387-2016

**A RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT PASSAGE OF THE "GREAT BEND OF THE GILA
NATIONAL MONUMENT ESTABLISHMENT ACT" BY THE UNITED STATES
CONGRESS.**

- WHEREAS,** Article VII, Section 1(j) of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community ("Community") Constitution authorizes the Community Council to advise and recommend to the United States government; and
- WHEREAS,** Article VII, Section 1(c)(10) of the Community Constitution authorizes the Community Council "[t]o preserve historic and prehistoric arts, crafts, sites and other things culturally important to the people of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community"; and
- WHEREAS,** The Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community is comprised of two Native American tribes: the Pima, or "Onk Akimel O'Odham," (Salt River People), and the Maricopa, or "Xalychidom Piipaash," (People who live toward the water); and
- WHEREAS,** For both the Onk Akimel O'Odham and the Xalychidom Piipaash, the Gila River is a place of great historical and cultural significance; and
- WHEREAS,** The Onk Akimel O'Odham have a familial relationship of shared cultural group identity that can be traced historically and prehistorically to the Huhugam that inhabited central and southern Arizona, as well as the northern region of present-day Mexico; and
- WHEREAS,** The proposed boundaries of the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument encompass numerous archaeological sites which are attributed to ancient Huhugam farmers. From Gillespie Dam through Sears point several Huhugam petroglyphs sites are located which hold ancient teachings on stone that documents traditional religious use of the region since the prehistoric days of the Community's Huhugam ancestors. Traditional religious practitioners from the Community engage in private religious activities and continue to conduct ancient rituals and ceremonies at these places; and
- WHEREAS,** the Community recognizes the importance of supporting federal legislative efforts such as the "Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act" to

preserve historically and culturally significant places such as the Gila River including land adjacent to the Gila River for future generations.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESLOVED that the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Council supports congressional legislation entitled the "Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act."

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Council urges the United States Congress to pass and United States President Barack Obama to sign the "Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act" during the next legislative session.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the Council hereby authorizes the President or Vice President to take any and all reasonable and necessary actions to carry out the intentions of this Resolution.

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

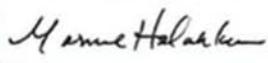
Pursuant to the authority contained in Article VII, Section 1(c)(1), (4) and (5) of the Constitution of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community ratified by the Tribe, February 28, 1990, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior March 19, 1990, and amended by the Tribe, February 27, 1996, and approved by the Secretary April 23, 1996, the foregoing resolution was adopted this 14th day of October, 2015 at a duly called meeting held by the Community Council in Salt River, Arizona at which a quorum of 9 members were present by a vote of 7 For, 1 Against, 1 Abstention and 0 Absent/Excused.

**SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA
INDIAN COMMUNITY COUNCIL**


Delbert W. Ray, Sr., President

ATTEST:


Erica Harvier, Council Secretary

Approved as to Form by the
Office of the General Counsel
Marnie Hodahkwen
October 1, 2015


**RESOLUTION OF THE TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
(Supporting the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Bill
(H.R. 1348) Introduced by Arizona District 3 Congressman Raul Grijalva)**

RESOLUTION NO. 13-264

1 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham and their ancestors the Archaic and Hohokam peoples have**
2 **inhabited Southern Arizona since time immemorial; and**

3 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham Nation recognizes the need to protect, preserve, and manage**
4 **cultural resources on its traditional-use lands; and**

5 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham Nation's Legislative Council passed an Archaeological Resources**
6 **Protection Ordinance (06-84) for the protection and preservation of cultural resources**
7 **associated with traditional or sacred values and beliefs important to the Tohono**
8 **O'odham and of the physical site, location or context in which cultural resources are**
9 **found; and**

10 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham Nation recognizes the need to protect, preserve and manage**
11 **archaeological, cultural, historic, geologic, hydrologic, natural, educational and**
12 **scenic resources along the Gila River in Western Maricopa County, Arizona and to**
13 **provide for public interpretation and recreation consistent with the resources**
14 **described above; and**

15 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham Nation supports H.R. 1348, introduced into the United States**
16 **Congress by Arizona 3rd District Congressman Raul Grijalva that establishes the Great**
17 **Bend of the Gila National Monument; and**

18 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham Nation Legislative Council's Cultural Preservation Committee**
19 **has reviewed and approves H.R. 1348.**

20 **NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Tohono O'odham Legislative Council does hereby**
21 **support H.R. 1348 ("To establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in the**
22 **State of Arizona") introduced by Arizona 3rd District Congressman Raul Grijalva on**
23 **March 21, 2013 and recommends that other members of the Arizona Congressional**
24 **delegation and other members of the United States Congress support this important**
25 **bill to preserve and protect culturally significant and sensitive areas along the Gila**
26 **River in western Maricopa County, Arizona.**

27
28
29

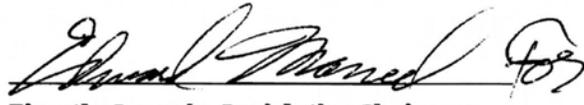
RESOLUTION NO. 13-264

(Supporting the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Bill (H.R. 1348) Introduced by Arizona District 3 Congressman Raul Grijalva)

Page 2 of 3

The foregoing Resolution was passed by the Tohono O'odham Legislative Council on the 10TH Day of JULY, 2013 at a meeting at which a quorum was present with a vote of 2,483.1 FOR; 243.8 AGAINST; 219.6 [02] NOT VOTING; and [01] ABSENT, pursuant to the powers vested in the Council by Article VI, Section 1 (j) of the Constitution of the Tohono O'odham Nation, adopted by the Tohono O'odham Nation on January 18, 1986; and approved by the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Operations) on March 6, 1986, pursuant to Section 16 of the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984).

TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL



Timothy Joaquin, Legislative Chairman

15 day of July, 2013

ATTEST:



Evonne Wilson, Legislative Secretary

15 day of July, 2013.

Said Resolution was submitted for approval to the office of the Chairman of the Tohono O'odham Nation on the 15 day of July, 2013 at 2:38 o'clock, P.M., pursuant to the provisions of Section 5 of Article VII of the Constitution and will become effective upon his approval or upon his failure to either approve or disapprove it within 48 hours of submittal.

TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL



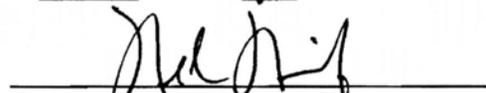
Timothy Joaquin, Legislative Chairman

APPROVED

on the 16 day of July, 2013

DISAPPROVED

at 5:47 o'clock, P.M.

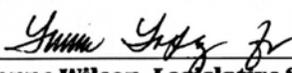


**NED NORRIS, JR., CHAIRMAN
TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION**

RESOLUTION NO. 13-264
(Supporting the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Bill (H.R. 1348) Introduced
by Arizona District 3 Congressman Raul Grijalva)
Page 3 of 3

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40
- 41
- 42
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46
- 47
- 48
- 49

Returned to the Legislative Secretary on the 17 day of
July, 2013, at 9:20 o'clock, A.M.



Evonne Wilson, Legislative Secretary

**RESOLUTION OF THE TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
(Reaffirming Support for Federal Legislation That Establishes a Great Bend
of the Gila National Monument)**

RESOLUTION NO. 15-367

1 **WHEREAS, the Constitution of the Tohono O'odham Nation vests the Legislative Council**
2 **with the authority to "consult, negotiate and conclude agreements and**
3 **contracts on behalf of the Tohono O'odham Nation with Federal, State and local**
4 **governments" and to "preserve and cultivate native arts, crafts and traditions"**
5 **(Constitution, Article VI, Section 1(f) and Section 1(c)(8)); and**
6 **WHEREAS, the Tohono O'odham and their ancestors, the Archaic and Hohokam peoples**
7 **have inhabited Southern Arizona since time immemorial, including the lands**
8 **along the Gila River in now Western Maricopa County; and**
9 **WHEREAS, the Nation recognizes the need to preserve and protect areas with significant**
10 **archaeological, cultural, historic, geologic, hydrologic, natural, educational,**
11 **and scenic resources for the benefit of future generations (Resolution No. 13-**
12 **264, Resolution No. 11-551, Resolution No. 09-569); and**
13 **WHEREAS, by Resolution No. 13-264, the Nation supported Representative Raul Grijalva's**
14 **bill H.R. 1348 "To establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in the**
15 **State of Arizona," which established a Great Bend of the Gila National**
16 **Monument, included a tribal consultation provision for the development of a**
17 **management plan, and allowed for the continued use of the national monument**
18 **for tribal ceremonial purposes; and**
19 **WHEREAS, the re-introduction of federal legislation similar to H.R. 1348, establishing a**
20 **Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in Arizona, remains an important**
21 **priority for the Tohono O'odham Nation; and**
22 **WHEREAS, the Legislative Cultural Preservation Committee recommends supporting**
23 **federal legislation similar to H.R. 1348, which establishes a Great Bend of the**
24 **Gila National Monument, includes tribal consultation provisions, and allows the**
25 **continued use of the national monument for tribal ceremonial purposes.**
26 **NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Tohono O'odham Legislative Council that it**
27 **reaffirms Resolution No. 13-264 and supports federal legislation similar to H.R.**
28 **1348, which establishes a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument, includes**

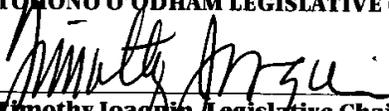
RESOLUTION NO. 15-367
(Reaffirming Support for Federal Legislation That Establishes a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument)
Page 2 of 3

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49

tribal consultation provisions, and allows the continued use of the national monument for tribal ceremonial purposes.

The foregoing Resolution was passed by the Tohono O'odham Legislative Council on the 17TH day of SEPTEMBER, 2015 at a meeting at which a quorum was present with a vote of 1,924.7 FOR; 1,096.7 AGAINST; -0- NOT VOTING; and [02] ABSENT, pursuant to the powers vested in the Council by Article VI, Section 1(f) and Section 1(c)(8) of the Constitution of the Tohono O'odham Nation, adopted by the Tohono O'odham Nation on January 18, 1986; and approved by the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Operations) on March 6, 1986, pursuant to Section 16 of the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat.984).

TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL


Timothy Joaquin, Legislative Chairman

23 day of September, 2015

ATTEST:


Evonne Wilson, Legislative Secretary

23 day of September, 2015

Said Resolution was submitted for approval to the office of the Chairman of the Tohono O'odham Nation on the 23 day of September, 2015 at 11:21 o'clock, P.m., pursuant to the provisions of Section 5 of Article VII of the Constitution and will become effective upon his approval or upon his failure to either approve or disapprove it within 48 hours of submittal.

TOHONO O'ODHAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL


Timothy Joaquin, Legislative Chairman

APPROVED

on the 24 day of September, 2015

DISAPPROVED

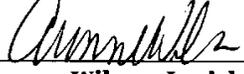
at 2:20 o'clock, P.m.


EDWARD D. MANUEL, CHAIRMAN
TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION

**RESOLUTION NO. 15-367
(Reaffirming Support for Federal Legislation That Establishes a Great Bend of the Gila National Monument)
Page 3 of 3**

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52

Returned to the Legislative Secretary on the 24 day of
September, 2015, at 3:00 o'clock, P.m.


Evonne Wilson, Legislative Secretary

Representative Raúl M. Grijalva
Arizona District Seven
1511 Longworth
Washington D.C. 20515

December 5th, 2012

RE: TO ESTABLISH THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

Dear Congressman Grijalva,

Please be informed that the Yavapai-Apache Nation of Camp Verde, Arizona is pleased and honored to support H.R.(to be designated) *To establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument in the State of Arizona....* All too often the fast pace of modern life, the complexities of politics and financial considerations simply do not allow for the respect and attention our history as a country is due. So when opportunities arise to recognize America's ancient heritage and the legacy of Native American People we are, as a Nation, all uplifted. We would like to thank-you for carrying the banner of traditional culture to this high level of government and appreciate your focus and effort to set aside this unique and important place on the landscape *for all Americans to enjoy*. You have our full support in this matter.

Cordially,

David Kwail	Vincent Randall	Gertie Smith	Christopher Coder
Chairman	Apache Culture	Yavapai Culture	Tribal Archaeologist

CC: SC/RI/SM/FC



Honorable Raul Grijalva
Arizona District Seven
1511 Longworth HOB
Washington, DC 20515

RE: TO ESTABLISH THE GREAT BEND OF THE GILA NATIONAL MONUMENT

Dear Congressman Grijalva:

The Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe expresses full support for the establishment of the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument (GBGNM) in the State of Arizona. The lands included in this proposed monument area have been, and continue to be, traditionally significant areas for the Yavapai since time immemorial. The Yavapai occupied these areas throughout prehistoric and historic times, as we originated in these lands, never having migrated from any other place. Archaeological evidence found in the proposed GBGNM area traces human occupation back to 3,000 BC and the Yavapai have oral history recalling even more ancient times in this area.

The rock writings and geoglyphs included in the proposed monument area tell of the ancient Yavapai People, who lived and walked in these lands. They tell of sacred areas where Yavapai First Leaders' remains are located and the history of the mountains and trails that were used from the time of the first humans through the Spanish Conquest. Yavapai oral history then recalls the movements of our ancestors during the American Indian Wars until they were settled on the current Yavapai reservations, limiting us to a small portion of our original territories. The Indian Claims Commission documented the Yavapai use of the area included in the proposed GBGNM, and our people continue to travel to the ancient sites there to document the rock writings in significant areas such as Sears Point.

The Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribal contact person for this project will be our Culture Research Director, Linda Ogo at 928-445-8790 ext. 7204. We look forward to working with you to establish the Great Bend of the Gila National Monument.

Sincerely,


Ernest Jones, Sr.
President

Approved for signature by Board of Directors Poll #16-54

530 E. MERRITT PRESCOTT, AZ 86301-2038 Phone 928-445-8790 FAX 928-778-9445

REFERENCES CITED

- Adams, Eleanor B.
1963 Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi. *New Mexico Historical Review* 38:97-138.
- Adams, Eleanor B., and Fray Angélico Chávez
1956 *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Alflen, Louise
2011 Yavapai Indians Circle Their Wagons: Indians to Arizona: "It's a Good Day to Declare War." Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Altschul, Jeffrey H., and Bruce A. Jones
1989 *A Cultural Resource Sample Survey of Operations Zones, Barry M. Goldwater Range, Marine Corps Air Station, Yuma, Arizona*. Technical Series No. 24. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- Alvarez de Williams, Anita
1974 *The Cocopah People*. Indian Tribal Series, Phoenix.
1983 Cocopah. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 99-112. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1994 Cocopah. In *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, edited by B. Davis, pp. 120-122. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Andreani, Lucinda
2002 Hopi Ethnographic Overview for Yuma Proving Ground. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Anyon, Roger
1999 Migrations in the South: Hopi Reconnaissance in the Barry M. Goldwater Range. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Arizona State Museum
2011 Maps of Tribal Concern Areas. On file, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Arrieta, Rose
2004 Nation Divided. <<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/171/29819.html>>, accessed March 25, 2016.
- Bahr, Donald M.
1983a Pima and Papago Medicine and Philosophy. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 193-200. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1983b Pima and Papago Social Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 178-192. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Bahr, Donald M., Joseph Giff, and Manuel Havier
1979 Piman Songs on Hunting. *Ethnomusicology* 23:245-296.
- Bahr, Donald M., Juan Gregorio, David I. Lopez, and Albert Alvarez
1974 *Pima Shamanism and Staying Sick* (Ká:cim Múmkidag). University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Bahr, Donald M., Lloyd Paul, and Vincent Joseph
1997 *Ants and Oriole: Showing the Art of Pima Poetry*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Bahr, Donald M., Juan Smith, William S. Allison, and Julian D. Hayden
1994 *The Short Swift Time of Gods on Earth: The Hohokam Chronicles*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1885 *History of California: Vol. 2. 1801-1824*. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft Vol. 6. A. I. Bancroft & Company, San Francisco.
- Bandelier, Adolph F.
1890 *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, part I. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series No. 3. University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Bandelier, Adolph F.
1892 *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, part II. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series No. 4. University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Barnes, Will C.
1988 *Arizona Place Names*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Barrett, Brenda, and Michael Taylor
2007 Three Models for Managing Living Landscapes. *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 4:50-65.
- Basso, Keith
1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Bean, Lowell John, and William Marvin Mason (compilers and editors)
1962 *Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California, 1823-1826*. Palm Springs Desert Museum, Palm Springs, California.
- Bean, Lowell John, Henry F. Dobyns, M. Kay Martin, Richard W. Stoffle, Sylvia Brakke Vane, and David R. M. White
1978 *Persistence and Power: A Study of Native American Peoples in the Sonoran Desert and the Devers-Palo Verde High Voltage Transmission Line*. Cultural Systems Research, Inc., Menlo Park, California.
- Beattie, George William
1933 Reopening the Anza Road. *The Pacific Historical Review* 2:52-71.
- Bee, Robert L.
1963 Changes in Yuma Social Organization. *Ethnology* 2:207-227.
- 1968 *Sociocultural Change and Persistence in the Yuma Indian Reservation Community*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, Lawrence. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- 1981 *Crosscurrents along the Colorado: The Impact of Government Policy on the Quechan Indians*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Bee, Robert L.
1983 Quechan. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 86-98. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1989 *The Yuma*. Chelsea House Publishers, New York.
- Bender, Barbara
1995 Introduction: Landscape—Meaning and Action. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, edited by B. Bender, pp. 1-19. Berg, Oxford.
- Benedict, Ruth
1935 *Zuni Mythology*. 2 vols. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Berge, Dale L.
1968 The Gila Bend Stage Station. *The Kiva* 33:169-243.
- Bernard-Shaw, Mary
1990 *Archaeological Survey in the Painted Rock Reservoir Area, Western Arizona*. Technical Report No. 89-10. Center for Desert Archaeology, Tucson.
- Bernardini, Wesley
2005 *Hopi Oral Tradition and the Archaeology of Identity*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Biggs, Bruce
1957 Testing Intelligibility among Yuman Languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23:57-62.
- Bird David, Nurit
1999 Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology. *Current Anthropology* 40:S67-S91.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene (translator and editor)
1917 The Early Explorations of Father Garcés on the Pacific Slope. In *The Pacific Ocean in History: Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, Held at San Francisco, Berkeley and Palo Alto, California July 19-23, 1915*, edited by H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton, pp. 317-330. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- 1919a Father Escobar 's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California. *Catholic Historical Review* 5(1):19-41.

- Bolton, Herbert Eugene (translator and editor)
 1919b *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, by Father Eúsebio Kino, S.J., Pioneer Missionary Explorer, Cartographer, and Ranchman, 1683-1711*, vol. 1. Spain in the West Vol. 3. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland.
- 1930a *Anza's California Expeditions: Vol. 2. Opening a Land Route to California: Diaries of Anza, Díaz, Garcés, and Palóu*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- 1930b *Anza's California Expeditions: Vol. 3. The San Francisco Colony. Diaries of Anza, Font, and Eixarch, and Narratives by Palóu and Moraga*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- 1930c *Anza's California Expeditions: Vol. 4. Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Bostwick, Todd W.
 2002 *Landscape of the Spirits: Hohokam Rock Art at South Mountain Park*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Bourke, John G.
 1884 *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- 1890 Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 3:111-126.
- Braatz, Timothy
 1999 Upland Yuma (Yavapai and Pai) Leadership across the Nineteenth Century. *American Indian Quarterly* 23:129-147.
- 2003 *Surviving Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Bradfield, Richard Maitland
 1973 *A Natural History of Associations: A Study in the Meaning of Community*, vol. 1. International University Press, New York.
- Brand, Donald D.
 1938 Aboriginal Trade Routes for Sea Shells in the Southwest. *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 4:3-11.
- Brew, John Otis
 1979 Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 514-523. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Brigandi, Phil
 2010 The Southern Emigrant Trail. *Overland Journal* 28(3):1-18.
- Brown, Herbert
 1906 A Pima-Maricopa Ceremony. *American Anthropologist* 8:688-690.
- Brown, Patricia Eyring
 1982 Conclusion. In *Granite Reef: A Study in Desert Archaeology*, edited by P. E. Brown and C. L. Stone, pp. 340-353. Anthropological Research Papers No. 28. Anthropological Field Studies No. 3. Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Broyles, Bill, Gayle Harrison Hartmann, Thomas E. Sheridan, Gary Paul Nabhan, and Mary Charlotte Thurtle
 2012 *Last Water on the Devil's Highway: A Cultural and Natural History of Tinajas Altas*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Broyles, Bill, Adrienne G. Rankin, and Richard S. Felger
 2007 Native Peoples of the Dry Borders Region. In *Dry Borders: Great Natural Reserves of the Sonoran Desert*, edited by R. S. Felger and B. Broyles, pp. 128-146. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Brunson, Judy L.
 1989 *The Social Organization of the Los Muertos Hohokam: A Reanalysis of Cushing's Hemenway Expedition Data*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Bryan, Kirk
 1922 *Routes to Desert Watering Places in the Papago Country, Arizona*. Water Supply Paper No. 490-D. U.S. Geological Survey, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

- Bryan, Kirk
 1925 *The Papago Country, Arizona: A Geographic, Geologic, and Hydrologic Reconnaissance with a Guide to Desert Watering Places*. Water Supply Paper No. 499. U.S. Geological Survey, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Bryant, George, and Amy Miller
 n.d. *Quechan Dictionary*. Ms. in preparation.
- 2013 Xiipúktan (*First of All*): *Three Views of the Origins of the Quechan People*. World Oral Literature Series Vol. 5. Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Bunzel, Ruth
 1932a Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*, pp. 467-544. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1932b Zuñi Origin Myths. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*, pp. 545-609. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1932c Zuñi Katcinas: An Analytical Study. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*, pp. 837-1086. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1932d Zuñi Ritual Poetry. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*, pp. 611-835. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Bureau of Land Management
 1988 *Areas of Critical Environmental Concern*. Manual No. 1613. Release No. 1-1541. Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Burrus, Ernest J.
 1971 *Kino and Manje: Explorers of Sonora and Arizona, Their Vision of the Future: A Study of Their Expeditions and Plans*. Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, Vol. 10. Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome.
- Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez
 1749 [1542] *La Relacion que Dio Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo Acaescido en las Indias, en la Armada donde Yua por Governador Pãphilo de Narbaez, desde el Año de Veynte y Siete hasta el Año d Treynta y Seys*. Zamorá. 1749 reprint entitled *Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca; y Relacion de la Jornada, que Hizo a la Florida con el Adelantado Panfilo de Narvaez*. *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* No. 1(7). Madrid, Spain.
- Cachora, Lorey
 1994 *The Spirit Life of Yuman-Speaking Peoples: Lower Colorado River between Arizona and California*. In *Recent Research along the Lower Colorado River*, edited by J. A. Ezzo, pp. 13-14. Technical Series No. 51. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- 2000 Antelope Hill and the Region: A Native American View. In *Of Stone and Spirits: Pursuing the Past of Antelope Hill*, edited by J. S. Schneider and J. H. Altschul, pp. 79-82. Technical Series No. 76. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- 2015 A *Quechan* Perspective on the Great Bend of the Gila. In *The Great Bend of the Gila: A Nationally Significant Cultural Landscape*, by A. M. Wright, P. H. Stein, B. V. Lewis, and W. H. Doelle, pp. xvii-xix. Archaeology Southwest, Tucson.
- Cameron, Leroy, Ralph Cameron, Nick Sunn, Ike Gates, Dog's Hand, and Donald Bahr
 1994 Estrella Dawn: The Origin of the Maricopa. *Journal of the Southwest* 36:54-75.
- Campbell, Lyle
 1997 *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of North America*. Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics No. 2. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Castetter, Edward F., and Willis H. Bell
 1942 *Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture*. Inter-Americana Studies No. 1. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- 1951 *Yuman Indian Agriculture: Primitive Subsistence on the Lower Colorado and Gila Rivers*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

- Castetter, Edward F., and Ruth M. Underhill
1935 *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest II: The Ethnobiology of the Papago Indians*. University of New Mexico Bulletin No. 275, Biological Series No. 4(3). University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Chávez, Angélico, and Ted J. Warner (editors)
1976 *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*. Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah.
- Childs, Thomas
1954 Sketch of the "Sand Indians" (as written to Henry F. Dobyns). *The Kiva* 19(2/4):27-39.
- Cleland, James H.
2005 The Sacred and the Mundane—Cultural Landscape Concepts and Archaeological Interpretation in the Colorado Desert. *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 18:131-136.
2008 Ethnographic Trail Systems as Large-Scale Cultural Landscapes: Preservation and Management Issues. In *Exploring the Boundaries of Historic Landscape Preservation: Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation 2007*, edited by C. Goetcheus and E. MacDonald, pp. 41-55. Clemson University Digital Press, Clemson, South Carolina.
- Clemmer, Richard O.
1979 Hopi History, 1940-1974. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 533-538. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1993 Hopi. In *An Investigation of AIRFA Concerns relating to the Fruitland Coal Gas Development Area*, by D. M. Brugge, pp. 77-90. Report No. 185-434. Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
1995 *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change*. Westview Press, Boulder.
- Coder, Christopher, Monica V. Marquez, and Alex Rubio
2006 A Report Generated by the Yavapai-Apache Nation regarding Participation in Studies Conducted on the Barry M. Goldwater Range East, 2002-2006. Ms. on file, Luke Air Force Base, Arizona.
- Coffeen, William R.
1972 The Effects of the Central Arizona Project on the Fort McDowell Indian Community. *Ethnohistory* 19:345-377.
- Colton, Mary-Russell F., and Harold S. Colton
1931 Petroglyphs, the Record of a Great Adventure. *American Anthropologist* 33:32-37.
- Connelly, John C.
1979 Hopi Social Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 539-533. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Copeland, Kathryn E.
2012 Payupki Polychrome and Ethnogenesis in Post-Pueblo Revolt Hopi Society. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.
- Corbusier, William F.
1886 The Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mojaves. *American Antiquarian* 8:276-284, 325-339.
1969 *Verde to San Carlos: Recollections of a Famous Army Surgeon and His Observant Family on the Western Frontier, 1869-1886*. Dale Stuart King, Tucson.
- Cordell, Linda
1997 *Archaeology of the Southwest*. 2nd ed. Academic Press, San Diego.
- Cortés, José M.
1989 *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain* (edited by E. A. H. John and translated by J. Wheat). University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Cosgrove, Denis E.
1984 *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Croom Helm, London.
- Coues, Elliott (translator and editor)
1900 *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776*. 2 vols. Francis P. Harper, New York.
- Courlander, Harold
1971 *The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians as Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions*. Crown, New York.

- Couts, Cave Johnson
 1961 *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California during the Years 1848-1849* (edited by H. F. Dobyns). Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson.
- Crawford, James Mack
 1989 *Cocopa Dictionary*. Publications in Linguistics No. 114. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Cremony, John C.
 1868 *Life among the Apaches*. A. Roman & Company, San Francisco.
- Creswell, Tim
 2003 Landscape and the Obliteration of Practice. In *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, edited by K. Anderson, M. Damosh, S. Pile, and N. Thrift, pp. 269-281. Sage, London.
- Crown, Patricia L.
 1994 *Ceramics and Ideology: Salado Polychrome Pottery*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Curtis, Edward S.
 1908 *The North American Indian: Vol. 2. The Pima. The Papago. The Qahatika. The Mohave. The Yuma. The Maricopa. The Walapai. The Havasupai. The Apache-Mohave, or Yavapai*. F. W. Hodge, general editor. University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
 1922 *The North American Indian*. vol. 12. F. W. Hodge, general editor. Plimpton Press, Norwood, Massachusetts.
 1926 *The North American Indian: Vol. 17. The Tewa. The Zuni*. F. W. Hodge, general editor. University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Curtis, Natalie
 1907 *The Indians' Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of Their Race*. Harper and Brothers, New York.
 1909 The Creation Myth of the Cochans (Yuma Indians). *The Craftsman* 16:559-567.
- Cushing, Frank H.
 1890 Preliminary Notes on the Origin, Working Hypothesis and Primary Researches of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. In *Compte-rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes de la Septième Session, Berlin, 1888*, pp. 151-194. Librairie W.H. Kùhl, Berlin.
 1896 Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths. In *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 321-447. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Darling, J. Andrew
 2009 O'odham Trails and the Archaeology of Space. In *Landscapes of Movement: Trails, Paths, and Roads in Anthropological Perspective*, edited by J. E. Snead, C. L. Erickson, and J. A. Darling, pp. 61-83. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
 2011 S-cuk Kavick: Thoughts on Migratory Processes and the Archaeology of O'odham Migration. In *Rethinking Anthropological Perspectives on Migration*, edited by G. S. Cabana and J. J. Clark, pp. 68-83. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Darling, J. Andrew, and B. Sunday Eiselt
 2008 Trails Research in the Gila Bend Area. In *Trails, Rock Features and Homesteading in the Gila Bend Area: A Report on the State Route 85 Gila Bend to Buckeye Archaeological Project*, edited by J. L. Czarzasty, K. Peterson, G. E. Rice, and J. A. Darling, pp. 199-227. Anthropological Field Studies No. 43. Arizona State University, Tempe. Anthropological Research Papers No. 4. Gila River Indian Community, Sacaton, Arizona.
- Darling, J. Andrew, and Barnaby V. Lewis
 2008 Songscales and Calendar Sticks. In *The Hohokam Millennium*, edited by S. K. Fish and P. R. Fish, pp. 130-139. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Darling, J. Andrew, John C. Ravesloot, and Michael R. Waters
 2004 Village Drift and Riverine Settlement: Modeling Akimel O'odham Land Use. *American Anthropologist* 106:282-295.

- Dart, Allen, Stephen H. Lekson, and Henry D. Wallace
 1989 *Historic Properties Management Plan for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Painted Rock Reservoir Project, Southwestern Arizona*. Technical Report No. 88-6. Institute for American Research, Tucson.
- David, Ann
 1964a 7 Papago Children Ask Legislation. *Arizona Republic*, 2 May:21.
 1964b Papagos Await Relocation Funds. *Arizona Republic*, 26 March:21.
- Davis, James T.
 1961 *Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the Indians of California*. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey No. 54. University of California, Berkeley.
- DeJong, David H.
 1992 "See the New Country": The Removal Controversy and Pima-Maricopa Water Rights, 1869-1879. *The Journal of Arizona History* 33:367-396.
 2009 *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Deloria, Vine Jr., and Raymond J. DeMallie
 1999 *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979*, vol. 1. Legal History of North America Vol. 4. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Descola, Phillipe, and Gisli Pálsson (editors)
 1996 *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Routledge, London.
- Di Peso, Charles C.
 1974 *Casas Grandes, A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*, vol. 3. The Amerind Foundation, Dragoon, Arizona.
- Dobyns, Henry F.
 1972 *The Papago People*. Indian Tribal Series, Phoenix.
 1989 *The Pima-Maricopa*. Chelsea House Publishers, New York.
- Dobyns, Henry F., Paul H. Ezell, and Greta S. Ezell
 1963 Death of a Society. *Ethnohistory* 10:105-161.
- Dobyns, Henry F., Paul H. Ezell, Alden W. Jones, and Greta S. Ezell
 1957 Thematic Changes in Yuman Warfare. In *Cultural Stability and Cultural Change: Proceedings of the 1957 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by V. F. Ray, pp. 46-71. American Ethnological Society, Seattle.
- Dockstader, Frederick J.
 1979 Hopi History, 1850-1940. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 524-532. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Doelle, William H.
 1981 The Gila Pima in the Late Seventeenth Century. In *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450-1700*, edited by D. R. Wilcox and W. B. Masse, pp. 57-70. Anthropological Research Papers No. 24. Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Doelle, William, Andy Laurenzi, and Ella Pierpoint
 2011 The Great Bend of the Gila. *Archaeology Southwest* 25(1).
- Dominguez, Viridiana Talamante
 2014 Cocopah Identity Survival: "We Are the River People." Unpublished Master's thesis, Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Dongoske, Kurt E., Micharel Yeatts, Roger Anyon, and T. J. Ferguson
 1997 Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest. *American Antiquity* 62:600-608.
- Dorsey, George A., and Henry R. Voth
 1902 *The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities*. Anthropological Series 3(3):159-261. Publication No. 66. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
- Doyel, David E.
 2000 Settlement Organization at Gila Bend. In *The Hohokam Village Revisited*, edited by D. E. Doyel, S. K. Fish, and P. R. Fish, pp. 101-138. Southwestern and Rocky Mountain Division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Fort Collins, Colorado.

- Drucker, Philip
1941 *Culture Element Distributions: XVII. Yuman-Piman*. Anthropological Records No. 6(3). University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Dunne, Peter Masten (translator and editor)
1955 *Jacobo Sedelmayr: Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora: Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751*. Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson.
- Dunnigan, Timothy
1983 Lower Pima. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 217-229. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Ebright, Malcolm, Rick Hendricks, and Richard W. Hughes
2014 *Four Square Leagues: Pueblo Indian Land in New Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Eggan, Fred R.
1950 *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Eggan, Fred R., and Triloki N. Pandey
1979 Zuni History, 1850-1970. *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 474-481. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Eiler, Lorraine Marquez, and David E. Doyel
2008 The Extinct Tribe. In *Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the Western Papaguería*, edited by J. H. Altschul and A. G. Rankin, pp. 605-630. SRI Press, Tucson.
- Emory, William H.
1848 *Notes on a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego*. House Executive Document No. 41, 30th Congress, 1st Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1857 *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, Made under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior*. Senate Executive Document No. 108, 34th Congress, 1st Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Erikson, Winston P.
1994 *Sharing the Desert: The Tohono O'odham in History*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Euler, Robert C.
1999 Introduction. In *A Summary of the Yavapai Indians Traditional Use of the Land that Is Now Known as the Goldwater Range*, by N. L. Hayden, pg. 1.7. Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe, Prescott, Arizona.
- Ezell, Paul H.
1954 An Archaeological Survey of Northwestern Papagueria. *The Kiva* 19(2/4):1-26.
1955 The Archaeological Delineation of a Cultural Boundary in Papagueria. *American Antiquity* 20:367-374.
1956 The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
1957 The Conditions of Hispanic-Piman Contact on the Gila River. *America Indígena* 17:163-191.
1963 *The Maricopas: An Identification from Documentary Sources*. Anthropological Papers No. 6. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
1968 The Cocomaricopa Mail. In *Brand Book No. 1*, edited by R. Brandes, pp. 28-34. San Diego Corral of the Westerners, San Diego.
1983 History of the Pima. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 149-160. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1994 Plants without Water: The Pima-Maricopa Experience. *Journal of the Southwest* 36:315-392.
- Ezell, Paul H., and Greta S. Ezell
1987 Sedelmayr's Journey to the Colorado, 1744. In *Brand Book No. 8*, edited by C. M. Graves, pp. 135-151. San Diego Corral of the Westerners, San Diego.
- Farish, Thomas Edwin
1916a *History of Arizona*, vol. 3. The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Company, Phoenix.

- Farish, Thomas Edwin
1916b *History of Arizona*, vol. 4. The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Company, Phoenix.
- Ferguson, T. J.
1995 An Anthropological Perspective on Zuni Land Use. In *Zuni and the Courts*, edited by E. R. Hart, pp. 103-120. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.
1996 *Historic Zuni Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax*. Anthropological Papers No. 60. University of Arizona, Tucson.
1998 *Öngtupqa Niqw Pisisvayu* (Salt Canyon and the Colorado River): The Hopi People and the Grand Canyon. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
2007 Zuni Traditional History and Cultural Geography. In *Zuni Origins: Toward a New Synthesis of Southwestern Archaeology*, edited by D. A. Gregory and D. R. Wilcox, pp. 377-403. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ferguson, T. J. (compiler)
2003 *Yep Hisat Hoopog'yaqam Yeesiwa* (Hopi Ancestors Were Once Here): Hopi-Hohokam Cultural Affiliation Study. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Ferguson, T. J., and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh
2006 *History Is in the Land: Multivocal Tribal Traditions in Arizona's San Pedro Valley*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ferguson, T. J., and E. Richard Hart
1985 *A Zuni Atlas*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Ferguson, T. J., and Micah Loma'omvaya
1999 *Hoopog'yaqam niqw Wukoskyavi* (Those Who Went to the Northeast and Tonto Basin): Hopi-Salado Cultural Affiliation Study. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
2003 Hopi Traditional History Relating to the Hohokam. In *Yep Hisat Hoopog'yaqam Yeesiwa* (Hopi Ancestors Were Once Here): Hopi - Hohokam Cultural Affiliation Study, edited by T. J. Ferguson, pp. 69-122. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Ferguson, T. J., and Gregson Schachner
2003 Social and Geographical Dimensions of the Hohokam as a Past Identifiable Group. In *Yep Hisat Hoopog'yaqam Yeesiwa* (Hopi Ancestors Were Once Here): Hopi - Hohokam Cultural Affiliation Study, edited by T. J. Ferguson, pp. 63-68. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Ferguson, T. J., Kurt E. Dongoske, Mike Yeatts, and Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma
2000 Hopi Oral History and Archaeology. In *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists*, edited by K. E. Dongoske, M. S. Aldenderfer, and K. Doehner, pp. 45-60. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- Feudge, John
1868 No. 24. Report of Colorado River Agency of the Arizona Superintendency. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1868*, pp. 136-139. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
1894 The Kinship of the Tusayan Villagers. *American Anthropologist* 7:394-417.
1897 Tusayan Snake Ceremonies. In *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1894-1895*, pp. 267-312. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1900a Property-Right in Eagles among the Hopi. *American Anthropologist* 2:690-707.
1900b Tusayan Migration Traditions. In *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for the Years 1897-1898*, pt. 2, pp. 573-634. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1907a Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-1907. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 50(3):289-329. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1907b Hopi. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, part 1, edited by F. W. Hodge, pp. 560-568. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

- Fewkes, Jesse Walter
 1910 The Butterfly in Hopi Myth and Ritual. *American Anthropologist* 12:576-594.
- 1912 Casa Grande, Arizona. In *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1906-1907*, pp. 25-179. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1919 Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery. In *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1911-1912*, pp. 207-284. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Font, Pedro
 1838 [1775] Notice sur la Grande Maison dite de Moctecuzoma. In *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires Originaux pour Servir à L'Histoire de la Découverte de L'Amérique* 9:383-386. Henri Ternaux-Compans, Paris. 1775 letter unpublished.
- Fontana, Bernard L.
 1974 Man in Arid Lands: The Pima Indians of the Sonoran Desert. In *Desert Biology: Special Topics on the Physical and Biological Aspects of Arid Lands*, vol. 2, edited by G. W. Brown, pp. 489-528. Academic Press, New York.
- 1981 *Of Earth and Little Rain: The Papago Indians*. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Arizona.
- 1983a History of the Papago. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 137-148. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1983b Pima and Papago: An Introduction. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 125-136. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Forbes, Jack D.
 1957 A History of the Yuma Indians and Yumaland to 1821. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- 1965 *Warriors of the Colorado: The Yumas of the Quechan Nation and Their Neighbors*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Forde, C. Daryll
 1931 Ethnography of the Yuma Indians. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28:83-278.
- Fortier, Jana, and Jerry Schaefer
 2010 *Barry M. Goldwater Range (BMGR), West Cultural Affiliation Study*. ASM Affiliates, Carlsbad, California.
- Fowler, Peter J.
 2002 *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, 1992-2002*. World Heritage Papers No. 6. UNESCO World Heritage Center, Paris.
- 2003 *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, 1992-2002: A Review and Prospect*. In *Cultural Landscapes: The Challenges of Conservation*, edited by P. Ceccarelli and M. Rössler, pp. 16-30. World Heritage Papers No. 7. UNESCO World Heritage Center, Paris.
- Frigout, Arlette
 1979 Hopi Ceremonial Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 564-576. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Gates, Thomas
 2012 *Rio Mesa Solar Electric Generating Facility: Draft Ethnographic Report Informing the Preliminary Staff Assessment*. California Energy Commission, Sacramento.
- Gatschet, Albert S.
 1877 The Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories. *Magazine of American History* 1:147-171.
- Geertz, Armin W.
 1994 *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gifford, Edward Winslow
 1918 Clans and Moieties in Southern California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 14:155-219.
- 1926 Yuma Dreams and Omens. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 39:58-69.
- 1932 The Southeastern Yavapai. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 29:177-252.

- Gifford, Edward Winslow
 1933a The Cocopa. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31:257-334.
- 1933b Northeastern and Western Yavapai Myths. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 46:347-415.
- 1936 Northeastern and Western Yavapai. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 34:247-354.
- 1940 *Culture Element Distributions: XII. Apache-Pueblo*. Anthropological Records No. 4(1). University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gila River Indian Community
 2008 Tribal Historic Preservation Plan. Adopted July 2, by the Gila River Indian Community Council under GR-166-08, "Resolution Approving the Gila River Indian Community Tribal Historic Preservation Office Plan and Appointing a Tribal Historic Preservation Office."
- Gonzales, Clara
 1966 *The Shalako Are Coming*. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
- Gorelick, Johanna
 2005 *Uncovering and Recovering Identity: An Historical Ethnography of the Cultural Politics of Museum Building at Ak-Chin Him-Dak*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, The City University of New York, New York. ProQuest, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Gould, Marian K.
 1921 Two Legends of the Mojave-Apache, Told by Captain Jim (Hoo-kut-a-go-che, "Nose-Tied-up") of that Tribe. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 34:319-320.
- Greenleaf, J. Cameron
 1975 The Fortified Hill Site near Gila Bend, Arizona. *The Kiva* 40:213-282.
- Grossman, Frederick E.
 1873 The Pima Indians of Arizona. In *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1871*:407-419. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Hackenberg, Robert A.
 1961 *Papago Population Study: Research Methods and Preliminary Results*. Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- 1962 Economic Alternatives in Arid Lands: A Case Study of the Pima and Papago Indians. *Ethnology* 1:186-196.
- 1983 Pima and Papago Ecological Adaptations. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 161-177. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Hakluyt, Richard (translator)
 1600 The Relation of the Navigation and Discovery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon Made by the Order of the Right Honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine, Dated in Colima, an Haven of New Spaine. In *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeeres*, vol. 3, pp. 425-439. George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, London.
- Hale, Kenneth, and David Harris
 1979 Historical Linguistics and Archeology. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 170-177. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Halpern, Abraham M.
 1942 Yuma Kinship Terms. *American Anthropologist* 44:425-441.
- 1947 Yuma V: Conjugation of the Verb Theme. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 13:92-107.
- 1997 *Kar'úk: Native Accounts of the Quechan Mourning Ceremony* (edited by A. Miller and M. Langdon). Publications in Linguistics No. 128. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Halpern, Abraham M., and Amy Miller (compilers)
 2014 *Stories from Quechan Oral Literature*. World Oral Literature Series Vol. 6. Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Hamilton, Patrick
1881 *The Resources of Arizona: Its Minerals, Farming, and Grazing Lands, Towns, and Mines*. Arizona Territorial Legislature, Prescott, Arizona.
- Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey
1953 *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, vol 1. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- 1966 *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey (translators and editors)
1928 *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America*. Wetzel Publishing Company, Los Angeles.
- Hardy, Robert William Hale
1829 *Travels in the Interior of Mexico, in 1825, 1826, 1827, & 1828*. Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, London.
- Harner, Michael J.
1953 Gravel Pictographs of the Lower Colorado River Region. *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* 20:1-29. Papers on California Archaeology No. 21. University of California, Berkeley.
- Harrington, John Peabody
1908 A Yuma Account of Origins. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 21:324-348.
- 1945 Note on the Names Moqui and Hopi. *American Anthropologist* 47:177-178.
- Harris, Benjamin Butler
1960 *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush* (edited by R. H. Dillon). University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Harrison, Mike, John Williams, Sigrid Khera (editor), and Carolina C. Butler (editor)
2012 *Oral History of the Yavapai*. Acacia Publishing, Gilbert, Arizona.
- Hart, E. Richard (editor)
1995 *Zuni and the Courts: A Struggle for Sovereign Land Rights*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Hart, Herbert M.
1965 *Old Forts of the Far West*. Bonanza Books, New York.
- Hartmann, Gayle Harrison, Jane Kolber, and Mary Charlotte Thurtle
2008 The Rock Art at Tinajas Altas: Cultural and Temporal Affinity. In *Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the Western Papaguería*, edited by J. H. Altschul and A. G. Rankin, pp. 311-328. SRI Press, Tucson.
- Harwell, Henry O.
1979 *Maricopa Origins: An Ethnohistorical Approach to a Riverine Yuman Community*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Harwell, Henry O., and Marsha C. Kelly
1983 Maricopa. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 71-85. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Haury, Emil W.
1950 *The Stratigraphy and Archaeology of Ventana Cave*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Hayden, Julian D.
1967 A Summary Prehistory and History of the Sierra Pinacate, Sonora. *American Antiquity* 32:335-344.
- 1972 Hohokam Petroglyphs of the Sierra Pinacate, Sonora and the Hohokam Shell Expeditions. *The Kiva* 37:74-83.
- 1982 Ground Figures of the Sierra Pinacate, Sonora, Mexico. In *Hohokam and Patayan: Prehistory of Southwestern Arizona*, edited by R. H. McGuire and M. B. Schiffer, pp. 581-588. Academic Press, New York.
- Hayden, Nancy Lee
1999 *A Summary of the Yavapai Indians Traditional Use of the Land that Is Now Known as the Goldwater Range*. Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe, Prescott, Arizona.
- Hays, Rachel
1996 Cross-border Indigenous Nations: A History. *Race, Poverty, and the Environment* 6(4)/7(1):40-42.

- Heider, Karl
1956 Fort McDowell Yavapai Acculturation: A Preliminary Study. Unpublished Bachelor's Honors thesis, Department of Anthropology, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Heilen, Michael, and Rein Vanderpot
2014 *Pathways to Preservation: A Research Design and Heritage Management Plan for the Barry M. Goldwater Range East, Arizona*. Barry M. Goldwater Range East Cultural Resource Management Program, Cultural Resource Studies in the Western Papaguería No. 28. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- Heintzelman, Samuel P.
1989 *Samuel P. Heintzelman's Journal, 1851-1853, Fort Yuma*. Yuma County Historical Society, Yuma, Arizona.
2008 [1857] Report. In *Indian Affairs on the Pacific*, pp. 34-58. House Executive Document No. 76, 34th Congress, 3rd Session. (Serial No. 906). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Reprinted. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 28:89-102.
- Heizer, Robert F.
1941 Aboriginal Trade between the Southwest and California. *The Masterkey* 15:185-188.
- Henderson, T. Kathleen
2011 Research Summary and Synthesis. In *Archaeology at the Gillespie Dam Site: Data Recovery Investigations for the Palo Verde to Pinal West 500kV Transmission Line, Maricopa County, Arizona*, edited by T. K. Henderson, pp. 209-214. Technical Report No. 2009-06. Desert Archaeology, Inc., Tucson.
- Henshaw, Henry W.
1910a Yavapai. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, part 2, edited by F. W. Hodge, pp. 994-995. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1910b Yuma. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, part 2, edited by F. W. Hodge, pp. 1010-1011. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Herzog, George
1936 Notes on Pima Moieties. *American Anthropologist* 38:520-521.
- Hieb, Louis A.
1979 Hopi World View. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 577-580. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Hill, Kenneth, Emory Sekaquaptewa, Mary E. Black, Ekkehart Malotki, and Michael Lomatuway'ma (editors)
1998 *Hopi Dictionary, Hopiikwa Laváytutuveni: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Hilpert, Bruce E.
1996 The Colorado River Yumans: Relations on the River. In *Paths of Life*, edited by T. E. Sheridan and N. J. Parezo, pp. 213-235. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Hinsley, Curtis M., and David R. Wilcox
2002 *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Hinton, Leanne, and Lucille Watahomigie (editors)
1984 *Spirit Mountain: An Anthology of Yuman Story and Song*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Hodge, Carl
1983 Vandalism of Calendar Stones Feared: State Protection Sought for Petroglyphs at Park. *Arizona Republic*, 12 January :1.
- Hodge, Frank Webb
1910a Pima. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, part 2, edited by F. W. Hodge, pp. 251-253. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1910b Zuñi. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, part 2, edited by F. W. Hodge, pp. 1015-1020. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Hogan, Michael, and Matt C. Bischoff
2000 Native American History. In *Of Stone and Spirits: Pursuing the Past of Antelope Hill*, edited by J. S. Schneider and J. H. Altschul, pp. 61-77. Technical Series No. 76. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.

- Hoover, J. Wenger
1935 Generic Descent of the Papago Villages. *American Anthropologist* 37:257-264.
- Hopkins, Maren P.
2012 A Storied Land: Tiyo and the Epic Journey down the Colorado River. Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Hough, Walter
1897 The Hopi in Relation to Their Plant Environment. *American Anthropologist* 10:33-44.
1898 Environmental Interrelations in Arizona. *American Anthropologist* 11:133-155.
1902 A Collection of Hopi Ceremonial Pigments. In *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1900*, pp. 465-471. Report of the U.S. National Museum. House Document No. 537, Part 2, 56th Congress, 2nd Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
1906 Sacred Springs in the Southwest. *Records of the Past* 5:163-169.
- Indian Claims Commission
1974a Findings of Fact. The Hopi Tribe, an Indian Reorganization Act Corporation, Suing on its Own Behalf and as a Representative of the Hopi Indians and the Villages of First Mesa (Consolidated Villages of Walpi, Shichumovi and Tewa), Mishongnovi, Sipaulovi, Oraibi, Kyakotsmovi, Bakabi, Hotevilla, and Moenkopi, Plaintiff, Docket 196; The Navajo Tribe of Indians, Plaintiff, Docket 229; v. The United States of America, Defendant. Ind. Cl. Comm. 277. In *Hopi Indians*, compiled by D. A. Horr, pp. 401-424. American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Southwest Series. Garland Publishing Inc., New York.
1974b Opinion on Title. The Hopi Tribe, an Indian Reorganization Act Corporation, Suing on its Own Behalf and as a Representative of the Hopi Indians and the Villages of First Mesa (Consolidated Villages of Walpi, Shichumovi and Tewa), Mishongnovi, Sipaulovi, Oraibi, Kyakotsmovi, Bakabi, Hotevilla, and Moenkopi, Plaintiff, Docket 196; The Navajo Tribe of Indians, Plaintiff, Docket 229; v. The United States of America, Defendant. Ind. Cl. Comm. 277. In *Hopi Indians*, compiled by D. A. Horr, pp. 389-401. American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Southwest Series. Garland Publishing Inc., New York.
- Ingold, Tim
2007 *Lines: A Brief History*. Routledge, London.
2011 *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description*. Routledge, London.
- Inter Tribal Council of Arizona
2016 Member Tribes. <http://itcaonline.com/?page_id=8>, 1 February 2016.
- Ives, Joseph Christmas
1861 *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858 by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, Corps of Topographical Engineers, under the Direction of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, A.A. Humphreys, Captain Topographical Engineers, in Charge*. Senate Executive Document (unnumbered). 36th Congress, 1st Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Ives, Ronald L. (translator and editor)
1939 Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746. Anthropological Papers No. 9. *Bulletin of the American Bureau of Ethnology* 123:99-117. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Jackson, J. Brantley
1990 The Ak-Chin: Farming People of the Vekol Fan. In *Archaeology of the Ak-Chin Indian Community, West Side Farms Project: The Land and the People*, compiled by R. E. Gasser, C. K. Robinson, and C. D. Breternitz, pp. 6.1-6.43. Publications in Archaeology No. 9(2). Soil Systems, Inc., Phoenix.
- James, George Wharton
1903 Palomas Apaches and Their Baskets. *Sunset Magazine* 11:146-153.

- James, Harry C.
1974 *Pages from Hopi History*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Jenkins, Leigh, T. J. Ferguson, and Kurt E. Dongoske
1994 A Reexamination of the Concept of Hopitutskwa. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Tempe, Arizona.
- Johnson, Barbara
1960 The Wind Ceremony: A Papago Sand-Painting. *El Palacio* 67(1):28-31.
- Johnson, Beverlene, Leroy J. Juan, Maren P. Hopkins, and T. J. Ferguson
2013 Am Ha Gohki Oidk G T Shohshon (*In the Footsteps of Our Ancestors*): Tohono O'odham and Hia-Ced O'odham History and Traditions on Barry M. Goldwater Range, East. Report prepared for the 56th Range Management Office, Luke Air Force Base, Arizona.
- Johnson, Boma
1985 *Earth Figures of the Lower Colorado and Gila River Deserts: A Functional Analysis*. The Arizona Archaeologist No. 20. Arizona Archaeological Society, Phoenix.
1996 Cultural Affiliation Assessment: Lowland Patayan (Maricopa), Lower Gila River. In *Cultural Affiliations: Prehistoric Cultural Affiliations of Southwestern Indian Tribes*, compiled by F. E. Wozniak, pp. 128-132. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southwest Region, Albuquerque.
- Johnson, Burke
1964 The Doomed Village of Daik. *Arizona Days and Ways: The Arizona Republic Magazine*, 2 August:5-8.
- Johnston, Francis J.
1980 Two Southern California Trade Trails. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 2:88-96.
- Johnston, Francis J., and Patricia H. Johnston
1957 An Indian Trail Complex of the Central Colorado Desert. *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* 37:22-34. Papers on California Archaeology No. 48. University of California, Berkeley.
- Kappler, Charles J. (compiler and editor)
1904 *Indian Affairs: Law and Treaties, Vol. I (Laws)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1913 *Indian Affairs: Law and Treaties, Vol. III (Laws)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1929 *Indian Affairs: Law and Treaties, Vol. IV (Laws)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1941 *Indian Affairs: Law and Treaties, Vol. V (Laws)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1971 *Indian Affairs: Law and Treaties, Vol. VI (Laws)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Karns, Harry J. (translator and editor)
1954 *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721: Luz de Tierra Incógnita, Part II, by Captain Juan Mateo Manje*. Arizona Silhouettes, Tucson.
- Kelly, Marsha C.
1972 The Society that Did not Die. *Ethnohistory* 19:261-265.
- Kelly, William H.
1942 Cocopa Gentes. *American Anthropologist* 44:675-691.
1949 Cocopa Attitudes and Practices with Respect to Death and Mourning. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 5:151-164.
1977 *Cocopa Ethnography*. Anthropological Papers No. 29. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- KenCairn, Angie Kralj, and Vincent E. Randall
2009 *The Dil zh'éé, Hopi, and Yavapai in the Upper and Middle Verde Valley: Their Histories, Landscapes, and Homelands*. Technical Report No. 2007-02. Desert Archaeology, Inc., Tucson.
- Kendall, Martha B.
1983 Yuman Languages. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 4-12. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

- Kessell, John L.
 1976 *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767-1856*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- 2010 Hopi Land and Water Rights under Spain and Mexico: An Endorsement of and Supplement to David J. Weber's Report of the Same Title. Report prepared for the Hopi Tribe, for General Adjudication of All Rights to Use Water in the Little Colorado River System and Source Superior Court of Arizona, Case No. CV-6417, Document No. HP23356-HP23370.
- Kessell, John L., and Rick Hendricks (editors)
 1992 *By Force of Arms: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691-93*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Khera, Sigrid, and Patricia S. Mariella
 1983 Yavapai. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 38-54. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Kino, Eusebio
 1856 [1694] Itinerario; Diaro del Descubrimiento que Hicieron los RR. PP. Eusebio Francisco Kino y Macros Antonio Kappus, Jesuitas, y el Alferez Juan Mateo Mange, Teniente de Alcalde Mayor y Capitan Aguerra, de la Nacion Pima, Hácia el Poiniente; y Nacion Soba, y Brazo del Mar de California, desde 7 hasta 23 de Febrero de este Año de 1694 y las Dos Campaña que Hicieron los Señores Soldados contra los Enemigos. *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* 4(1):226-241. Vicente García Torres, Mexico. 1694 letter unpublished.
- 1936a [1697] The Martyrdom of Father Saeta: Map of Pimería Alta and Northern Sonora, 1697. Map reprinted in *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, by H. E. Bolton. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- 1936b [1696] Teatro de los Trabajos Apostolicos de la Compa de Jesus en la America Septentrional, 1696. Map reprinted in *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, by H. E. Bolton. The Macmillan Company, New York.
- Kintigh, Keith
 2000 Leadership Strategies in Protohistoric Zuni Towns. In *Alternative Leadership Strategies in the Prehispanic Southwest*, edited by B. J. Mills, pp. 95-116. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Kniffen, Fred B.
 1931 The Primitive Cultural Landscape of the Colorado Delta. *University of California Publications in Geography* 5(2):43-66.
- Kroeber, Alfred L.
 1902 Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians. *American Anthropologist* 4:276-285.
- 1917 Zuni Kin and Clan. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 18(2):39-204.
- 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 78. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1943 Classification of the Yuman Languages. *University of California Publications in Linguistics* 1(3):21-40.
- 1951 A Mohave Historical Epic. *Anthropological Records of the University of California* 11(2):71-176.
- Kroeber, Alfred L., and Clifton B. Kroeber
 1973 *A Mohave War Reminiscence, 1854-1880*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Kroeber, Clifton B., and Bernard L. Fontana
 1986 *Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle Between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origin of War*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Kuwanwisiwma, Leigh J.
 1998 Interview of Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma by Micah Loma'omvaya and T. J. Ferguson, 16 December 1998. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- 2001 Hopi Place Names. Ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

- Kuwanwisiwma, Leigh J.
2004 Yupkoyvi: The Hopi Story of Chaco Canyon. In *In Search of Chaco: New Approaches to an Archaeological Enigma*, edited by D. G. Noble, pp. 41-47. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Kuwanwisiwma, Leigh J., and T. J. Ferguson
2009 *Hopitutskwa and Ang Kuktota*; The Role of Archaeological Sites in Defining Hopi Cultural Landscapes. In *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, edited by B. J. Bowser and M. N. Zedeño, pp. 90-106. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Kwiatkowski, Scott, Nancy Lee Hayden, and Linda Ogo
2012 The Yavapai and Perry Mesa Area. In *Pre-historic Cultures of the Perry Mesa Region: Proceedings of the Perry Mesa Symposium*, edited by W. G. Russell and M. J. Hoo-gendyk, pp. 209-223. Friends of the Agua Fria National Monument, Black Canyon City, Arizona.
- Ladd, Edmund L.
1979 Zuni Social and Political Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 482-491. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Latour, Bruno
2005 *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Levy, Jerrold E.
1992 *Orayvi Revisited: Social Stratification in an "Egalitarian" Society*. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Lewis, Barnaby V.
2009 The Meaning of Huhugam. *Archaeology Southwest* 24(3):3.
2015 An O'odham Perspective on the Great Bend of the Gila. In *The Great Bend of the Gila: A Nationally Significant Cultural Landscape*, by A. M. Wright, P. H. Stein, B. V. Lewis, and W. H. Doelle, pp. xv-xvi. Archaeology Southwest, Tucson.
- Lewis, Barnaby V., and William H. Doelle
2015 Our Turn: Why the Great Bend of the Gila Matters. *The Arizona Republic*, 7 December:AZ We See It Opinion-Editorials. <<http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2015/12/07/great-bend-gila/76885344/>>, 10 April 2016.
- Lewis, Leroy, Alfred Kaye Sr., and Harlan Nakala
1999 Interviewed by Roger Anyon at Polacca, 28 April 1999. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Lingenfelter, Richard E.
1978 *Steamboats on the Colorado River, 1852-1916*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Lloyd, John W.
1911 *Aw-aw-tam Indian Nights: Being Myths and Legends of the Pimas of Arizona*. The Lloyd Group, Westfield, New Jersey.
- Loendorf, Chris
2014 Historic Period Akimel O'Odham Projectile Points and Settlement Patterns. *Kiva* 79:83-103.
- Lomawaima, Patrick
1998 Interview of Patrick Lomawaima by Micah Loma'omvaya, 14 November 1998. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Lopez, Daniel
2008 Huhugam. In *The Hohokam Millennium*, edited by S. K. Fish and P. R. Fish, pp. 117-121. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe.
- Love, Frank
2004 Quechan Chief Pascual Had Admirers among Adversaries. *The Yuma Sun* 28 May: Features, Desert Life. Yuma. <http://www.yumasun.com/features/desert_life/quechan-chief-pascual-had-admirers-among-adversaries/article_2d65dce7-3877-58bf-85f2-093e7e920207.html>, 10 January 2016.
- Lowie, Robert H.
1929 Notes on Hopi Clans. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 30:303-360.

- Lumholtz, Carl
1912 *New Trails in Mexico: An Account of One Year's Exploration in North-Western Sonora, Mexico, and South-Western Arizona, 1909-1910*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Luna-Firebaugh, Eileen
2002 The Border Crossed Us: Border-Crossing Issues of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. *Wicazo Sa Review* 17(1):159-181.
- Lyons, Patrick D.
2003 *Ancestral Hopi Migrations*. Anthropological Papers No. 68. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Manje, Juan Mateo
1856 [circa 1699] De las Cualidades y Temperamento de esta Pimería, Origen y Costumbres de sus Naturales y otras Noticias, hasta su Conversion. *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* 4:358-372. Vicente García Torres, Mexico. 1699 letter unpublished.
- Manuel, Victor
1910 The Pimas: A Christianized Tribe. *The Indian School Journal* 10(6):7-9.
- Marmaduke, William S., Claudia F. Berry, L. Conway, and David G. Robinson
1983 *The Ak-Chin Farm Project: Archaeological Survey on the Ak-Chin Indian Reservation West Half*. Northland Research, Inc., Tempe, Arizona.
- Martínez, David
2013 Hiding in the Shadows of History: Revitalizing Hia-Ced O'odham Peoplehood. *Journal of the Southwest* 55:131-173.
- Martyneec, Rick, and Sandy Martyneec
1995 Did the Tohono O'odham Make Petroglyphs? In *Rock Art Papers*, vol. 12, edited by K. Hedges, pp. 81-87. Museum Papers No. 33. San Diego Museum of Man, San Diego.
- Mason, J. Alden
1920 The Papago Harvest Festival. *American Anthropologist* 22:13-25.
- Matson, Daniel S., and Bernard L. Fontana (translators and annotators)
1996 *Before Rebellion: Letters & Reports of Jacobo Sedelmayr, S.J.* Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
- McCarty, Kieran
1997 *A Frontier Documentary: Sonora and Tucson, 1821-1848*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- McCormick, Helen Jill
2010 An Evaluation of the Lowland Patayan Ceramics Typology. Unpublished Master's thesis, Archaeology, Prescott College, Prescott, Arizona.
- McGuire, Randall H.
1982 Ethnographic Studies. In *Hohokam and Patayan: Prehistory of Southwestern Arizona*, edited by R. H. McGuire and M. B. Schiffer, pp. 57-99. Academic Press, New York.
- McGuire, Thomas
1990 History of Government Policy Toward Ak-Chin. In *Archaeology of the Ak-Chin Indian Community, West Side Farms Project: The Land and the People*, compiled by R. E. Gasser, C. K. Robinson, and C. D. Breternitz, pp. 7.1-7.28. Publications in Archaeology No. 9(2). Soil Systems, Inc., Phoenix.
- McIntyre, Allan J.
2008 *The Tohono O'odham and Pimeria Alta*. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Meneses, Diana M.
2009 "It Is what Holds Us Together as a People": A History of the Ak-Chin Indian Community. Ph.D. dissertation, School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe. ProQuest, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Merrill, William L.
2012 The Historical Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan Agriculture. *Anthropological Linguistics* 54:203-260.
- Miller, Joseph
1938 The Painted Rocks, Proposed National Monument. *Arizona Highways* 14(9):15.
- Miller, Wick R.
1983 Uto-Aztecan Languages. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 113-124. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

- Mills, Barbara J., and T. J. Ferguson
2008 Animate Objects: Shell Trumpets and Ritual Networks in the Greater Southwest. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15:338-361.
- Mills, Hazel Emory
1931 Jacobo Sedelmayer: A Jesuit in Pimería Alta, 1736-1767. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley.
- Mindeleff, Cosmos
1900 Localization of Tusayan Clans. In *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1897-1898*, pp. 635-653. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Mindeleff, Victor
1891 A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola. In *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1886-1887*, pp. 13-653. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Montgomery, Ross Gordon, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew
1949 *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology No. 36. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Morphy, Howard
1993 Colonialism, History and the Construction of Place: The Politics of Landscape in Northern Australia. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, edited by B. Bender, pp. 205-243. Berg, Oxford.
- Morris, Clyde P.
1971 A Brief Economic History of the Camp and Middle Verde Reservations. *Plateau* 44:43-51.
- Nabokov, Peter
1998 Orientations from Their Side: Dimensions of Native American Cartographic Discourse. In *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, edited by G. M. Lewis, pp. 241-269. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Nentvig, Juan Batista
1863 [1763] *Rudo Ensayo: Tentativa de una Descripción Geográfica de la Provincia de Sonora* (transcribed by T. B. Smith). San Augustin de la Florida, Albany, New York. 1763 manuscript unpublished.
- Nequatewa, Edmund
1967 *Truth of a Hopi*. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Arizona. Originally published 1936, Bulletin No. 8, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff.
- Newell, Frederick Haynes
1894 *Report on Agriculture by Irrigation in the Western Part of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Census Office, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Norris, Tina, Paula L. Vines, and Elizabeth M. Hoeffel
2012 *The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2010*. 2010 Census Brief, <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-10.pdf>.
- Ogle, Ralph H.
1940 *Federal Control of the Western Apaches: 1848-1886*. Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History No. 9. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Ortega, José, and Johann Anton Balthasar
1754 *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus Escritos por un Padre de la Misma Sagrada Religión de su Provincia de Mexico* (compiled by Francisco Fluviá). Pablo Nadal, Barcelona, Spain.
- Page, Robert R., Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan
1998 *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process and Techniques*. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Panteah, Loren
2000 An Assessment of Zuni Traditional Cultural Properties for the Barry M. Goldwater Range, Southwestern Arizona. Ms. on file, 56th Range Management Office, Luke Air Force Base, Phoenix.
- Parker, Linda S.
1989 *Native American Estate: The Struggle over Indian and Hawaiian Lands*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

- Parsons, Elsie Clews
1923 The Origin Myth of Zuni. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 36:135-162.
- 1926 *Tewa Tales*. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society No. 19. New York.
- 1928 Notes on the Pima, 1926. *American Anthropologist* 30:445-464.
- 1939 *Pueblo Indian Religion*. 2 vols. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Pennington, Campbell W.
1979 *The Pima Bajo of Central Sonora, Mexico: Vol. 1. The Material Culture*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- 1980 *The Pima Bajo of Central Sonora, Mexico: Vol. 2. Vocabulario en la Lengua Nevome*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Poston, Charles D.
1865 Arizona Superintendency. No. 53. In *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1864*, pp. 150-158. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Preston, Robert A.
1983 Letter to members of Arizona governor's (Bruce Babbitt) Archaeology Advisory Team, dated 3 January. On file, Bureau of Land Management, Lower Sonoran Field Office, Phoenix.
- Preston, Joseph W.
1888 Report of Mission Agency. In *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1888*, vol. 2, by J. H. Oberly, pp. 10-20. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Preucel, Robert W.
2002 *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram (translator and editor)
1913 *The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-1782: Diary of Pedro Fages*. Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History No. 3(2). University of California, Berkeley.
- Pumpelly, Raphael
1870 *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China*. Leypoldt & Holt, New York.
- Quail, Nellie
1967 Interview with Nellie Quail by Robert C. Euler and Elizabeth M. Euler. Notes on file, Yavapai Oral History Project, Arizona State Museum, Tucson.
- Quechan News*
2016 Cultural committee supports "Great Bend of the Gila." 6 January:3-4. Winterhaven, California.
- Quotskuyva, Robert
1998 Interview of Robert Quotskuyva by Micah Loma'omvaya, 3 December 1998. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Radding, Cynthia
1997 *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- Ramon-Sauberan, Jacelle
2013 Extinct No More: Hia-Ced O'odham Officially Join Tohono O'odham Nation. *Indian Country Today Media Network* 30 June. <<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/06/30/extinct-no-more-hia-ced-oodham-officially-join-tohono-oodham-nation-150209>>, 1 February 2016.
- 2015 Tohono O'odham Vote Saturday on Dissolving Troubled District. *Indian Country Today Media Network* 24 April. <<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/04/24/tohono-oodham-vote-saturday-dissolving-troubled-district-160130>>, 12 April 2016.
- Rhode, David, and Meg McDonald (revisers)
n.d. Integrated Cultural Resource Management Plan, U.S. Army Garrison Yuma, Fiscal Years 2012-2016. Desert Research Institute, Reno, Nevada.

- Rice, Glen E., John L. Czarzasty, Christopher N. Watkins, Erica L. O'Neil, Karen Adams, David Bustoz, Richard Holloway, Gary Huckleberry, Thomas C. O'Laughlin, Manuel R. Palacios-Fest, Lydia Pyne, John Rapp, Eric Steinbach, and Arthur W. Vokes
2009 AZ T:13:18 (ASM), the Gillespie Dam Site. In *The Transwestern Phoenix Expansion Project, Bureau of Reclamation (Central Arizona Project), Arizona State, and Private Lands, Maricopa and Pinal Counties, Arizona Sites in the Sonoran Desert Pipeline Mile Posts (MP) 110.8 to 138.8*. Report No. 48936-C-123. TRC, Albuquerque.
- Riley, Caroll L.
1976 The Road to Hawikuh: Trade and Trade Routes to Cibola-Zuni during Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Times. *The Kiva* 41:137-159.
- Robinson, William J., and Roderick Sprague
1965 Disposal of the Dead at Point of Pines, Arizona. *American Antiquity* 30:442-453.
- Rogers, Malcolm J.
1945 An Outline of Yuman Prehistory. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1:167-198.
- Rössler, Mechtild
2003 Linking Nature and Culture: World Heritage Cultural Landscapes. In *Cultural Landscapes: The Challenges of Conservation*, edited by P. Ceccarelli and M. Rössler, pp. 10-15. World Heritage Papers No. 7. UNESCO World Heritage Center, Paris.
- Ruland-Thorne, Kate
1993 *The Yavapai: People of the Red Rocks; People of the Sun*. Thorne Enterprises, Sedona, Arizona.
- Russell, Frank
1908 The Pima Indians. In *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1904-1905*, pp. 3-389. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Russell, Will G., and Aaron M. Wright
2009 Footprints to the South: The Search for Proto-Hopi Clan Symbols in the South Mountains of Phoenix, Arizona. In *American Indian Rock Art*, vol. 35, edited by J. D. Keyser, D. Kaiser, G. Poetschat, and M. W. Taylor, pp. 43-60. American Rock Art Research Association, Tucson.
- Ruter, Helana
2010 Ethnographic Overview. In *A Cultural Resource Investigation for the Proposed Solana Generating Station and Associated Transmission Line: Vol. II. Ethnographic Investigations, Gila Bend, Maricopa County, Arizona*, by H. Ruter, B. G. Phillips, and J. S. Bruder, pp. 21-56. Cultural Resource Report No. 09-286. EcoPlan Associates, Inc., Mesa, Arizona.
- Sahema, Harold, and Don James
1999 Interview with Roger Anyon at Low Mountain Junction, First Mesa, 19 April 1999. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Sauer, Carl O.
1925 The Morphology of Landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography* 22:19-54.
- Saxton, Dean F., and Lucille Saxton (compilers)
1969 *Dictionary: Papago and Pima to English, English to Papago and Pima; O'odham-Mil-gahn, Mil-gahn-O'odham*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Schroeder, Albert H.
1961 An Archaeological Survey of the Painted Rocks Reservoir Western Arizona. *The Kiva* 27:1-28.
- Schroeder, Albert H., and Alfred B. Thomas
1974 *Yavapai Indians: A Study of Yavapai History and the Yavapai Indians 1582-1848*. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Schultze, Jeffrey M.
2008 *Trans-Nations: Imagined Communities and Border Realities in the Twentieth Century*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Southern Methodist University, Dallas. ProQuest, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Secakuku, Alph H.
1995 *Following the Sun and the Moon, Hopi Kachina Tradition*. Northland Publishing, Flagstaff, Arizona.
- Seiler, Hansjakob, and Kojiro Hioki
1979 *Cahuilla Dictionary*. Malki Museum, Banning, California.
- Shaul, David Leedom
2014 *A Prehistory of Western North America: The Impact of Uto-Aztecan Languages*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

- Shaul, David Leedom, and Jane H. Hill
1998 Tepimans, Yumans, and other Hohokam. *American Antiquity* 63:375-396.
- Shaw, Anna Moore
1968 *Pima Indian Legends*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Sheridan, Thomas E.
1996 The O'odham (Pimas and Papagos): The World Would Burn without Rain. In *Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico*, edited by T. Sheridan and N. J. Parezo, pp. 115-140. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Sheridan, Thomas E., Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Anton Daughters, Dale S. Brenneman, T. J. Ferguson, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, and Lee Wayne Lomayestewa
2015 *Moquis and Kastiilam: Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Siweumptewa, LaVerne
1999 Interviewed by Micah Loma'omvaya at Second Mesa, 6 April 1999. Notes on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.
- Smith, Thomas Buckingham
1861 *A Grammatical Sketch of the Heve Language, Translated from an Unpublished Spanish Manuscript*. Shea's Library of American Linguistics No. 3. Cramoisy Press, New York.
- Smith, Watson, Richard B. Woodbury, and Natalie F. S. Woodbury
1966 *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge, Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition 1917-1923*. Contributions of the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation Vol. 20. New York.
- Snider, Jackie L.
1986 *The Quechan Indians: Cultural Aspects of a California Indian Tribe*. Publications in American Indian Studies No. 3. San Diego State University, San Diego.
- Southworth, Clay H.
1919 The History of Irrigation along the Lower Gila. In *Hearings before the Committee of Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Sixth Congress, First Session on the Condition of Various Tribes of Indians, Act of June 30, 1919, Vol. 2, Appendix A*, pp. 103-223. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Spicer, Edward H.
1962 *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Spier, Leslie
1933 *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1936 *Cultural Relations of the Gila River and Lower Colorado Tribes*. Publications in Anthropology No. 3. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Stanislawski, Michael B.
1979 Hopi-Tewa. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 587-602. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Stephen, Alexander M.
1929 Hopi Tales. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 42:2-72.
- 1936 *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen* (edited by E. C. Parsons). Columbia University Press, New York.
- Stevenson, Matilda Coxé
1904 The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies. In *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1901-1902*, pp. 1-608. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Steward, Julian H.
1955 *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Stewart, Kenneth M.
1965 Southern Papago Salt Pilgrimages. *The Masterkey* 39:84-91.

- Stewart, Kenneth M.
 1983 Yumans: Introduction. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 1-3. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Stoffle, Richard W., Rebecca Toupal, Kathleen Van Vlack, Rachel Diaz de Valdes, Sean O'Meara, Jessica Medwied-Savage, Mascha Gemein, Phillip Dukes, and Daniel Borysewicz
 2008 *Native American Ethnographic Study of Tonto National Monument*. Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Stone, Connie L.
 1981 Economy and Warfare along the Lower Colorado River. In *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450-1700*, edited by D. R. Wilcox and B. Masse, pp. 183-197. Anthropological Research Papers No. 24. Arizona State University, Tempe.
 1991 *The Linear Oasis: Managing Cultural Resources along the Lower Colorado River*. Cultural Resource Series No. 6. Arizona State Office of the Bureau of Land Management, Phoenix.
- Sunn, Nick, and Henry O. Harwell
 1976 An Account of Maricopa Origins. In *Yuman Texts*, edited by M. Langdon, pp. 26-30. International Journal of American Linguistics, Native American Text Series No. 1(3). University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Teague, Lynn S.
 1989 The Post-Classic and the Fate of the Hohokam. In *The 1982-1984 Excavations at Las Colinas: Vol. 6. Synthesis and Conclusions*, edited by L. S. Teague and W. L. Deaver, pp. 145-168. Archaeological Series No. 162. Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson.
 1993 Prehistory and the Traditions of the O'odham and Hopi. *Kiva* 58:435-454.
- Teague, Lynn S.
 1996a Cultural Affiliation Assessment: Gila Bend/Lower Gila Hohokam & Patayan. In *Cultural Affiliations: Prehistoric Cultural Affiliations of Southwestern Indian Tribes*, compiled by F. E. Wozniak, pp. 76-79. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southwest Region, Albuquerque.
 1996b Cultural Affiliation Assessment: Phoenix Basin, Late Archaic Transition & Hohokam/Salado. In *Cultural Affiliations: Prehistoric Cultural Affiliations of Southwestern Indian Tribes*, compiled by F. E. Wozniak, pp. 87-92. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southwest Region, Albuquerque.
- Tedlock, Dennis
 1979 Zuni Religion and World View. In *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 499-508. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 1983 *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Teggart, Frederick J. (translator and editor)
 1913 *The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776: Diary of Pedro Font*. Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History No. 3(1). University of California, Berkeley.
- The Native American*
 1916 The Papago Reservation. *The Native American* 17(5):72, 82-83, 85-86.
- Tisdale, Shelby J.
 1997 *Cocopah Identity and Cultural Survival: Indian Gaming and the Political Ecology of the Lower Colorado Delta, 1850-1996*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
 1998 A Comprehensive Plan for the Consideration of Traditional Cultural Places and Sacred Sites on the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range. Dames & Moore, Tucson.
- Tohono O'odham Nation
 2014 Districts. <<http://www.tonation-nsn.gov/districts.aspx>>, 1 February 2016.

- Tonopah Coalition
2000 Proposal for Saddle Mountain National Monument & Painted Rocks National Monument. Ms. on file, Archaeology Southwest, Tucson.
- Tower, Donald Bayley
1945 *The Use of Marine Mollusca and Their Value in Reconstructing Prehistoric Trade Routes in the American Southwest*. Papers of the Excavators' Club No. 2(3). Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Trafzer, Clifford E.
2009 Historic Property Inventory, Traditional Cultural Properties: Yavapai-Prescott Cultural Ethnography of Lands. Report on file, Cultural Research Department, Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe, Prescott, Arizona.
- Trafzer, Clifford E.
2012 Historic Property Inventory of Traditional Cultural Properties: Quechan Indian Tribe of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation Cultural Ethnography of Lands on the Yuma Proving Grounds. Report on file, Cultural Committee Office, Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe, Winterhaven, California.
- Trippel, Eugene J.
1889a The Yuma Indians. *The Overland Monthly* (Second Series) 13(78):561-584.
1889b The Yuma Indians-II. *The Overland Monthly* (Second Series) 14(79):1-11.
- Tsosie, Rebecca
2001 Land, Culture, and Community: Reflections on Native Sovereignty and Property in America. *Indian Law Review* 34:1291-1312.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu
1974 *Topophilia*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- Underhill, Ruth M.
1938a *A Papago Calendar Record*. Anthropological Series No. 2(5), Bulletin No. 322. University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
1938b *Singing for Power: The Song Magic of the Papago Indians of Southern Arizona*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
1939 *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Underhill, Ruth M.
1940 *The Papago Indians of Arizona and Their Relatives the Pima*. Indian Life and Customs No. 3. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Lawrence, Kansas.
1946 *Papago Indian Religion*. Columbia University Press, New York.
1948 *Ceremonial Patterns in the Greater Southwest*. American Ethnological Society Monograph No. 13. J. J. Augustin, New York.
2001 *O'odham Creation and Related Events* (edited by D. M. Bahr). University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Underhill, Ruth M., Donald M. Bahr, Baptisto Lopez, Jose Pancho, and David Lopez
1979 *Rainhouse & Ocean: Speeches for the Papago Year*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Underwood, Jackson
2009 *An Ethnographic Study of Sears Point, Arizona*. RECON report No. 4197a. RECON Environmental, Inc., San Diego.
- UNESCO
2012 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Centre, Paris.
- U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
1996 An Archaeological Collections Summary for Yuma Proving Ground, Arizona: Information Provided for Compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Report prepared for the U.S. Army Environment Center, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.
- U.S. Census Bureau
2010 2006-2010 American Community Survey, Supplementary Table 1. Native North American Languages and Residence in American Indian or Alaska Native Areas for the Population 5 Years and Over in the United States and Puerto Rico: 2006-2010. <www2.census.gov/library/publications/2011/acs/acsbr10-10_supp-table-1.xls>.

- U.S. Census Bureau
 2013 Table 5. American Indian and Alaska Native Population by Tribe for the West Region: 2010. In *2010 Census Population and Housing Table 6: American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes in the United States and Puerto Rico: 2010*. <[www.census.gov/population/www/cen2010/cph-t/t-6tables/TABLE%20\(5\).pdf](http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2010/cph-t/t-6tables/TABLE%20(5).pdf)>.
- 2015 Zuni Pueblo CDP, New Mexico. U.S. Census Bureau State and County QuickFacts. <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/35/3586595.html>>.
- U.S. Congress
 2016 *Great Bend of the Gila National Monument Establishment Act*. 114th Congress, 2nd session, H.R. 5556. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/5556/>>, 27 June 2016.
- Vance, John T., Jerome K. Kuykendall, and Richard W. Yarborough
 1968 Indian Claims Commission: The Papago Tribe of Arizona v. The United States of America, Findings of Fact. Docket No. 345. 19 Indian Claims Commission, Decided 10 September 1968.
- Vanderpot, Rein, and Jeffrey H. Altschul
 2002 Cairns and Geoglyphs: Rock Puzzles of the Western Papaguería. In *Forgotten Landscape: Ritual Landmarks of the Crater Range and Other Interior Mountain Ranges of the Western Papaguería: A Class III Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation of 4,380 Acres on the North Tactical Range, Barry M. Goldwater Range, Arizona* (Draft), edited by R. Vanderpot and J. H. Altschul, pp. 123-146. Technical Report No. 02-48. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- 2004 *Foragers and Ranchers in the Western Papaguería: Intensive Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Manned Range and AUX-6 Roads, Barry M. Goldwater Range East, Arizona*. Barry M. Goldwater Range East Cultural Resource Management Program, Cultural Resource Studies in the Western Papaguería No. 3. Statistical Research, Inc., Tucson.
- Vanderpot, Rein, and Jeffrey H. Altschul
 2008 Patterns of Stone: Ritual Landscapes of the Western Papaguería. In *Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the Western Papaguería*, edited by J. H. Altschul and A. G. Rankin, pp. 347-376. SRI Press, Tucson.
- Velasco, Francisco
 1861 *Sonora: Its Extent, Population, Natural Productions, Indian Tribes, Mines, Minera Lands, Etc., Etc.* (translated by W. F. Nye). H. H. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco.
- Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Joseph Antonio
 1748 *Theatro Americano, Descripción General de los Reynos, y Provincias de la Nueva España, y sus Jurisdicciones*, part 2. Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal, Mexico City.
- Vivian, R. Gwinn
 1965 An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Gila River, Arizona. *The Kiva* 30:95-146.
- Vokes, Arthur W., and David A. Gregory
 2007 Exchange Networks for Exotic Goods in the Southwest and Zuni's Place in Them. In *Zuni Origins: Toward a New Synthesis of Southwestern Archaeology*, edited by D. A. Gregory and D. R. Wilcox, pp. 318-357. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Voth, Henry R.
 1905 *The Traditions of the Hopi*. Anthropological Series Vol. 8. Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 96. Chicago.
- 1912 *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers*. Anthropological Series No. 11(2). Field Museum of Natural History Publication No. 157. Chicago.
- Walker, Francis Amasa (compiler)
 1872 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1872*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Wallace, Henry D.
 1989 *Archaeological Investigations at Petroglyph Sites in the Painted Rock Reservoir Area, Southwestern Arizona*. Technical Report No. 89-5. Institute for American Research, Tucson.
- Wares, Allen Campbell
 1968 *A Comparative Study of Yuman Consonantism*. Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands.

- Washburn, Dorothy
1995 *Living in Balance: The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.
- Wasley, William W., and Alfred E. Johnson
1965 *Salvage Archaeology in Painted Rocks Reservoir, Western Arizona*. Anthropological Papers No. 9. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Waters, Frank
1977 *Book of the Hopi*. Penguin Books, New York.
- Whipple, Amiel W.
1860 Physical Data Respecting that Part of Southern California Lying on the Line of Boundary between San Diego and the Mouth of the Gila; with Incidental Descriptions of the Dieguenos and Yumas Indian Tribes. In *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, vol. II, compiled by H. R. Schoolcraft, pp. 99-121. J.B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.
- Whipple, Amiel W., Thomas Ewbank, and William W. Turner
1855 Part III: Report upon the Indian Tribes. In *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. III. House Executive Document No. 91 and Senate Executive Document No. 78, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- White, Chris
1974 Lower Colorado River Area Aboriginal Warfare and Alliance Dynamics. In *Antap: California Indian Political and Economic Organization*, edited by L. J. Bean and T. F. King, pp. 113-135. Anthropological Papers No. 2. Ballena Press, Ramona, California.
- Whiteley, Peter M.
1988 *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Whittemore, Isaac T.
1893 The Pima Indians, Their Manners and Customs. In *Among the Pimas; or the Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians*, pp. 51-96. The Ladies' Union Mission School Association, Albany, New York.
- Wilcox, Michael V.
2009 *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Willson, Roscoe G.
1954 Pimas Get Name from Misunderstanding. *Arizona Days and Ways: The Arizona Republic Magazine* 3 October:6.
- Wilson, John P.
2014 *Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas 1500s-1945*. Anthropological Research Papers No. 6. Gila River Indian Community, Sacaton, Arizona.
- Winter, Joseph C.
1973 Cultural Modifications of the Gila Pima: A.D. 1697-A.D. 1846. *Ethnohistory* 20:67-77.
- Winter, Werner
1957 Yuman Languages, I: First Impressions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23:18-23.
- Winters, Harry J. Jr.
2012 *O'odham Place Names: Meanings, Origins, and Histories, Arizona and Sonora*. Nighthorses, Tucson.
2016 Brief History of O'odham and Piipaash Place Names, Lower Gila River Arizona. Presentation to the Fourth Tri-National Sonoran Symposium, 9 March, Ajo, Arizona.
- Woods, Cleo
1945 I Found the Cave of a Pima God. *Desert Magazine* 8(9):8-10.
- Woods, Isaiah C.
1968 Journal of I. C. Woods on the Establishment of the San Antonio & San Diego Mail Line (edited by N. M. Loomis). In *Brand Book No. 1*, edited by R. Brandes, pp. 94-125. San Diego Corral of the Westerners, San Diego.
- Woods, Teri Knutson, Karen Blaine, and Lauri Francisco
2002 O'odham Himdag as a Source of Strength and Wellness among the Tohono O'odham of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, Mexico. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 29:35-53.

- Wright, Aaron M.
2011 *Hohokam Rock Art, Ritual Practice, and Social Transformation in the Phoenix Basin*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman. ProQuest, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Wright, Aaron M., Pat H. Stein, Barnaby V. Lewis, and William H. Doelle
2015 *The Great Bend of the Gila: A Nationally Significant Cultural Landscape*. Archaeology Southwest, Tucson, Arizona.
- Yates, Richard
1972 Locating the Colorado River Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer. *Journal of Arizona History* 12:123-130.
- Yava, Albert
1978 *Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People* (edited and annotated by H. Courlander). University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Zappia, Natale A.
2008 *The Interior World: Trading and Raiding in Native California, 1700-1863*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, Santa Cruz. ProQuest, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Zarate Salmerón, Gerónimo de
1856 [1626] Relaciones de Todas las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han Visto, y Sabido assi por Mar como por Tierra desde el Año de 1538 hasta el de 1626. *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* 3(3):30-38. Vicente García Torres, Mexico.
- Zedeño, María Nieves, and Richard W. Stoffle
1996 Hohokam, Salado, and Sinagua Consultation Meeting, Tucson, 18-19 July 1995: Meeting Summary. Report prepared by the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Zepeda, Ofelia
1985 *The Sand Papago Oral History Project*. Division of Archaeology, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Tucson.

Native American Tribes with Connections to the Great Bend of the Gila

AK-CHIN INDIAN COMMUNITY

[*www.ak-chin.nsn.us*](http://www.ak-chin.nsn.us)

COCOPAH INDIAN TRIBE

[*www.cocopah.com*](http://www.cocopah.com)

COLORADO RIVER INDIAN TRIBES

[*www.crit-nsn.gov*](http://www.crit-nsn.gov)

FORT MCDOWELL YAVAPAI NATION

[*www.fmyn.org*](http://www.fmyn.org)

FORT MOJAVE INDIAN TRIBE

[*www.mojaveindiantribe.com*](http://www.mojaveindiantribe.com)

FORT YUMA QUECHAN TRIBE

[*www.quechantribe.com*](http://www.quechantribe.com)

GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY

[*www.gilariver.org*](http://www.gilariver.org)

HOPI TRIBE

[*www.hopi-nsn.gov*](http://www.hopi-nsn.gov)

PUEBLO OF ZUNI

[*www.ashiwi.org*](http://www.ashiwi.org)

SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA INDIAN COMMUNITY

[*www.srpmic-nsn.gov*](http://www.srpmic-nsn.gov)

TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION

[*www.tonation-nsn.gov*](http://www.tonation-nsn.gov)

YAVAPAI-APACHE NATION

[*www.yavapai-apache.org*](http://www.yavapai-apache.org)

YAVAPAI-PRESCOTT INDIAN TRIBE

[*www.ypit.com*](http://www.ypit.com)



Archaeology Southwest

Archaeology Southwest, a private nonprofit organization, promotes stewardship of cultural resources in the Greater Southwest through active research, preservation, and public education.