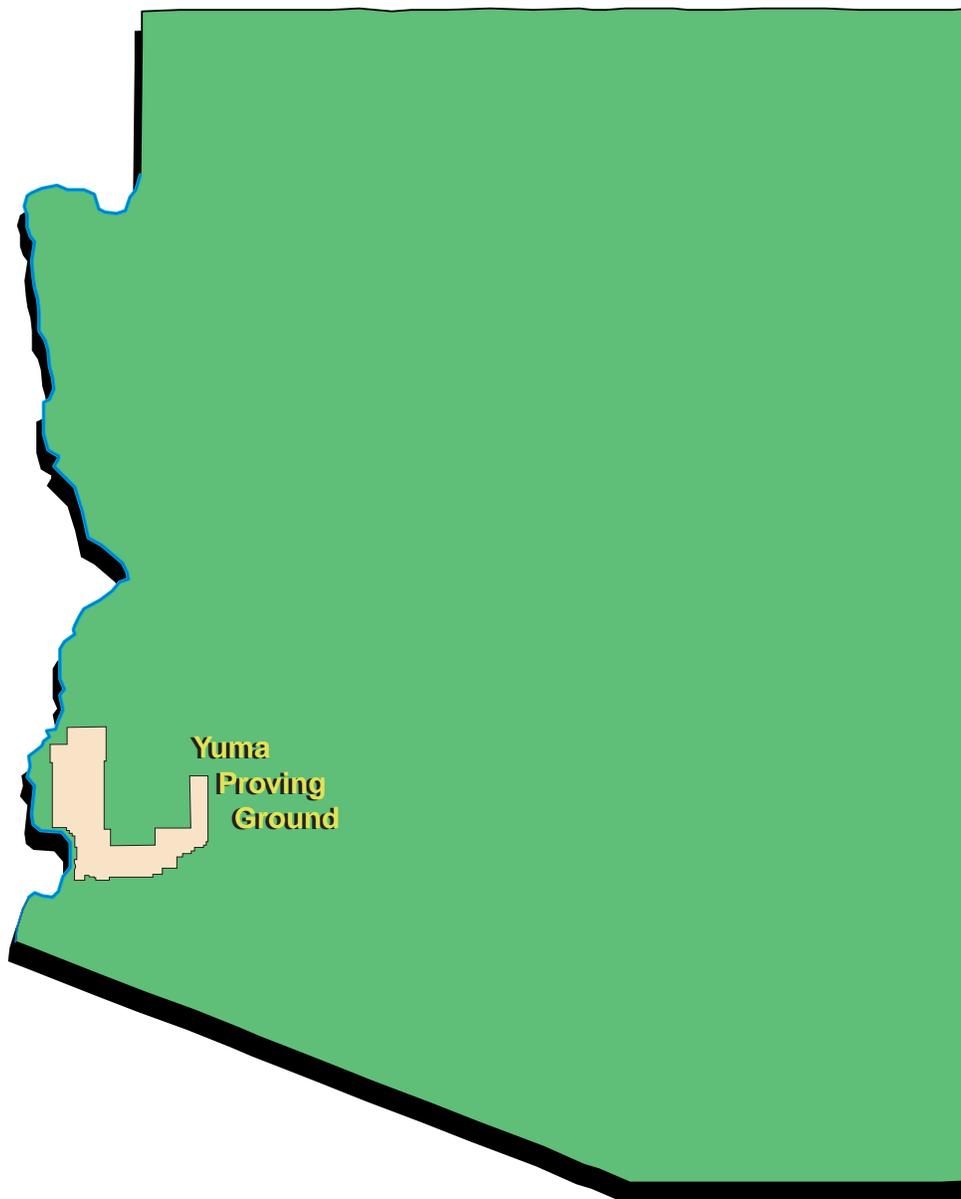


A Cultural Overview of the Yavapai and their Relation to Yuma Proving Ground



**US Army Corps
of Engineers®**
St. Louis District

Mandatory Center of Expertise for the Curation
and Management of Archaeological Collections

A Cultural Overview of the Yavapai and Their Relation to Yuma Proving Ground

by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1998, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, St. Louis District was contracted by Yuma Proving Ground (YPG), Yuma Arizona, to research and write a cultural overview of the Yavapai tribe which would illustrate that they were at one time located in the region of Yuma Proving Ground. Under various laws, regulations, and policies the U.S. Army is required to consult with Native American tribes and to protect Native American sacred sites and traditional cultural properties. Consultation between YPG and the Yavapai Tribe has taken place and because of this the tribe has indicated that they have several areas, located within YPG boundaries, they consider to be sacred and traditional properties.

This cultural overview will show the Yavapai Indians once occupied a large territory in what is now north central Arizona. Although the Yavapai territory also extended into southwest and northwest Arizona this report does not discuss these areas. It will show the Yavapai relations with neighboring Indian groups along the Colorado and Gila Rivers including military alliances and rivalries, trade and resource sharing. Although few non-Indians entered Yavapai territory before the 1860s, after the 1860s large numbers of non-Indians invaded Yavapai territory in search of gold and farmland. This report will explain how Yavapai camps responded in different ways, how the presence of non-Indians disrupted the Yavapai economy, and how the United States military forced Yavapai families to move onto reservations and how they coped with this new way of life.

This study utilized ethnographic materials and numerous U.S. Indian Office and Army documents to examine how the Yavapai reacted to the influx of non-Indians. The examination of early Yavapai life and their relations with other Indians, and with the Spanish explores, reveals a variety of practices, motivations, and strategies which formed the way the Yavapai dealt with the non-Indians in the nineteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express special thanks to several people who assisted with this project. Lara Anderson, St. Louis District, conducted the research for the environmental setting and compiled the databases. Ms. Nancy Hayden, cultural resource director for the Yavapai Prescott Indian Tribe, reviewed the report and provided comments and suggestions on several sections. Ms. Delores Gauna, cultural resources manager for Yuma Proving Ground, supplied the St. Louis District with pertinent information on Yuma Proving Ground.

1

Introduction

Yuma Proving Ground (YPG) is an 800,000-acre U.S. Army installation located on desert land in southwestern Arizona, northeast of the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. Its current mission is to test weapons and equipment in a desert setting. These activities can have significant impacts to fragile desert environments and cultural resources that are significant to many Native American tribes. Thus, the YPG cultural and environmental staff asked the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, St. Louis District to identify significant cultural resources and other areas of concerns so they can be avoided, if possible, and preserved for future generations.

YPG has initiated a Native American consultation program as part of its ongoing efforts to protect and maintain cultural and natural resources, and to comply with federal laws and regulations. The YPG cultural resource staff is consulting with all tribes they consider to be affiliated with the YPG area by letter and telephone, as well as meeting with tribal representatives on specific issues, actions, or policies that may affect tribal interests. To augment this program and provide an opportunity for the tribes to present their views on the YPG area, YPG cultural resources staff requested funds to begin consultation with the tribes. This report is the first in a series of anticipated reports, one for each tribe.

In this study, we present an overview of Yavapai prehistoric and historic use of southwestern Arizona, and the area encompassed specifically by Yuma Proving Ground (YPG). This study will concentrate on the Yavapai Tribe, one of many tribes associated with Yuma Proving Ground. The study was conducted for YPG by the U.S. Army Engineer District, St. Louis, in cooperation with the Yavapai Prescott Indian Tribe.

Project Objectives and Methods

The specific goals of the project are to (1) identify Yavapai uses of YPG, (2) identify natural resources on YPG that are important to the Yavapai Prescott Tribe, (3) synthesize published information about YPG, and (4) provide recommendations for future consultation and protection of archaeological and non-archaeological resources.

St. Louis District staff conducted archival research to identify published references and data on Yavapai use of the area. Meetings were held with the Yavapai Prescott Tribal History and Culture Committee to discuss the scope of the project and request input and direction from tribal elders. The committee reviewed drafts of the report and provided comments.

Primary and published data were collected during visits to the Library, Archives, Historical Foundation, and Hayden Special Collection at Arizona State University; the University of Arizona Library; the Arizona State Museum Library and Archives; the Sharlot Hall Museum Archives; and the Bureau of Land Management, Yuma office. Extensive use was made of online internet searches and interlibrary loans.

History of Yuma Proving Ground

Yuma Proving Ground (YPG) (Figure 1) is located just east of the Colorado River in the Sonoran Desert of Southwest Arizona, one of the hottest and driest areas in the nation, and is larger in size than the state of Rhode Island, with more than 1,300 square miles. YPG is located 26 road miles from the city of Yuma, Arizona, 175 miles from San Diego, California, and 185 miles from Phoenix, Arizona. YPG is U-shaped, and its boundaries extend 50 miles north and south and about 52 miles east and west. The YPG area has an average of 350 sunny days and an average rainfall of approximately three inches.

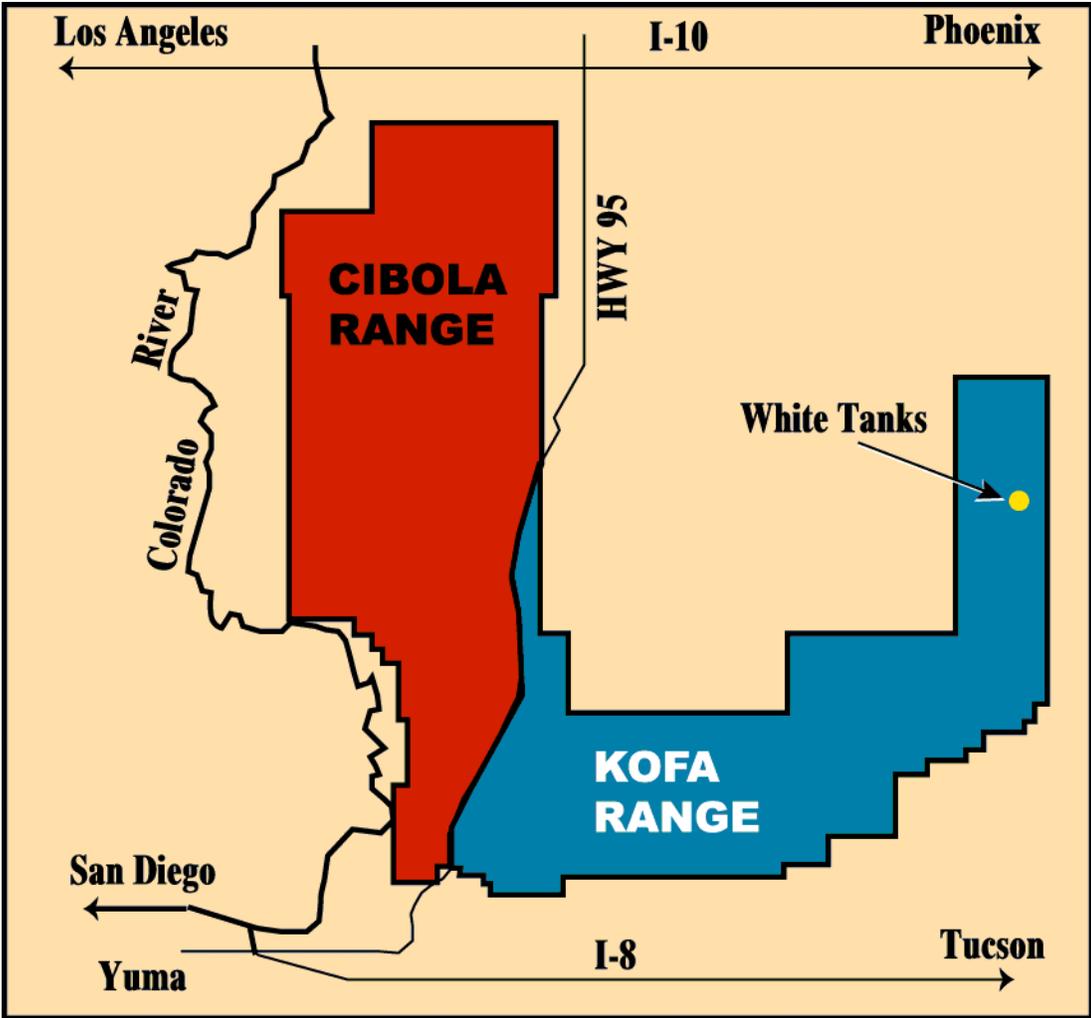


Figure 1. Yuma Proving Ground boundaries, showing both the Cibola and Kofa ranges.

Within the wide expanse of YPG there are many diverse terrains that make for excellent military use areas. Elevations are low throughout most of the area, varying from about 197 feet above sea level (a.s.l.) at Imperial Dam to nearly 1,700 feet a.s.l. at the Gila Mountains. Castle Dome Peak, located in the Kofa National Wildlife Refuge, one of the landmarks in the area, has an elevation of 3,793 feet a.s.l.

YPG is part of the U.S. Army Developmental Test Command and is divided into two test ranges. The east-west test area is the Kofa artillery range and the north-south test area is the Cibola aircraft range. The Kofa Range is used to test and evaluate artillery, mortars, mines, complete weapon systems, and weapons components. The Cibola Range is used to test aircraft armament, fire control, manned and unmanned aircraft testing, and air delivery systems (see Figure 1).

YPG was activated in 1943 as the Army Corps of Engineers' Test Branch to test bridges, boats, vehicles, and well drilling equipment. The test branch was located near Yuma County's Imperial Dam. Prisoners of war that had been captured in North Africa were assigned to the camp and helped build the facilities at the test site. Yuma Test Branch was deactivated in 1949, and reactivated in 1951 as Yuma Test Station.

Camp Laguna

During WWII Major General George S. Patton foresaw the need to train troops in desert warfare. In 1942, he selected areas near Desert Center, Iron Mountain, and Needles, California. In 1943, new training camps were created to provide relief to the existing, but overused, railroad network of the southwest. Four main camps were constructed along the Southern Pacific Gila River route. One of these camps was called Camp Laguna. Camp Laguna was located on what is now Yuma Proving Ground.

Tank maneuver areas were created and the landscape was scarred forever. Camp Laguna functioned as a tank maneuver area that resembled the deserts of North Africa. It was a harsh place where everyone lived in tents with no refrigeration or electricity. It was a perfect training area, preparing troops for the hardships they would experience in desert combat. The troops lived on canned rations during their six months at Camp Laguna. Today tank maneuvers are still conducted in some of the same areas that troops used in 1943.

Current Status

Approximately 1,700 military and civilian employees are employed in a variety of occupations and missions at YPG. Expansions of the testing capability and thus, YPG's missions have been possible because of YPG's remote location, unimpeded airspace, climate, and terrain. Currently 95% of YPG's testing program is performed for the Department of Defense. Tests are performed on trucks, jeeps, tanks, parachutes, aircraft, and several kinds of ordnance. Private companies and other nations including Canada, Britain, Germany, Israel, and Japan perform an additional 2-3 % of the testing. In addition, federal, non-DoD agencies have used YPG to test how to safely disarm pipe bombs. Regardless of what agency or country performs the testing, it is the natural and cultural resources department's responsibility to make sure that testing impacts to cultural and natural resources located on the installation are minimal.

2

Environmental Setting

The following chapter reviews the geological, physical, and environmental setting of Yuma Proving Ground and vicinity. This information is included in this cultural overview because an understanding of a culture's environmental setting is an intrinsic part of understanding a culture's history. As for any culture, the natural environment imposes a set of conditions to which a society must adapt or modify if it is to survive. Compared with many areas of the world, the environmental constraints of southwestern Arizona are relatively harsh, **therefore a culture such as the Yavapai's is in part defined by its environment.**

Geology

The southwestern region of Arizona forms a major portion of the Sonoran Desert, which also encompasses sections of southeastern California, Baja California, and Sonora, Mexico (Figure 2) (Hastings and Turner 1965:9). The Sonoran Desert east of Yuma is characterized generally by long, narrow mountain ranges separated by more extensive desert plains typical of the Basin and Range Province. The center of this province is Nevada, the northern border is southern Oregon and Idaho, the western border is the Sierra Nevada, the eastern edge is the Wasatch Front in Utah, and the southern end extends into Mexico encompassing southern Arizona (Figure 3)(Comeaux 1981). The mountain ranges of southern Arizona are oriented from south-southeast to north-northwest and the intervening desert plains are basins containing thick Cenozoic fill (Comeaux 1981:24). The mountains are composed chiefly of pre-Tertiary plutonic and metamorphic rocks, although Cenozoic volcanic and minor sedimentary rocks are locally extensive. The mountains and basins of the southwestern Sonoran Desert appear to have been outlined by structural activity consisting of extensive faulting and tilting in middle Tertiary and earlier times. Later movements have consisted chiefly of minor warping and normal

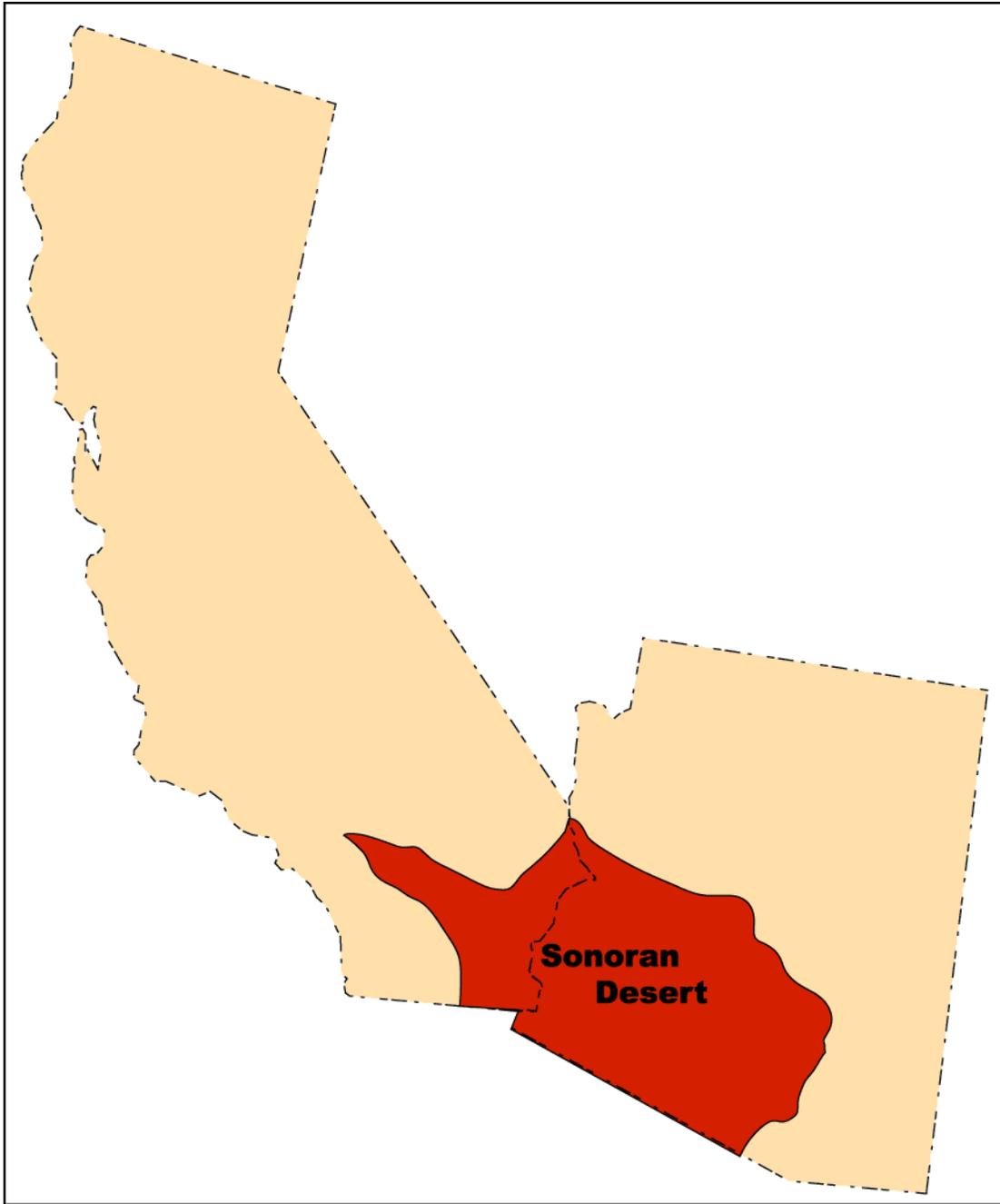


Figure 2. Map presenting the relative extent of the Sonoran Desert in Arizona and California. (Based on Beck and Haase 1989:6)



Figure 3. Map presenting the relative extent of the Basin Range geomorphic province of the Western United States. (Based on Beck and Haase 1989:2)

faulting and of probable regional subsidence near the west margin of the area, adjacent to the Salton Trough (Mattick et al. 1973: D5). Harquahala Mountain, in southwestern Arizona, represents the highest point in the region, with an altitude of 5,681 feet. In general, the region is characterized by elevations of 2,000 feet or less (Hasting and Turner 1965:188; Mattick et al. 1973: D1).

The Colorado and Gila Rivers have dominated the geologic history of the Yuma Proving Ground area (Figure 4). Sedimentation in the Colorado and Gila Rivers Valleys was probably greatest during the Pleistocene Epoch. It was during this Epoch that the mountains of Colorado, Utah and Wyoming had large alpine glaciers, whose melting brought great quantities of out-wash down through Arizona. Additionally, the precipitation during this period was several times that of the present, which caused extensive erosion. The Colorado and Gila Rivers have transported into this area alluvium derived from erosion in seven states. This sediment has filled the deep trough of the Gulf of California (USACE St Louis District: N.D.).

The Gila River, which drains the southern half of Arizona, presently joins the Colorado River just a few miles east of Yuma (see Figure 4). At the end of the Pleistocene Epoch the flow of this river decreased. The stream gradually eroded a deeper channel into the earlier sedimentary deposits and shifted northward, forming the present flood plain and valley of the Gila River. The Gila River has very little fall, and its channel is not firmly established. As a result, the river has meandered a great deal during the various floods. Concurrently with the valley development of the Gila River flood plain area, known locally as the Wellton-Mohawk Valley and the Gila Valley, the Colorado River was incising the Yuma Mesa to form the present Yuma Valley. The Colorado River formed the three terraces of the Yuma Mesa, and the Gila River formed the terrace known as the Wellton-Mohawk, Dateland, and Aztec Mesas. The ancestral Colorado River delta, now a terrace between the Yuma Mesa and the Yuma Valley and between the Yuma Mesa and the Gila River flood plain, is for the most part rough, steep, and highly dissected from the city of Yuma to east of Wellton.

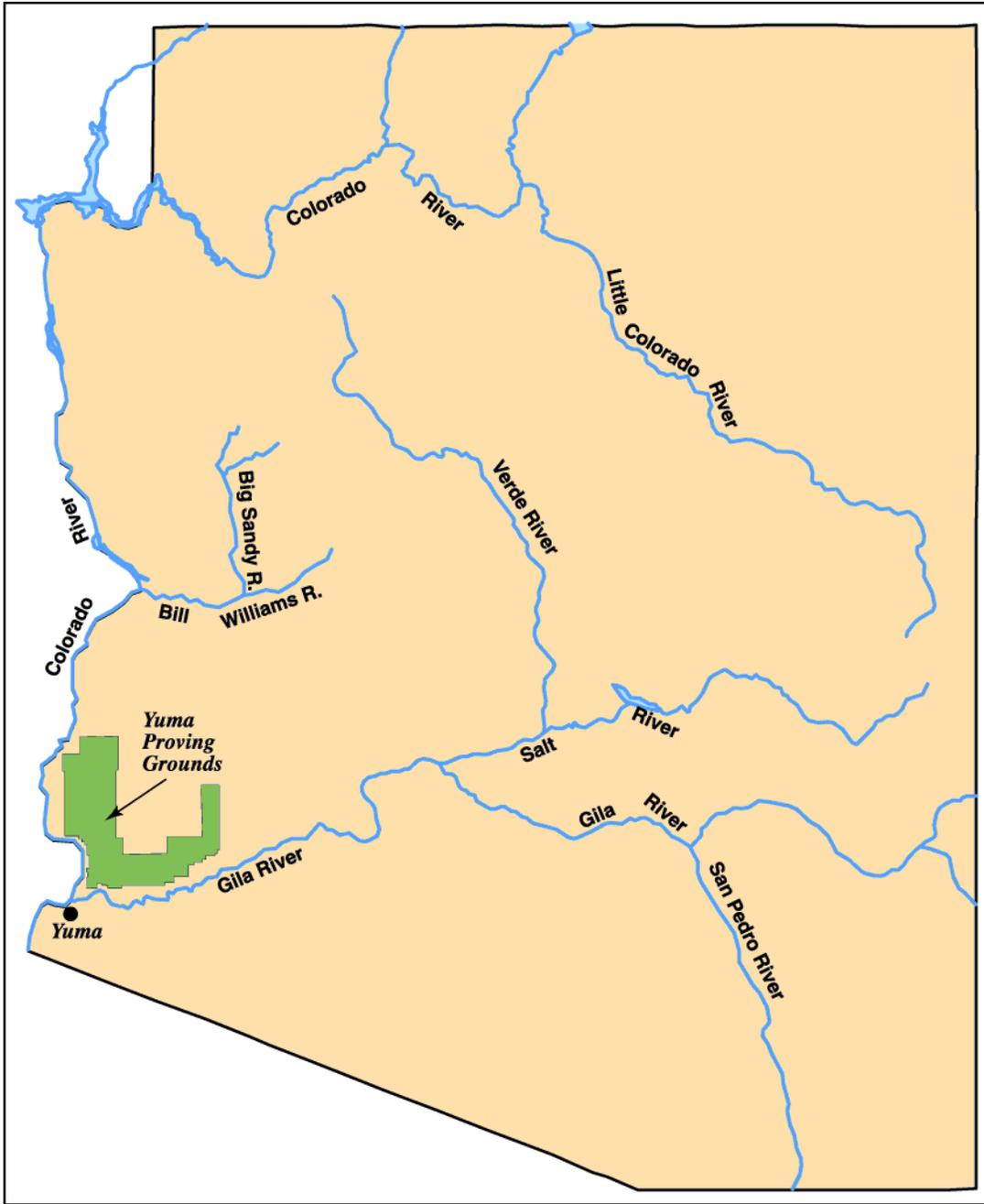


Figure 4. The major rivers of Arizona and Yuma Proving Grounds' relative geographical location.

In general, the valleys between the mountain ranges have slopes that average between 20 and 30 feet per mile, usually with numerous braided washes extending out from the mountains and persisting throughout all or most of the valleys. This braided drainage pattern is particularly developed in the Castle Dome Valley. North of the Gila River, the juncture between mountain and valley is sharp in many places and changes in grade are abrupt. However, in some places there are intermediate rocky surfaces resembling pediments; these features are not as pronounced north of the Gila River as they are in areas south of it (Ross 1923:19).

A variety of sedimentary, metamorphic, and igneous geological formations are represented in the mountains and valleys of southwestern Arizona (Wilson, Moore and Cooper 1969). The predominant mountain formations, particularly north of the Gila River, are composed of andesitic and rhyolitic to andesitic flows and tuffs and include the northeastern segment of the Muggins Mountains and most of the Trigo, Kofa, Castle Dome, and Gila Bend Mountains (Figure 5). Additionally, basaltic flows, agglomerate, tuff, and cinders are well represented in portions of the Tank Mountains and across the Sentinel Plain and Growler Mountains. A localized portion of the Castle Dome Mountains is represented by an intrusive igneous formation that is composed of granite, quartz monzonite, granodiorite, quartz diorite, and some porphyry equivalents of these rocks. Further intrusive igneous formations are found in isolated portions of the Dome Rock, Kofa, Eagletail, and New Water mountains and are represented by granitic, dioritic, rhyolitic, and andesitic dikes, sills, and plugs. South of the Gila River, the northern section of the Sierra Pinta Mountains and Tinajas Atlas Mountains are composed of granite to quartz diorite (Hoffman 1984).

Metamorphic formations comprise the central portion of the Dome Rock Mountains, and the western portion of the Muggins Mountains, major sections of the Gila Mountains, and most of the Harcuvar and Harquahala mountains are composed of gneiss with some areas of undivided schist and granite. Sedimentary formations composed of conglomerate, sandstone, siltstone, limestone, and other materials and including

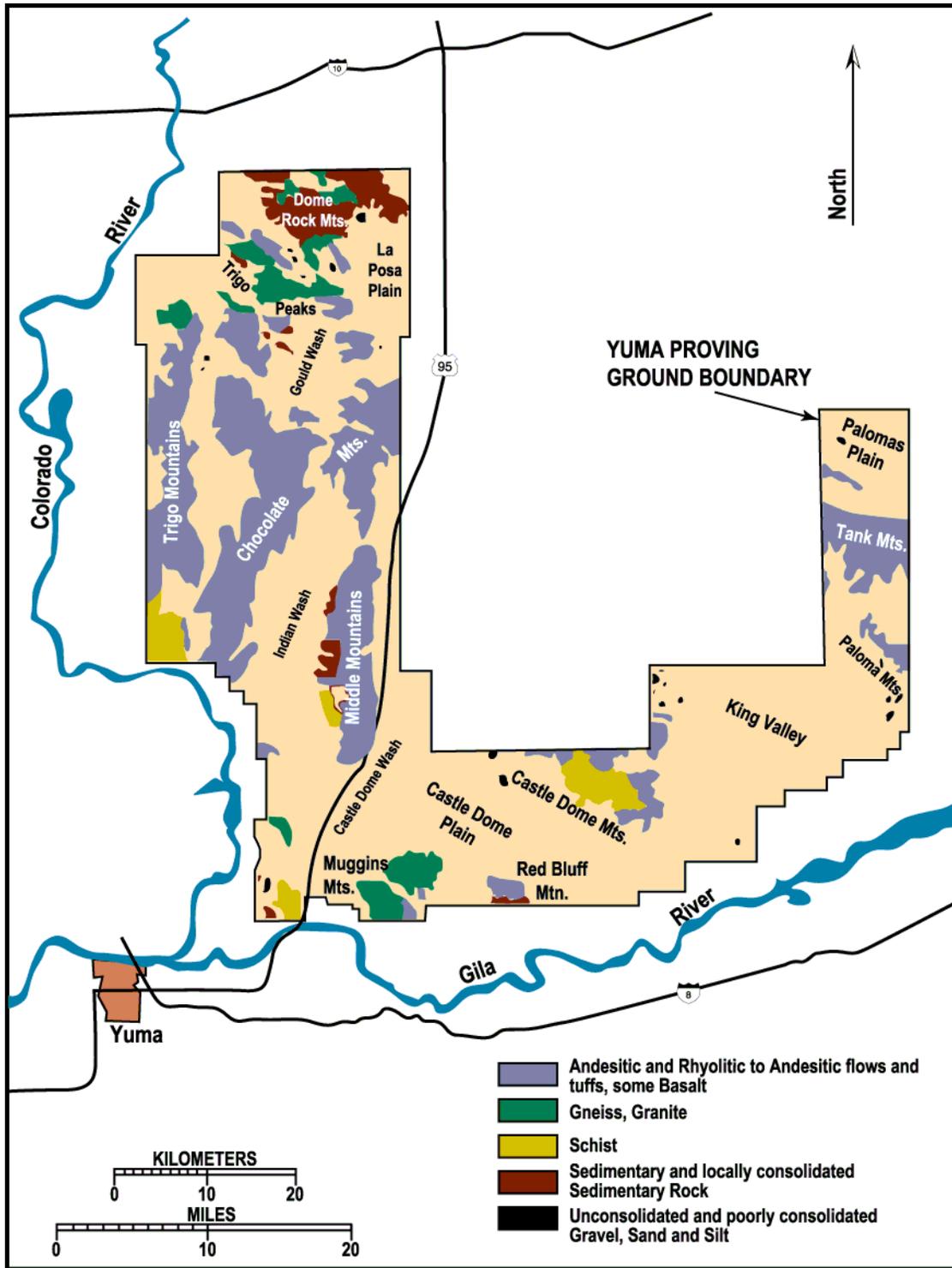


Figure 5. General geology of the Yuma Proving Ground. (Based on Hoffman 1984:Figure 2-2)

fossiliferous beds are the predominant components of the Muggins Mountains. Limestone, shale, sandstone, and conglomerate form major portions of the Dome Rock and Copper Mountains and smaller areas of the Plomosa, Muggins, Eagletail, New Water, and Gila Bend Mountains (see Figure 5) (Hoffman 1984).

Significant geographic features

Significant geographic features located on Yuma Proving Ground are the White Tanks. These formations are located on the northeastern flank of the Tank Mountains in the eastern arm of the Yuma Proving Ground (see Figure 4). The White Tanks are twenty to forty meter deep ravines that cut into soft volcanic tuffs concealing sequences of water catchment basins or tanks or *tinajas*. The large wash that created the tanks fills them during infrequent rainstorms while the narrow chasms in which they are located preserve the water from evaporation (Schaefer et al. 1993:1). In an arid region such as southern Arizona, these tanks provide an invaluable source of moisture beyond that provided by the Colorado and Gila Rivers. The presence of these tanks produced one of the largest human habitation sites to be found in southwestern Arizona.

Environment

The natural environment of Yuma Proving Ground is best described as the American Semi-desert and Desert Province put forth by Robert G. Bailey (1995) in his descriptions of ecoregions of the United States. Long hot summers and very moderate winters typify the climate of this province. The average annual temperature is 60° to 70°, however on almost half of all the days in a year, temperatures exceed 90° (Devine 1986:60). In the winter, rains are widespread and usually gentle, however summer precipitation generally occurs in the form of isolated thunderstorms. Average annual precipitation is 2 to 10 inches in the desert valleys, but may reach as much as 25 inches on mountain slopes (Bailey 1995). Due to the low humidity of the region and an abundance of clear skies, the evaporation rate in summer is extremely high. This in

combination with the low, highly unpredictable rainfall results in very few reliable water sources in the area beyond the Colorado and Gila Rivers.

Flora

Vegetation of the Sonoran Desert generally exhibits four characteristics: 1) low but unequal stature of plants, 2) openness of vegetation stands, 3) a greater mixture of diverse life forms within stands, and 4) variability of plants determined by elevation. The scarcity of moisture in the environment prevents dense concentrations of plants, and in most cases the attainment of great height by plants. However, openness of the stands allows for a mixture of species and plants of varying heights. In this desert environment the plants are in more competition with the natural elements than they are with each other. Environmental stresses play a larger role in the determination of plant distribution than inter-specific competition. Finally, elevation in this arid zone tends to play a significant role in determining precipitation amounts, temperature, and soil conditions, which leads to a layering of plants by elevation (McGuire 1982:24).

Cacti and thorny shrubs are the most obvious plants in the Sonoran desert life zone, but many thornless shrubs and herbs are also present. According to Bailey (1995), the most widely distributed plant on the Sonoroan Desert plains is the creosote bush, which covers extensive areas in nearly pure stands. The second most dominant plant found in the Sonoroan desert is white bursage, which is equally common on Yuma Proving Ground. On some parts of the plains the arborescent cacti (cholla) are also common. Mesquite is less widespread and grows only along washes and watercourses. At the base of mountains, on the gentle rocky alluvial fans called bajadas, paloverde, ocotillo, saguaro, and brittlebrush dominate the vegetation. The ecological environment of Yuma Proving Ground appears to be typical of the Sonoroan Desert with its rocky slopes and alluvial terraces supporting creosote, saltbush, ocotillo, sparse saguaro, barrel cactus, pencil and jumping cholla, and miscellaneous grasses. The washes of the Proving Ground support a desert riparian community dominated by paloverde, mesquite,

ironwood, catclaw, arrow weed, and herbaceous plants (Schaefer et al. 1993:6). A comprehensive table listing the various floral species found on Yuma Proving Ground is provided in Appendix A. This table is based on a report produced by Colorado State University, Center for Ecological Management of Military Lands (1995). In addition, this table includes known aboriginal uses for various plants native to the Sonoran life zone and Yuma Proving Ground. The information pertinent to these ethnobotanical uses is based on personal communication with the Yavapai Prescott Tribe and information published in Rea (1997).

Fauna

Within the limits of Yuma Proving Ground 59 species of mammals, 35 species of reptiles/amphibians, and as many as 400 species of birds, both migrating and non-migrating, have been identified. A comprehensive table listing the various fauna species, excluding birds species, found on Yuma Proving Ground is provided in Appendix B. This table is based on a pamphlet produced by the Conservation Program at Yuma Proving Ground (1996). Most of the animals listed have adapted to the harsh desert environment of southwestern Arizona by exploiting the riparian environments, higher elevations, or by adapting to nocturnal behavior patterns. Therefore, few animals are generally observed on the installation.

Two of the three most common southwestern game animals, both prehistorically and historically, are the mule deer and Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep (Cordell 1997:48). Both have been identified as being present on Yuma Proving Ground as well as the Coyote and Desert Bighorn Sheep. In addition, a number of smaller animals species such as the kangaroo rat, several species of mice, round-tailed ground squirrels, black-tailed jackrabbit, desert cottontail, and raccoon have been identified. The remains of smaller animals generally account for the bulk of the animal bones found in archaeological contexts in the southwest and thus most likely played an important role in the diet of the aboriginal populations of the Yuma Proving Ground area (Cordell 1997).

Other accounts of the flora and fauna of Yuma Proving Ground are reported in McQuestion et al. (1992), Hoffman (1984), ACOE and Michael Brandman Associates, Inc. (1987), and deVos and Ough (1986), to name a few.

3

Prehistoric Cultural Overview

This chapter provides a brief overview of the major prehistoric cultural traditions and temporal phases which describe the culture in southwestern Arizona in the vicinity of Yuma Proving Ground. Based on archaeological evidence five broad cultural eras have been identified for the lower Colorado River drainage. These traditions are Pre-Paleoindian, Paleoindian, Archaic, Patayan, and Historic. A review of the first four prehistoric eras is covered in this chapter and the historic era is covered more extensively in the chapters to follow. Additional cultural overviews for Yuma Proving Ground can be found in Miller (1995), Marmaduke and Dosh (1994), Schaefer et al. (1993), and McQuestion et al. (1992).

Pre-Paleoindian

Malcolm Rogers in 1939 coined the term Malpais to refer to the earliest artifacts he observed along the lower Colorado River. These artifacts were believed to postdate Paleoindian. This term was later adopted by Julian Hayden who claimed this tradition predates 30,000 B.C. (McGuire 1982:160). Dates for this tradition are based on the presence of heavy desert varnish, (a thin, dark accumulation of iron and manganese oxides), on tools in the stone assemblage and location of these artifacts within or on very old desert pavement. Lithic artifacts of this tradition consist of spokeshaves, hollow-sided scrapers, notched and beaked tools, and choppers. A number of cultural features have also been assigned to the Malpais tradition including: sleeping circles, trails, trail shrines, and abstract geometric formed intaglios. According to Hayden (1972) remains of this tradition occur in all portions of southwestern Arizona. Although, as previously stated, Hayden argues for an age of 30,000 to 40,000 B.C. for the Malpais, most researchers prefer to date this period around 10,000 to 11,000 B.C (McQuestion 1992:3.2).

Paleoindian

From about 10,000 to 6,000 BC, highly mobile Paleoindian groups ranged across much of the Americas, hunting game and gathering natural plant foods (Darrington et al 1996:27). Archaeologists have defined a series of Paleoindian cultures on the basis of distinctive, sophisticated flaked tools, especially large bifaces found in great abundance on the western Great Plains. The subsistence economy of these people focused on hunting large now extinct Pleistocene animals, such as mammoth, prehistoric bison, camels, and sloths. However, in what is now the state of Arizona evidence of Paleoindian occupation is sparse. Artifacts of this period are generally found only in the southeastern and eastern portions of Arizona as surface finds. The earliest archaeological materials in the southwestern portion of Arizona, in the vicinity of Yuma, are considered to be part of the San Dieguito Cultural Phase (Schaefer et al. 1993:11 and Miller 1995:14). It is believed that the San Dieguito tradition may represent a continuation and intensification of the aspects of generalized hunting and gathering introduced by Clovis, which involved emphases on smaller game and plant processing (Cordell 1984:149).

Artifacts of this cultural phase are generally known only from heavily patinated surface collections from mesas and rocky terraces. The tool kit is comprised of a wide range of scrapers, including ovoid side scrapers, oblong side and end scrapers, triangular end scrapers, large domed scrapers, simple flake scrapers, rare crescent scrapers, and bifacial leaf-shaped knives. The characteristic projectile point styles include a number of elongated leaf-shaped forms. These materials are frequently associated with stone-outlined remains of circular structures (i.e. “sleeping circles”, “ceremonial rock alignments”), and trails marked by stone cairns (Irwin-Williams 1979: 34-35).

The Paleoindian period may have extended as late as 5500 B.C. in the deserts of southwestern Arizona, and was replaced by what is generally referred to as the Archaic Period (Miller 1995:14).

Archaic

According to Cordell (1984), the Archaic in the southwest dates from around 5500 B.C. to about A.D. 100. The mode of subsistence during this period continues to be characterized by hunting and gathering, however in contrast to the Paleo-Indian period there is an increased dependence on plant foods. The Pleistocene fauna hunted by the Paleo-Indian are replaced by modern species such as mule deer, pronghorn and bighorn sheep (Cordell 1984). These changes in subsistence strategies may be a direct result of environmental changes. Between 6000 and 2000 B.C. temperatures rose world-wide and the dry desert-like climate and vegetation of the southwest evolved into the biota of today. The manifestation of the archaic tradition in southwestern Arizona is termed the Amargosa, which is subdivided into three phases: Amargosa I (6000 to 3500 B.C.), Amargosa II (3500 to 1500 B.C.), and Amargosa III (1500 to 200 B.C.) (McQuestion et al. 1992: 3.3).

Amargosa I material culture is recognized primarily from the presence of Elko Eared, Pinto, and Gypsum projectile point styles. Site types associated with Amargosa I phase are sleeping circles, trails, trail shrines, and intaglios with both zoomorphic and geometric designs (Marmaduke and Dosh 1994:26).

Amargosa II material culture is distinguished on the basis of Elko Corner-notched points, Chiricahua points, and the presence of “gyratory grinders” and metates in western Arizona (Miller 1995:17). Grinding implements such as mortars and metates became an important part of the tool assemblage during this period, which suggest an increased reliance on the collection of plant foods (Whittlesey et al 1994:199). Amargosa II cultural features, such as site types, appear to be indistinguishable from those found to date to the Amargosa I period. Very early pottery may have been introduced during the Amargosa II phase. Vahki Plain pottery, the earliest known pottery in the southwest was encountered at an unnamed site in central Yuma County in association with Amargosa II points and a metate on the floor of a rectangular, boulder outlined house site (Schroeder 1979:103). No date however was given for this site.

Amargosa III is defined by a dramatic increase in the presence of milling stones in site assemblages, and the advent of small, triangular, corner-notched projectile points of the San Pedro, Rose Springs, and Eastgate types – points small enough and gracile enough to have been used on arrows (Marmaduke and Dosh 1994:27). Unique site types introduced at this time include horseshoe-shaped stone windbreaks (Whittlesey et al. 1994:199). During this period in western Arizona a greater abundance of Amargosa III sites have been found relative to Amargosa I and II sites. Additionally, there was a definite introduction of pottery during this period with plain brownware sherds occurring widely, which suggests some overlap between the Amargosa and the Formative phases.

Patayan

The Patayan Culture, dating from 200 B.C. to the ethno-historical period, is archaeologically speaking one of the poorest known prehistoric cultures of the southwest. Malcolm Rogers who recovered abundant evidence of Lowland Patayan sites performed extensive archaeological surveys in southwestern Arizona during the 1950's. Unfortunately, Rogers did not publish his findings (McGuire 1982:216). Therefore further research into the life-ways of this culture would prove to be extremely valuable. Nevertheless, some vital information regarding the cultural patterns of these people has already been reported.

The Patayan Pattern is typified by small mobile hunting and gathering groups living in dispersed seasonal settlements along the Colorado floodplain where they augmented their subsistence with limited agriculture. Depending on the season or the function of a settlement, people of the Patayan culture occupied rock outlined jacale structures, semi-subterranean earth houses, simple ramadas, or brush huts. Long-range travel for purposes of utilizing resources, trade, and possibly warfare is evident during this period by the numerous trail systems throughout the Colorado and Sonoran deserts. Additionally, many pictographs, petroglyphs, and bedrock grinding surfaces in this area of southern Arizona have been attributed to the Patayan tradition.

The Patayan tradition is subdivided into three phases: Patayan I (200 B.C. to A.D. 1000), Patayan II (A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1450), and Patayan III (A.D. 1450 to the 800s) (McQuestion 1992: 3.4).

Material culture of the Patayan I phase is represented by five different lower Colorado Buffware ceramic types: 1) Colorado Beige, 2) Colorado Red-on beige, 3) Colorado Red, 4) Black Mesa Buff, and 5) Black Mesa Red on buff (Waters 1982:281). During this time period people primarily lived in the region south of present day Parker, Arizona. Habitation areas were concentrated along the Colorado River, the Sierra Pinacate, and the shoreline of Lake Cahuilla, a prehistoric lake created by the periodic natural diversion of the Colorado River (Reid and Whittlesey 1997:122).

The abrupt transition from Patayan I to Patayan II was marked by the discontinuation of specific ceramic traits and the introduction of new ones such as recurved rims, stucco finish, new vessel forms, and an increase in fine-lined geometric designs. Additionally, during this period the distribution of these new forms extended over a much wider area than those of Patayan I (Waters 1982:287). Ceramics diagnostic of this period are Salton Buff, Tumco Buff, Parker Buff, and Topoc Buff along the Colorado River, and Palomas Buff along the Gila River Valley (McQuestion 1992:3.4).

At the beginning of Patayan III, in the early 1500s, the freshwater lakes in the Salton Trough and in the Mohave Sink dried up, resulting in population shifts to the lower Colorado Delta, which led to the distribution of the Yuman populations encountered by the Spanish (McGuire 1982:221). This population movement did not however have great effects on the stylistic variables of the ceramic material culture. With the addition of one new pottery type, Colorado Buff, the Patayan II ceramic stylistic traits continued with refinements. This final Patayan phase, Patayan III, spanned the gap between the prehistoric and historic time periods in Southwest Arizona.

4

The Yavapai

The Yavapai are a Yuman-speaking people who formerly hunted and gathered over a large part of central Arizona. The Yavapai have been subdivided into three divisions—Northern, Western, and Southeastern. The Yavapai have been erroneously identified as the Apache, Apache–Mohaves and the Apache–Yuma, even though they do not speak the same language.

Creation

In the beginning people lived in the Underworld. A great tree grew there which pierced the sky of the Underworld. Up this people climbed into this world, but failed to close the hole. Water gushed up through the hole, flooding this world and drowning the people.

Someone had hollowed out a great pine tree, into which a woman named Widapokwi entered and was sealed in with pitch. She took with her food enough for a number of years, also some birds. She was instructed not to look out until the log lay perfectly still.

Then Widapokwi knew that flood was over. Thereupon she emerged from her log which was stranded on San Francisco mountain. The water had not gone fully over the mountain because of its great height. She then went south to the red-rock country (Gifford 1936:243).

The Yavapai people tell this story, one of many, of the people emerging from underground into red rock country through a large hole identified as Montezuma's Well near Sedona, Arizona. Water flooded from the hole, destroying all Yavapai except the woman they placed in a log. The second creation of the people is when the water subsided and the woman left the log. The woman, Widapokwi, then laid under a dripping spring and later gave birth to a daughter. Her daughter became pregnant the same way and gave birth to a son, the heroic Skaatakaamcha. Later, eagles killed the daughter. The third creation story ended with a great fire. After the fire, new people arrived to begin the present or fourth creation (Bear 1977:2–3; Curtiss 1907:330–331; Gifford 1933: 347–415; Gould 1921:319–320; Kendall and Sloan 1976:68–83; Bahr 1981:1–35).

Creation stories such as these suggest that the Yavapai originated in the Verde Valley and the Oak Creek region of north central Arizona. The accounts of the creation stories are less concerned with timelines and more concerned with the creation itself. Creation stories vary from one storyteller to another. Most storytellers are very vague about how long ago this happened.

Environment

Although the archaeological evidence is ambiguous, it is clear that by A.D. 1600 the Yavapai occupied what is now western and central Arizona. The aboriginal Yavapai territory formed a triangle—from the San Francisco Peaks in the north to the Pinal Mountains (Figure 6) in the southeast, and in the southwest almost to the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. This vast area consists of a variety of environments. In the southwest is the Lower Colorado River valley, an extremely low, hot, and dry desert plain, which is occasionally interrupted by rugged mountain ranges. The northern region reaches into the high and cooler Colorado Plateau. The rest of the Yavapai territory consists of a diverse basin and range topography (Stone 1986:6–20). The extreme desert conditions influenced the Yavapai way of life. High temperatures, water scarcity, varied elevations, and the scattered flora and fauna challenged the survival of the Yavapai people (Stone 1986:6–20).

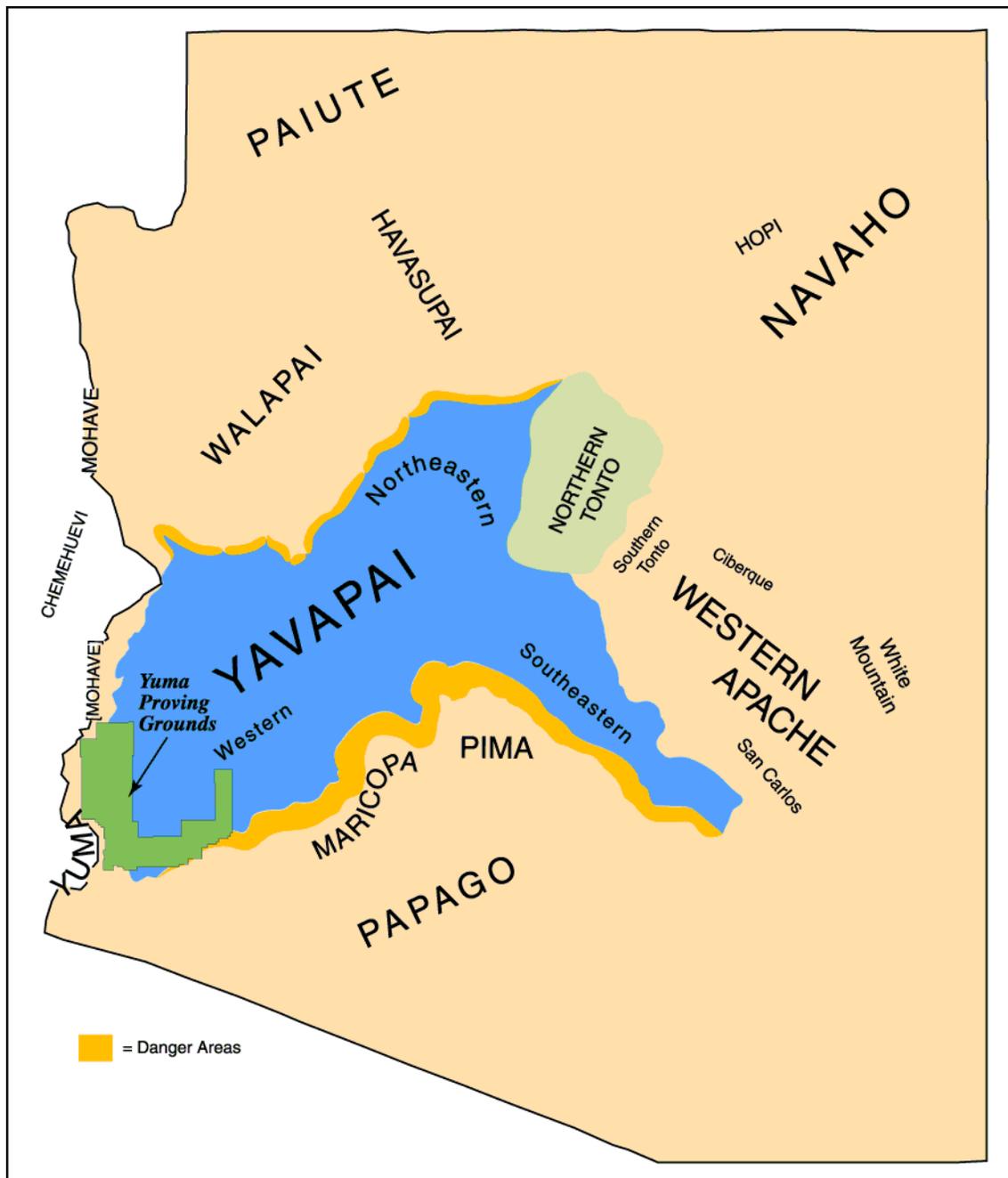


Figure 6. Limits of normal Yavapai land use and locations of neighboring tribes. (Adapted from 1974 commission findings - Docket 22-E:389-415)

Western Area

The western Yavapai territory is a very dry land, especially west of the lower Hassayampa River and south of the Bill Williams Fork (see Figure 6) where there is minimal surface water. Although Yavapai here had access to the Gila and Colorado Rivers, these river areas were claimed, used, and defended by non-Yavapai groups. The western territory only contains two rivers, the Bill Williams and the Hassayampa, but the surface flow of both rivers annually fluctuates because of highly variable rainfall in the higher elevations. Surface water is only briefly available after heavy rainfalls (Stone 1986:6–20).

Precipitation in the western area comes in the form of winter rains with a monsoon season in July and August. Average rainfall is below 10 inches in the lower basins but increases with elevation. Sometimes winter rains do not occur. Intermittent summer storms can cause flooding in one area but can be so localized that adjacent areas remain dry. Temperature ranges from 30° to 67° in January to 76° to 108° in July. Some areas have 90° temperatures at least 150 days a year and temperatures can reach 120° or higher (Sellers and Hill 1974:19–22).

The western Yavapai territory has three vegetation zones. The Lower Colorado valley, with elevations below 1,500 feet, consists of creosote bush and burro weed, with mesquite, palo verde, and ironwood trees found along the larger washes. In some of the lower basins just east of the Colorado River, creosote bush and burro weed is largely the only perennial vegetation. The Arizona upland zone between 1,500 and 4,000 feet has creosote bush and the burro weed dominating the basin bottoms with palo verde and ironwood trees, agave, yucca, saguaro, and other cacti. In the higher elevations the Open Chaparral zone occurs above 4,000 feet. Vegetation here includes scrub oak, mountain mahogany, and squawbush, and is only found in the Harquahala and Harcuvar mountain ranges. The Lower Colorado Valley and the Arizona Upland zones together dominate western Yavapai territory (Lowe 1964:17–36; Shreve and Wiggins 1964:57–68).

A diverse array of wildlife also varies between vegetation zones. Major game animals are often absent in parts of western Yavapai territory. Mule deer require a considerable amount of water and forage, neither of which is abundant in the western region. The deer populations in the western region exist in the Harcuvar and Harquahala mountains. Prehistorically, desert bighorn sheep and pronghorn antelope were common in the Harquahala Valley along the Centennial Wash. Desert cottontails, jackrabbits, and other small mammals are common in the uplands, but are usually found near drainages (Stone 1987:183–184).

Eastern Area

In contrast to the dry conditions of the western area the eastern Yavapai area has many rivers and creeks. The perennial Verde River flows south into the Salt River, and springs are common in the numerous canyons and mountains. Despite the presence of the Verde River, the surface water availability varies throughout the year and is most abundant after the winter rains (Sellers and Hill 1974:6–9).

Precipitation and temperature are more variable in the eastern area than the western area. For example, in the extreme southeast is a low-lying desert with little annual rainfall and hot summers, but because of the Salt and Lower Verde Rivers it is a more hospitable place to live than the western Yavapai territory. Much of the eastern area receives 10–15 inches of precipitation annually. Areas above 6,000 feet sometime receive twice that much, in addition to winter snows. The eastern area is cooler and wetter, with more reliable water sources than the western Yavapai area (Sellers and Hill 1947:6–9).

The eastern area has six vegetation zones; twice as many as the western area. In the south there are large stretches of Lower Colorado Valley and Arizona uplands vegetation. The Chaparral zones are far more common in the eastern area than in the western area, and cover most of the Bradshaw Mountains and other ranges (3,500 and 6,000 feet). Grasslands exist above 5,000 feet. The Great Basin Woodland zone contains

Piñon pines and juniper trees between 4,500 and 7,000 feet. This zone stretches from Prescott and the Verde Valley north to the Ponderosa pine forest of the Colorado Plateau (Lowe 1964:36–63; Shreve and Wiggins 1964:68–80).

The eastern Yavapai territory has a denser concentration of wildlife because of increased water availability. The eastern and western regions contain the same species of important game animals but the eastern environment supports denser populations. Mule deer inhabit all regions, while pronghorn antelope once lived in the grassland zones, and bighorn sheep populated the drier mountain ranges (Stone 1987:17).

Environment Summary

The two different Yavapai areas, the eastern and western areas, are in contrast to one another because of the availability of water and other natural resources, both essential to early Yavapai survival. The western Yavapai territory is a desert—flat, hot, dry, and considerably barren. With a lack of water, the diversity and density of plant and animal life is low. Life is not easy in the area, which could not support a large population even today. Although the eastern territory of the Yavapai is located largely within a desert environment, it is less forbidding. The eastern area has higher elevations, which receive more rainfall, leading to a greater diversity and abundance of vegetation and wildlife. The eastern region has a much wider variety of terrains varying from high plateaus and mountains to low basins and river valleys. Thus, plant resources and wildlife were more numerous, making survival more secure than in the western region. This east–west dichotomy also had an impact on the economy of the Yavapai and neighboring Indian groups.

Economy

The following is based on twentieth-century observations. How accurate any of this discussion of early post-contact Yavapai is to prehistoric subsistence is unclear.

The Yavapai had to develop a sophisticated economic pattern, which consisted of an annual round (moving from one area to another following the ripening of wild plants) in a hostile desert environment. They hunted, gathered, and, in some places planted crops. There were not enough resources in one area to support a year-round population, thus the Yavapai moved from place to place, never staying in one area long enough to deplete available resources. Movements were timed to follow the ripening of the wild plants. The Yavapai women did the gathering, and the men did the hunting. However, when required, the strong division of labor was relaxed and both males and females planted crops on fertile stream banks to enhance the diet. The Yavapai also traded with neighboring Indian groups for additional food (Gifford 1932:205–213).

The most dependable carbohydrate source available to the Yavapai was the agave, or mescal plant. This plant which is also known as the century plant, ripens in all seasons on rocky mountain slopes above 3,000 feet and is found throughout Yavapai territory. Men and women both worked at harvesting this heavy plant. Once the plant was gathered and the spiny leaves were removed, an oven pit was dug and cooking stones were collected, along with firewood, so the meaty hearts could be roasted. Preparation of the plant usually took a full day whereas roasting took another day and a half. Once the agave was roasted, the women would pound the flesh, producing fibrous slabs that could be easily transported or cached. These slabs of agave would last for years and when food was scarce, the processed agave served as the staple Yavapai food (Gifford 1932:205–213).

Other wild plants that were gathered by the Yavapai women were less dependable than the agave and were available only during certain times of the year. The Yavapai used hundreds of different plants for food, medicine, and clothing. The gathering cycle would begin in May when women would gather wild lemonberries and assorted greens in the lower elevations. During the summer months mesquite beans and several varieties of cactus fruits were collected. Beginning in June palo verde seedpods were gathered and ground into meal. During midsummer, walnuts and manzanita berries were available in

the mountains, followed by acorns, juniper berries, and prickly pear fruits in September. In October, above 5,000-feet, piñon nuts and assorted berries were harvested. Most of the wild plant food was eaten when picked, but some was processed for future use. Seeds and pods were ground into meal, and fruits and berries were dried and stored in baskets or pots inside caves. These caches were very important in the winter when food sources were scarce (Gifford 1936:254–261, 1932:205–213).

Yavapai men hunted in all seasons, but in the winter months hunting was especially important. With wild plants out of season, meat became the primary source of protein and critical to survival. The Yavapai hunted mule deer, pronghorn antelope, elk, and desert bighorn sheep. They would eat woodrats and rabbits more frequently than large game because they were easier to catch. They prized deer meat, butchered it with great care, and ate all parts, including the internal organs and bone marrow. Buckskin was very important and was used for clothing and for trade with other Indian groups. Yavapai also hunted and ate squirrels, skunks, porcupines, raccoons, bobcats, mountain lions, wild turkeys, quail, desert tortoises, and certain kinds of lizards and insects. When hunting was bad they would also eat coyotes and domesticated dogs (Gifford 1936:264–68, 1932:214–217).

Some Yavapai families planted crops such as corn, beans, squash, and in some areas, watermelon, pumpkins, and sunflowers. The banks of slow moving streams, like the Verde River, were the best places to plant these crops, although moist desert washes and wells dug in broad basins could support limited crops depending on the amount of water available. Farming in Yavapai territory was hard work and very unpredictable. Most areas were planted in the spring and left unattended until late summer or early fall when the Yavapai seasonal round was completed. However, Yavapai farming was secondary to hunting and gathering in most areas (Gifford 1932:p 214, 1936:262–264).

Yavapai traded baskets, mescal, buckskin, and other animal skins for corn, beans, melons, and other agricultural goods. They traveled to the Hopi to trade for corn, fruits, and blankets, and they welcomed Hopi traders who came into their territory. Although

they did trade for some items, they relied mainly on their hunting and gathering skills for survival. Maintaining their economic round was of primary importance, and the Yavapai organized most of their lives around it (Gifford 1936:253–254).

Social Organization

Hunting and gathering cycles influenced Yavapai social and political structures. Aboriginal Yavapai did not have a single political unit or tribe, did not act as a single tribe, and did not answer to a tribal leader. In most regions, the groups were no larger than 50 members. The Yavapai maintained a loose social organization that made it possible to efficiently exploit seasonal food sources. From late spring to early fall they lived in small independent camps composed of extended families. In the late fall members from different camps would congregate in winter camps large enough to comprise hunting groups. Leadership in both the summer and winter camps was very informal and members cooperated with each other. Yavapai are best understood as independent bands or camps linked together through ties of kinship, friendship, and language (Gifford 1932:199, 1933:262–263). Yavapai encampments, usually called rancherias, were temporary, and there was not a great deal of labor invested in their development. These rancherias were usually little more than a few domed thatched huts. The huts were oval, perhaps 10 by 20-foot frames built of branches, and covered with layers of grass, branches, bark, dirt, and animal skins (Gifford 1932:203, 1933:269–271).

Summer Camps

The summer huts were simple sunshades without walls. Along the Colorado River these huts were replaced with the Quechan-style buried house, which was rectangular with a flat roof and dirt heaped against the sides (Gifford 1932: 203, 1933:269–271). The summer camps usually consisted of a single extended family. There would be two-to-three adult women who formed the basic economic unit. The adult women were the primary gatherers and processors of plant foods. However, one

woman could not do it alone, she needed other women in the group to help with the children. In the summer, the men hunted for meat, collected firewood, assisted with the harvesting of the agave, and stood guard in dangerous areas (Gifford 1932:199,205, 1933:262–263).

A summer camp was ideal because of the geographically scattered wild food and animals in Yavapai territory. Two-to-three women and their husbands could gather and process enough food for the group, but additional members would have put an increased demand on the already limited food supply. There were exceptions when several groups would get together to harvest certain crops that were plentiful, but this was short lived. In good years the floodplains would have supported larger groups, but the ideal size was between 7 and 10 members, including children (Gifford 1932:180–181).

Winter Camps

In the fall, Yavapai families would assemble into winter camps. Winter camps would generally stay in one area all winter, surviving on wild game, agave, and cached food stores. The winter camps were not much larger than the summer camps, ranging from ten to fifty members. When possible, the Yavapai wintered in caves or used abandoned cliff dwellings (Gifford 1933: p 269-271; Gifford 1932: 203). Wild game was the main food source in the winter, and group hunting was more effective than the hunting skill of one person. Large winter camps could form raiding parties, but these were short-lived because once spring came the camp split into smaller groups (Gifford 1932:214–216, 1933:264–266).

Leadership

Leadership in both the summer and winter camps was informal with no enduring titles or authority given to any one person. Leaders were leaders because others decided to follow them due to their knowledge of hunting or achievements in battle. These leaders did not have influence outside their camps, and at any time someone else could

replace them. Other Yavapai men could reach levels of leadership because of their wisdom, their speaking abilities, and their ability to settle disputes. Although the political system was informal in the winter camps, there was usually a primary leader or headman who was someone who had fighting skills or was a talented orator. The status of headman did not exist beyond the individual and gave the person no real power to demand allegiance, obedience, or tributes. When his influence declined and the camp stopped listening to him, he ceased to be headman. A headman's authority rarely extended beyond his immediate camp. When a large number of Yavapai came together for ceremonials, to gather wild food, or in time of war, they may have recognized one headman, but once the large camp broke up they no longer recognized this person as the headman of the smaller camps. There were no chiefs or subchiefs.

Social Organization Summary

Social unity was based on kinship, friendship, and economic cooperation, not political structure. The Yavapai did not tolerate marriage between cousins, so spouses came from different summer camps and very often different winter camps. Married couples usually resided with the wife's parents. Because of this, the small summer camps had relatives in many camps. The Yavapai families were not restricted to one geographical region and therefore had much contact and interaction with other Yavapais. Individuals had relatives and friends in nearby and distant camps. It was these relationships that gave the Yavapai people the sense of community. Yavapais intermarried, cooperated militarily, and often shared resource zones (Gifford 1932:189–195, 1933:296–297).

Yavapai SubGroups

The Yavapai can be divided into four groups: *Yavapé*, *Wipukepa*, *Tolkepayá*, and *Kwevkepayá* (Figure 7)(Gifford 1932:177–178, 1933:249–251). They did not call themselves Yavapai; this term appears to be a non-Indian form of *Nyavkopai*, a term for

“east people,” which at one time was used in error to describe these people, and thus became the common term for the people (Dobyns, Ezell, Jones, and Ezell 1960:241). Traditionally, people from western Yavapai territory and the Hassayampa River region are called the Tolkepaya. The people from the southeastern Yavapai territory are called the Kwevkepaya. The people who ranged from the Williams Valley south across the Bradshaw Mountains and the Agua Fria River are called Yavapé, and the people of the upper Verde Valley and Oak Creek Canyon are the Wipukepa (Figure 7)(Ruland-Thorne 1993:9).

These four groups differed in many ways. Not only did they occupy different territories, they also associated with different non-Yavapai neighbors and adopted distinct cultural traits. The Tolkepaya, whose territory included the Colorado River, were in frequent contact with the Quechan (Yuma), practiced similar floodplain agricultural techniques, constructed similar huts, lived in their territory, and allied themselves militarily with the Quechan. Because of this close association, they were mislabeled as Apache–Yumas (Spier 1933:8).

The Kwevkepaya frequently intermarried with the Western Apache, joined them in attacking Pima and Maricopa villages, and may have adopted Apache clan traditions and other Apache traits. The Kwevkepaya farmed less than the other Yavapai groups and lived with the threat of Pima and Maricopa attacks. Their territory had abundant wild food resources, but few good garden spots (Spier 1933:8).

Yavapé and Wipukepa

Of the four groups, the Yavapé and Wipukepa territories were adjacent, and the northern portion of their territory was rich in resources and supported a higher population than the other Yavapai territories. This closeness contributed to the lumping together of both groups into a single northeastern Yavapai people. The Wipukepa (People from the Foot of the Red Rocks) were associated with the red rock region below Oak Creek

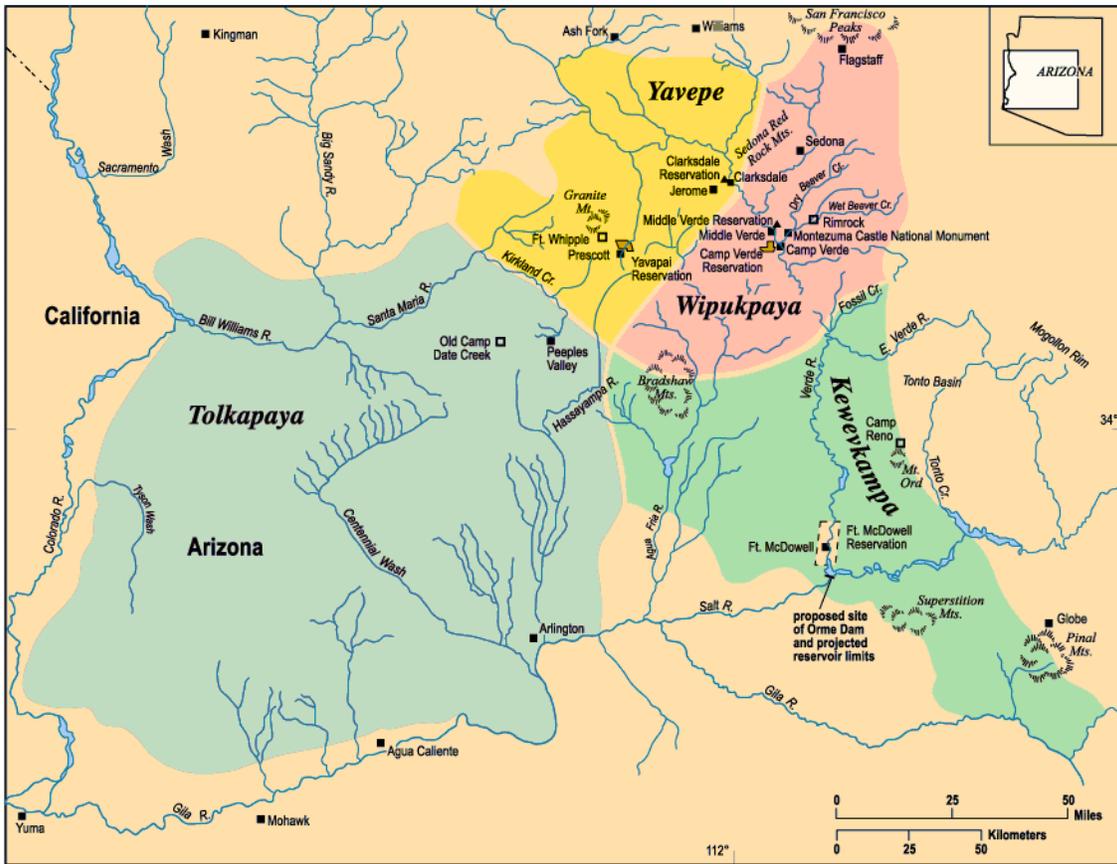


Figure 7. Yavapai tribal territory, with subtribes.
 (Based on Khera and Mariecca 1983:Figure 1)

Canyon and with Montezuma's Well (the place of emergence). The Yavapé occupied the mountainous corridor between the Hassayampa and Agua Fria Rivers, southwest of Wipukepa territory. These two groups occasionally shared resource areas in the upper Verde Valley, but the Wipukepa's resources usually were found further east, which brought them under greater foreign influences (Braatz 1997:57–59).

The most significant cultural distinction between the Yavapé and the Wipukepa was that the Wipukepas had close ties with the Northern Tonto Apache. The Western Apache, which included the Tonto Apache, had a hunting and gathering lifestyle and loose social organization that was similar to the Yavapai. Some of the Tonto bands mixed with the Yavapai through intermarriage, co-residence, and shared resource zones. Walter Schuyler, the Army scout in charge of the Rio Verde reserve in 1874, observed

The so called Tontos are mainly half breed Apaches and Apache Mojaves [Yavapais], as a rule they speak both languages and style themselves either Apaches or Apache Mojaves as the humor strikes them. On this reserve some are classed among the Apaches, but the greater number among the Apache Mojaves. They partake of the peculiarities of character and features of both tribes, and generally speak both languages, though incorrectly (Braatz 1997:58).

Between 1770 and 1870, the area between the San Francisco Peaks and the upper Verde Valley became a combined Yavapai–Tonto territory. Ethnohistorians believe that the Tontos are a late arrival to the Verde Valley, perhaps mid-eighteenth century. Here they found acceptance, and by 1870 most of the Wipukepa population shared a mixed Tonto–Yavapai heritage (Brugge 1965:355–72; Goodwin 1942:24–50, 65–71).

The Yavapé were slightly to the southwest and had little contact with the Tontos. Of the four Yavapai peoples this group had the least aboriginal interaction with non-Yavapai neighbors. Because the Yavapé had the least non-Yavapai influence they are sometimes referred to as the true or original Yavapai (Braatz 1997:59).

Although prehistoric social organization can never be known in all of its detail, we do know that aboriginal Yavapai lived and worked in small independent camps, probably consisting of an extended family. Ties of kinship and friendship connected them to other Yavapai families and camps. Leadership was informal and noncoercive. Despite the four divisions of Yavapai peoples, as a whole, they all believed they were descendants of the original people who emerged from the Emergence Place. All four groups spoke essentially the same language, practiced similar hunting and gathering lifestyles, and occupied overlapping ranges. The web of kinship reinforced this sense of unity. Today, this oneness survives among the Yavapai population.

Yavapai Sub-Groups Summary

In summary, the name Yavapai refers to the historic hunters and gatherers who spoke a Yuma language and occupied north central Arizona. They divided themselves into four separate people but lived in small camps of extended families. The Yavapai were in the Verde Valley and surrounding areas by A.D. 1600. They hunted, gathered, and practiced horticulture. Human survival was very difficult throughout the Yavapai territory with the western region being the harshest, supporting only a few scattered bands. The lack of abundant food and water sources was a constant concern of Yavapai families. But despite all of this, the Yavapai still survive today.

5

Yavapai and their Neighbors in the Colorado–Gila Rivers Area

Several Yuman-speaking peoples populated the river bottoms and appeared regularly on the fringes of the southwestern Yavapai territory. The Quechan, Mohave, Maricopa, and other river people regularly pursued trade, diplomacy, and warfare with each other regardless of any territorial boundaries. The Yavapai families were isolated from the daily interactions of these populations because of the rugged mountains and barren plains located in their territory. It was the ties of friendship and economic cooperation that drew the Yavapai into a mix of alliances along the rivers.

Reoccurring floods have either buried or washed away the material evidence of the interactions between tribes. Ceramic studies suggest that by A.D. 1000 the cultures of this area were already experiencing significant population shifts. The Colorado floodplains drew in people from the dry desert, mountains, and plains. The desert groups were either from Mexico or southern California and expanded north up the Colorado River, east along the Gila River, and west into the Mohave Desert. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Yuman speakers continued this migration pattern (Rogers 1945:167–169).

The absence of significant population shifts in the eighteenth century make it possible to reconstruct the distribution of Yuman groups in the Colorado Gila River region. The Cocopa occupied the Colorado River, the Quechan controlled the area around the Colorado–Gila confluence, the Mohave ranged further north on the Colorado River to the Mohave Valley, and the Yavapai lived in the basin and range country east of

the Colorado and north of the Gila. This did not change until the United States government began removing groups to reservations in the 1850s (Spicer 1962:262–267; Spier 1933:1–41).

Warfare

Military conflict played a major role in the culture of the River Yuman. Spiritual life of the Yuman peoples focused on participation in war. It was through this experience that boys became men and important leaders. The Quechan, Mohave, and Maricopa distinguished two types of warfare; (1) small-scale raiding parties into other territories to kill an individual and (2) large-scale assaults to destroy an enemy force. The original motivation for warfare is unclear, but by the eighteenth century achieving honor and prestige was possible through attack and counterattack. Recurring warfare was a major reason for Yuman migration to the east. The losers of the major battles would gather their families and move to the desert or along the river until they felt it was safe to return. Major defeats could result in the relocation of groups permanently (Kroeber 1951:96–103).

Alliance

The Quechan and Mohave formed an alliance in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The combined population of these two groups had the ability to form an army of perhaps as many as 7,000 warriors. Warfare along the Colorado River was mainly between the Quechan and the Cocopa (Dobyns, Ezell, and Ezell 1963:105–161; Spier 1933:11–40). The Quechan–Mohave alliance was the most powerful aboriginal alliance in the area, encompassing the lower Colorado River into the desert east and west. The Quechan, Mohave, and Yavapai formed the strong core of one alliance and the Cocopa, Maricopa, and Pima formed the other alliance along the Colorado and Gila Rivers (Dobyns, Ezell, and Ezell 1963:109; Forbes 1965:80–81).

These alliances were not formalized; instead, they consisted of patterns of repeated and informal cooperation based on economic need and mutual interest. The origins of these relationships have become blurred over time.

Individual camps and settlements traded with outsiders to supplement their diet. Individuals also cooperated, intermarried, and even co-resided with some of their neighbors. The camps and settlements also cooperated with each other in raiding and warfare against mutual enemies. When men decided to engage in military activities they would send a messenger to the surrounding camps and settlements to ask for assistance. Participation in such military activities was always voluntary, but through repeated interactions, these localized alliances evolved into two interlocking and widespread alignments (Dobyns, Ezell, and Ezell 1963:109; Forbes 1965:80–81). The Yavapai were on friendly terms with the Quechan and Mohave, but were hostile to the Pima, Cocopa, and their confederates. However, Yavapai groups were politically independent and decided for themselves when and with whom they would align themselves (Dobyns, Ezell, and Ezell 1963:109; Forbes 1965:80–81). By the late eighteenth century the alliance between the Quechans and the Yavapai was well established.

Tolkepaya

While other Yavapai may have visited the Quechan, it was the Tolkepaya families that had regular contact with their neighbors. In spring and summer, some of the Tolkepaya families migrated to Quechan territory to practice floodplain agriculture. In the Winter and Spring while the river was flooding, the Quechan would move up the river into Yavapai territory to hunt deer and collect food. The Quechan also visited Yavapai territory to collect grinding stones. Besides sharing resource zones, the Tolkepaya also traded baskets, mescal, and animal skins to the Quechan for agricultural surplus and crop seeds. When invited, Tolkepaya men would participate in attacks on the Maricopa and other River Yumans (Castetter and Bell 1951:215; Gifford 1936:253–254).

The Tolkepaya would participate in war with the Quechan as an extension of their pre-existing social and economic relationship. By participating in war, the Tolkepaya probably insured their continued access and use of floodplains for agriculture. Tolkepaya and Quechan had common enemies, but the Tolkepaya were reluctant to invest time in attacking their enemies alone. The Tolkepaya lived in a sparse land, and families concentrated on hunting and gathering. Raids were economically unproductive and would take time away from hunting. Putting a raiding party together required raising a group of warriors from the small-scattered bands, then marching across vast stretches of desert to make one quick assault on the enemy who had wandered from the safety of their camp. When the Tolkepaya did join the larger Quechan war parties it permitted individual warriors to participate in large-scale warfare and gain prestige, which was impossible as a solitary warrior. However, it was not just the Tolkepaya that joined with the Quechan, other Yavapai joined in the assaults on Gila River settlements, but most of the Yavapai lived so far away that their participation in warfare could never be as frequent as that of the Tolkepayas (Gifford 1932:18–186; Spier 1933:175).

Close ties with the Quechan, and common enemies, led the Tolkepaya and other Yavapai to enter into an alliance with the Mohave and the Chemehuevi. Most of the Yavapai were far from the Mohave settlements along the Colorado River, and to reach them they had to travel through enemy territory. The Tolkepaya lived closest to the Mohave and occasionally traded with them. Their common bond was the sharing of the Quechan as an ally and their common enemy, the Halchidhoma. The Halchidhoma's territory was north of the Quechan, south of the Mohave, west of the Tolkepaya, and east of the Chemehuevi, and this was probably the reason for the cooperation between the four groups. Until the 1820s the territories of the Chemehuevi and the Yavapai had no common border, and trade between the two was infrequent. Despite the fact that a great distance separated them, and they rarely interacted with each other, the Yavapai recognized the Chemehuevi as friends (Gifford 1936:253–254).

A web of kinship and friendship led most Yavapai to enter into similar alliances. For example, Yavapé families, who were friends and relatives of the Tolkepaya, were

friends of the Quechan and sometimes would participate in raiding and warfare alongside them. The Tolkepaya would also keep on good terms with the Western Apache because of their friendship with the Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa. However, the Yavapai did not act as one political unit; local Yavapai groups determined their relationship and cooperation with other groups (Gifford 1936:253–254).

The Yavapai, especially the Tolkepaya, were significant political players in the Colorado–Gila Rivers region. Tolkepaya intermarried with Quechan, built houses like the Quechan, and lived a similar lifestyle to Quechan. In the nineteenth-century, these similarities resulted in non-Indians misidentifying the western Yavapai as Yuma–Apache or Apache–Yuma.

Yavapai and the Western Apache

In eastern Yavapai territory the Yavapai associated with the Western Apache. The two groups shared subsistence areas, traded, allied militarily, and intermarried, which influenced the creation of the Yavapai–Apache bands. The Yavapai and Western Apache raided the Pima, Maricopa, and others groups that lived along the Gila River. The Yavapai and the Western Apache had a tradition of retaliatory raiding, which created an atmosphere of conflict much different than the Yavapai alliances with the Quechan–Mohave alliance in the west.

It is not entirely clear when the Western Apache arrived in eastern Arizona, but clan migration myths and cultural similarities to the Navajo suggest the Western Apache arrived from the north. Many theorize the Western Apache split from the Navajo in the mid-eighteenth century and perhaps lived along the Mogollon Rim before A.D. 1600. When they moved away from the rim they claimed a large region that stretched south to the upper Gila River and into the Verde Valley, which was already inhabited by the Yavapai. There are no stories of invasion or border conflict so it is believed that the Yavapai welcomed them. The Yavapai and the Western Apache dominated this region through most of the nineteenth century (Brugge 1965:367–368; Goodwin 1942:65–71).

Although the aboriginal Yavapai and the Western Apache spoke different languages they shared similar lifeways and social organization. The Yavapai and the Western Apache organized themselves around the extended family that lived in local camps. Yavapai and Western Apache both followed an annual cycle of hunting and gathering with some horticulture. The Yavapai recognize four separate groups, and the Western Apache also recognize four major divisions: White Mountain, Cibecue, San Carlos, and Tonto Apache (Basso 1971:463–469; Goodwin 1942:1–2).

Eastern Yavapai Interaction with Tonto and San Carlos Apache

Eastern Yavapai developed close connections with two of the four Western Apache groups that had migrated into eastern Arizona; 1) the Tonto Apache, who settled east of the Verde River between the San Francisco Peaks to the north and the Salt River to the south, and 2) the San Carlos Apache, who settled in the region stretching south from the Salt River to the Santa Catalina Mountains (Figure 6). The Kwevkepaya shared subsistence areas with both the San Carlos and the Tonto. They also traded corn, and after European contact, the Kwevkepaya traded for wheat—a valuable resource since most of the Kwevkepaya did not farm. The Wipukepa shared a much closer bond with the Apache than the Kwevkepaya. The Wipukepa and the Tonto not only shared resource zones long the upper Verde Valley, Oak Creek Canyon, and Fossil Creek, but they frequently intermarried, creating mixed Yavapai–Apache camps. Mixed group camps were bilingual, but they adopted their mothers’ ethnicity and spoke her natural language. Although the camps were bilingual, the Wipukepa and the Tonto were culturally indistinguishable in this region, so many people identified them as a single people (Gifford 1936:253; Goodwin 1942:24–50).

Relationships with the other two groups of Western Apache were less friendly. The Cibecue and White Mountain Apache lived further east, and their territory did not overlap with Yavapai territory, thus they had little contact with each other. Although

some Yavapai would cooperate with these two groups in raiding Pima and the Maricopa camps, they occasionally raided each other (Basso 1971:31–34, 79–81). The Western Apache had varying degrees of cooperation and conflict with other Western Apache groups. Most of the Western Apache groups got along, but occasionally territorial or clan-related feuds with Yavapai or other Western Apache escalated into violence. Western Apache were known to attack fellow Athapaskan speakers if they entered Western Apache territory without permission. Despite these conflicts cooperation was common between Yavapai and Western Apache, and most of the hostility was directed at other people (Goodwin 1942:16, 40, 44, 51–52, 57, 83–84).

An important bond in the Yavapai–Western Apache relationship was cooperation for raiding. The Tolkepaya in the west adopted elements of the Quechan riverine culture, whereas, in the east, the Wipukepa, Yavapé, and Kwevkepaya adopted elements of the Western Apache tradition of raiding. The Tolkepaya, who lived in scattered camps, rarely participated in raiding and were protected by a buffer zone of extremely dry and uninhabited desert. In eastern Yavapai territory, populations of Yavapai and Apache were much denser, and they lived within striking distance of the Gila River settlements, thus there were more opportunities for conflict. The Yavapai and the Western Apache united frequently to attack the nearby Pima and Maricopa. These war parties were not large enough to fight prolonged battles. Instead their goals were to drive off livestock or attack lone individuals. After such a raid they would hurry home to avoid any large-scale engagements. Because of these raiding parties, the Yavapai and the Western Apache camps had to stay alert for Pima and Maricopa retaliating war parties that were regularly sent to avenge a death. Pima and Maricopa parties would sometimes be in the same location as the Yavapai and Western Apache gathering wild fruits, and this would lead to an attack on the trespassers, which further contributed to the cycle of violence (Gifford 1932:184, 1933:335–338; Spier 1933:56).

Yavapai tradition holds that Yavapai and Pima interactions were once friendly. They traded, intermarried, and shared subsistence areas, and there were Yavapai who lived and farmed in Pima settlements, but this peaceful coexistence ended when the

Apache started raiding Pima settlements along the Gila River. The Pima thought the attackers were Yavapai and began retaliation against their former Yavapai friends. The Yavapai attempts at reconciliation failed, and they soon became bitter enemies. Both of the groups withdrew from the confluence of the Salt River and Verde Valley, which became an uninhabited buffer zone between them (Gifford 1936:338). Whether movement of Apache into Yavapai areas was the cause of Yavapai–Pima problems prior to the 1680s, by the late eighteenth century, raiding between the two had become a prominent part of life among the eastern Yavapai.

Yavapai and Western Apache oral traditions contain stories of warfare and its role in society. From an early age Yavapai boys were trained to develop endurance, discipline, and skills necessary to succeed in warfare. Raiding parties supplied fresh meat for families in the form of livestock and also helped the men rise to prominence in their local band (Basso 1971; Gifford 1932:183–89; 1936:297–305). Raiding also shaped other parts of their life. The threat of counter attacks led Yavapai men to stand guard while the women gathered plant foods. Many of the Yavapai camps gave up agriculture to avoid conflicts, so the lower Salt River banks became uninhabited by farmers because it would expose families to enemy raiders. Cooperation between the Yavapai and Western Apache intensified as conflict between the Yavapai and Pima and Maricopa intensified (Gifford 1932:181–182, 203, 214).

Yavapai–Pai Relationships

The northwest boundary of the Yavapai territory was one of peaceful coexistence and lethal conflict with neighboring Pai camps. During periods of peace these groups would trade, interact socially, and, on occasion, intermarry. However, disagreements among these groups often led to violent feuds, which often became personal in nature thus becoming blood feuds. These conflicts were unusual as they usually fought each other without outside involvement.

The Yavapai and the Pai spoke basically the same language, formed local bands, and followed an annual cycle of hunting and gathering with some agriculture. The eastern Pai also have creation stories similar to the Yavapai. Yavapai and Pai oral traditions both have a story of how a child's quarrel caused them to separate and become bitter enemies. They were originally the same people, but the quarrel escalated into hostilities, caused the adults to move apart and remain enemies.

Although accounts of the separation contain a shift in their relationship, evidence points to periods of peace between the Yavapai and Pai. It is not certain how long hostilities ceased, but it is certain that this conflict was not one of constant warfare between the two tribes. Instead it fluctuated between periods of hostility and periods of peace. The rivalries were between various camps, not the Yavapai or Pai as a whole. Most of the fighting occurred near or along the border between their traditional territories. No strict boundary line existed, but as rivalries developed camps moved back. Over time a mutual buffer zone was established. Despite this buffer zone, camps that were close to this zone were vulnerable to attack. The Pai raided the northern Yavapai territory, and the Yavapai attacked camps just north of the Bill Williams and Santa Maria Rivers. The Yavapai and the Pai were both aware of each other's seasonal movements and would often attack each other in favorite gathering areas. Further away from the border the rivalry was less intense (Dobyns and Euler 1967:7-8, 12).

Warfare along the border frequently took on a personal nature. The small size of the raiding parties, the pattern of repeated raids, the common language and culture, all contributed to a certain level of intimacy between the opposing warriors. Yavapai fighting the Pima or Maricopa were unlikely to become well acquainted with their enemy, whereas the Yavapai-Pai spoke the same language and often knew each other. Their common language meant that they could communicate on the battlefield and opposing warriors could shout insults at each other. These conflicts were as much enemy peoples and enemy camps against one another as rivalries between families and individuals.

Warfare was brutal, and although the Yavapai and Pai scalped fallen enemies as an expression of hatred and revenge, it was not common. Yavapai rarely took scalps, doing so only on offensive campaigns not when they were attacked, and sometimes they only targeted the enemy leader for mutilation. Scalping sometimes represented fulfillment of personal vendettas. Yavapai women sometimes accompanied the raiding parties in hopes of scalping an enemy who had killed one of their relatives. Yavapai and Pai both mounted the enemy scalps on poles and celebrated a successful raid. After the celebration they would discard the trophies. Scalps were not collected as personal trophies, but were used as presents to women or old men as a sign of having avenged a relative's death (Gifford 1932:186, 1936:304–305, 328; Kroeber 1935:17–176).

In the most extreme display of conquest, the Yavapai brought home and killed Pai women and children, burning their bodies, and ritualistically acting or mimicking the eating of small pieces of flesh (Gifford 1932:186, 1936:304–305, 324–339; Kroeber 1935: 176–179; Spicer 1962:176). If Yavapai ate enemy flesh it was done to avenge the death of relatives and to terrorize or offend their Pai neighbors. The rare examples of cannibalism, the scalping, and the rapes illustrate the hatred and bitterness that fueled the blood feuds that often typified the Yavapai–Pai relations (Gifford 1932:186, 1936:304).

However the Yavapai were not in a constant state of war with their Pai neighbors as most local Yavapai groups directed their energies to acquiring food and had little time for raiding. Most warriors probably participated in fewer than two raids a year. Yavapai life was hard in a harsh environment. Not only was time and energy needed for hunting and gathering, the Yavapai also had to be on guard against Pai raiders invading northern Yavapai territory and Maricopa and Pima raiders from the south.

Trade

Trading with neighboring groups was as central to aboriginal inter-relations in the Colorado–Gila Rivers region as warfare and alliance formation. Trade items from shell and pigments to cloth and foodstuffs, as well as ideas and knowledge, moved along trade routes from the Upland River Yumans to coastal California peoples to the inhabitants of pueblos in New Mexico and to desert dwellers in northern Mexico. Although the Yavapai camps were not located along trade routes they did participate in the exchange network. Trade was important to Yavapai survival in the harsh environment in which they lived.

Prehistoric Native Americans that lived in what is now Arizona engaged in long distance trade. Marine shells arrived in Arizona from California and the Gulf of Mexico. Hohokam craftsmen along the Gila and the Salt Rivers used these shells for beads, bracelets, and other jewelry. Most of this trade took place between neighboring people, but some trading parties traveled long distances to reach the source of the product (Gumerman & Huury in Ortiz, *Handbook of North American Indians*: 9:79–80). Historic trade in the Colorado–Gila Rivers region encompassed four general regions. Trade was conducted between groups to bring scarce items into a local area. Coastal groups collected and exported seashells, which reached the Colorado–Gila groups. Yuman and Pima farmers traded cotton blankets and agricultural food products. Mountain dwelling Yavapai, Pai, and Western Apache contributed animal skins, processed mescal, and other wild plant products. The arrival of Spanish goods diversified the exchange even further to include the Pueblo villages of the Colorado Plateau and Rio Grande Valley. In the eighteenth century the Navajo entered this network of trade. The Pueblos and Navajo acquired livestock, iron tools, and weapons from Spanish colonizers. The eastern Pueblo tribes hunted buffalo or traded with the Comanche for buffalo robes. The Hopi became noted for their wool blankets, and over time, all of these goods spread west from the Pueblos to all groups in Arizona and into parts of California (Ford in Ortiz, *Handbook of North American Indians*: 10: 711–22).

New ideas and information as well as religious traditions, and stories and dances, passed throughout the Southwest. New pottery techniques and agricultural technology was also shared. Dissemination of ideas, information, and goods traveled along extensive and well-worn trade routes. These trade routes made the Southwest thoroughly interconnected prehistorically (Bolton 1930:19–25; Forbes 1965:89–95).

The main trade routes skirted Yavapai territory. The most significant trade route in Arizona passed through the Hopi, which was considered the center of trade. Spanish goods, buffalo robes, and Puebloan trade items reached the Hopi from the east. The Hopi then sent these goods, along with their woolen goods, to the west across northern Arizona. Hopi traded with the Pai, who in turn traded with the Halchidhoma and Mohave along the Colorado River. The Halchidhoma and Mohave then carried the goods across the Mohave Desert to the coast. Seashells moved from west to east or from south to north. Agricultural products and upland pigments, mescal, and animal skins passed in both directions (Castetter and Bell 1951:56–58).

These long distance trade routes bypassed Yavapai territory for many different reasons. Although the most direct route would have crossed right through the heart of Yavapai territory, the vast waterless stretches of the western region discouraged travelers. The route from Hopi south to the Verde River and down the Verde to the Salt and Gila was blocked by hostilities between the Yavapai and the Gila River settlements. In addition, the Yavapai were hard to find, because hunting and gathering resulted in many movements during the year, and the Yavapai had no exotic products to offer for trade. With the outside trade bypassing the Yavapai, they went to it. Yavapai trading parties traveled to the Hopi and other areas to acquire the outside goods. During winter months the Yavapai would trade mescal and wild animal skins for preserved plant foods such as dried maize and peaches from the Hopi and Navajo. Participating in trade was an important strategy for Yavapai (Gifford 1936:23–64; Goodwin 1942:89–91).

Patterns of exchange influenced the social structure more than warfare. Warfare was intermittent, whereas trade was constant. The exchange of goods and knowledge interconnected many different people. The Yavapai were connected with many non-Yavapai groups through military and trade alliances, as well as friendships and intermarriage. Yavapai were experienced in dealing with change, which helped when foreigners arrived in their territory.

6

Yavapai and European Contact

In the early sixteenth century, non-Indians appeared in Yavapai territory (Figure 8), which brought a variety of changes to the Yavapai through the introduction of European material goods. The arrival of Europeans, their belief systems, and their material goods were something entirely new to the Yavapai. At the time of contact, the Yavapai and their neighbors in the Colorado–Gila region had ties to the cultures of Mesoamerica, California, and the greater Southwest. They knew about the buffalo herds in New Mexico, had access to abalone shells from the Pacific Ocean, and had adopted many of the agricultural techniques that spread north from Mexico. The arrival of the horse, gunpowder, smallpox, and Christianity would profoundly alter the aboriginal Southwest.

The Yavapai were among the least affected by non-Indians before 1850. However, even the most isolated Yavapai families felt the effects of the European presence. Their responses generally remained true to aboriginal dynamics of the Colorado–Gila region, but the world around them was undeniably changing.

Spanish Exploration: 1583–1606

Spanish exploration began as an extension of the Spanish pursuit of riches and commerce throughout the Western Hemisphere after 1492. In 1521, Cortés began the tradition of conquering, plundering, and enslaving non-Christians. Cortés immediately sent companies of soldiers south to Central America and northwest to the Gulf of California in the hopes of locating the mythic Seven Cities of Cíbola, or other areas large or small that were worth looting. Cortés was also looking for a northern route connecting the Atlantic and Pacific.

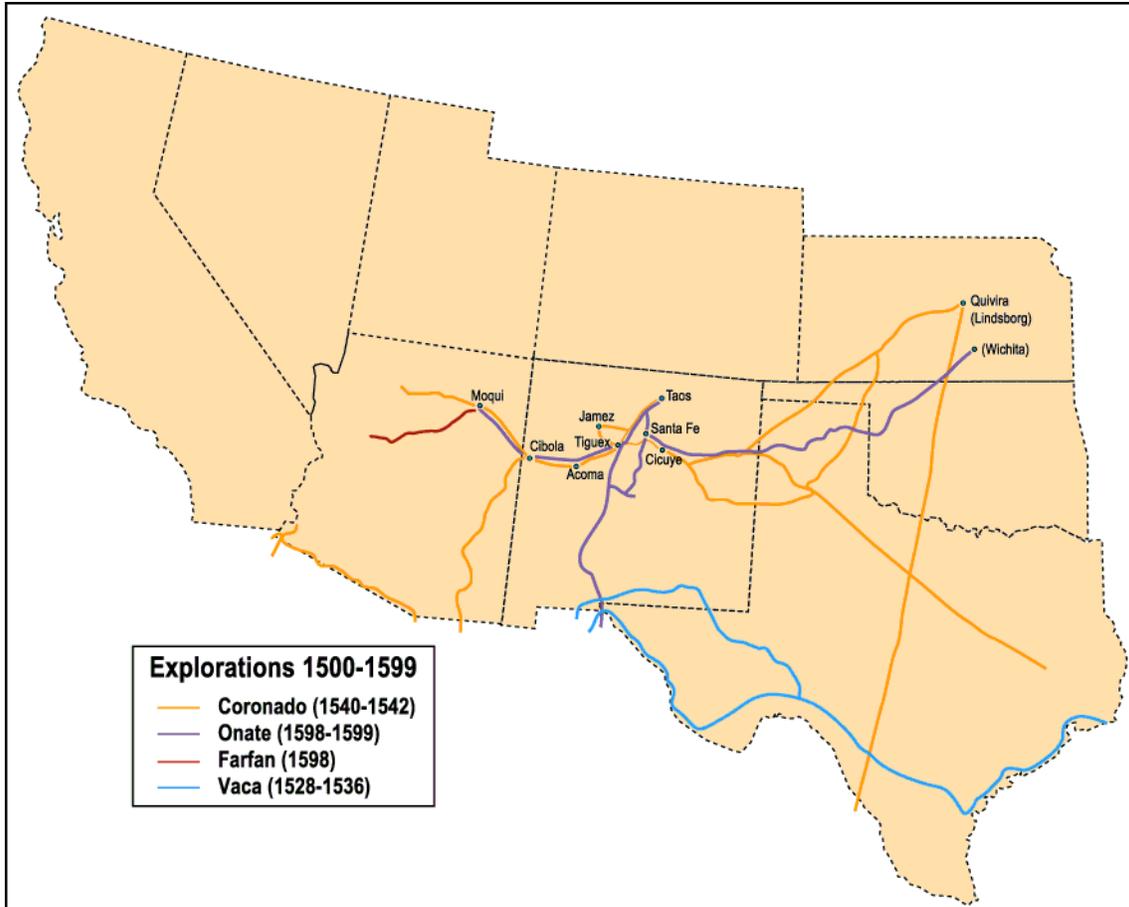


Figure 8. Routes of Spanish exploration of the Southwestern United States between 1500-1599.
 (Based on Beck and Haase 1989:15)

Spanish exploration in the Southwest began in earnest in 1540 when Coronado led approximately three hundred Spanish soldiers, one thousand Mexican natives, and several Spanish priests through eastern Arizona to northwestern New Mexico and on to the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh. For almost a year they commandeered Pueblo Indian houses, food, and clothing, and killed those Puebloan groups who resisted. At the same time Alarcón sailed into the mouth of the lower Colorado River and Díaz led a party overland into the same region. In 1542 Cabrillo sailed up the California coast seeking the northern strait. Within fifty years of the first Columbus voyage to the Caribbean Sea, the Spanish had dramatically announced their presence in the Southwest (Bolton 1916:3–24; John 1975: 3–57; Weber 1992:30–49).

It was another forty years before the Spanish entered Yavapai territory (1582). In the 1580s they returned to Pueblo lands; this time with Franciscan priests anxious to establish missions among large native populations. In 1582, a wealthy merchant by the name of Espejo financed a small expedition into New Mexico to relieve two Franciscans placed there the year before. He learned that the Indians had killed the missionaries, but upon hearing reports of rich mines and a lake of gold, he continued exploring. In 1583, Espejo and a few of his men traveled to Hopi lands, and with Hopi guides, he traveled to the mines, becoming the first non-Indian to visit Yavapai lands (Wipukepa and Yavapé territories to be specific). In 1598, Hopi guides led other Spaniards on a similar trip to the same mines in Yavapai territory (Bolton 1916:137–192).

The Spaniards noticed the colorful mineral pigments used by locals to paint their bodies and used to dye blankets. This led them on a quest for mineral wealth in Yavapai territory. They were told of the mines, which were located several days travel to the southwest. These were the mines located at Jerome Mountain, which overlooks the upper Verde River not far from the traditional Yavapai place of emergence. Inhabitants of this area had quarried ore on this mountainside for centuries and had passed the pigments to neighboring peoples by way of Hopi traders. The Spanish were very disappointed to find that these mines only contained copper and not gold or silver (Bolton 1916:187–88).

In 1598, Yavapés gave Farfán directions to a distant saltwater sea, and the following year Zaldívar set out to find it. Zaldívar spent three months wandering and never found the sea, but during his wandering he came across mountainous regions inhabited by Apache and Cruzados, the latter term normally used by Spaniards to refer to Yavapai (Hammond 1953 [1]:22, [2]:814–815, 282–829).

In 1583 Espejo first entered Yavapai territory, but long before then the Yavapai had heard about the Spaniards and the way they had treated the Pueblo people. News of the invasion of 1540 had spread along trade routes and in river settlements and mountain camps within two years of his invasion. The Indians spoke of foreign invaders of bearded white men that brought gifts of trinkets and glass beads, and expected food and accommodations in return. They spoke of their weapons and military skills, which made resistance a dangerous option. The Yavapai that traded with the Hopi must have heard of how Coronado's men, under Tover, attacked a Hopi village, then acted in a friendly manner when offered such things as cotton blankets, maize, and other foods. Any traders that came through the Hopi villages would have spread the word of the horses, metal armor, and steel swords these men had. There also would have been reports of men who wore robes instead of armor and carried crosses rather than weapons (Bolton 1916:19–25). In 1604, Oñate took a route through Yavapai territory and reached the sea, crossing Wipukepa, Yavapé, and Tolkepaya territory. This route took him through the Hopi villages to the Verde Valley, then down the Bill William and Colorado Rivers to the Gulf of California and back to New Mexico in 1605. This was the first major wave of Spanish contact in Yavapai territory (Bolton 1916:268–280; Hammond 1953 [2]:1013–1028).

Yavapai responses to Spanish intrusion in the late sixteenth century, according to Espejo and Farfán, were nonthreatening and perhaps a bit curious. Some Yavapai fled, but some went to great lengths to indicate their desire for peace. One of Espejo's companions reported entering a camp of Wipukepa who had previously fled

They had built a hut of branches. Six paces from it was a large painted cross, and four small ones on the sides. All of the men, women, and children were seated around with

their heads low, singing of the peace they wished with us. They had crowns of painted sticks on their heads and *jicaras* [baskets] of mescal and piñon nuts and bread made from them. They gave us metals as a sign of peace and many came to show us the mines (Hammond and Rey 1929:106–107).

Fifteen years later in the same region Farfán found the local inhabitants equally receptive and generous.

The Yavapai responded peacefully to the Spanish because of their knowledge of the Spanish ability to kill. The Yavapai had heard about how the steel swords, armor, firearms, cannons, and horses helped the Spaniards defeat large populations of Indians in Mexico and New Mexico. When small parties led by Espejo and Farfán entered Yavapai camps the Yavapai did not draw lines in the dirt and forbid them to cross as the Zuni and Hopi had tragically done. The Yavapai did not ambush the Spaniards when they were in narrow canyons or crossing streams. The first response of the Yavapai was to leave their camps, but when they did not leave their camps they tried to make peace with the Spaniards (Hammond and Rey 1929:107).

The Pueblo villages discovered that gifts of food and blankets, and the offering of their services as guides to the mines kept the Spaniards from attacking, thus the Yavapai did the same. Yavapai camps not only offered food and guided the Spaniards to the mines, they also offered information on the course of rivers, the location of saltwater seas, and the availability of white and yellow shiny metal (Hammond and Rey 1929:106–108). The Yavapai also made signs of peace through the use of crosses (Hammond 1940: 1:1–4, 471).

The origin of crosses among the Yavapai is a mystery. Crosses may have been used before Christian contact, perhaps representing the four cardinal directions. A U. S. Army surgeon in the 1870s noted that Yavapai living in the Verde Valley tied small cane crosses to their forelock to combat headache, and tattooed cross designs on their faces (Gifford 1932:228–230, 1936:27–277). Of course these observations came long after contact and raises the question, did the Yavapai use crosses aboriginally or did they adopt

the Christian symbol for their own purposes? It must be noted that the use of the crosses by the Yavapai died out in the twentieth century.

The use of the crosses might have been adopted from the Western Apache. Apache masked dancers wear elaborate headgear, which resembles crosses. If the Yavapai were in contact with the Western Apache in the sixteenth century they may have taken this style of adornment and put it to a new use. It is also possible that the Spanish came upon the Yavapai camps when they were in the midst of their own masked dance ceremony, but only a few Yavapai groups adopted the masked dance, and they did not use the elaborate headgear of the Western Apache. A small number of males were selected to wear the masks but only during very sacred ceremonies held at night. The Spaniards observed women and children wearing the crosses during the day at more than one camp (Brugge 1887–88:479–480, 582–586; Forbes 1965:59–61; Gifford 1932:236–238; Hammond and Rey 1929:106–107).

Whatever the origin of the cross, by 1583 the Yavapai had learned that the Spanish considered the cross a symbol of peace. Coronado introduced the Christian cross as a sign of peace to the Pueblos, and crosses soon stood in many Pueblo villages. In 1583, when Espejo approached a Hopi village, they quickly erected crosses in the main plazas to indicate their desire for peace. The Yavapai also erected crosses outside their huts to welcome Espejo and also wore crosses on their heads (Hammond and Rey 1929: 89, 100–102). It is certain that the Spanish did understand that the crosses were a sign indicating that the Yavapai desired peace with the Spanish. Farfán wrote that when he met Yavapai he would make the sign of the cross with his fingers, as he believed that this was the sign for peace. By 1600, the Spanish were referring to the people of the Verde Valley as Cruzados, in reference to the crosses of peace (Hammond and Rey 1953: 2:828–29, 1015).

The second reason that the Yavapai responded to the Spanish the way they did was because of their interest in the goods the Spanish had. Beginning with Coronado, the early Spanish travelers in the Southwest carried glass beads and other cheap trinkets to

give as gifts or trade to the Indian communities (Hammond 1940:76–98, 325). In 1583, when Espejo arrived he distributed gifts (Bolton 1916:186–187) and Farfán also gave out beads and other items as a token of peace (Hammond and Rey 1953 [1]:410, [2]: 814–15, 828–829).

It is not known what value the Yavapai put on Spanish items, but it is known that they apparently welcomed the gifts. The Yavapai would string the beads on necklaces the way they did shells and seeds, so perhaps they were interested in the items for personal use or as trade items with neighboring tribes. The Yavapai could have looked upon the gifts as signs of friendship and peace rather than just the item itself. The Yavapé and Wipukepa must have placed some value on the goods because they continued, over the years, to accept the gifts. Desire for Spanish gifts might explain why the Yavapai and the other tribes located up and down the lower Colorado River welcomed the Spanish (Gifford 1936:275–276; Hammond & Rey 1953 [1]:411, [2]: 1023).

The first documented contact between Yavapai and the Spanish was in 1583 with Espejo, and contact ended with Oñate in 1605. Spanish explorers and slave raiders may have wandered through Yavapai territory, but if they did, they left little record. Yavapai traders may have interacted with the Spanish in Pueblo lands, as Oñate reported meeting three Cruzados at a Hopi village in 1605. In 1680, the Pueblo Revolt drove the Spanish out of Pueblo lands, thus ending the Spanish presence in Arizona and New Mexico for a short time (Hammond and Rey 1953 [2]:1027; Schroeder 1974:293–295).

Yavapai-Spanish contact was sporadic and ended as suddenly as it began. Spanish contact and interactions with Puebloan groups generated resentment and hostilities from the very beginning, but their relationship with the Yavapai was peaceful. The few Spanish that entered Yavapai territory between 1583 and 1605 were there either to see the mines or to find a route to the ocean. The Yavapai did not want to suffer the conflicts the Pueblo people were experiencing with the Spanish so they helped them in any way they could. Both sides remained on guard, but found it to their advantage to make signs of friendship. The Yavapai also provided accommodations, food, and guides,

as well as answered questions regarding other lands and the neighboring people. Thus, the Yavapai did not experience the brutality many Pueblos had.

Missionary Activities 1606–1780s

The next wave of European expansion into and near Yavapai territory was that of missionary activities in southern Arizona, in the late 1690s. Although Spanish colonizers returned in 1692 to the Pueblos, they did not return to the Yavapé mines. Europeans continued to explore the fringes of Yavapai territory, and in the eighteenth century they arrived from the south but never entered their territory. In fact, the second wave of contact occurred almost entirely outside Yavapai territory.

Beginning with Eusebio Kino in 1694, Jesuit priests expanded their territory and between 1694 and 1702, Kino visited the Pima, Maricopa, Quechan, and Cocopa communities several times. Contact between the Yavapai and Jesuits is a matter of speculation. If the Yavapai visited their Quechan friends at the right time, they may have had contact with the Jesuit priests. However the Jesuits, who were practiced observers of Indians, reported no such encounters. Scholars do not think that it is a simple omission on their part but more on an indication on their part that they did not encounter any Yavapai when visiting the Quechan. The Jesuits were aware that the region between the Gila River and the Hopi villages contained the “cross wearing people”, Yavapés and Wipukepas and they were also knew as the Yuman–speakers. In 1699, Kino made contact with some of these people and called them Apache, afterwards which the entire region north of the Gila was called Apacheria (Bolton 1948:202, 237, 256; Hackett 1937:411–412).

In 1743, Father Ignacio Keler and nine soldiers made the only known expedition into Yavapai territory. They crossed the Gila River and traveled to the confluence of the Verde and Salt Rivers, which would have placed them in Kwevkepaya territory. Keler was going to follow the Verde River north to the Hopi villages but was attacked, forcing him to turn back. It is not known for sure if the attackers were Western Apache or

Kwevkapaya, but it was most likely the Kwevkapaya. If this is true, then it is the only documented altercation between the Yavapai and Spanish.

After 1767, Franciscans took over the Jesuit missions and continued to form friendly relationships with the river settlements. Francisco Garcés was the most active of the Franciscans, traveling along the Colorado River in the 1770s and making his way from the Mohave settlements to the Hopi villages in 1776. In 1780, he established a mission among the Quechan (Cores 1900:11–12). In 1781, Quechan warriors killed Garcés and numerous other colonists because of the growing Spanish presence along the lower Colorado River. Except for a few campaigns against the Quechan in the 1780s this ended Spanish exploration along the borders of Yavapai territory (Forbes 1956:114–220).

The Tolkepaya and other Yavapai who regularly visited the Quechan had numerous opportunities to befriend the Spanish priests, but only a few such meetings are recorded and all in the same year (Forbes 1956:188–197). In 1776, Garcés traveled from the San Gabriel mission in southern California to the Hopi villages and up and down the Colorado River. The Yavapai met him at one of the Quechan settlements in the winter, and when Garcés returned to the Mohave in May he found Yavapai among those waiting to speak with him. Since this took place in the southwestern territory of the Yavapai it is most likely they were the Tolkepaya (Bolton 1930:343–347, 363; Cores 1900:208–209, 308). The Tolkepaya approached the priests with a different attitude than those displayed by Yavapé and Wipukepa near the mines almost two hundred years earlier. Two hundred years before they approached the Spanish with the clear intent of showing their generosity, friendship, and peaceful intentions so as not to upset their guests. In 1776, they showed no uneasiness toward the Spanish, but approached them to invite them to their camps (Coues 1900:418–419).

These more aggressive attempts at friendship perhaps represented a new understanding of the European presence in the Southwest. Early Spanish contact was one of cruelty and death in the Pueblo lands, and in 1680 the Pueblo people had briefly expelled the Spanish. The Jesuits and Franciscans in the eighteenth century offered less

of a threat of the sword but more material enrichment. Kino established stock ranches, and he and his fellow Jesuit priests offered gifts of horses, mules, and cattle to Indian communities that appeared to have converted to Christianity. The Tolkepaya recognized these Christian priests as nonthreatening intruders, and they also understood that the missionaries brought livestock and other European commodities such as tobacco, glass beads, awls, and sewing needles to the Yavapai and Quechan settlements. Because of this, they sought out the priests and encouraged them to enter their camps (Bolton 1948:56–58, 373; Coues 1900:108–111, 132–134; Spicer 1962:291, 542). Although Spanish intrusions into Yavapai camps were rare after 1605, and even though the European missionaries were at work in nearby villages and had little, if any, direct contact with Yavapai camps, the Spanish had the greatest and longest lasting effect on Yavapai lives.

European Influences

Although there were very few non-Indian expeditions into the heartland of the Yavapai the arrival of Europeans after 1690 had a dramatic affect on their lives. The introduction of European animals, manufactured goods, disease, and values altered forever the aboriginal cultures of the Southwest. Even the Yavapai, who were far removed from the trade routes and mission communities, acquired horses and metal knives, and encountered smallpox in the eighteenth century.

Yavapai did not interact directly with these non-Indian people but they felt their influences in the responses of the neighboring peoples. When Indian settlements along the rivers worked out agreements of peace, encouraged by European missionaries, some Yavapai camps joined in the negotiations. As the availability of European goods and the demand for Indian labor increased, Yavapai camps became involved in the raiding patterns that arose in the Colorado–Gila River region. Although these influences were reaching the Yavapai camps, all the basic elements of Yavapai existence including the integrity of independent local camps remain unchanged.

Slave Trade

Like the introduction of livestock, the associated slave trade also stimulated changes in the raiding patterns of the Yavapai and their neighbors. Before 1600, these groups took few if any captivities in warfare. When they did bring home enemy women and children they were either adopted into the tribe or killed. Yavapai camps had little use for additional labor or mouths to feed, but with the demand for Indian labor raiders in the Colorado–Gila Rivers area began the practice of bringing home captives for economic exchange (Gifford 1932:182–186). In some cases captive-taking became the reason for raiding. The Tolkepaya and the Kewevkepaya were the most involved Yavapai groups in the Colorado–Gila dynamics and experienced both sides of slave trade. The extent of their involvement in the exchange of humans, both as captives and slave raiders, is unknown. The enslavement of Yavapai were usually the result of Pima and Maricopa raiders that attacked Yavapai camps and carried off women and children to sell to the Spanish (Dobyns 1957:48–49; Spier 1933:42, 45). Yavapai raiders, who traditionally had little use for captives, had begun capturing enemy women and children for trade purposes (Dobyns 1957:58–59). It could be argued that the desire for horses and captives for trade for horses caused the Yavapai to intensify their raiding.

The availability of European livestock, particularly horses, brought a change in warfare and trade in the Colorado–Gila region. Rival warriors added horse stealing to their tactics and began abducting women and children to trade for horses. The widespread competition for horses carried with it the risk of death in a raid or enslavement in distant land. At the same time other dangers were creeping into the Yavapai territory.

Disease

In the seventeenth century, smallpox, measles, typhus, and other European diseases spread quickly among the native peoples of the Southwest. It is believed that smallpox may have reached the Pueblos in New Mexico in 1625. From the Eastern

Pueblos, smallpox and other diseases could have easily been passed on to Zuni and Hopi villages. These devastating diseases hit hardest where the Spanish moved among large populations of Native people, and the results were staggering. The Native populations did not have immunity to these diseases and did not understand how they spread. By 1680, the total Pueblo population had fallen from approximately 100,000, before European contact, to approximately 17,000 after diseases swept through their villages (Reff 1991:167–178, 226–233).

Smallpox also struck in the Yavapai territory. This first occurred, according to Yavapai oral traditions, when Yavapai raiders swept down on disease-ridden Pima villages south of the Gila River. The raiders killed the few survivors of the village and took cotton clothing from many of the corpses not knowing that textiles, especially cotton, carried the smallpox virus. Soon after that the raiders were infected, and some died before reaching their home camp. The disease then passed north to Yavapé camps and then on to Pai territory (Gifford 1936:304).

The spread of smallpox caused a decrease in the total Yavapai population but was not as dramatic as among the neighboring groups. South of Gila River, the native people lived in large settlements and sickness moved rapidly through the population. In Yavapai territory the settlements were small, scattered, and regularly relocated, so disease might have devastated one local camp while leaving others untouched. The Yavapai population probably declined less than the twenty-five percent suffered by the Quechans with their denser settlement patterns and more frequent European contact (Coues 1900:230; Forbes 1965:341–343). Because Yavapai camps were small and were their own basic economic units, the disappearance of neighboring camps did not cause a shift in the overall economic strategies in other Yavapai camps. A general population decline did not drastically alter their economic way of life or their lifestyle. Because their enemy neighbors were suffering greater loss of life there was little danger of them expanding into Yavapai territory (Gifford 1936:330–333; Reff 1991:244–245).

Summary

The eighteenth century was a period of extraordinary changes in the Yavapai world. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought the first Europeans, but lasting responses by Yavapai did not fully develop until after the 1690s. Once the Jesuit missions reached southern Arizona, the Yavapai began maneuvering to obtain European goods. In order to obtain these goods the Yavapai tried to establish relationships with the missionaries, they began stealing livestock from their enemies, and started to participate in the exchange of human captives. The dangers of raiding for livestock and human captives brought new problems to the Yavapai, but the arrival of smallpox was even more dangerous as it brought with it a large-scale death and decline in their population.

Despite these dangers, the basic elements of Yavapai culture did not die. Stolen livestock only represented a new source of food; hunting and gathering remained the primary method of acquiring food. The Spanish did not settle in Yavapai territory because they did not live in large settlements and did not attract foreign missionaries and colonists. They were also lucky because the Spanish visitors never found flakes of gold or other precious metals in Yavapai territory. Although some Yavapai were enslaved, Yavapai camps retained their independence and their traditional use areas, and they did not experience a loss of their territory. It was the relative isolation that may have kept Yavapai families from obtaining all the European goods they desired, but their rugged homeland and rustic lifestyle left them relatively free from outside interference. But this was soon to change.

7

American Invasion

Americans arrived in Yavapai territory in the nineteenth century. Yavapai response was varied, the Tolkepaya in western Arizona were more accepting of the non-Indians than were the Yavapai living further east. In the 1860s, the American interest in this part of the country intensified into a full-scale invasion into Yavapai territory. Initially it was the fur trappers and the discovery of gold. Then came the land-hungry farmers and the ranchers. Finally, U.S. troops were ordered into this area to protect these people which ultimately led to the loss of Yavapai lands. The Yavapai had endured the Spanish attempts of conquest for 300 years and were able to retain their territory and their way of life. The American invasion of the 1860s ended the Yavapai traditional way of life.

Fur Trappers/ Mountain Men

The fur trade began in 1826 and lasted into the 1840s. During this time period Anglo-American and French fur trappers traveled the rivers and streams of Arizona killing beavers and anyone that might prevent them from trapping. They arrived in this area because they had already destroyed most of the beaver population in the Rocky Mountains. Suddenly, after forty years of no outsiders in their land, Yavapai territory once again became infested with non-Indians. While the Spanish explorers and priests had appeared intermittently, the mountain men came in large parties and stayed longer.

In 1821, Mexico achieved independence from Spain and by 1824, it had organized the region of present-day Arizona and New Mexico into the Territory of New Mexico. The new Mexican government wanted friendly relations with the United States, so they made the region accessible to American mountain men. By 1826, at least four trapping parties had received licenses to enter Arizona, and within one year at least one

hundred trappers were trapping beaver in the Gila, Salt, and Colorado Rivers (Holms 1967:27–28; Myers & Sherman 1995:304, 314–315; Weber 1971:112–114). Some fur trappers entered Yavapai territory along the Salt, Verde, and Bill Williams Rivers where they found large populations of beaver. Between 1829 and 1844 several large trapping parties had passed through Yavapai territory. The presence of the Tonto Apache and Yavapai discouraged most trappers from venturing into the region south and southwest of the Little Colorado River.

The mountain men who entered Yavapai territory were different in appearance and language as well as their motivations and activities. The Spanish may have had designs on Yavapai land, but in actuality the priests and soldiers were explorers investigating foreign lands and foreign people. The Spanish exploited the people and then left. The mountain men made longer trips into their territory and were less interested in colonization. In fact, they were after a marketable resource—first and foremost the beaver, then gold (Wishart 1979:207).

A record of Yavapai response to the mountain men is scant. Encounters between other Arizona Indians is better documented and offers a clearer picture of how Yavapai and their neighbors dealt with the latest non-Indian invasion. The responses were varied but were often hostile. Prime beaver grounds were at the headwaters of the Gila and Salt Rivers, Western Apache territory, and the Western Apache did not welcome the trappers in the beginning. The San Carlos and White Mountain Apache were practiced raiders and attempted to steal trappers' horses and mules and drive them from their land. In return the mountain men would oftentimes attack Apache camps or steal livestock from Apache raiding parties. Some form of compromise was made between the Apache and the trappers in the 1830s. The Apache no longer raided the trappers, and the trappers in return supplied the Apache with guns and ammunition and purchased livestock the Apache had stolen from the Mexicans (Weber 1971:220–241).

Along the lower Gila and Colorado Rivers the trappers encountered a mixed reception. The Pima and Maricopa generally harassed the first trapping parties on the

Gila River, stealing their mules and blankets, and reported the trappers presence to Mexican officials in Tucson. This went on until one of the trapping parties that was well-armed convinced them that supplying the white travelers with provisions and hospitality would be far more profitable and less dangerous than ambush and death. The Quechan and Halchidhoma on the lower Colorado River feared the trappers' weapons and traded food supplies for cloth strips carried by the trappers. But when the opportunity was right they too stole horses from the mountain men (Holms 1967:31–34; Weber 1971:120–124).

The trappers also encountered a mixed reception from the Mohave. In 1826, Jedediah Smith's party stayed with the Mohave for several weeks. They provided Smith's party with food, fresh horses, and a guide for their trip to Mission San Gabriel in California. Several months later when another trapping party reached the Mohave mutual hostilities led to fighting, and the trappers killed several Mohave. Smith's group had approached the Mohave in a nonthreatening manner, while the other group arrived in a threatening manner. The second group had been trapping on the river, and the headman demanded a horse in payment for resources taken from Mohave lands. The trappers refused, tension mounted, and hostilities and fighting broke out (Dale 1918:189–190). In 1827, when Smith arrived back in the Mohave settlements he was attacked and nine of his party were killed. This attack was a direct result of the way the second trapping party, after Smith, had treated the Mohave. The next time the trappers were in the area the Mohave were friendly, but then another trapping party would be hostile to the Mohave, so the Mohave would attack the next party that came through their lands. This went on for several years (Dale 1918:230–231; Ogden 1853:11–13, 18–20).

The mountain men were concerned with acquiring furs, and this shaped their approach to Indian groups. If the local groups allowed them to hunt and trap on their land, then they considered them friendly and left them alone. If the local Indians attacked, then they would do the same. There was no middle ground. The Indians either let them hunt and trap or they forcibly removed them from their land. Politely asking them to leave, refusing them permission to trap, or limiting their area of operations did not work.

The Indians welcomed the mountain men if they brought economic advantages. The Apache were friends with the trappers because they supplied them with guns and also provided them a market for stolen livestock. The Mohave and Quechan were friendly with the ones who were willing to trade horses, knives, cloth, and trinkets for Indian food. But when the Indians wanted to trade for horses, which was one of the main items they wanted and the trappers refused, the Indians would resort to theft. This resulted in bloodshed and vengeance killing by both groups. The Indian groups were more interested in trading for guns, horses, and knives than in protecting the population of the beaver. They had no idea that the trappers would destroy every beaver and the rich ecosystems (Spier 1933:345–347).

In 1829, the Yavapai and Tonto Apache camps had already heard how the trappers had caused havoc and left behind numerous dead Maricopa and Mohave. The Yavapai and Tonto Apache, along the Verde River, avoided direct contact with the trappers. Instead they would fire arrows into their camps and steal items under the cover of darkness. The Indian camps along the Verde River had little surplus food to offer a large party of travelers, and the mountain men did not want to part with their horses, so a trading relationship did not develop like that in the Gila and Colorado River settlements (Cooke 1878:180).

In Tolkepaya territory to the west the dynamics were different. Along the Verde where the Kwevkepaya, Wipukepa, and Western Apache lived, trapping parties were in constant danger. The Tolkepaya camps, which were militarily weak, were scattered along the Bill Williams River. This river was also close to their enemy Pai, so they only used the banks of the river to plant crops in the spring and harvest in the late summer. The Tolkepaya had not adopted the Apache raiding traditions and tended to follow the Quechan lead in warfare. Since the Quechan had taken the stand of leaving the trappers alone, this is what the Tolkepaya did. The trappers were relatively safe along the Bill Williams River (Forman 1941:162).

After decades of absence, non-Indians had returned to Yavapai territory, not just in the peripheries, but into the heartland of their territory. Citizens of the United States had started an invasion of Yavapai land in search of profit, and this invasion was not going to end with the decline of the fur trade. By 1840, the fur trade in the Southwest was in decline. Trapping did continue into the mid 1840s, but fewer trappers were at work, and not all of the mountain men who gave up trapping left the area. Some remained in Arizona and found new ways of making a living. Some opened mines, some served as guides for military expeditions and surveying parties, and some entered the Indian slave trade (Cleland 1950:344–345). The mountain man's entrance into the slave trade was unfortunate for Yavapai camps. Not only did they have to worry about Pai and Maricopa raiders, they also had to be on the lookout for trappers turned slave traders. Because of their knowledge of the region and their deadly rifles, trappers could locate and destroy Yavapai camps as quickly as they destroyed beaver communities (Schroeder 1974:111).

Nineteenth–Century Warfare

Other conflicts kept the Yavapai camps on edge in the 1820s and 1830s. During this time warfare was intense along both sides of the lower Colorado River where battles, brought on by the slave trade, pitted the Maricopa, Halchidhoma, and others against Quechan, Mohave, Apache, and most likely the Tolkepaya. Over the next few years both sides maneuvered to strengthen their alliances. After Mexico received its independence from Spain both sides offered their cooperation with the new Mexican officials. The Maricopa got the jump on the Quechan by serving as couriers between San Diego and Tucson. The Mexicans also strengthened their ties with the Halchidhoma, which the Quechan saw as a threat, as did the Mohave, since they were both enemies of the Halchidhoma. The climax of the river wars came when the Halchidhomas began fleeing the Colorado River area sometime after 1827. The growing threat of the Mexican–Halchidhomas alliance finally motivated the Quechan, Mohave and their Tolkepaya allies to drive the Halchidhoma from their homes. The Halchidhoma families first took refuge

in Sorona, then sometime after the smallpox epidemic in 1833 the remaining families joined the Maricopa communities located along the Gila River. The Yavapai, Quechan, and Mohave continued their wars with the Gila River residents with the final major battle coming thirty years after the Halchidhoma were expelled from the area. Even as this was taking place, new players were arriving on the scene (Bancroft 1889; Spier 1933:11–18).

Gold Rush

While the fur trade was coming to an end along the Gila River, new international activities were taking place that would ensure further contact between the Yavapai and United States citizens. The treaty of Guadalupe–Hidalgo, which made Yavapai territory part of the United States in 1848, brought increased interest in the Arizona trails, especially after the discovery of Gold in California. Westward movement because of the gold rush to California brought government surveyors and military companies into the outlying areas of Yavapai territory. Like the fur traders and the Spanish explorers, this new wave of non-Indians stayed to the well-worn river trails that skirted the Yavapai territory, with only the occasional party wandering across Yavapai lands. This continued the pattern of infrequent contact between Yavapais and non-Indians. In 1846 the United States declared war on Mexico and shortly after that troops were sent into northern Mexico. The military expeditions did not make new trails but instead used the same trails that had been used for the past 150 years. The military use of these trails brought new attention to the routes, as did the California gold rush.

The greatest influx of non-Indians into Yavapai territory was with the California gold rush of 1849, when more than ten thousand goldseekers crossed southern Arizona on their way to California (Forbes 1965:298). Despite the almost constant stream of non-Indians, and the scattered parties in the following years, very little contact occurred between the Yavapai and the travelers. Typically, the travelers would stop among the Pima and Maricopa settlements to rest and feed their horses and livestock, before continuing down the Gila River. The Tolkepaya left the travelers alone because they

were not avid raiders like the Yavapai and Apache further east. The Tolkepaya lived in scattered camps concentrating mostly on survival and had little time for raiding. They many have stolen a horse or two, but there was a much easier way to take property from the travelers. Water could usually be found along the lower Gila River, but the oppressive heat and sparse forage took its toll on the livestock. First, the travelers would lighten their animals, then when these efforts failed to save the exhausted horses, mules, and oxen they left the animals behind to die and rot in the sun. If the Tolkepaya desired such items as guns, cloth, or mule meat, there was no reason to stage a raid, they only had to wait until the travelers passed, then wander down to the desert trail and pick up what they wanted (Forman 1941:225–235; Hammond and Howes 1950:215–216). It was similar to a large flea market in the middle of nowhere, and because of this it kept the Tolkepaya at a distance and interaction to a minimum.

These travelers were aware of the Indians in the mountains north of the trail. They had already met the Pima and Maricopa— they were the good Indians— and they knew that the Quechan were waiting on the banks of the Colorado River to provide ferry service. They had heard of the Apache, a phrase used for all Indians that lived in the mountains, and unlike the Pima or Maricopa, they were the bad Indians that were wild raiders and cutthroats. But most travelers, once they had left the Pima and Maricopa camps, did not see any Indians until they had reached the Quechan (Forman 1941:216–217, 259). The Yavapai and Apache did raid the Pima, Maricopa, and Mexican communities, but at first treated the Americans differently. Some Apaches offered their services as guides to the travelers along the upper Gila and San Pedro Rivers. Yavapai and Tonto did attack a few American trappers and explorers who passed through the Verde Valley, but for the most part, they left the travelers on the southern route untouched. The Tolkepaya avoided the travelers along the lower Gila River, but their close ties with the Quechan led them to another kind of conflict (Myres 1980:193).

The Quechan held a strategic location on the southern route of the California trail. As travelers followed the Gila River Trail they soon reached the Colorado River and needed a way across. The Quechan transported the belongings of the travelers on the

Colorado River on log rafts, which they would swim with across the river (Evans 1945:161–162). The Quechan were willing to sell food when they had a surplus and provide ferry service, but they resented the hungry travelers and their livestock for destroying their fields and pasture lands and for eating the mesquite beans, their survival food in the winter months. When the Quechan took to stealing and drowning livestock some of the Americans shot the perpetrators, which led the Quechan to kill several Americans. Relations on the river worsened with the appearance of troops and competing ferry operators. In September 1849, a U. S. surveying party had set up camp on Quechan lands, and by November of that year they had erected a rope ferry. Other non-Indians also began to muscle into the ferry business. The Quechan' ferry was destroyed in April 1850, so the Quechans killed several of the perpetrators in retaliation and reclaimed the ferry business. Many Americans believed that the Quechan were justified in this, but there were others that joined the California State Militia Volunteers and marched east to destroy Quechan fields and their ferry operation (Bieber 1937:225–226; Forbes 1965:298–32; Forman 1941:335–336; Watson 1931:171; Wood 1955:13).

U.S. Army

Although the Quechan remained generally at peace with the travelers, the U.S. Army was intent on gaining control of their strategic crossing location. Between November 1850 and December 1851, U.S. troops tried to establish camps along the lower Colorado River but had trouble staying adequately provisioned, forcing them to leave the region. In February 1852, approximately four hundred soldiers began a campaign intended to conquer the Quechan and end their hold at the crossing. The soldiers failed to win standing battles, but by burning villages, destroying fields, and disrupting planting they were able to weaken the Quechan resistance (Woodward 1856:145–167). Because the Tolkepaya were friends of the Quechan, they entered the battle, which was the first time they had fought U.S. troops. In August 1851, an army of four hundred Quechan, Yavapai, and Mohave warriors formed to drive out the soldiers. Aggressive maneuvers by the troops caused the alliance to retreat and agree to a ten-day truce. After the truce expired the troops made a final destructive campaign against the fields and villages. As a

result, on October 2, 1851, a peace arrangement was completed. The weakening of the Quechan forces encouraged their Cocopa rivals to settle old scores, so the Quechan began to move closer to Camp Yuma, which now offered some level of protection (Forbes 1965:332–336).

The Tolkepaya continued to aid the Quechan in their battles with the Cocopa and Maricopa. They also continued to plant on floodplains in Quechan territory and began to form friendships with the U.S. officers that were now the new powerbrokers on the river. The Tolkepaya often visited Camp Yuma in late spring, as this was the time when their winter stores were low, and they would beg for food from the kitchen and storehouse. The Tolkepaya befriended the soldiers because they did not want them invading their mountain camps after they witnessed what had been done to the Quechan villages. They also tried to convince the U.S. officers that it was a 30-day march to their homelands (Forbes 1965:336–338).

Power was shifting on the rivers, and the Tolkepaya were declining despite their diplomatic efforts at Camp Yuma. U.S. troops made alliances with the Pima and Maricopa, as it was these settlements that provided refuge for tired and hungry troops. The Pima and Maricopa also were the only warriors that seemed to have any success against the Apache. As a result, they received horses and guns from the U.S. troops, and they fought the Apache. In 1859, Congress created the Gila River Reservation to protect the Pima and Maricopa farmlands from American encroachment. But as long as river warfare continued between the traditional alliances, it worked against the Yavapai (Krober and Fontane 1986:110–111). The last great Colorado–Gila Rivers battle took place in August 1857, when the Quechan, Mohave, and Yavapai marched to surprise their Maricopa enemies. During a lull in the fighting, the Yavapai, who thought they had won, left to return home, but when the fighting renewed, mounted Pima rushed in to aid the Maricopa. The remaining Quechan and Mohave were outnumbered, and most died on the battlefield that day. Although they made a few more small raids on the Maricopa and Pima, the Quechan had lost their power. The Maricopa, Pima, Quechan, Tolkepaya, and Mohave agreed to a peace treaty in 1863 (Krober and Fontane 1986:107–116).

The arrival of Americans had, within a decade, disrupted the balance of power in the Colorado–Gila Rivers region. However, unlike the Quechan, the Tolkepaya camps retained their independence from foreign powers in their homelands. For the most part, they had been spared the American invasion. But this was not true for the Yavapai in the north where the Americans were searching for a more direct route between Santa Fe and Los Angeles. The U.S. Army sent out several exploratory parties across northern Arizona, which for the most part stayed outside Yavapai territory. Yavapai contact with these parties was rare, but the expeditions did have many encounters with the Pai between the San Francisco Peaks and the Colorado River (Wallace 1984:325–364).

The presence of non-Indians in northern Arizona had a greater impact on the neighbors of the Yavapai, just as they had in southern Arizona. The Pai camps showed no patience toward the intruders on their land, and they ambushed small scouting parties and stole or killed their livestock. The Mohave responded to the intrusion in their usual manner, sometimes attacking and other times engaging the soldiers in trade. But conflict arrived in 1858, when the Mohave, who were afraid the Non-Indians would be settling in the Mohave valley, attacked the first immigrants to cross their land. They killed eight men and drove off all the livestock, forcing the others to turn back. In response, in April 1859, the U.S. Army sent six hundred troops to punish the Mohave and to establish a fort that would protect future immigrants. When the Mohave resisted, the soldiers destroyed their fields, attacked their encampments, and forced them to accept a peace treaty (Cleland 1951:264–273; Hunter 1979:137–156).

The United States was beginning to close in on Yavapai territory. Although the Yavapai camps still stood beyond the reach of non-Indian settlements, by 1860, Americans had already settled the Gila–Colorado Rivers region. The American citizens had opened mines, printed newspapers, and petitioned the U.S. Congress to establish an American territorial government in the area. The Colorado River military posts stood in Mohave and Quechan territory, and steamboats navigated the river carrying troops and provisions. However, the rugged basin–and–range province and the desolate Colorado Plateau remained free from American control. This was the territory of the Yavapai, Pai,

Apache, and Navajo, considered one of the last unexplored places in the West. It had been 340 years since Cortés and his Indian allies had destroyed Tenochtitlan, close to 170 years since Spain had been in the Pueblos, and over 25 years since the U.S. began relocating the eastern Indians west of the Mississippi River. But the Yavapai camps were still following their annual rounds and roasting mescal hearts in the winter, unimpeded by colonizers or land-hungry Americans (Martin 1963:2–5).

Gold Rush in Yavapai Territory

It was only a matter of time before American citizens began settling on Yavapai lands. The discovery of gold on the Colorado River between the Bill Williams fork and the Colorado–Gila Rivers confluence, just beyond the western edge of Tolkepaya territory, began the final invasion of non-Indians into Yavapai land. Prospectors from California rushed to the river, and within four years, a mining town with some five thousand men had been established (Gilbert 1983:247, 270).

In April 1863, several Tolkepaya men stopped a party of white miners along the upper reaches of the dry Hassayampa River. The Tolkepaya and their families were gathering greens in the area when the white miners were seen. The party was lead by mountain man Joseph Walker and four Mohave, who were going to guide them across the desert. The Tolkepaya were assured that they came in peace and they only wanted to hunt for gold, but if they did meet with any resistance they would turn to hunting Indians. The Tolkepaya knew that white settlement followed the discovery of gold so they tried to stop Walker’s expedition. The Tolkepaya were unable to halt this expedition so they left because they did not want to fight the miners. The miners continued further up the Hassayampa River into Yavapai territory, found gold, and began staking claims (Conner 1956:86–101).

The Walker party was only the beginning. A second party followed Walker's trail up the Hassayampa and also struck gold. Once the word was out that new gold fields had been found, American and Mexican miners poured into Yavapai territory. The town of Prescott sprang up, U.S. soldiers arrived and established Fort Whipple, and by the end of 1863, only eight months after Walker's party struck gold, one thousand non-Indians were moving about northern Yavapai territory. Prescott was then named the first territorial capital of Arizona. Just that quickly, in under one year, the heart of Yavapai land, which had been isolated from American reach, had become the heart of white activity in Arizona (Gilbert 1983:269–274).

Miners were not the only non-Indians to arrive in this part of Arizona; ranchers also began to arrive. Indians were seen as obstructions to white settlement, livestock thieves, and inhabitants of prime real estate. The Americans believed that they had a right to this land, but the Indians stood in their way. Most of the newcomers to this area could not tell one mountain-dwelling Indian group from another, so they labeled all Indians in the area Apache—meaning savages of no redeemable human value—and they started killing them. The first Indian hunting expedition through Yavapai territory is said to have taken place in January 1860. It consisted of a group of white ruffians called the Gila Rangers and were guided by Maricopa scouts. It was somewhere along the Hassayampa River where they attacked a large rancheria killing thirteen and capturing five. The captured were most likely women and children, who were sold into slavery by the Maricopa. In 1863, Indian hunting expeditions became more frequent. Large parties of civilians and soldiers—sometimes over one hundred mounted men—supported by the U.S. Army, the Arizona territorial government, and private contributions and led by Maricopa and Pima guides that were anxious to strike their traditional rivals—traveled in Yavapai and Apache lands in search of rancherias. When Rancherias were found they rushed in with guns blazing and killed everyone. Most of the Indians in the rancheria were unarmed; this made no difference to the raiders. After the fighting was done, the Maricopa and Pima would enter the camp and crush the skulls of the dying while the Non-Indians set fire to their homes and food.

These Indian hunting expeditions represented the philosophy of the white settlers in north-central Arizona. Not only were they hunting down the Indians, they were also searching for mineral deposits and promised farmland. John Goodwin, the territorial governor, even got into the act by personally leading a hunting expedition from Fort Whipple to the Verde Valley in 1866. His expedition killed five Indians and destroyed one camp. In 1866, Governor Richard McCormick asked for more troops to be sent to Arizona to intensify the war with the Yavapai, Pai, and Apache.

Summary

The invasion into Arizona had begun with the fur trappers in the 1820s, followed by government troops and immigrant parties after 1846. After the Quechan and Mohave had been subdued in the 1860s, white settlements sprang up along the Colorado River and then moved into Yavapai territory. After 1863, the miners and ranchers spread out in all directions from Prescott. The miners and ranchers demanded that the federal government send more troops to provide assistance in the removal of the Indians. The invasion of gold-hungry prospectors and land-hungry ranchers began a war of Yavapai extermination and a war to acquire all of their land.

8

Tolkepaya and Yavapé Response to White Invasion

The Tolkepaya and Yavapé, the Yavapai living west of the Agua Fria River, responded in various ways to the white invasion of the 1860s. Some worked to accommodate the invaders and others resisted the encroachment. They attacked non-Indian travelers and settlers, stole livestock, burned settlers' houses, and refused to cooperate with white officials. No matter what their response, the Tolkepaya and Yavapé had to adjust their traditional economic strategies. There was now competition for wild game, farmland, and other resources, and many times they were not able to gain access to their traditional hunting and gathering areas. The U.S. government eventually concluded the Indians were an unnecessary impediment to white territorial expansion and in the early 1870s used military force to remove them from their homelands.

The Tolkepaya and Yavapé showed restraint when the first non-Indian prospectors entered their lands and staked claims in the spring of 1863. Although the Tolkepaya tried to stop Walker's party from ascending the Hassayampa River, no hostilities occurred and they continued north. The first group of prospectors did not bother the natives because they were busy with their mining operations. The Tolkepaya and Yavapé made little fuss about the trespassers, perhaps out of fear of their firearms or perhaps because it was the height of the gathering season and individual families were scattered in various locations. Some of the Yavapai considered the arrival of miners more of an opportunity than a problem. They would enter the mining camps to ask for gifts of tobacco, a mule, or ammunition and some also went to work for the miners. In fact, the miners and Yavapai tried to avoid hostile confrontations (Conner 1956:93, 106). Some of the Yavapai leaders took steps to maintain peaceful relations with Non-Indians.

They made agreements to assist the Americans in their wars against the Apache tribes, and when hostilities did develop they would move quickly to prevent escalation.

A new wave of white settlers and miners arrived after Walker's party and they had little regard for the native population. On more than one occasion soldiers and civilians, without provocation, attacked the Yavapai thinking they were hostile. The rancherias also suffered at the hands of the white miners. In their spare time the miners often went hunting for Yavapai and shot on sight any they encountered (Fourr 1935:73–80).

Conflicts also arose over livestock. In the fall and winter of every year, the Tolkepaya and Yavapé relied on wild game, but in late 1863 they found their hunting opportunities decreasing. The increased population of miners and ranchers now hunting the same deer and other large game reduced the animal population in parts of the Tolkepaya and Yavapé territory. But if this presented difficulties for some Yavapai it also presented something of a solution to others. The miners and ranchers brought with them hundreds of cattle, horses, and mules, which the frustrated Yavapai hunters began stealing for food. They ran off cattle and horses from ranches, stole mules from the miners, and attacked wagon trains (Conner 1956:114, 133–135).

Miners and ranchers responded by killing any Indian they suspected of stealing horses or mules. But not all Tolkepaya and Yavapé stole livestock, and not all livestock thieves were Tolkepaya and Yavapé. Pai, Wipukepa, Tonto Apache, and Navajo also stole livestock. Some miners, ranchers, and Mexicans dressed up like Indians and stole livestock. Nonetheless, local Tolkepaya and Yavapé bands closest to the mines received most of the blame and suffered for it. In late 1863 a mining party from California lost four burros and subsequently killed approximately twenty Yavapai in revenge, only later to discover that the animals had just wandered away from camp. This caused a conflict that spread between the Yavapai and the non-Indians in the area (Conner 1956:199).

The Yavapé and Tolkepaya headmen could arrange peaceful relations with Army officers and mining parties, but they had no real power to prevent their young men from stealing livestock or killing ranch hands. The headmen also had no power to speak for any camps besides their own. While some of the groups worked to make peace, others made war.

This also held true for the officials in Arizona, as they possessed only limited power in the 1860s. The territorial government lacked the funds, experience, and military power to administer the region to any standards. The Civil War preoccupied the U.S. government and federal troops for much of the decade. As a result, Arizona was often a lawless place. While non-Indians and certain government agents made peace agreements, others broke them. As far as most of the non-Indians in Arizona were concerned, all mountain Indians were Apache, and when one Indian stole livestock all Indians were guilty. It did not take the Tolkepaya and Yavapé long to learn that keeping peace with the Non-Indians was not easy and, more often than not, it was very dangerous.

In late April 1865, drunken white squatters killed a Pai headman on a ranch seventy-five miles west of Prescott, and the region between Prescott and the Colorado River exploded in violence. Pai raiders attacked several wagon trains and ran off a number of livestock, which essentially shut down the road between Prescott and Fort Mohave. At this time, the U.S. Army created a line of demarcation declaring that all Indians located farther than seventy miles east of the Colorado River were considered hostile and subject to extermination. This included most of the Yavapai, Pai, and all Apache (Farish 1915–18 [3]:285).

To complicate matters, the Yavapé and Tolkepaya were having difficulty maintaining their traditional economic cycles. Along the upper Hassayampa River, in the Bradshaw Mountains, and in the Prescott area, the problem was simply foreign invasion. This influx disturbed the two major elements of their economy, hunting and gathering. Non-Indians did not compete for wild food in the area, but the hostile miners and ranchers limited the Indians' mobility in this area. Some of the most critical resource

areas were too risky to visit as it meant wandering dangerously close to miners or white ranchers. The wild plants and animals in this area had normally been adequate for human survival if the seasonal rounds were made, but after 1863, non-Indians threatened these conditions (Stevens 1964:18)

Agricultural opportunities were also limited. The Tolkepaya and Yavapé in this area farmed on a limited scale, planting a few seeds in early spring and returning several months later to harvest what had grown. Garden spots with sufficient water and fertile soil were available, but unfortunately the white settlers were rapidly using up the best fields. Unable to raise their own crops, some Yavapai began harvesting bushels of green corn from the fields of white farmers. This enabled them to supplement their diet but it also contributed to hostilities with white settlers.

The situation in western Yavapai territory was more complex. This region was bitterly hot and dry, was west of the U.S. Army line of demarcation, few settlers were in the area, and the soldiers were unlikely to enter this area. Because of this the Tolkepaya could still hunt and gather without fear of attack. Some of the Tolkepaya families spent the summer farming the Colorado River floodplains in Quechan territory, but this was now too dangerous. Because wild plant foods were insufficient in this region, agriculture was essential to the survival of many of the Tolkepayas. But by 1863, many of the Tolkepaya families realized that access to the Colorado River floodplains and Quechan territory was too dangerous. The American and Mexican miners were protected by the soldiers, and the miners were likely to shoot wandering mountain Indians on sight, so the Indians began to stay away from this area. In order for the miners to feed their livestock they either bought or stole Mesquite beans from the river Indians. Mesquite beans were conserved by the Tolkepaya to get them through the winter and spring, so when beans were stolen they had no auxiliary food supply especially if their crops failed or they ran out of other stored food. Because of limited access to the floodplains to plant crops and the loss of mesquite beans due to theft, the Tolkepaya needed to act quickly to protect their way of life (Farish 1915–18 [3]:251).

In the past, the Tolkepaya had turned to their allies, the Quechan, in time of stress for military assistance or food, but with the fall of the Quechan they began to approach U.S. agents for assistance. In 1864, they went to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Mr. Poston, and after much discussion, he agreed to establish a 75,000-acre reservation along the river (Figure 9), and to provide money for an irrigation canal that would ensure successful crops each year. But Poston did not have the authority to establish a reservation nor appropriate funds for a canal. Congress did approve the reservation in 1865, the Colorado River Reservation, but not the canal, so the Tolkepaya took to the hills in the summer to gather wild food (Kappler 1904 [1]:803).

By 1865, with the access to floodplains for agriculture slipping away in the west, the traditional economic cycle interrupted in the east, and military campaigns against the Yavapai increasing, the Yavapai believed that the best response would be for them to accommodate non-Indian demands. The Tolkepaya and the Yavapé decided that rather than resort to military resistance they would work to ensure themselves a place in the non-Indian world. Several of the headmen urged the Tolkepaya and Yavapé to relocate permanently to the Colorado River floodplains, even if no irrigation canal existed. As a result, approximately eight hundred Yavapai settled on the Colorado River Reservation in 1865 (Schroeder 1974:223).

The Yavapai soon found themselves in the middle of a small war. In early September 1865 hostilities flared between the Chemehuevi and the Paiute. Earlier in the year a Mohave had killed a Paiute healer for failing to prevent the deaths of several Mohave suffering from smallpox. The Mohave also resented being blamed for thefts committed by Indians from the western bank. In September, in the tradition of the Colorado–Gila fights, the Mohave drove the Chemehuevi from the river. The Paiute then began raiding Mohave fields, and the Yavapai moved in to aid their Mohave allies. The fighting interrupted farm chores and brought white soldiers to the region. This did not help the already tense atmosphere along the river.

Arizona Indian Reservations

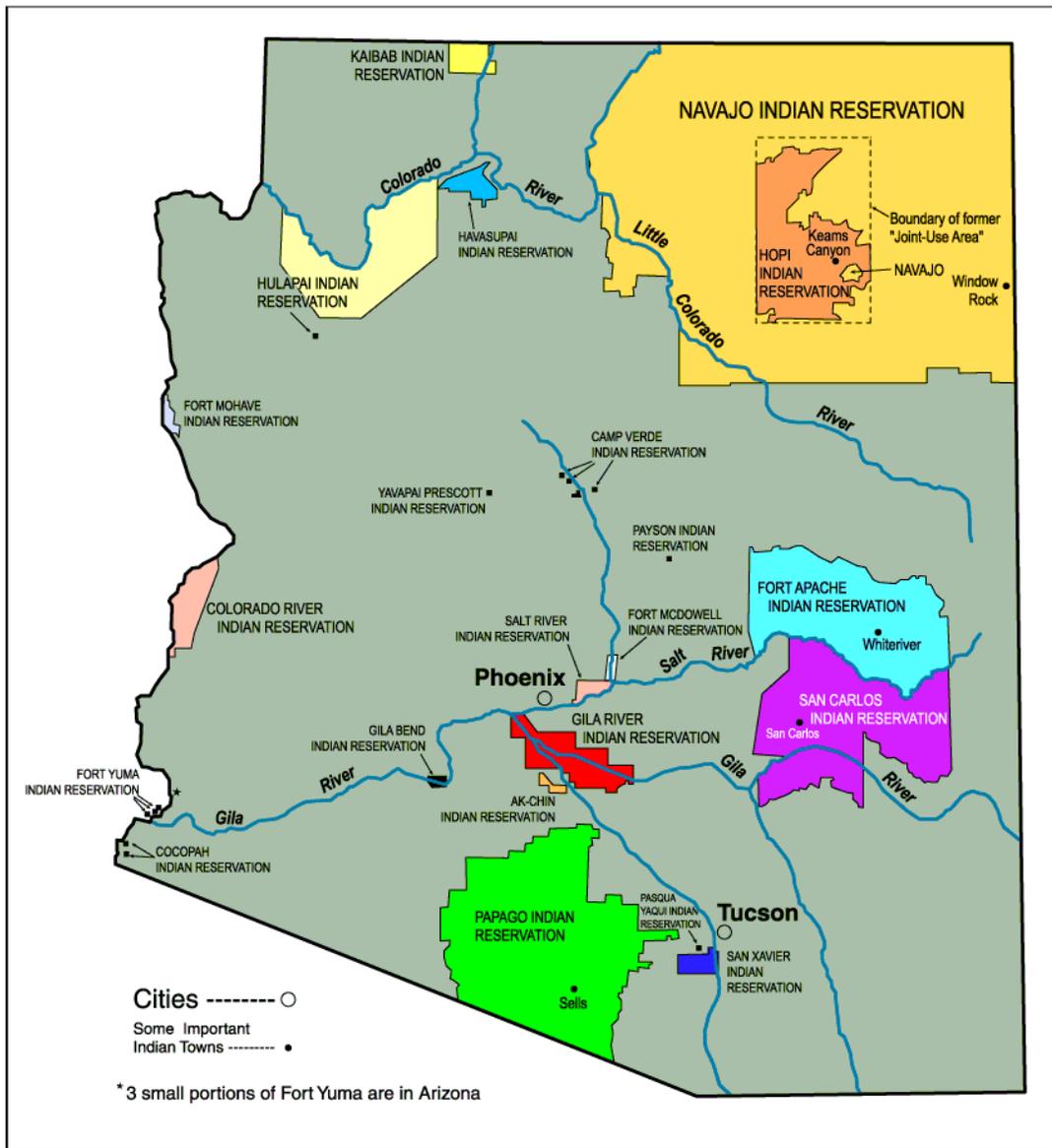


Figure 9. Native American Indian reservations established in the state of Arizona. (Based on Comeaux 1981:Map 4-8)

While some of the Yavapai were committed to staying on the reservation, others returned to their mountain camps in January 1866. They did stay in touch with U.S. agents to assure them that they were not simply running away. But there was much to be running from— river fighting, smallpox, soldiers, and the lack of food. The Tolkepayas had not arrived at the reservation until late July 1865, and by then it was too late to plant crops. The lack of adequate food and the fighting along the river led to many of the Tolkepayas returning to the mountains. The Tolkepayas that did run back to the mountains were doing what they always did when they were hungry—gather and roast mescal. The agent had promised to provide supplies, but they did not arrive until sometime in February, and the food was of low quality. The agent realized that the Tolkepayas were not going to have enough to eat, so he granted permission for them to temporarily return to the mountains to gather and roast mescal.

In March the Chemehuevis returned to the river and killed several Mohave. Later, they offered them friendship if they would join them in eliminating the Non-Indians along the river. The Mohave refused and sought assistance from nearby white citizens, as the soldiers had already left the area. Despite all the problems along the river the Tolkepayas adhered to their traditional cycle and returned to the river in the summer of 1866 to plant corn, beans, squash, and melons.

Summary of Responses to White Invasion

In summary the Tolkepayas were under pressure from the soldiers, settlers, and government agents, and there tended to be three responses to these pressures.

Response one

About three hundred Tolkepayas and Yavapés lived year-round on the Colorado River Reservation which was established in 1867. They survived the best they could on government handouts of flour, beef, and corn. In late summer they would harvest mesquite beans, and if the flood pattern had been favorable they would harvest what

crops they were able to grow. They were willing to make major changes in their lifestyles. For example they were willing to give up their homeland if the government would guarantee them adequate farmland for year-round subsistence and would assist them in becoming full-time farmers. The Tolkepaya and Yavapé that were living on the reservation were generally the families that had been driven from their resource zones in the east or threatened by the loss of floodplain lands in the west (Bourke 1892:171).

Response two

On the other end of the spectrum were the Tolkepaya and Yavapé who resisted non-Indian invasion and refused to cooperate with the invaders or live on the reservation. As late as 1872 they were still raiding non-Indian settlements and attacking travelers. These actions were a hindrance to the peace efforts of other Yavapai. These camps were usually in remote and rugged regions, isolated from the growing population of non-Indians. The Tolkepaya and Yavapé that lived north of the Santa Maria River were able to steal livestock, then return to safety in the canyons and mountains they called home. There were several camps of Tolkepaya that resided in the Castle Dome Range in the extreme southwestern corner of Yavapai territory. The Castle Dome groups also refused to cooperate with the Non-Indians. Food was locally available at Castle Dome for most of the year, as the mountain resources contained mescal, saguaro, deer, and big horn sheep. They planted a few crops, but when they were hungry they would visit surrounding ranches and demand food handouts or steal livestock (Farish 1915–18 [3]:278–281).

Response three

The third general response by the Tolkepaya and the Yavapé to non-Indian incursion into their territory split these two extremes. For example, the Tolkepaya and Yavapé resented the presence of non-Indians in their homeland but they would cooperate to avoid a conflict if it was advantageous to their group. Elders encouraged the younger men to refrain from raiding or fighting. These groups were constantly maneuvering to maintain their traditional lifeways. So when hunting, gathering, and farming declined, and they were reluctant to steal from non-Indians; they had to adopt a new economic

lifestyle. Tolkepaya in the west incorporated reservation resources into their new economic lifestyle. They would appear at the reservation in the summer to plant crops on the floodplains and to collect government rations, but they would not commit to staying on the reservation year-round. In the winter, when the summer resources were almost gone, they would migrate back to the mountains to gather mescal and hunt wild game. Further east where the non-Indian population was larger, they had to adopt a lifestyle of non-violence and cooperation. Yavapé and Tolkepaya men still-hunted for wild game, but they also worked for farmers and ranchers. They received very low wages for working the land that they once controlled. The women found a lucrative deer-skin business in the surrounding towns of Prescott and Wickenburg. With the cash the men and women earned they were able to purchase clothing and blankets as well as additional food to supplement their wild-food harvests. Although there was the ever-present danger of attack by soldiers and other non-Indians, they still preferred struggling in their homeland rather than relocating to the reservations, where conditions were no better (*Arizona Miner*: 1867).

The events of early August 1866 epitomized the varying Yavapai responses. On August 11, 1866, a small party of Tolkepaya met a wagon train near Skull Valley, near the site of an earlier slaughter of unarmed Yavapai. The Tolkepaya informed the wagon train that all the lands, water, and corn belonged to them. They told them they would let them leave unharmed, but they had to surrender their mules and the contents of their wagons. There was a standoff, and tension increased until the following day when soldiers arrived. These soldiers were under the orders of General Mason at Fort Whipple to punish the Tolkepaya. After all, the Indians should have known that anyone had a right to kill them if they crossed the natural line. More Yavapai arrived as well as Wipukepa (Yavapai and Tonto Apaches). On the third day, there were approximately eighty Yavapai and Tonto that laid down their arms and began walking toward the wagon train. It is no known for sure what they were doing, but some say they were asking for food and some say they were restating their earlier demands. A scuffle broke out, the wagon train opened fire, and more than forty of the fleeing Yavapai were killed. Later that year the Tonto killed the Indian agent.

The conditions at the Colorado River Reservation discouraged many Yavapai from settling there permanently. But in 1867, word spread throughout the Tolkepaya and Yavapé lands that the situation on the reservation was changing for the better. The news was that Charles Genung, a white miner, was now in charge of building an extensive irrigation canal on the Colorado River Reservation. The canal would pull water from the river to the fields, thus ensuring water even when floodwaters failed to cover the fields. The canal would take some time to construct, but Genung promised cash wages and rations to Indians willing to work on the project.

In July 1867, the Yavapai began to slowly come to the reservation. They planted crops but were in no hurry to join the Mohave who were already working on the canal. Sufficient tools were never supplied, but after a while the money arrived and the workers were paid. Once the Yavapai learned that the Mohave were being paid fifty cents and a loaf of bread daily, they began to work on the canal.

By winter, despite the promises of food, the Yavapai on the reservation were once again near starvation. Some beans, flour, and salt pork were distributed, but that was not enough to improve the conditions. When the person in charge of the reservation trading post refused to increase the rations, Genung quit. After Genung quit no Indians appeared for work the following day. Instead they were ready to leave with Genung for California. Genung advised the Indians to stay on the reservation, telling them that he would return with horses for them to purchase. Genung returned to the reservation but had lost most of the horses in the desert. The Yavapé and the Tolkepaya warned Genung that the Indian superintendent and the trading post owner were out to get him, so he headed back to the Hassayampa region. Many of the Yavapai then made their annual winter departure from the floodplains to return to their mountain camps (Genung 1982:47–51).

The trading post owner was intentionally shortchanging the Indians rations and using the surplus to sell for his own profit. The idea of a functioning irrigation canal represented a threat to his profits. After Genung left, his replacement directed the Indians to dig the canal much shallower. Others in the area informed the Indians that by making

the canal shallower the water would never flow; therefore, they would have a useless canal. This was one of the contributing factors that led their decisions to abandon the construction and head for the hills (Genung 1982:51–52).

Not all of the Yavapai left. The ones that stayed continued to work on the canal, but this would be the last winter they would stay on the reservation. In June 1867, an epidemic of whooping cough killed approximately one hundred Mohaves upriver. Fearing that this would reach the Colorado River Reservation, the remaining Yavapai left, saying that they would return once the sickness was gone.

By late summer, the Yavapai who left the reservation were ready to return and resettle. On September 24, 1867, they stopped to visit the Indian agent at La Paz and to request food. They were denied rations, so they set up camp outside town to await the arrival of the superintendent. At sunrise the next day, several Non-Indians rushed into the Indian camp and murdered everyone, including Quashackama (a well-respected headman), saying they were the ones that had been attacking their wagon trains. The townspeople knew that these Yavapai had not been involved in these attacks. Response to the massacre was immediate, as outlying settlers rushed to the safety of La Paz. The Mohave fled their reservation for fear of being the next targets, then they gradually returned. Action was taken against the men who had ambushed the Yavapai, but a U.S. district judge sympathetic to Indian killers set the suspects free. The Yavapai left for the mountains and along the way some took vengeance on travelers. The Yavapai did not begin to reappear in the reservation for almost half a year.

The murder of Quashackama changed the dynamics of Yavapai use of the Colorado River Reservation. It was Quashackama who had convinced several hundred Yavapé and Tolkepaya bands to settle year-round on the reservation. After his death the reservation Yavapai scattered for the mountains and never returned to the river in large numbers. They still wanted to use the river's resources, but they did not feel secure staying on the reservation year-round. The following spring some returned to work on the canal, but after they had received their share of clothing, knives, and other annuities

they left. In October 1867, one hundred or so Yavapai returned to the reservation, requested permission to farm, and promised to stay. But as soon as they received rations they left. After that, the Yavapai were not welcome on the reservation, because the officials did not want them coming and going as they pleased. A census in July 1870, revealed 694 Mohaves and only 17 Yavapai—10 men, 5 women, and 2 children—on the reservation.

The Mohave also discouraged the Yavapai from returning to the reservation. The Mohave were resentful of the Yavapai that returned to the reservation for short times to collect rations, which otherwise would have gone to the Mohave, and then left. Reservation Yavapai did not abandon their struggle for peaceful accommodations, they just changed their tactics. Rather than appeal to the Indian agents at the Colorado River Reservation, they began to approach the military officers at Camp Date Creek (Figure 10), located south of the Santa Maria River in Tolkepaya territory. On July 19, 1870, two Tolkepaya men entered the military post and explained that all they wanted was a peace agreement that would protect them against military campaigns and civilian vigilantes. Two weeks later, approximately two hundred twenty-five Tolkepaya and Yavapé met with the commander and an agreement was reached. In the agreement the Yavapai promised to stay off the roads between Prescott and Wickenburg, to report hostile Indians, and to turn in any of their own that were guilty of crimes against Non-Indians. They also offered to help the troops fight the Tonto Apache, which they did on several occasions. The soldiers would in turn leave the Yavapai alone as they made their annual subsistence rounds in the nearby mountains and they would inform the local people that these Indians were friendly and peaceful (Genung 1982:48, 51).

This agreement provided the Yavapai with temporary protection from the soldiers, but it did not solve the problem of their shrinking use area and lack of wild food. The Yavapai repeatedly asked the commander at Camp Date Creek to arrange for a permanent reservation where they could grow crops and live peacefully, but the commander did not have the authority to create a reservation for the Yavapai. Since no rations were available and farming prospects were poor, they returned to their summer

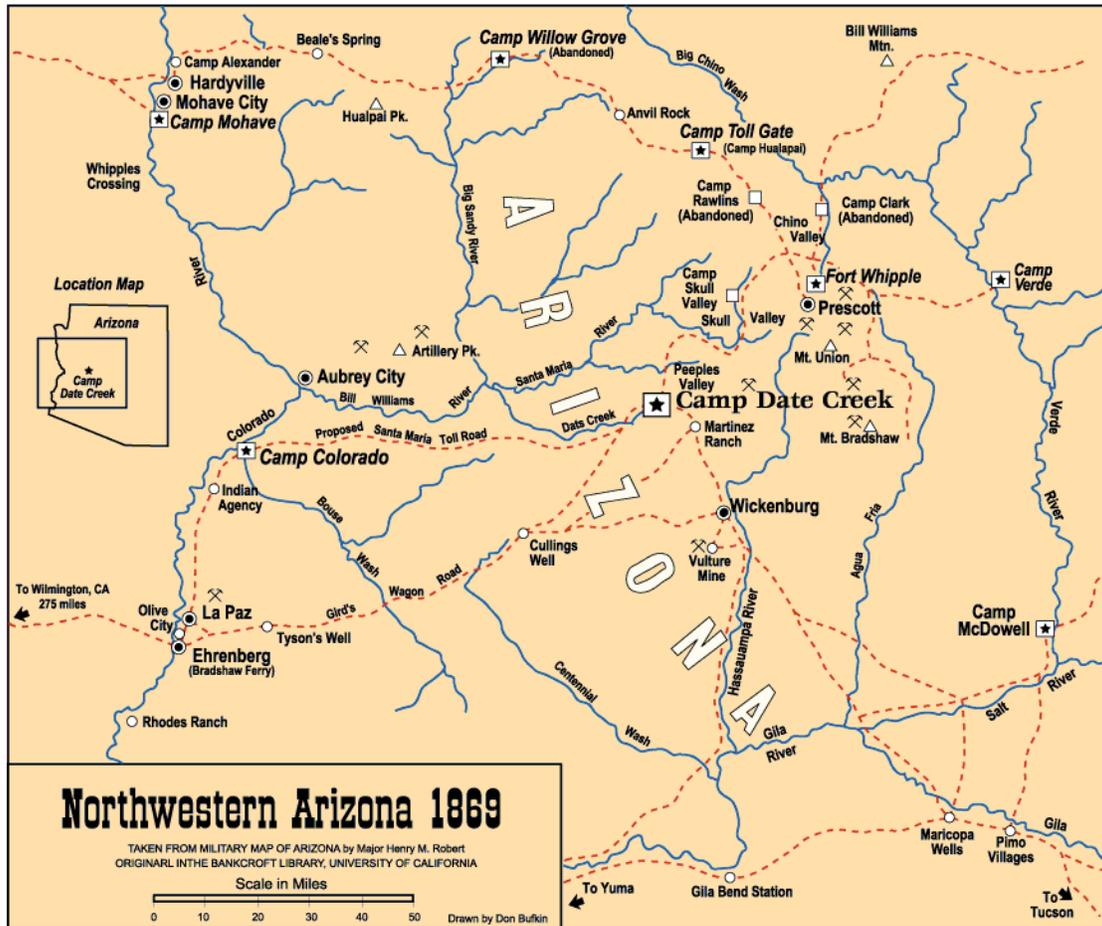


Figure 10. Location of U.S. military outposts in Northwestern Arizona in the 1860s.
 (Based on Genning 1982:8)

gathering camps. The Tolkepaya were now in the hot and dry west and cut off from the Colorado River. By autumn of 1871, approximately two hundred fifty Tolkepaya had gathered near a ranch east of La Paz. The Mohave kept the Tolkepaya off the reservation, but they were receiving some handouts from the ranchers (Genung 1982:14). The Tolkepaya were not allowed to return to the reservation, and the commander at Camp Date Creek could not provide a reservation for the Indians. The conditions of the Yavapai did not improve, partially because of the conflicts with ranchers and farmers.

Fear of the Tolkepaya kept some Non-Indians from reciprocating the Yavapai peace efforts. In early October 1871, a Tolkepaya man was shot and killed between Prescott and Camp Date Creek. At about the same time, travelers killed another Yavapai man because they wanted his rifle. People in the area feared the two killings would bring Yavapai vengeance, so the next time the Yavapai came looking for work the farmers opened fire and chased them off (Coyler 1972:29).

The Tolkepaya and Yavapé perseverance for peace finally brought some assistance from officials. In 1871, Vincent Coyler, a member of President Grant's Peace Commission, toured Arizona and discovered firsthand how certain Tolkepaya and Yavapé, despite numerous injustices and starving conditions, had remained committed to making peace. Coyler wanted to arrange for a permanent reservation for the Indians in the Verde Valley, but this was not accomplished until the following year. Coyler named Camp Date Creek a temporary reservation and arranged for the distribution of rations to the Yavapai. He also arranged for the Yavapai near the Colorado River agency to receive rations (Coyler 1872:28–30; Kappler 1904 [1]:811).

In October 1871, U.S. troops began handing out food at Camp Date Creek. Each Yavapai was to receive 10 pounds of beef and 10 pounds of corn as sustenance until the next distribution in 10 days. They also found clothing to distribute to the half naked Yavapai. The Yavapai were not required to stay at the post, and they could return every 10 days to receive their rations. The number of Yavapai coming into the post for rations varied, but as the word got out and as winter continued the numbers increased. In

January 1872, 238 Yavapai received rations; in February, 371. The numbers grew until one day in June when 548 Yavapai received rations. Many of the Yavapai families settled around Date Creep Camp instead of traveling to the post every 10 days. Several of these families also tried to raise crops. Others settled once again at the Colorado River Reservation, where rations were also available and the hostility of the Mohave had subsided.

The Yavapai living in and around Camp Date Creek remained peaceful for the most part, but with the arrival of the new Indian agent, Josephus Williams, in the summer of 1872, conditions changed for the worse. Reservation life under this new Indian agent was much more strict than under previous agents or military authority. Unlike the military who did not control their movements, Williams limited the freedom of movement by requiring all Indians that left the reservation to have written permission. Also in late June, a company of soldiers went to the Harcuvar Mountains and forced eighty Tolkepaya to relocate to Date Creek. This was the first time they had been forced to live on the reservation. Until then they had voluntarily relocated to the reservation.

By September the number of Indians on the reservation had grown to 509 Apache–Yumas, probably Tolkepaya, and 239 Apache–Mohave, probably Yavapés. With this increase in numbers on the reservation, which only had an intermittent stream for water supply, it is not surprising that illness struck and quickly spread. On September 1, 1872 Williams, a trained medical doctor, reported that malarial cases were high among the Indians and that they were dying at a very alarming rate. Williams, the one who was responsible for the crowded conditions, attributed the disease to an unusually rainy summer and to the way the Indians lived. Eventually he allowed some of the Yavapai to move away from the reservation and report once a week for rations (Price 1959:148).

The Yavapai at Date Creek modified their traditional economy. They did not want to rely solely on U.S. government rations, so some planted crops near the post. When they were off the reservation they still hunted and gathered wild plant foods. The

Yavapai also found other economic opportunities. For example, Yavapai women gathered wood and carried it back to the post where they received a quart of flour. Some women worked at the post performing laundry and cleaning duties, while others tanned hides to sell in the nearby towns. The men were given permission to work on the construction of the new wagon road being built between Kirkland Valley and Wickenburg. Williams observed the willingness of the Date Creek Yavapai to enter the American market economy, and he once again urged the U.S. government to relocate them to a permanent reservation where they could become full time farmers (Corbusier 1968:125; Howard 1907:153–154).

Finally, the government decided that the Yavapai at Date Creek should be moved to a military reservation in the Verde Valley or returned to the Colorado River Reservation. It was suggested that the Date Creek Yavapai select a representative to travel to Washington to meet President Grant. The Tolkepaya headmen refused to go because they believed that anyone taken east was unlikely to return. Finally two members volunteered. President Grant told the men that he wanted peace throughout the land, and if they promised to remain on the reservation and become full-time farmers, they would receive rations and an education and the white soldiers would no longer bother them. The two men believed the assurances to be false, and upon their return to Camp Date Creek, they discovered they were right.

Massacre at Wickenburg and Yavapai Removal

The U.S. government wanted to bring Yavapai territory into the market economy, and in order to accomplish this, they had to secure the Yavapai lands for farmers, ranchers, and miners. The major obstacles were the Yavapai people that were located squarely in the path of American territorial and economic expansion. The approach of the Arizona settlers to resolving this issue focused on the removal of the Yavapai either by relocation or extermination. They thought that assimilating the Yavapai, even the ones committed to nonviolent coexistence with the settlers, would take too long. The white settlers believed that there was no place for the Yavapai in Yavapai territory.

Recommending relocation and convincing the Tolkepaya and the Yavapé to relocate were two separate issues. The Yavapai at Date Creek wanted a permanent reservation where they could function as self-sufficient farmers, but others wanted to remain in the mountains and retain their traditional way of life on their traditional homelands. The residents of Prescott and other towns favored the forceful, military removal to isolated reservations. Some residents favored warfare because they profited financially from the presence of troops. However many Tolkepaya and Yavapé were still clinging to peace arrangements, despite the brutality of non-Indians. President Grant was pushing for a nonmilitary solution since it was difficult for the military to justify a campaign against the rancherias in the region between Prescott and La Paz. By late summer, little had been done to round up and permanently remove the Tolkepaya and Yavapé from their homeland. But all of that changed after the Wickenburg Massacre.

On November 5, 1871, a party of Mexican bandits, trying to pass as Indians, ambushed a stagecoach leaving Wickenburg and killed the driver and five passengers. The bandits wore moccasins, scalped one passenger, looted the baggage, and fled in the direction of Camp Date Creek. The attack received national attention because one of the victims was Frederick Loring, a well-known Boston journalist.

Residents of Wickenburg were quick to indicate the Yavapai living at Date Creek were the bandits. Some Arizona residents resented the distribution of rations to Indians and they hoped that national coverage of this massacre would speed up the removal or extermination of the Indians. While outraged farmers and ranchers called for military action against the Yavapai, others took to investigating the crime. It was discovered that only two bags had been opened and that days before the ambush, rumors had circulated among Wickenburg residents that someone on the stagecoach would be carrying a large sum of money. The attackers took some money and some guns, but they left behind items normally coveted by Indian raiders. They did not take ammunition, the leather harness equipment, or the horses. They also left behind blankets, rugs, clothing, shawls, and curtains, which were highly valued by the Yavapai. The investigators also showed

that the footprints did indeed lead toward Date Creek, but about one mile from the scene they abruptly turned back to the southeast (Hawkins 1971:49–51). The identity of the bandits eventually became known. The day before the attack a woman in Wickenburg overheard a conversation that the stagecoach was going to be ambushed. Later, one of the Mexicans explained that he had faked an illness to avoid participation, but fourteen others carried out the plan.

The Wickenburg Massacre shattered Tolkepaya and Yavapé peace efforts and redefined their relations with U.S. officials. Arizona newspapers never corrected their original story that the attack was by Yavapai, and the eastern papers stretched the truth. Public outrage in the east put an end to Grant's peace policy and allowed General Crook to reopen military operations against the Yavapai and Apache (Ogle 1940:99).

The Mohave leader that had grown tired of the Yavapai and their reservation agreements notified General Crook that Yavapai from Date Creek had spent large sums of paper money and had been bragging of their role in the stagecoach attack. Although many Tolkepaya had access to paper money, and it was a well-known fact that the Mohave resented the Yavapai being allowed to use their reservation, Crook decided that the Yavapai from Date Creek were guilty. Soldiers at Date Creek captured several Yavapai to hold hostage. On September 5, 1872, a meeting took place at the Date Creek military post, where Yavapai men attended unarmed; they had left their weapons with the women and children at a camp nearby. Several other people at this meeting vouched for the innocence of the Yavapai. Crook had no interest in diplomacy as he already had two Yavapai in the guardhouse and was intent on adding more. Crook had a plan in place in which a Mohave would hand a piece of tobacco to the ten or so men he believed to be guilty. As this was done, the soldiers moved in to arrest the Yavapai. When they resisted they began shooting them. When the shooting stopped several Yavapai lay dead, a few were locked up, and the rest had run away. Early the next morning, the Yavapai escaped but several were shot and killed (Farish 1915–18 [8]:303–309).

This all happened around the same time that the Yavapai spokesmen had returned from meeting with President Grant. Upon hearing of this tragedy they presented the medal and the paper from President Grant, promising peace, to U.S. Army Captain Burns and asked him for assistance. President Grant and Indian Agent Howard were both working toward peace, while the Non-Indians in Arizona were pushing for a full military effort to remove the Indians. Once again the Tolkepaya and Yavapé were caught in the middle (Corbusier 1968:123–124). The Yavapai never received support from Burns.

Four days after Crook had killed the Yavapai, approximately four hundred Yavapai returned to the military post and requested to speak with Crook. When Crook arrived, they promised to remain on the reservation. The Yavapai also informed Crook that that they were going to attack the Mohave for conspiring against them. Other Yavapai came in several weeks later to have their previously stolen guns and ammunition replaced. By late December 1872, with the lean winter months arriving, 270 more Yavapai returned, and by April there were 592 Yavapai at Date Creek. Approximately thirty seven Yavapai were working for Crook as scouts against the Yavapai and Apache further east (Farish 1915–18 [8]:317–318).

While some Yavapai resettled at Date Creek, because of their commitment to peace, others took refuge to avoid the military campaign of Crook. On September 24, 1872 Crook's soldiers opened fire on several rancherias located at Muchos Cañones at the head of the Santa Maria River, killing seventeen Yavapai. Afterwards, they burned all food supplies, weapons, and shelters. A week later at Squaw Peak, and the following month nine more Yavapai were killed in the Santa Maria Mountains. These killings convinced many of the more reluctant Tolkepaya and Yavapé to seek security at the Date Creek reserve (Casebier 1908:63–72; Corbusier 1968:124).

Most of the Tolkepaya and Yavapé were at Date Creek by spring 1873, and they were now faced with removal. Crook and the Indian Office wanted to relocate them to the Rio Verde Reservation before planting season. This reservation was originally established for the Yavapé and Wipukepa living east of the Bradshaw Mountains. This

reservation (Figure 9) was located in the Verde Valley near the indeterminate border between the Yavapé and Wipukepa territory, not far from *Ahagaskiywa*, the Yavapai Place of Emergence (Kappler 1904 [1]:301–302). This was the perfect place for a reservation since it was close to the fertile Verde River valley. This was the sort of place the Yavapai at Date Creek had been requesting, a place where they could become full-time farmers.

However, for most of the Tolkepaya now gathered either by choice or force, the Verde Valley was a long way from home, and in April when they learned they were going to be placed there they voiced strong disapproval. They did not want to leave the familiar western region, and so one night approximately 240 Tolkepaya left Date Creek and headed for the Colorado River. U.S. troops and Pai scouts caught them at the Colorado River Reservation and marched them back to Date Creek, then across the width of Yavapai territory to the Rio Verde. For many this was their last glimpse of home.

The remaining Date Creek Yavapai arrived at the new reservation in May. Other Tolkepaya and Yavapé continued to arrive throughout the summer, including over two hundred Tolkepaya women and children who had been driven out of the Santa Maria and Castle Dome Mountains by U.S. troops and Pai scouts in early July. In 1873, the Rio Verde Reservation reported that 640 Apache–Yumas, probably Tolkepaya and Yavapé from Date Creek, and 508 Apache Mohave, probably a combination of Yavapé, Wipukepa, and Kwevkepaya, were now living at the reservation (Crook 1946:182).

The relocation of the Tolkepaya and Yavapé served many interests. The Indian Office was relieved that the Yavapai now had good farmland and were away from the inhabitants of the Hassayampa region near Prescott and Wickenburg. With the Tolkepaya along the Santa Maria River and Castle Dome Mountains removed, the U.S. Army's campaign in the Yavapai western territory was finished. The majority of local non-Indians around Prescott and Wickenburg were satisfied because the region was cleared of the Indians and now open for them to settle and develop.

The Tolkepaya and Yavapé were not happy with the move. For the past ten years they had tried to cooperate with the invaders, even though the non-Indians had committed brutal acts against them. The Tolkepaya and Yavapé found themselves with little recourse because they were no longer able to maintain their traditional economy due to the influx of non-Indians in the area, the drain on the food supply, and the loss of land. They had no choice but to be relocated. A few families did go southwest to the Castle Dome region, where they held out in the barren mountains and scorching plains unconquered by the U.S. soldiers and unmolested by non-Indians.

9

Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas Response to Non-Indian Invasion

The Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Western Apache felt the pressures brought by non-Indians similar to those experienced by the western Yavapai. The Tolkepayas and Yavapés responded to these pressures by attempting to be accommodating, whereas the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas responded less cooperatively. When miners moved into the Tolkepayas and Yavapé territory the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas started raiding these settlements. But within a couple of years they found themselves losing the raiding wars with non-Indian soldiers and their Pima and Maricopa allies. Although some of the headmen negotiated to receive reservations in their homeland where they could find adequate food and avoid attackers they were never satisfied and the conflict continued. Unable to obtain peace they endured war. Their losses began to mount when the Yavapai and Apache scouts began guiding the soldiers to their rancherias and hideouts. In 1874, after two winter campaigns by U.S. troops, most of the surviving Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas surrendered and moved to the Rio Verde reservation (Figure 9).

1860s

The Kwevkepayas and Western Apache, and the Wipukepas to a lesser extent had a long history of livestock raiding. They raided the Pima and Maricopa settlements, Mexican towns and ranches and later, the American travelers. In 1863, when settlers brought herds of livestock almost to their doorstep, many of the young men could not resist the easy targets. In late 1863, after the gathering season had ended, the Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Tonto Apache sent raiding parties across the Agua Fria River to obtain horses, mules, and cattle as a source of meat. This practice would

continue for almost a decade. They raided from Prescott south to Wickenburg, and engaged miners and ranchers in small but fierce battles (Farish 1915–18 [3]:256–257; 281–285).

Several factors contributed to the different responses to non-Indian incursions. The most significant factor was the non-Indian incursions on Yavapé and Tolkepayá lands. The Yavapés and Tolkepayas were becoming a minority in the Hassayampa region by early 1864. They had witnessed the arrival of U.S. troops and the construction of Fort Whipple (Figure 10) and decided that it would be to their advantage to cooperate with the new arrivals. By contrast, Wipukepa and Kwevkepayá lands were much less impacted by non-Indians, at least not before 1865, so they had little reason to pursue peaceful relations. They could send raiding parties to the west and then return home to relative safety. The Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas had close ties to the Western Apache and had a strong tradition of stealing livestock. The Western Tolkepayas associated with Quechan farmers and responded to the invasion through cooperation to maintain their access to floodplain agriculture. The Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas believed that raiding was the best response (Farish 1915–1918 [3]:304–310; Thrapp 1964:31).

The Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas had no direct observation of how U.S. troops had subdued Quechans and Mohaves on the Colorado River. When the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas looked around to the various Western Apache people they did not see conquest and subdued populations. Rather they saw many camps maintaining their raiding traditions and independence. While the Tolkepayas and Yavapés looked to the west and saw the U.S. troops, the Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas looked to the east and found few reasons to be intimidated by non-Indians and little to discourage their raiding efforts.

King Woosley

Yavapai raiders armed with bows and arrows and a few unreliable guns did not intimidate miners and soldiers. The soldiers and miners were eager to strike back. The soldiers and miners had better guns and more ammunition and they did not have to

defend women and children like the Yavapai raiders. In early 1864, a prospector by the name of King Woolsey established a ranch on the Agua Fria River in Yavapai territory. In early 1864, he led a large Indian-hunting party into the Superstition Mountains located in Kwevkepaya territory. A large number of Kwevkepayas and Tonto Apaches had gathered into four separate camps near the confluence of the Salt River and Fish Creek to gather the abundant winter food. When Woolsey's Indian-hunting party of Maricopas, Pimas, and Non-Indians appeared nearby, the Kwevkepayas and Tontos held a council. Returning hunters reported that the Maricopa had called to them assuring them the Non-Indians wanted to make peace treaties. Several of the Kwevkepaya warned that they would be foolish to believe Pimas and Maricopas, their long time enemies that the Non-Indians had come in peace. Despite the warning, others spoke in favor of arranging for peace, as they were tired of always being on the lookout for invaders (Farish 1915–1918 [3]: 310).

On January 24, 1864, some of the Kwevkepaya and Tontos went to meet the Non-Indians and their Indian allies. The Non-Indians put on a show of friendship, inviting the Kwevkepaya and Tonto to sit, and presented them with tobacco and clothing. But when Woolsey gave a signal they opened fire on the seated guests and killed twenty-four, including three young women, while only losing one man. After this slaughter, Woolsey led two more Indian-hunting campaigns in 1864. One of the campaigns killed 30 Wipukepas between the middle Verde and the Agua Fria Rivers in April (Woody 1962:163–167). Territorial troops joined the conflict by assisting civilians in their war against the Yavapai. California and New Mexico Volunteers killed at least 30 Wipukepa men, women, and children in 1864. Camp Lincoln, a new military post on the Verde River 50 miles east of Prescott (see Figure 9), sent out Arizona Volunteers, which killed 83 Yavapai between February 1 and April 25, 1866 (Farish 1915–1918 [4]:98–110).

Traditional conflicts in the region became one of raiding led by non-Indians and Indians. The Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Western Apache had raided Pima, Maricopa, and Mexican communities for many years, stealing their livestock, murdering individuals and occasionally carrying off women and children. The Maricopa and Pima

warriors retaliated. The women and children they captured typically ended up in the Southwest slave trade. When the Yavapai and Apache added nearby settlements to their range of targets, soldiers and civilians joined the Pima and Maricopa (Woody 1962: 160). The participation of Pima and Maricopas in the Arizona Volunteers further reflected the traditional raiding and counterraidering of the region. The most successful raid came in late March 1866, when 260 Pimas and Maricopas marched east up the Gila River and attacked a large Kwevkepaya or San Carlos Apache camp. The raiders reported killing 25 and capturing 16 of the inhabitants. After the Arizona Volunteers disbanded in September of 1866, the Pimas and Maricopas continued to assist soldiers in their war against the Yavapai (Farish 1915–1918 [4]:124; Reed 1977:8–11, 19–30).

Warfare in the 1860's

In the 1860's a Colorado–Gila region pattern was established with Non-Indians fighting alongside Pimas, Maricopas, and Mexicans against the Yavapai and Western Apache. The Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa camps felt the effects of this new trend. The frequency of raids against them was increasing. In the past, Pima and Maricopa only occasionally raided the Yavapai because they had to concentrate most of their energy on farming. In the 1860's they now were attacking more often and with larger forces. An unexpected attack could wipe out an entire Yavapai camp, but the raids were not frequent enough to endanger the Yavapai as a population. The other thing that had changed was that control of property was no longer an issue, but instead the Pima and Maricopa were interested in stealing or recovering livestock and retaliating for previous losses. These two factions did not raid on claimed land and observed a buffer zone along the lower Salt River, which prevented border skirmishes. But the settlers of the 1860s had different motives. The settlers wanted Yavapai lands and began to eliminate native populations through continual raiding which began in 1864. Since the Pima and Maricopa were able to locate Yavapai rancherias, and the Non-Indians provided them with food and some weapons, they became frequent raiders in Yavapai territory. The exact number of Kwevkepaya and Wipukepas killed is impossible to determine, but from 1864 through 1866, they claimed to have killed over 150 Yavapai, captured over 40, and left many

more wounded. By comparison the number of non-Indian casualties inflicted by Yavapai raiders was very small (Reed 1977:8–30; Woody 1962:163–167).

In the upper Verde Valley, the Yavapai and Apache felt additional pressures because they claimed much of the upper Verde Valley, but settlements in this region put them in close striking distance of the Wipukepa camps on Oak Creek, Clear Creek and the Verde River. In January 1865, settlers began staking out new farms on seemingly unoccupied land along the Verde River. The sites they chose were Yavapé and Wipukepa garden spots. In the late spring when they arrived to plant their crops they found cabins and stone enclosures, irrigation ditches and their land already planted with grain and vegetables. Shortly afterwards Camp Lincoln, later called Camp Verde, was established to assist the settlers in enforcing their claim to the farmland. The soldiers attacked the nearby rancherias and in June 1871, they killed 56 Wipukepas men and women near the East Fork of the Verde River (Farish 1915–1918 [4]:215–225).

The military campaigns, increasing numbers of settlers, and their livestock all combined to severely disrupt the Wipukepa economy. U.S. troops kept the Wipukepa on the run and they were unable to visit critical resource areas. Settlers and ranchers monopolized the best farmlands and depleted the supply of wild game. The Wipukepa responded with a variety of strategies. Wipukepa raiding parties regularly harassed the farmers and ranchers, they attacked miners and mail carriers, vandalized irrigation canals, and killed livestock they could not run off. They also began to adjust their economy. With the wild game less available they depended more on stolen livestock as a source of meat, and they harvested corn, wheat, and other crops from fields planted by farmers. Despite these adjustments by 1871, many Wipukepas suffered from malnutrition and associated disease (Coyler 1872:27; Farish 1915–1918 [4]:225–245).

The Kwevkepaya had alternative survival strategies. Settlers were not as quick to invade Kwevkepaya resource areas, but after 1865, the Pima and Maricopa had become a deadly presence in their territory. In response to this, many Kwevkepaya tried to make peace with the Non-Indians. In 1866, some 100 Kwevkepayas went to Fort McDowell, a

military post built the preceding year near the Verde–Salt River confluence in Kwevkepaya territory. Despite the risk of many Pima and Maricopa soldiers in or near the fort, they made the trip. The Kwevkepaya wanted to settle near the Salt River, a location in their traditional homelands, which offered sufficient water for farming, but the U.S. government wanted to relocate them on the Gila River in San Carlos Apache territory. After several days of negotiation, they decided that living on the Salt River was too dangerous because it would be too close to Pima villages and settlers, and too far away from mountain hunting. The Kwevkepaya did not want to relocate to the Gila River region and departed once again to their mountain homes (Reed 1977:24–25; Altshuler 1918:92).

Like the Tolkepayas on the west, the Kwevkepayas decided that cooperation with the U.S. Army was better than fighting them, because they were tired of living in constant fear of Army, Pima, and Maricopa raids. The Kwevkepaya were willing to discuss limiting their traditional range and staying on a reservation, but the reservation had to be in familiar territory and at a safe distance from enemy settlements. On November 22, 1867, 50 Kwevkepaya men called upon Lieutenant Richard DuBois at Camp Miller, located 20 miles northeast of Fort McDowell, to try once again to negotiate peace. DuBois was overseeing construction of a road that was to connect Fort McDowell to Camp Reno (Figure 7) near Tonto Creek, which was deep in Kwevkepaya territory. At DuBois's suggestion the Kwevkepaya agreed to take up farming along Tonto Creek near the future site of Camp Reno. This location was in their traditional territory, had sufficient water, and would keep them under the supervision and protection of U.S. officials (Altshuler 1918:90–94).

The Kwevkepayas formed a friendship and agreed to cooperate with the detachment of road building soldiers. Some 300 Kwevkepayas spent most of the winter working on the road. DuBois felt it was cheaper, and less dangerous, to feed rather than fight the Kwevkepayas. Despite the lack of official permission from Washington, DuBois provided daily rations of flour and meat to the Kwevkepayas. He also prevented the Pima and Maricopa from disrupting the peace. The Kwevkepayas, in return, cut

firewood and hay for the soldiers, recovered stray livestock, and recommended the best route for the new road. They also assisted the American troops against Tonto Apaches, and reaffirmed their willingness to become farmers under U.S. Army protection (Altshuler 1918:95–96). The Kwevkepayas felt safe as long as DuBois was around and they stayed close to the military post. But when DuBois departed in February 1868, due to health problems, peaceful relations broke down (Schreier 1992:8–11).

In April 1868, Major Andrew Alexander became the new commander at Fort McDowell. The first thing that he did was order a campaign against the nearby Indians, and instructed the soldiers to shoot any Kwevkepaya caught wandering from the post. These orders made the Kwevkepaya uneasy and the next morning when over 170 cavalymen rode into camp, the Kwevkepaya, fearing the worst, fled into the mountains. When the cavalymen followed them they (the Kwevkepaya) declared war on the Americans. The U.S. soldiers responded by arresting any Kwevkepaya who appeared at military posts, even if they came under a flag of truce, and shooting those who tried to escape. By the end of May U.S. troops had killed at least four prisoners. The Kwevkepaya retaliated by killing U.S. Army mail carriers and running off Army livestock. The Army retaliated again by gathering their Pima and Maricopa allies and began a campaign up the Salt River. The war of raids and counterraids continued and in the final weeks of July the Pima killed two Kwevkepaya near Camp Reno and cavalymen shot a Kwevkepaya near the Salt River. While the Pima and cavalry were out on patrol a large party of Kwevkepaya ran off the mule herd at Camp Reno (Schreier 1992:12–17).

By March 1869, the Kwevkepaya were once again asking for peace, and again their main objective was securing a reservation with water for agriculture and military protection. In April a large number of Kwevkepayas and Tontos appeared at Camp Reno to meet with Lieutenant George Chilson to request a reservation on the east bank of the Verde River across from Fort McDowell. They were willing to relocate there in the fall after harvesting their summer crop of corn. Chilson lacked the authority to establish a reservation but was willing to assist the Kwevkepaya in their peace efforts. In the mean

time they remained at Camp Reno and cooperated with the soldiers. In exchange for rations they cut firewood and performed other camp chores for Chilson, such as carrying mail between Camp Reno and Camp McDowell. In exchange they received rations and twenty-five dollars in gold coins each month (Schreier 1992:27–32).

Despite the Kwevkepayas' display of good faith there were still some Kwevkepaya that did not trust the U.S. Army. With their San Carlos Apache comrades the Kwevkepaya raided south toward Tucson and west to the Hassayampa River. They also raided livestock at Fort McDowell and Camp Reno, as well as white mining camps in the Hassayampa region (Schreier 1992:32–35). Division among the non-Yavapai also hindered the peace efforts. Chilson was willing to work toward peace with the Kwevkepayas and Tontos and he preferred to employ and feed them instead of fighting them. Chilson understood that different local bands held different attitudes towards the settlers, and that their fear of the Pimas and Maricopa kept them from settling on a reservation. On several occasions Pimas and Maricopa, working for the U.S. Army, had attacked Kwevkepayas who were trying to negotiate peace. Major Alexander, Chilson's immediate supervisor, showed far less tolerance and patience than Chilson. Within days of his arrival at Fort McDowell, Alexander had undone months of work by DuBois. Now, even as Chilson was employing them as mail couriers and suppliers at Camp Reno Alexander was demanding they submit to unconditional surrender within 60 days. Alexander was willing to let the men serve as scouts but the women and children had to remain at the post as hostages to ensure the scouts would remain loyal to U.S. officers. By 1869, settlers were prospecting on Kwevkepaya lands and were being escorted by U.S. soldiers. The prospectors represented yet another danger for Kwevkepaya families (Schreier 1992:29–30).

By late summer 1869, distrust, misunderstanding, and division on both sides had once again disrupted peace efforts. When Alexander's domestic servant disappeared from Fort McDowell he blamed Kwevkepaya kidnapers and arrested the mail couriers, but later the girl was found in a Tonto camp. The Kwevkepaya were tired of constantly receiving the blame for the work of others, including the frequent theft of livestock from

Camp Reno. When Chilson left Arizona in July Alexander issued another ultimatum. The Kwevkepayas at Camp Reno must either serve as scouts for the U.S. troops or be considered hostile. Neither option appealed to the Kwevkepayas so on August 10, 1869, they abandoned Camp Reno (Schreier 1992:36–39).

The Kwevkepayas were forced to choose between two undesirable options; 1) camping close to a military post and living on meager U.S. Army rations or 2) pursuing a traditional economic lifestyle. Near the military post they faced the possibility of being arrested or shot by U.S. soldiers. They also came under pressure to serve as scouts, leading soldiers, Pimas, and Maricopas to camps of their relatives and friends. Away from the military posts, they also faced the danger of attack by Pima, Maricopa and raiders who continued their war to control all of the Yavapai land. In August 1869, after a Kwevkepaya or Tonto raiding party had ambushed mail carriers from Camp Date Creek, the Pima and Maricopa went in search of them. After prospectors killed five peaceful Kwevkepaya near the Salt River, several of the Kwevkepaya bands returned to Camp Reno in early November, and some resumed their role as mail carriers between Camp Reno and Camp McDowell. But once again the entire group fled on the first day of 1870, because the camp surgeon had fired at the shadow of someone he believed was stealing from his tent wounding one of the headman (Schreier 1992:36–41; Reed 1977:50).

War and Surrender in the 1870s

In the autumn of 1871 the Kwevkepayas and Tontos expressed once again their desire for a reservation. U.S. Peace Commissioner Coyler visited Fort McDowell and Camp Verde and made arrangements for the Yavapai and Apache to receive food and protection on temporary reservations (Coyler 1872:27). With the U.S. soldiers under orders to talk rather than shoot, the Kwevkepaya and Tonto emerged from their mountain refuges. Several of the headmen met with U.S. officers and explained that they were willing to settle on a reservation in their homeland where they could farm and live safe

from the Pima and Maricopa raiders. Other Yavapai headmen asked Coyler to establish them reservations along the Verde River in their traditional territory. They agreed too share such a reservation with the Tolkepayas, but refused too be relocated to Camp Date Creek, because to many settlers lived in that part of Tolkepaya territory, and they felt the Verde Valley offered better land (Coyler 1872:28, 47; Kappler 1904 [1]:801–802).

Coyler ordered the establishment of the Rio Verde Reservation and by late November about 600 Wipukepas and Yavapés had visited the fort. They did not stay long as the rations were insufficient and soldiers imprisoned some Indians in leg irons. By spring 1872, most of the families had left for their traditional resource areas. They began to reappear at the reservation in the summer, but fled once again after U.S. soldiers killed one of the prisoners.

The Kwevkapaya tried a new approach. Rather than suffer hunger and maltreatment as permanent residents, they visited the fort only briefly to collect rations and then returned to summer gathering camps. In doing this they were assuring the reservation officials they were committed to peace and the combination of U.S. rations and their traditional food kept them alive. However, this strategy failed the following month when U.S. soldiers arrested the Wipukepa and forced them to attend daily roll call (Coyler 1872:28, 47; Kappler 1904 [1]:801–802; Ogle 1940:109–110).

The Kwevkepayas and Tontos did not get to voice their discontent directly to Coyler and they never received the reservation they wanted. Coyler did not talk with the headmen before declaring Fort McDowell a temporary reservation and he failed to realize the location was problematic. The Kwevkepaya and Tonto began arriving in October and November but did not stay long as they found few rations and the Pima were nearby. Many left for their traditional homeland when they learned that the Pima and Maricopa had marched deep into Kwevkepaya lands and killed 32 undefended women and children. U.S. officers agreed that the Tonto Valley was a better location for the reservation and advised Coyler, but nothing came of it (Coyler 1872:21–28, 47, 52; Kappler 1904 [1]: 811).

Approximately 200 Kwevkepayas gave Camp Grant a try. Camp Grant was a military post located at the confluence of Aravaipa Creek and San Pedro River in territory claimed by the Aravaipa band of the San Carlos Apache. In spring 1871, the Yavapai had reached a peace agreement with commanding officer Crook, at Camp Grant. They went to work chopping and delivering hay to U.S. soldiers and were paid a penny per pound and were issued rations. The residents of Tucson resented this arrangement, objected to the U.S. Army feeding the Aravaipa and blamed them for raids committed recently by unidentified Apaches. On April 29, about 140 men, including 92 Tohono O'odhams, attacked a Yavapai camp near Camp Grant. Led by the Tohono O'odhams, traditional enemy of the Apache, the raiders slaughtered between 100 and 150 Aravaipas, most defenseless women and children, and kidnapped about 30 children to sell as slaves in Mexico (Coyler 1872:31–36).

Despite Camp Grant's bloody past in the spring of 1872, Kwevkepayas from the Superstition and Pinal Mountains joined the Yavapai and other San Carlos Apache at the Fort. On May 20, 1872, the Camp Grant Apache and Kwevkepayas, over 1,000 strong, agreed to a peace arrangement with the Tohono O'odham. All sides pledged to end the hostilities and the Apache and Kwevkepayas promised to help Crook chase down Apaches and Yavapais who resisted settlement of their land (Howard 1907: 162). They were sworn to peace, but once the joy melted away so did they. The unfamiliar ration foods did not agree with their digestive systems, there was conflict with the soldiers, and malaria caused many deaths. Most of the Kwevkepayas hurried back to the healthy air of their mountain camps, while a few stayed behind to serve as Army scouts (Corbusier 1968:59–60).

In the fall of 1872, Fort McDowell and Camp Grant were established as temporary Indian reserves. All Kwevkepayas and Tontos were ordered to settle at either Rio Verde or the White Mountain Apache Reservation near the Camp Apache military post farther east. At the same time the size of the Verde reservation was reduced so that more land could be opened up for the white miners. The Kwevkepayas and Tontos had

repeatedly tried to arrange for a reservation in their homeland where they could safely hunt and gather wild food as well as farm, where they could avoid conflict with the settlers, Pimas, and Maricopas. When the Kwevkepaya were told they were being relocated to another area, they did not comply immediately and were once again considered hostile renegades and were subject to attack by U.S. troops.

Fall and winter 1872–73, were perhaps the most horrifying times for the Wipukepa, Kwevkepaya, and Tonto. The peace policy had not succeeded fast enough and the Indian Bureau and Army had failed to create attractive reservations. Additionally, now General Crook was determined to force the Yavapai and Apache to surrender unconditionally and submit to reservation life. That winter Crook sent out nine Army expeditions to attack rancherias, shoot the inhabitants, destroy food stores, and keep the surviving Yavapai and Apache on the run until they surrendered or succumbed because of hunger, exposure, or exhaustion. Crook also recruited Apache and Yavapai scouts who knew the region and its inhabitants better than the Pima and Maricopa. By early December Crook's campaign had killed over 115 Yavapai and Tontos but the worst was yet to come (Bourke 1971:171–188; Crook 1946:175–176; Lockwood 1938:194–196; Reed 1977:82–84).

In late December a large Army force arrived in the Salt River Canyon. There were two companies of U.S. Cavalry out of Fort McDowell, about 100 Pima, one Cavalry company with 30 scouts from Camp Grant, all forming an army of around 250 men. The assembled force was hunting for a cave used by Kwevkepayas and Western Apache. The scouts from Camp Grant included San Carlos and Tonto Apache who were familiar with the territory. One of the newly recruited Apache scouts had once lived in the cave, and he served as the guide. Over 100 Kwevkepayas were using the cave, although all were not present on the morning of December 28, 1872, when the enemy forces struck.

Led by the Apache scouts, they descended the steep canyon wall, arranged themselves and without warning began firing. U.S. Army officers claimed that the Kwevkepaya rejected several calls to surrender. Perhaps, as Yavapai tradition suggests,

they were given no such options. A one sided battle ensued. The U.S. soldiers fired volley after volley of bullets off the cave roof and the Kwevkepayas died in bloody heaps. When the firing ceased the Pimas rushed in to smash the skulls of the dead and dying. In all, 76 Kwevkepayas died in the cave. Eighteen women and children survived and were led to the U.S. Army officers and then marched to Camp Grant (Bourke 1971:188–202; Thrapp 1993: 124–30).

The massacre at the Salt River cave, sometimes called Skull or Skeleton Cave, marked the beginning of the end of the U.S. war against the Yavapai people. The attackers looked after one wounded survivor who later escaped and warned other Kwevkepayas to flee northward. U.S. Army forces and raiders hit another rancheria in the Superstition Mountains. By late January, 110 Kwevkepayas and San Carlos Apache had surrendered at Camp Grant and 26 had enlisted as scouts. The cave massacre did not break the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepa resistance. Instead, they were disheartened that their own people were guiding the soldiers to their hiding places. Crook replaced the Pima and Maricopa scouts with Apache and Yavapai scouts. During the first three months of 1873, Crook ordered raids up and down the Verde River region destroying Wipukepa and Kwevkepayas camps. The final raid came in late March when they surprised and defeated another large rancheria (Bourke 1971:203–209; Crook 1946:177–178; Thrapp 1993: 132–137).

In late April, to avoid further attacks, surviving Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Tontos began surrendering. In prior years they considered conditions life-threatening on the reservation, and dangerous, but with captured Yavapai and Apache revealing their campsites, reservation life was the safest place to be. On April 6, about 300 Kwevkepayas and Tonto surrendered to Crook at Camp Verde. Crook continued chasing down the Kwevkepayas and Tonto and by August some 900 had surrendered at Camp Verde, who joined the over 1,100 Tolkepayas and Yavapés who had been marched over from Camp Date Creek. This was probably the largest gathering of Yavapai ever, but on August 12, 1873, most fled the reservation upon hearing rumors of U.S. soldiers coming to massacre

them. After Crook cleared up the misunderstanding most came back to take up reservation life (Crook 1946:179–180; Bourke 1971:212–213).

Beginning in late October 1873, Crook took the same tactics as the year before. Many Yavapai and Western Apache had left the reservation and others had never surrendered. Crook was determined to find them all. Crook knew that the Indians were most vulnerable from late fall through early spring when they lived in large rancherias, living off food stores, roasting mescal, and trying to stay warm. His strategy was simple. When scouts located a rancheria the soldiers rushed in without warning, shooting anything that moved then burned the camp's possessions and marched any surviving women and children back to the reservation. Over the course of seven months, Crook's expeditions reported killing over 250 Kwevkepayas, Tontos, a few Wipukepas, and San Carlos and White Mountain Apache. By June, close to 500 Yavapai and Tontos had surrendered at Camp Verde (Bourke 1971:218; Thrapp 1967:157–159).

Ten years of conflict had afflicted all the Yavapai territory, but the extent of warfare was much greater in Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa lands. The Tolkepayas and Yavapés had been quicker to accommodate white demands and more readily to accept reservation life. Conditions at the Colorado River Reservation and Camp Date Creek were severe, but other options were rapidly decreasing. The Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas were less anxious to pursue peace. Before the 1870s, settlers had not been invading Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa land. Their resource areas were still productive and accessible. Although some had requested reservations to relocate to, their situation was not as desperate as their western kin. While many Tolkepayas and Yavapés saw little choice but reservation life, the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas could still reject unacceptable reservations and continued their traditional economic activities. Of course, they were always on the lookout for enemy raiders. The Wipukepas in the Verde Valley were the exception because they eventually felt the pressures of white settlements close to their hunting and gathering lands. As a result of the encroachment, they requested a reservation and, Rio Verde reservation was created. Other Wipukepas and their Tonto Apache associates remained out of reach of the U. S. troops.

If encroachment of settlements and disruption of their way of life did not force Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa to submit to U.S. officials, they then used military force. Although the Kwevkepaya and Wipukepas were fortunate to hold out against settlers demands longer than the western Yavapai, they had to face a concerted military effort of soldiers, Pima, Maricopa, and most unfortunately Yavapai and Apache scouts. Crook's winter campaigns hit the Kwevkepaya and Wipukepa camps where they were most vulnerable and the human destruction was devastating. Over the eighteen-month period beginning in November 1872, U.S. soldiers and scouts killed at least 400 Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Tontos. It was the loss of resources that convinced western Yavapai to move onto reservations, while it was the loss of life that convinced the Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas to surrender. By summer 1874, almost all of the surviving Yavapai faced a future different from their recent past. They now had new homes, a new lifestyle, new political realities, and had to develop a new strategy to survive.

10

Life on the Rio Verde Reservation

Beginning in May 1873, for twenty-two months the Rio Verde Reservation was home to most of the Yavapai who had survived the preceding decade of invasion and warfare. The exceptions were the few Yavapai families who remained hidden in their homeland and the Kwevkepayas who had surrendered at Camp Grant and were removed to the San Carlos Apache Reservation (Figure 9). The Yavapai and many Tonto Apache were located on this small section of the Verde Valley. Illness killed hundreds the first year at Rio Verde. Conflict between the many different groups of Yavapai and Tontos added to the suffering. After the first year those that remained began preparing for permanent reservation life. Reservation life required the Yavapai to make adjustments to their political and economic practices. A few distinguished headmen emerged as reservation leaders, Yavapai and Tonto farmers planted acres of crops with the help of irrigation, and they also began adopting elements of non-Indian culture. Cultural change was necessary but many Yavapai retained their traditional culture. A prime example of this was the Yavapai serving as scouts. By serving as scouts they were able to strengthen their alliance with the U.S. Army and also keep alive the tradition of raiding and of identifying future leaders.

When the Yavapai agreed to confinement at Rio Verde they were under the impression that they would be able to remain in this small section of Yavapai territory forever. This was a promise that General Crook was unable to keep. In February of 1875, U.S. Indian Agents eliminated the Rio Verde Reservation and relocated the Yavapai and Tontos to the San Carlos Reservation, which was outside of their traditional territory. They forced the Rio Verde people to walk almost two hundred miles across rugged mountains, through snow and icy streams. This march took over three weeks and cost about one hundred lives. The removal to foreign land completed the U.S. conquest of Yavapai territory. This was the Yavapais final defeat. At Rio Verde the Yavapai had

proven they were committed to a peaceful coexistence with the settlers, but this was not enough as many U.S. citizens and officials wanted the Yavapai removed completely off of the land, thus the Rio Verde Reservation was closed.

Life on the Reservation

The Rio Verde Reservation was established in the fall of 1871 (Figure 9). It was a section of land in the Verde Valley twenty miles wide and bisected by some forty miles of the Verde River beginning at the northwest boundary of the Camp Verde military reserve. About eight hundred Yavapai and Tonto Apaches set up their winter camps near the military post, but when spring arrived only a few children and old women remained. Coyler had promised them a place of peace, but rations were insufficient and the soldiers at Camp Verde treated some of the Yavapai and Tonto men as prisoners of war. They were locked up in the guardhouse or iron ball and chains were placed on their legs. The families were very dissatisfied and in February and March they began trickling off the reservation. In April of 1873, after Crook's first winter campaign, Wipukepas, Kwevkepayas, and Tontos began surrendering at Camp Verde. Nearby Yavapés also came to Camp Verde seeking refuge from the pressures of white settlements. On May 8, 1873, the Indian Agent from Camp Date Creek relocated all 1120 Indians who had surrendered to him at Camp Verde. By the start of summer over two thousand Yavapais and Tontos were living on the reservation (Annual Report 1873).

The Yavapai and Tontos had tried to arrange for a reservation in their homeland, for years, where they could live in peace away from non-Indian soldiers and settlers. The Tolkepayas and Yavapés had tried to survive on the Colorado River Reservation and then at Camp Date Creek, but year round existence at both places proved to be impossible. Mobility was the way of survival in western Yavapai territory. When they gave this up for reservation life they lost access to numerous traditional resources and they now required a new source of food. U.S. officials wanted them to become full-time farmers, and many of the Tolkepayas and Yavapés were willing, but the Colorado River floodplains were too unreliable and the Date Creek area was too dry. Reservation

Yavapai became dependent on U.S. issued rations. When rations were inadequate they returned to their traditional rounds of hunting and gathering. The Kwevkepayas and Tontos had requested reservations in their homelands where they could live in peace as farmers. Instead, Coyler declared Fort McDowell as a temporary Indian reservation. Like the other reservations, rations were few and the threat of Pima and Maricopa raiders prevented the Kwevkepayas and Tontos from staying long enough to try farming on the Lower Verde River. Instead of becoming permanent reservation residents they incorporated the temporary reservation stays into their annual cycle of relocation. They visited the U.S. agencies when rations were available, especially during winter, and then left to gather more traditional resources. But in 1873, at Rio Verde the situation was different. Crook's winter campaign and the participation of Yavapai and Apache scouts spelled the defeat of Yavapai resistance to white encroachment, and the U.S. demanded their unconditional surrender. Fighting was out of the question, flight was almost impossible, and they had few places left to run. Most of the refugees gathered at Rio Verde and were resigned to permanent reservation life. Rather than come and go as conditions dictated they realized they would have to remain in place and endure what ever was handed to them.

Most of the Yavapai and Tontos began to accept their new location. This was the Yavapai heartland, center to most of the Yavapai traditions. It was where the Wipukepa, Yavapé, and Kwevkepayas territories all came together, and the Place of Emergence (Montezuma's Well) was only a few miles away. It was where the Yavapai first encountered Spanish explorers, and the upper Verde Valley was also a traditional Wipukepa and Yavapé farming area with many fertile garden spots. The surrounding foothills and mountains contained many important wild plant foods. This area was also ideal for sedentary agricultural existence. The Rio Verde was also a safe distance from the Pima and Maricopa settlements. The Yavapai and Tontos became prisoners of war and refugees, and were forced to live on a tiny portion, eight hundred rather than twenty thousand square miles, of their traditional lands. But the Rio Verde offered some hope of survival if they were able to make the necessary adjustments to their lifestyle (Bourke 1971:214).

Disease

The Yavapai and Tonto were forbidden to leave the Rio Verde reservation without written permission and violators were sent to the guardhouse. The ones who left and were caught were sentenced to a month of hard labor, sometimes with a ball and chain attached to their leg. They were also required to wear metal tags identifying them by assigned numbers and they also had to attend daily roll call before receiving their rations (Bourke 1971:213). The Indians were placed on the river bottoms where the stagnant air was thick with malaria–spreading mosquitoes at night. The military camped on higher ground and were not affected by the malaria as much as the Indians living on the river bottoms. To make matters worse, the U.S. employee in charge of distributing rations was underfeeding the Indians. By early fall the Indians were suffering not only from malaria but many were also dying from dysentery. It was estimated that seventy to eighty percent of the Indians were sick with malaria and/or scurvy. Prisoners at Camp Verde were packed into small, filthy, unventilated rooms, and they frequently contracted pneumonia or other sicknesses. The guardhouse at Camp Verde was a hole in the damp ground. The total number who died the first is year is unclear but it is estimated at about 500, or twenty–five percent. Illness remained widespread the first autumn and into the new year, but by February the weakest had died and the colder temperatures had prevented the further spread of malaria.

For the Yavapai and Tontos their first challenge at Rio Verde was disease. As the illness spread they turned to their traditional healers. The Yavapai believed that evil spirits were the ones responsible for the diseases. The healers danced, sang, and smoked different plants to rid the sick of the evil spirits. In 1874, when the warm weather returned, the healers performed elaborate ceremonies to prevent a return of the diseases. Traditional medicine served other purposes besides combating diseases. Healers relieved pain, set broken bones with splints, and used their spiritual methods to locate stolen property. The Yavapai had a variety of explanations for the diseases at Rio Verde, including their new and unfamiliar diet and the poison some believed was put in the food. At times the healers would accuse particular women of causing sickness in men. These

women were ordered to reverse the illness or face death by stoning. More than a few women fell in this fashion before the healers were convinced to discontinue the practice (Corbusier 1968:30–31, 44–47, 215). They also responded to the illness by relocating to healthier areas on and off the reservation. They also moved from the bottomlands to the foothills where mosquitoes were few and the air was fresher and spring water was available (Corbusier 1968:26,29).

Disease was the most immediate challenge but not the only one. Reservation life stood as a direct threat to the Yavapai traditional social and political organization. The Yavapai had viewed themselves as four separate people made up of independent camps of extended families. Political authority was limited to a headman who led by influence and persuasion, but with no real power. But on the reservation the U.S. Army and Indian Office viewed all Yavapai and Tonto as one tribe, the Apache, and placed them on a small piece of Yavapai territory. There was also the lack of leadership among the Indians on the reservation. The years of war and disease had left many of the Yavapai headmen dead. Because of this loss many grouped themselves around a few respected men who served as spokesmen, and because of this a handful of Yavapai headmen did emerge (Corbusier 1968:118–123). By selecting these leaders and giving them the authority to negotiate they were able to effectively deal with the new political situation (Crook 1946:180). The new headmen also resolved crises on the reservation. When U.S. officials responded to the stoning of Yavapai women by jailing the Yavapai men responsible, the headmen met with U.S. officials to bring an end to the violence. The headmen also went to General Crook when they first arrived at Camp Verde to secure the release of Kwevkepaya prisoners from the guardhouse. The headmen were able to keep peace with U.S. soldiers. By keeping peace with the soldiers at Camp Verde the headmen played a key part in Yavapai survival (Bourke 1971:212–213). In early 1875, when rumors spread that the Indian Office was going to relocate the Rio Verde Indians to a reservation in Apache territory it was the headmen who tried to negotiate an alternative arrangement.

Political Organization

Headmen were taking on a traditional role but this leadership also took on a foreign element. General Crook wanted one headman to serve as the chief spokesman at Rio Verde. Traditionally no single headman could speak for the entire Yavapai population, but it was possible in the reservation. The emergence of a few select headmen can be seen in the way U.S. officials understood Yavapai social organization at Rio Verde. The Yavapai and Tonto grouped themselves in encampments on the reservation along lines of kinship and friendship. As a result, Tontos generally lived with Tonto, Tolkepayas with Tolkepayas, and so forth. When the U.S. officials observed they identified five bands of Yavapés, Wipukepas, and Kwevkepayas, basically all those families that were originally from the Verde River region. Unable to understand the separate affiliations they labeled them with the name Apache–Mojaves. The U.S. officials were able to distinguish the Tolkepayas as somehow different from the other Yavapai and labeled them as two bands of Apache–Yumas. The officials also recognized a third group and identified eight or nine bands of Tontos. The Tontos included Tonto Apache as well as Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas. By identifying bands they were not recognizing traditional local or regional groups but instead they were recognizing prominent headmen (Corbusier 1968:16, 247).

The Yavapai economy at Rio Verde, like Yavapai medicine and political organization, reflected a combination of old and new. In their traditional economy the Yavapai traveled over a broad territory in an annual cycle after the ripening sequence of wild plant foods. On the reservation they were confined to a small range and the reservation officials wanted them to abandon their hunting and gathering practices to become full time farmers. For the most part the Yavapai at Rio Verde were willing to cooperate in the development of an economy and lifestyle that permitted full time residence on the reservation. But such changes did not take place overnight and the new practices did not necessary exclude the old. Although they lined up for their rations they still relied on and included traditional methods of providing for their families.

Economy

When the Yavapai arrived at Rio Verde they had few material possessions, few weapons and the clothes on their back. To survive they depended on the rations of beef, wheat flour, sugar, beans, bacon, and coffee. This unfamiliar diet contributed to the many illnesses and deaths in the first year on the reservation. At the same time, because rations were insufficient, some Yavapai pursued more traditional economic strategies. In the summer small groups would leave the reservation to gather wild plant food. They also stole corn and melons from farmers in the valley and ran off with the occasional cow. On the reservation they did plant some crops but they were late in planting, and their farming methods were not designed to support a large sedentary population. The late summer harvest of crops, which was scant, and the gathering season concluded, much of the population became ill. Normally in the winter Yavapai families shifted emphasis to hunting but hunters and settlers had driven much of the wild game from the Verde Valley. Rations remained the primary food source but there never seemed to be enough (Corbusier 1968:247).

The following Spring brought some improvement. Captain Julius Mason, the new commanding officer, increased rations and directed the relocation of the reservation headquarters and the Indians to higher and healthier grounds. Yavapai who cut firewood for Camp Verde received in exchange notes redeemable for blankets, corn, and knives. Yavapai were hired at fifty cents a day to build walls for a large storehouse, and methods were taken to improve the farming effort.

The Yavapai and Tonto knew how to raise corn, beans, squash, and melons, but they would plant their crops in the spring, leave the fields untended much of the summer and then return to harvest whatever had grown. These small-scale plots would not support the fifteen hundred or so people clustered at Rio Verde. Although some Tolkepayas had farmed on a larger scale on the Colorado River floodplains the Verde River was smaller and not conducive to floodplain farming. Canal irrigation was required if extensive agriculture was to take place in the Verde Valley. The Yavapai may

have understood the need for irrigation canals but such an undertaking required a level of organization and cooperation not easily achieved under traditional political structures. Headmen lacked the power to coerce labor, and Captain Mason was better situated for directing such a project. Captain Mason was the head of U.S. troops at Camp Verde, which gave him real power on the reservation. Mason had each band, under its officially recognized headman, camp at separate spots along the proposed canal route. He provided them with tools, and daily wages of fifty cents and gifts of tobacco. He also threatened uncooperative groups with military force, and within a month the canal was complete. By July 1, 1874, they had planted 35 to 40 acres of corn, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and beans (Bourke 1971:216; Corbusier 1968:17).

The project combined Yavapai traditions and new traditions of the new Americans. Traditional Yavapai crops of corn, beans, squash, and melons grew alongside potatoes, a new crop introduced by the new Americans. Everything in the shape of a tool was used to construct the canal. Worn out spades, shovels, picks, hatchets, axes, hammers, files, and camp kettles were used to dig the canal. The Yavapai also used their fire hardened digging sticks, as the men broke the ground and the women carried away the dirt and stones in their woven baskets (Bourke 1971:216).

The extensive canal and the numerous acres under irrigation was to enable the Rio Verde inhabitants to achieve self-sufficiency. Mason planned to construct a second canal by spring of 1875, so the reservation could plant at least three hundred acres of grain and vegetables. Mason also hoped to convince the Yavapai to raise sheep and cattle, because Crook had promised that a market would be found for any of the surplus food produced by the Rio Verde Indians. Crook had estimated that Rio Verde self-sufficiency would save the U.S. government over fifty thousand dollars annually.

The Yavapai were encouraged by these prospects and they were also coming to accept that their stay at Rio Verde was permanent. They also continued taking steps toward surviving on a small reservation that was surrounded by the invaders. They improved the quality of their huts and made efforts to acquire the tools and clothing of

the outside society. In less than two years, the Yavapai at Rio Verde had gone from a huddled mass of refugees, devastated by war and illness, to a farming community looking forward to self-sufficiency and to some measure of prosperity (Corbusier 1968:249–250).

Scouting

Yavapais becoming scouts was probably the most obvious display of cooperation with the U.S. During their two years at Rio Verde the Yavapai and Tonto men aided U.S. troops in completing their conquest of Yavapai and Apache lands. U.S. officers realized that they could not achieve a thorough victory without the aid of Yavapai and Tonto scouts who knew the terrain and their favorite campsites. The Yavapai offered to serve for a variety of reasons. Scouting brought a temporary relief from the drudgery of reservation life; it also perpetuated the Yavapai traditions of raiding, and offered the young Yavapai men a chance to prove their courage, earn recognition, and move into positions of leadership. While small groups of Yavapai would leave the reservation to join the Yavapai that were not living on the reservation, the efforts of the Yavapai scouts to eliminate or capture them reassured Army officers that the bulk of the Rio Verde population was now committed to reservation life. Yavapai and U.S. warriors became allies' (Dunby 1982:172). The Yavapai worked as scouts as a way to cement alliances with U.S. forces. They had a long history of allying with others. The Tolkepayas allied with the Quechans and Mohaves, the Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas allied with various Western Apaches. These alliances included resource sharing and trading privileges, but also hinged on military cooperation, which was an essential consideration in the Colorado–Gila region. For many Tolkepayas an alliance with U.S. troops made sense since U.S. forces had already defeated the Tolkepayas' strongest allies, the Quechans and Mohaves, and had already established forts in their territories. The Quechans and Mohaves, once the power of the Colorado River valley, now weakened by diseases and military defeat turned to U.S. officers for protection against the Cocopas and Chemehuevis. Most Tolkepayas bands did not experience military defeat until Crook's troops took action in late 1862, and after 1863 they came under the pressure of settlers and had two options: 1) fight against U.S. forces or 2) ally with them. There was no

middle ground. To convince the settlers that they were indeed friends many of the Tolkepaya headmen went to strongholds and arranged alliances with civilians and soldiers. They were told that they must stop raiding and move onto reservations, which they did, and to prove their sincerity they offered to fight against the hostile Indians, with many of the men serving as U.S. Army scouts (Annual Report 1872).

Physically the job of scout was easy. They were to locate the trails and camps of Indians still living free and independent of U.S. control. Some of the scouts were skilled trackers, but most were familiar with the terrain and knew the favorite campsites and resource areas. Once the Yavapai and Apache began serving as scouts there were no safe place for the free Indians to hide. Once a campsite was located the scouts usually joined the U.S. soldiers firing at anything that moved, then rounding up the surviving women and children. The biggest challenge for the Yavapai was the reality of fighting against their own people. So why were they willing to locate the camps of their own people? Some must have felt loyalty to only their closest kin and were only concerned with how they could benefit themselves through scouting. Others served as scouts because they saw it as a way to prevent a large-scale killing of their people by leading the U.S. troops to familiar rancherias hoping to negotiate bloodless surrender rather than the inevitable massacre. Crook preferred surrender over slaughter and he ordered that once they were in position to attack the scouts were to shout out a warning, and if they came out unarmed they were not to be shot. However, if they refused the U.S. troops would attack and Yavapai scouts could end up firing on their own people. This was a hard position for the Yavapai to be in, allied for the good of their people with U.S. troops and yet likely to have to shoot their own relatives and friends (Corbusier 1968:59–60). Although kin loyalty could confuse matters, the Yavapai did not enlist with underhanded motives in mind. They took the alliance seriously. The officers knew this and so the scouts were allowed to travel ahead of the soldiers and at times they were allowed to scout on their own (Thrapp 1964:125–126).

The Yavapai became scouts as part of an alliance with the U.S. but once on the reservations they found scouting offered many personal benefits. Scouting allowed

Yavapai men at Rio Verde to retain some of their traditional life. The reservation setting was very frustrating for the young men. The Yavapai had traditionally ranged far and wide and covered long distances when hunting and raiding. At Rio Verde they were confined to a very small space. Although the women could still perform their role as gatherers and processors of food, the men were unable to travel to hunt or go on raiding parties; although some slipped off the reservation and raided nearby farms this was a risky business. Those who left without written permission risked being shot by soldiers or faced imprisonment in the unhealthy Camp Verde guardhouse if captured alive. Scouting allowed the men to be gone for days and weeks at a time. It allowed them to travel through their traditional homeland, to hunt deer and other wild game, a welcome relief from the boredom of reservation life and food. The scouts also received guns, which enabled them to serve as reservation police giving them some function and a sense of purpose on the reservation (Corbusier 1968: 20–21).

Scouting also held political significance, as a headman first acquired respect on the battlefield. Successful young fighters gained recognition and could then rise to influential leaders. The Yavapai had sworn to abandon their raiding traditions, and thus the young men had no way of proving their courage. Scouting offered a solution, since as scouts the young men could gain recognition and distinction and win the respect of their people and of U.S. officers, and thus allow the next generation of Yavapai headmen to emerge (Gifford 1932:186–189, 1936:297–298). Scouting was not simply a matter of Yavapai men joining the U.S. Army but in fact it was a continuation of Yavapai traditions of raiding and warfare, as well as a way of strengthening the alliance between them and the U.S. Army. However, the contribution of the Rio Verde scouts did not guarantee favorable relations with all U.S. officials (Corbusier 1968:18–25, 31–32; Gifford 1936:291).

Removal to San Carlos Apache Reservation

In December of 1874, the Office of Indian Affairs decided to close the Rio Verde Reservation and move all the Yavapai and Tonto Apache almost two hundred miles east to the San Carlos Apache Reservation on the Gila River (Figure 9). Several things motivated this decision. In 1872, the Indian Office began reducing the number of Arizona reservations to make administration more efficient. The elimination of several reservations reduced the number of troops required to guard and police the Indians, reduced the number of agents necessary to oversee reservation affairs, and simplified the provisioning system. Eliminating reservations also opened up more land for non-Indian farmers, ranchers, and miners. The closure of Rio Verde in 1875 was a continuation of this policy. Removing the Yavapai and Tonto eliminated the need to haul sufficient provisions to the Verde Valley and made the fertile Rio Verde fields, complete with irrigation ditches, available to farmers (Annual Report 1872).

On February 17, 1875, 1,476 Yavapai and Tontos began walking. A few cattle went along and Crook supplied a pack train of over fifty mules to carry additional food and supplies, but this was hardly adequate to support the mass of travelers for any length of time. Not only were there 1,476 Yavapai and Tontos, there were also fifteen U.S. Cavalry troops. The Yavapai and Tontos went grudgingly, for they knew that if they resisted they would only be slaughtered. The Wipukepas and Yavapés were the most reluctant as Rio Verde was in or near their homelands, but for some Tontos and Kwevkepayas, San Carlos was actually closer to home. Although the Rio Verde Indians still carried the papers with Crook's assurance that the Yavapai could remain forever at Rio Verde, Cook now had a new promise regarding removal to San Carlos. He told them they were going to San Carlos to teach the Apache how to settle down as full-time farmers. He advised the Rio Verde people to adopt white culture: raise and sell crops, cut firewood and hay for wages, and to learn to read and write English. Crook assured them that once they had done this they would be the same as Non-Indians and their land would be returned. Crook told them that after no more than ten years they would be allowed to

resettle along the Verde River. The Yavapai and Tonto remembered these words for the entire twenty-five years they remained at San Carlos (Annual Report 1875; Corbusier 1968:269–271).

This march took the Yavapai and Tontos over 180 miles of cold and extremely rugged mountain ranges. This was familiar territory for many Wipukepas, Kwevkepayas, and Tontos, but they were not accustomed to a forced march. For over three weeks they climbed, crawled, and waded through snow, mud and swollen streams. Several of the cavalrymen also walked allowing children and the elderly to ride their horses. The Indians carried all their possessions on their backs, and when the rations of beef and flour gave out after a week the Yavapai and Tontos survived by gathering greens and mescal. Not all of the Yavapai and Tontos survived this march. Some succumbed to the combined hardships of hunger, exhaustion, and exposure, others disappeared downstream during river crossings. John Clum the agent at San Carlos, sent twenty-five cattle and over a half-ton of flour to their camp near the Salt River. The tired and hungry parade reached its destination on March 20, three weeks after departing the Rio Verde Reservation (Thrapp 1964:162–169).

Clum counted 1,361 Yavapai and Tontos who arrived at San Carlos, if he included the 25 newborn infants, a total of 140 did not finish the trip. Most probably died on the way, in flooded streams, by hunger, exposure, and exhaustion. Others turned back, some fled west to live among the Mohaves on the more familiar Colorado River Reservation, other Yavapai headed for the rugged canyons of Wipukepa and Tonto territories, and some avoided the march altogether. Nonetheless approximately one thousand Yavapai were in exile at San Carlos. Clum recorded 588 Mojave Apache, and 376 Yuma Apaches, and the 661 Tonto Apaches certainly included some Wipukepas and Kwevkepayas. The 435 Pinal Apaches may have included Kwevkepayas who had surrendered at Camp Grant and moved to San Carlos in 1873. Except for about one hundred refugees who made it back to the Colorado River Reservation or were hiding in their homelands, this one thousand represented the Yavapai survivors. Before 1863, the total Yavapai population may have exceeded three thousand, but over a decade of cultural

disruption, warfare, and disease had devastated the Yavapai. They had lost close to two thirds of their total population, and with their removal from Rio Verde they had essentially lost all twenty thousand square miles or more of their territory. Despite cooperating with their conquerors, despite working in good faith to adjust their lifestyle the Yavapai found themselves in foreign and unfamiliar territory in the middle of nearly three thousand Western Apache. Just like at Rio Verde two years earlier they had to start over. The most dramatic period of survival was ending, but the most critical time had just begun (Annual Report 1875).

11

Life on San Carlos Reservation

The Yavapai stayed at the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation for more than twenty-five years. The primary concern of the Yavapai, besides basic survival, was returning to their homeland. Crook had told them they were going to the San Carlos Reservation to help the Apaches learn to farm and interact with the Non-Indians. Crook had promised that after a few years, if they continued adopting the way of the Non-Indians, they would be allowed to leave the reservation. The Yavapai people believed Crook and they cooperated with the reservation agents and made it clear they posed no threat to non-Indians. For over twenty-five years, they reminded U.S. officials of Crook's promise and their desire to go home. They took the matter into their own hands and from the time of removal in 1875 through 1900 Yavapai individuals and small groups left San Carlos and walked back to their traditional homelands. In some cases, U.S. troops and scouts killed them or marched them back to the reservation. Eventually their persistence convinced U.S. officials it was not worth the trouble to recapture and confine them to San Carlos. The Yavapai were finally able to return to their homeland.

Life at San Carlos Reservation

In order for the Yavapai to survive in their new setting they had to adjust to the new conditions. During their two-year stay at Rio Verde they had overcome disease, altered their political system, and developed a new economic base. At San Carlos they had to start over again. The Yavapai had outnumbered the Apache at Rio Verde by at least two to one, but at San Carlos the one thousand Yavapais lived among Western Apaches numbering three thousand and growing. They had arrived at the reservation exhausted, sick, and bitter, with few possessions. Some believed they would be killed. They were wrong, but their first dealings with Agent Clum confirmed that San Carlos would be different from Rio Verde.

Unlike the Apache, which already lived at San Carlos, the Yavapai and Tontos had guns. The U.S. soldiers at Rio Verde had never bothered to confiscate the weapons and the Yavapai and Tontos had no desire to turn them over to the soldiers. The guns provided some sense of security against potential attack by civilians or by other Indians. The Yavapai learned that Agent Clum allowed only his reservation police to possess guns. Rifles could be obtained from the agency when men had passes to go hunting, but once they returned they had to turn in the rifles. Several days after arriving three hundred Yavapai and Tonto met with Clum. When Clum announced they must surrender all their guns all of the Yavapai and Tonto leaped to their feet and ran down to their camp in the valley. The Yavapai and Tontos packed up their camp and moved to the opposite bank of the Gila River where the Tolkepayas had already settled. Their defiance did not last long because the following day they sent their guns to the agency headquarters. Upon receiving the guns, Clum distributed beef rations and invited them to contribute four men to the existing police force for four Apaches. Clum trusted the reservation population to police themselves and he also trusted the Yavapai to participate in this system. Their first show of resistance and hostility at San Carlos was also their last. They had more important matters to which to attend (Clum 1930:56-68)

The Yavapai needed to develop a new economic strategy. Although the U.S. government supplied rations, Clum and the agents that followed him expected the Indians to become self-sufficient. This was also part of Crook's promise, if they learned to live like the farmers and ranchers they could return to their home (Lewis 1994:7-21). Using what they had learned at Rio Verde they went to work immediately at San Carlos. The Tolkepayas, who lived on the south bank of the Gila River, began digging an irrigation ditch in April and by September had an impressive canal. Clum observed that after another half mile it would be ready for operation. Many of the Yavapai joined Clum's system of wage work and were paid fifty cents per day in coupons, redeemable at the agency for various goods, for laboring at the agency headquarters, constructing adobe building, and digging ditches. The order on the reservation convinced Clum that his police force was a success and that U.S. military presence was no longer necessary. In late August the troops stationed at San Carlos were withdrawn, leaving the Yavapai

without U.S. military supervision for the first time in two and a half years (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 175:218–220, 1876:10–11).

Although agriculture would become central to the Yavapai economy they had to adjust to the new land. It was hotter and drier at San Carlos and farming was more difficult. Rainfall was insufficient for crops so they had to rely on the waters of the Gila and San Carlos Rivers. Although the Yavapai had experience in maintaining irrigation canals the heat of the summer could cause the river to dwindle to an underground trickle. Winter and spring rains could cause flooding that washed out dams, canals, and fields, leaving the Indian farmers to start over. These were not the only problems with the water supply. By 1880, Mormon farmers had settled fifty miles upstream on the Gila River and began work on a large irrigation ditch. This would place a heavy drain on the flow of the river and in dry years would leave the San Carlos farmers with little or no water. The following year the Mormons abandoned the project, but future upriver settlements were likely (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1878:3, 1880:5, 1881:67).

During the first ten years at San Carlos agricultural production was inconsistent and unpredictable. By 1876, the Yavapai and Apache had over five hundred acres in cultivation. But after 1876, the output of the farmers declined. They had trouble obtaining the tools necessary to maintain and lengthen irrigation ditches, and seed was in short supply. The drought conditions of 1877 did not help matters, and in 1879 and 1880, they cultivated only one hundred acres. In 1880, a few Kwevkepayas moved south to try farming on the San Pedro River.

In 1881, more difficulties arose. The appointment of an experienced farmer to direct reservation agriculture brought improvement, but it was short lived for the Yavapai. New irrigation ditches were dug and the Yavapai and Apache reserved some grain for seed. But the Apache who farmed along the San Carlos River enjoyed most of the success. The Yavapai and Tontos who planted along the San Carlos River, just below the agency, had all of their crops and gardens washed away in several floods. When a feud among White Mountain Apache broke out in late 1880, many White Mountain

Apache fled the reservation and as a result twenty-two companies of U.S. troops arrived to keep the peace. The soldiers were still present in the summer and they angered the reservation farmers by camping on their fields, helping themselves to produce, and allowing their horses to graze wherever they wanted (Debo 1976:115–133).

The unrest continued for two years, and although most of the Yavapai avoided the White Mountain conflict their farming suffered. By the summer of 1883, the Yavapai fields were overgrown with weeds, their irrigation ditches were out of operation, and they had become entirely dependent upon U.S. government rations. The floods, soldiers, and unrest was too much for the Yavapai. The agency farmer encouraged them and they were issued tools and seed and the Yavapai went back to work. They began repairing the old ditches, dug new ones, constructed dams, and in February and March 1884, floods wiped them out again, but somehow the Yavapai and Apache managed to plant crops on one thousand acres that spring (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1883:7–10, 1884:51–52).

The quick recovery after the floods of 1884, was a turning point in agricultural production at San Carlos. Over the next five years the number of cultivated acres increased to a high of 4,600 acres in 1890. By 1890, over half of the 792 Yavapai living at San Carlos were involved in farming. Although destructive floods rose for three consecutive years beginning in 1890, and again in 1896 and 1897, production remained strong. The Yavapai and Apache farmers had mastered canal irrigation along the Gila River and the increased quantity of ditches and fields allowed them to rebound from flood damage. For the remainder of the century they kept between two and three thousand acres under cultivation (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1886:40–41, 1890:10–11).

The sale of farm products to merchants brought the Yavapai into the surrounding market economy. With the cash they received from their crops the Yavapai began to visit the surrounding towns to purchase clothes and foodstuff to supplement reservation rations (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1883:5). More and more

the Yavapai began to earn a living as wage laborers (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1883:9). The Yavapai chopped and delivered firewood and hay to U.S. troops and agency officials. Women and children did most of the haying. They gathered the grass into bundles exceeding fifty pounds and carried it on their backs for miles. As they became familiar with outside markets they began selling hay and firewood to the mining camps and ranches that had sprang up along the western boundary of the reservation. As the surrounding communities discovered that Yavapais and Apaches were trustworthy they began recruiting them as laborers. In addition to the unpaid maintenance and construction tasks assigned to them on the reservation, Yavapai men hired themselves out to make adobe bricks, herd livestock, and dig ditches. Yavapai women began selling their traditional baskets to non-Indians, and by 1892, there was a large demand for their handiwork (Barnett 1968:30–33).

Yavapai were making a conscious decision when they opted for wage labor. The supply of rations was unreliable so Yavapai families turned to more traditional food sources to complete their diet. At San Carlos, Yavapai women continued gathering wild plant foods and men went off the reservation to hunt game. But they also sought cash income to purchase foodstuffs to supplement their diet when food sources were low. By 1897, the Yavapai and Apache were replacing hunting and gathering with commercial farming and wage labor as the mainstay of their economy (Lloyd 1883:5–6).

Yavapais at San Carlos also entered the stock raising business. In the past they had little use for horses or mules in their rugged territory which would have put a strain on the wild plant foods of the area. At San Carlos herding cattle made sense. Cattle herds could serve as a source of meat, and horses and mules could be used to pull plows and wagons. The first significant livestock herds at San Carlos developed while Clum was still the agent. Cattle herds proved critical to the Yavapai during the agricultural depression of 1881-1883. Floods and military interruptions devastated Yavapai and Tonto farmers, and in 1882, they grew almost no crops. In 1886, San Carlos boasted close to 4,000 head of cattle and over 1,600 horses, and the Yavapai remained in the livestock business for the rest of their San Carlos stay. In 1890 the Yavapai owned 761

horses, 17 mules, 1,049 cattle, 139 sheep, and 269 chickens with an estimated value of fifty thousand dollars (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1881:66, 1883:287, 1886:439).

Serving as scouts was an additional way Yavapai men could earn wages. In 1886, over one hundred Yavapais served as scouts in three all-Yavapai companies and in two companies with Western Apache. A couple of Yavapai men also earned ten dollars per month by serving on the San Carlos police force (Rope 1936:48–51). As scouts, day laborers, and commercial farmers, Yavapais at San Carlos were quick to enter a market economy characterized by wages and cash exchange. Their willingness to interact with the surrounding communities was further illustrated by their participation in “Wild West” shows (Moses 1996). In 1876, Agent Clum took some Yavapai and Apaches from San Carlos to Washington, D.C., and to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. They left San Carlos on July 29, 1876, for a month-long wagon trip to a train station in Colorado. By train they traveled to St. Louis and points east. They met President Grant and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, toured Mount Vernon and the Philadelphia Exposition, then returned to San Carlos in late October (Clum 1931:76-99).

By 1890, it was estimated that 45 of the 791 Yavapai at San Carlos clothed themselves entirely in White clothing, with the remainder used both traditional Yavapai clothing and articles introduced by non-Indians. In comparison, only 11 of the 4,041 Apaches had taken to wearing White clothing entirely, and 2,226 still wore only Apache articles. When the Indian Offices asked San Carlos parents to send their children to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, Yavapais showed more enthusiasm for this formal education than did the Apache. By 1890, thirty-seven Yavapais, compared to twenty-six Apaches, under the age of twenty could read English (Armstrong 1884:9).

In 1890, agricultural statistics also suggested that the Yavapai took more quickly to the culture of the Non-Indians. In 1890, the Yavapai constituted sixteen percent of the Indian population at San Carlos and worked thirteen percent of the cultivated land on the reservation. Nevertheless, Yavapai accounted for seventeen percent of the wheat,

twenty-five percent of the corn, and twenty-nine percent of the barley produced that year. Yavapai also owned twenty-two percent of the horses and mules at San Carlos, thirty-seven percent of the cattle, and their 139 sheep were the only ones on the reservation in 1890. Yavapai success in other economic activity reduced the need for Yavapai women and children to cut and haul grass to the agency headquarters, but Apaches still relied on this source of wages.

This is not to say that the Yavapai had fully assimilated into white culture, as their retention of traditional Yavapai culture far exceeded their adoption of non-Indian ways. Although the Yavapai raised sheep for meat and sometimes sold wool, they did not take up the European practice of spinning or weaving the wool into textiles. Yavapai women continued using their baskets to carry and store water (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1888:7). Housing also followed traditional patterns. In 1888, only eight Indian families lived in non-traditional houses. All others built traditional houses with the occasional piece of canvas or other new material thrown in for good measure. The Yavapai at San Carlos also continued to practice the burning of traditional houses if someone died inside. An adobe or wood-beam house was not worth the effort to build if a death required replacing it (Armstrong 1884:10)

Although they were moving into a market economy that promoted individualism, the Yavapai at San Carlos still grouped themselves around influential yet unofficial headmen (Williams 1977:14). Along with retaining much of their familiar material culture and informal political practices, the Yavapai also held to their traditional belief patterns. They did so despite attempts by San Carlos officials to stamp out certain Indian practices. During 1881, when the combination of syphilis and an outbreak of measles contributed to twenty-six deaths at San Carlos, the Indian doctors still performed their songs and dances. When the U.S. Army took over management of the reservation from civilian agents in 1885, they used their power to interfere with traditional healing practices. By 1893, they believed they had significantly diminished the influence of traditional healers. They may have believed this but the Yavapai continued performing in

secret in remote parts of the reservation (Lloyd 1883:8–9). Christian missionaries used a different approach, but with less persistence and little success.

The steps the Yavapai took toward assimilation had another purpose. Primarily, Yavapais were concerned with becoming self-sufficient. They needed to prove they could survive on their own, away from the reservations, without rations, while still following the standards of the white society. If the Yavapai could function as sedentary farmers, livestock businessmen, or wage workers, they could easily co-exist with the non-Indian society. As the Yavapai at San Carlos made progress they pointed to their achievements and regularly requested permission to return home.

Returning Home

The Yavapai began returning to their homeland almost immediately after being removed from Rio Verde, if not before. When some one thousand Yavapai arrived at San Carlos in March 1875, perhaps one hundred were still free, hiding out in remote areas. Still others returned home after completing the painful march to San Carlos. The Yavapai who chose to return back to their traditional use areas faced extreme hardships and the risk of being captured or shot. Of the four Yavapai people, the Tolkepayas were the most persistent and successful in returning home without permission. Some of the Tolkepayas went to the Castle Dome region on the lower Gila river, while a few who had evaded U.S. troops still lived near old Camp Date Creek and Wickenburg (Gifford 1936:248–249).

Before the Indian Office and the U.S. Army removed the Tolkepayas to Rio Verde in 1873, farmers and ranchers had hired them as wage workers. So when the Tolkepayas began reappearing in their homeland in the late 1870s, rather than register complaints, white residents put them to work. Because they were welcome in their homelands they enjoyed more freedom of movement than did other Yavapai from San Carlos. When the Indian Office sent a new agent or inspector to the reservation the Tolkepayas headmen explained how unhappy their people were and requested permission

to head west. When permission was not given some families went anyway. They did not hide out but instead lived in or near other reservations or settlements, and if U.S. troops appeared they went back to San Carlos peacefully even though it was temporary (Clum 1930:78-83).

Although the Tolkepaya kept leaving San Carlos the vast majority of the Yavapai were still waiting for the U.S. official to give them permission to leave and return home. General Miles arrived at the reservation in 1887, having replaced General Crook as commanding officer of the Department of Arizona. As they had to numerous other U.S. officials the Yavapai explained to Miles how Crook had made them a promise upon their removal from Rio Verde. Miles responded that he was sorry, but Army officers lacked the authority to order Indian relocation; they could only make recommendations and appeal to higher officials in the U.S. government. Miles favored releasing the Yavapai from San Carlos. Miles told the Yavapai that he would help them, but he could not promise rapid results (Miles 1969:536–537). Miles put wheels into motion. Before leaving San Carlos he wrote a report recommending the Yavapai be permitted to leave San Carlos. The Yavapai and their supporters faced strong opposition. In 1887, Secretary of the Interior L.Q.C. Lamar expressed doubts about Miles's proposal. He questioned the logic of removing the Yavapai from San Carlos to several different regions, which he feared would require the establishment of more Indian agencies. More importantly, Lamar was concerned about protests from the residents of the upper Verde Valley.

The Verde residents voiced their opinion of the possibility of the Yavapai returning to the upper Verde Valley. They argued there was not room for the Yavapai and Tonto Apache in the upper Verde Valley. The settlers had claimed the best farmland, dug irrigation ditches, planted crops, and erected houses and schools. They stated that the only uncultivated bottomlands were on the military reservations and the Yavapai and Tonto Apache were better off staying at San Carlos. They also emphasized the inherent dangers of living in close proximity to 1500 near naked savages. The residents of the upper Verde Valley also stated that if the Indians returned to the valley, the residents

would be forced to abandon all they had worked for and they did not want to give up their home. There were five or six valley residents who supported the proposal of the Yavapai and Tonto returning homes.

The uproar of the Verde residents convinced the U.S. government that the Yavapai should remain at San Carlos. In February 1891, tremendous floods rose on the Gila and San Carlos Rivers, damaging irrigation works and two thousand of the twenty-five hundred acres under cultivation. The agent at San Carlos reported that the Yavapai fields and ditches had been completely ruined and they needed to relocate for farming purposes. This would be a logical time to permit them to leave San Carlos and he advised the Indian Commissioner of his request. When orders for their release did not arrive he prepared to move the Yavapai up the Gila River some miles to new fields in an eastern section of the reservation. In November, when Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Johnson took over as acting agent, he found the Yavapai bordering on defiance of authority, a big departure from their normally cooperative spirit. The Yavapai refused to move east, no doubt fearing the move was intended as a permanent alternative to them going home. Johnson allowed them to remain near the agency headquarters and repaired their damaged fields rather than relocate them upriver. He also permitted more Tolkepayas to leave San Carlos. Because residents from Wickenburg to Yuma welcomed Tolkepayaya labor, San Carlos officials tolerated, at times encouraged, Tolkepayaya departures (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1892:219).

Johnson was genuinely concerned about the Yavapai who were living at San Carlos. By the end of his stay at San Carlos he was writing letters to the Indian Commissioner on behalf of the Yavapai and recommending the Yavapés and Wipukepas be allowed to settle at Camp Verde and the Kwevkepayas be allowed to settle at Fort McDowell. But they had to wait a few more years before they were allowed to leave San Carlos. Although the upper Verde Valley was still off limits for Indian settlement the Yavapai had began reappearing there in scattered groups after Miles in 1887. There were also Wipukepas and Yavapés who had been living in the mountains and canyons north of Camp Verde since the 1870s. By the fall of 1900, over two hundred Yavapai had left the

San Carlos reservation. The mass exodus continued so that by 1902, all the Yavapai who wanted to leave the reservation had. They typically returned to their old use areas. Although over twenty years had passed many of the Yavapai who survived Crook's campaign were still alive. In 1903, 184 Yavapai, mostly Kwevkepayas were living around old Fort McDowell, 216 Yavapés and Wipukepas were on old Camp Verde lands, and another 300 were scattered up and down the Verde River region. The captivity at San Carlos, which had begun in 1875, was now over (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1899:562, 1900:638, 1904:151).

Although the San Carlos stay was an unwanted one the Yavapai accomplished remarkable things while living there. Not only did they survive and keep their integrity as a people, they also successfully entered into the U.S. market economy. They adopted commercial agriculture and raised livestock. They sold baskets and took up wage labor. At the same time they maintained much of their traditional culture, including their political traditions, language, and beliefs. However, the most important achievement of the San Carlos Yavapai was in being able to return home.

12

Conclusion

For the Yavapai the twentieth century seemed to be the beginning of a new life. They had returned to their homeland and were ready to join the off reservation world. However there were many problems they had to face. By 1902, the Yavapai might have been back in their homelands, but the homelands were no longer theirs. During their long absence the non-Indian population had settled on Yavapai territory. White and Mexican farmers and ranchers had legal title to most of the fertile lands. The Yavapai had hoped to become commercial farmers and ranchers, not hunters and gatherers, but finding the best sites occupied they had to start over with almost nothing. They had stability and wealth at San Carlos but they had left that all behind when they chose to return home. At San Carlos they had learned the rules of white society, and they knew they needed to obtain legal title to their homeland. This was their new struggle.

The most immediate concern of the Yavapai was to make a living and to feed their families. The Yavapai were once again poor and they owned no land and few tools. Yavapai men cut their hair short, put on White clothing, and went to work. They cleaned fields, retrieved stray livestock, cut wood, and performed other chores for farmers. Yavapai women laundered clothes and sold baskets. Sometimes the Yavapai would walk over fifty miles to find work, and large Yavapai encampments grew up near mining enterprises and railroad projects (Stein 1981:18-23). Most citizens were generally helpful by offering jobs and providing food handouts, and some allowed the Yavapai to farm on their land (Savage 1964:120–124).

Yavapai also had to return to their traditional gathering practices because wage work and handouts did not bring sufficient sustenance. At Fort McDowell they hunted prairie dogs and collected mesquite beans and cactus fruit. They began to follow their old hunting and gathering rounds, relocating frequently to harvest mesquite beans, acorns,

berries, and mescal. They hunted game and traded for corn from other Yavapai families. The importance of Yavapai headmen remained a central part of their political system. Yavapai headmen led the effort to obtain land and water rights.

Fear of forced removal still remained an issue for Yavapai families. They were renegade Indians living off-reservation without official permission. They knew that the only thing that would keep them from being returned to the reservation was to support themselves, living like the Non-Indians, and fitting into U.S. society. They performed wage work, dressed like the Non-Indians, and tried not to be a burden or create problems for U.S. officials. They would not accept rations as they insisted they were adequately fed, but in fact in most cases they were hungry. Even though they were hungry they did not shoot deer or any game near Fort McDowell as it was against Arizona territorial law. Some even refused rancher's gifts of beef, as they feared that some men might see them with the beef and think they had stolen it. They would rather live in poverty in their homeland than draw government attention and risk removal back to San Carlos.

The only apparent solution to the problem was the acquisition of viable farmland. If they could obtain land and water rights they could raise crops, build houses, and develop a sedentary lifestyle. The problem was they did not have the resources necessary to purchase land. Their only hope was to obtain help from the citizens to convince the U.S. government for help in securing land. They made the first move by occupying old military reservation land and then lobbied U.S. officials until reservation lands were set aside for their use in their homeland. In 1903, President Roosevelt took an interest in the Yavapai living at Fort McDowell. That summer he sent agent Frank Mead to investigate their situation. Mead traveled along the Verde River and met with five different camps. Mead counted 184 Yavapai, 41 families, living at McDowell and 216 Yavapai, 48 families, at Camp Verde. He recommended that the government buy the squatters' claims at Fort McDowell, about two thousand irrigable acres, and make it available to Yavapai farmers. He also recommended that land be bought near Camp Verde. At a time when many American Indians were losing land through land cessions and sale of allotments, the Fort McDowell Yavapai obtained twenty-four thousand acres, including

over two thousand acres of irrigable farmland (Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1905:102–103). Other Yavapai reservations took longer to materialize. In 1910, the U.S. government established a forty-acre Camp Verde Indian Reservation. In 1914, and 1916, the U.S. government purchased a total of 248 acres of farmland and accompanying water rights six miles farther up the Verde River, creating the Middle Verde Indian Reservation. In 1937, the residents of these two reservations officially formed the Yavapai-Apache tribe. In 1935, 75 acres of the Whipple Military Reservation were set aside for Yavapai use, and 1,320 additional acres were added in 1956 (Morris 1971:46–47).

The acquisition of reservation land did not end Yavapai worries. Almost as soon as President Roosevelt assigned Fort McDowell a campaign developed to have them removed. The McDowell Yavapai did not want to leave their small patch of homeland and shortly after taking possession in 1904, they quickly established a diverse economy. They began raising cattle and poultry, and they acquired bees for honey production. Some of the Yavapai men sought wage work off the reservation, one operated a store, but their most significant source of cash was baskets, which the Yavapai women sold in Phoenix for as much as thirty dollars each. During the first year of growing they cultivated 256 acres and produced corn, wheat, potatoes, hay, vegetables, and melons. Production increased the following years, but problems arose. It took intensive labor to dig and maintain ditches and to construct dams. Spring floods repeatedly destroyed their fields. Many of the Yavapai men continued to pursue the more immediate rewards of wage work rather than try and establish an agricultural base.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the United States completed its conquest of the American West. The American takeover began with the arrival of fur trappers, mineral prospectors, followed by more permanent settlers who establish ranches, farms, and towns. Indian groups were in the way of the American expansion and they were forced onto isolated reservation lands. But at a time when other Indian groups were losing land the Yavapai were regaining control of small sections of their original

homelands. While in captivity on the reservation the Yavapai learned quickly how to accommodate the demands of U.S. officials and how to lobby and negotiate for their own interests.

The establishment of reservations at Fort McDowell, Camp Verde, and Prescott has ensured that the Yavapai will remain in Yavapai territory and that the Yavapai will continue to figure in Arizona and U.S. history. The emergence of Indian gaming at Fort McDowell and Prescott in the 1980s, and the associated political issues and financial prosperity will keep the Yavapai involved in state and national politics into the next century.

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Appendix A
Flora of Yuma Proving Ground

**APPENDIX A
FLORA OF YUMA PROVING GROUND**

Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
ADIANTACEAE	<i>Cheilanthes parryi</i>	parry's lipfern			
EPHEDRACEAE	<i>Ephedra trifurca</i>	longleaf jointfir			
	<i>Ephedra viridis</i>				
AGAVACEAE	<i>Agave deserti</i>	desert agave			The heart of the agave is roasted and used for food (Rea 1997:250).
	<i>Nolina bigelovii</i>	bigelow's nolina			
CYPERACEAE	<i>Cyperus lavigatus L.</i>	smooth flatsedge			
	<i>Eleocharis geniculata</i>	canada spikesedge			
	<i>Scirpus americanus Pers.</i>	american bulrush			The tuber is eaten for food (Rea 1997:105-107).
	<i>Scirpus maritimus</i>	saltmarsh bulrush			The tuber is eaten for food (Rea 1997:105-107).
LILIACEAE	<i>Hesperocallis undulata</i>	desert-lily			The bulb is eaten for food (Rea 1997: 229).
NAJADACEAE	<i>Najas marina L.</i>	holly-leaf waternymph			
POCACEAE	<i>Aristida adscensionis L.</i>	sixweeks threeawn			
	<i>Aristida californica</i>	california threeawn			
	<i>Aristida purpurea nealleyi</i>	blue threeawn			
	<i>Aristida purpurea parishii</i>	parish's three-awn			
	<i>Aristida purpurea purpurea</i>	purple threeawn			
	<i>Aristida ternipes</i>	spidergrass			
	<i>Bothriochloa barbinodis</i>	cane bluestem			
	<i>Bouteloua aristidoides</i>	needlegrama			
	<i>Bouteloua barbata</i>	sixweeks grama			
	<i>Bouteloua trifida</i>	red grama			
	<i>Brachiaria fasciculata</i>	browntop signalgrass			
	<i>Choris virgata</i>	feather fingergrass			
	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>	bermudagrass			
	<i>Dactyloctenium aegyptium</i>	durban crowsfoot grass			
<i>Echinochloa crus-galli</i>	large barnyardgrass				

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FLORA OF YUMA PROVING GROUND**

Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
POCACEAE	<i>Echinochloa crus-pavonis</i>	gulf cocksbur grass			
	<i>Eragrostis cilianensis</i>	stinkgrass			
	<i>Eriochloa acuminata</i>	tapertip cupgrass			
	<i>Eriochloa artistata</i> Vasey	bearded cupgrass			The heart of the agave is roasted and used for food (Rea 1997:250).
	<i>Erioneuron pulchellum</i>	low woolly grass			
	<i>Heteropogon contortus</i>	tanglehead			
	<i>Hilaria rigida</i>	big galleta			
	<i>Leptochloa dubia</i>	green spanletop			The tuber is eaten for food (Rea 1997:105-107).
	<i>Leptochloa mucronata</i>				The tuber is eaten for food (Rea 1997:105-107).
	<i>Leptochloa univervia</i>	mexican sprangletop			The bulb is eaten for food (Rea 1997: 229).
	<i>Muhlenbergia microsperma</i>	littleseed muhly			
	<i>Muhlenbergia porteri</i>	bush muhly			
	<i>Panicum hirticaule</i>	mexican panicgrass			
	<i>Pennisetum ciliare</i>	buffelgrass			
	<i>Pennisetum setaceum</i>	crimson fountaingrass			
	<i>Phalaris minor</i>	littleseed canarygrass			
	<i>Poa annua</i> L.	annual bluegrass			
	<i>Polypogon monspeliensis</i>	annual rabbit's-foot grass			
	<i>Schismus barbatus</i>	common mediterranean grass			
	<i>Sporobolus cryptandrus</i>	sand dropseed			
<i>Stipa speciosa</i>	desert needle grass				
<i>Tridens eragrostoides</i>	lovegrass tridens				
<i>Tridens muticus</i>	rough tridens				
<i>Volpia octoflora hirtella</i>	sixweeks fescue				
<i>Vulpia octoflora octoflora</i>	sixweeks fescue				
RUPPIACEAE	<i>Ruppia maritima</i> L.	beaked ditch-grass			

**APPENDIX A
FLORA OF YUMA PROVING GROUND**

Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
TYPHACEAE	<i>Typha domingensis</i>	southern cattail			
ACANTHACEAE	<i>Justicia californica</i>	hummingbird-bush			
AIZOACEAE	<i>Mesembryanthemum crystallinum</i> L.	common iceplant			
	<i>Sesuvium verrucosum</i>	verrucose sea-purslane			
	<i>Trianthema portulacastrum</i> L.	desert horse-purslane			
AMARANTHACEA	<i>Amarathus fimbriatus</i>	fringed amaranth			
AMARANTHACEA	<i>Amarathus palmeri</i>	carelessweed			Leaves and seeds are cooked and eaten (Rea 1997:200-201).
	<i>Tidestromia lanuginosa</i>	wooly honeysweet			
	<i>Tidestromia oblongifolia</i>	arizona honeysweet			
ANACARDIACEAE	<i>Rhus trilobata</i>	pubescent squawbush	X	kith'eeh	Fruits were collected in summer before rains. May be eaten raw or washed, mashed and mixed with water to make a drink. Young branches were used as a core of baskets and the major part of burden baskets.
APIACEAE	<i>Bowlesia incana</i>	hoary bowlesia			
	<i>Daucus pusillus</i>	american wild carrot			
ARISTOLOCHIACEAE	<i>Aristolochia watsonii</i>	watson's dutchman's pipe			
ASCELEPIADACEAE	<i>Asclepias albicans</i> S	whitestem milkweed			
	<i>Asclepias subulata</i>	rush milkweed			
	<i>Sarcostemma cynanchoides</i>	fringed twinevine			Sap from this plant is made into chewing gum (Rea 1997:244-245).
	<i>Sarcostemma hirtellum</i>	smooth twinevine			
ASTERACEAE	<i>Acourtia wrightii</i>	brownfoot			
	<i>Adenophyllum porophylloides</i>	san felipe dogweed			
	<i>Ambrosia ambrosiodes</i>	ambrosia leaf burr ragweed			
	<i>Ambrosia dumosa</i>	white burrobrush			
	<i>Ambrosia ilicifolia</i>	hollyleaf burr ragweed			
	<i>Ambrosia psilostachya</i>	cuman ragweed			
	<i>Ambrosia platyphylla</i>	parachute plant			

**APPENDIX A
FLORA OF YUMA PROVING GROUND**

Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
ASTERACEAE	<i>Baccharis salicifolia</i>	mule's fat			Used for childrens arrows, and for siding on houses (Rea 1997:128-129).
	<i>Baccharis sarothroides</i>	desertbroom	X	hatavil	Used for roofing material on wambunya.
	<i>Baileya multiradiata</i>	desert marigold			
	<i>Baileya pleniradiata</i>	woolly desert marigold			
	<i>Bebbia juncea</i>	sweetbush			
	<i>Brickellia atractyloides</i>	spearleaf brickellia			
	<i>Brickellia coulteri</i>	coulter's brickellbush			
	<i>Calycoseris wrightii</i>	white tackstem			
	<i>Chaenactis carphoclinia</i>	pebble pincushion			
	<i>Chaenactis stevioides</i>	broadflower bincushion			
	<i>Conyza bonariensis</i>	asthmaweed			
	<i>Conyza canadensis</i>	canadian horseweed			
	<i>Dicoria canesens</i>	desert twinbugs			
	<i>Encelia farinosa</i>	goldenhills			Sap from this plant is used for chewing gum (Rea 1997:131-132).
	<i>Encelia frutescens</i>	button brittlebush			
	<i>Erigeron divergens</i>	spreading fleabane			
	<i>Evax verna</i>	spring pygmy-cudweed			
	<i>Filago arizonica</i>	arizona cotton-rose			
	<i>Geraea canescens</i>	hairy desert sun-flower			
	<i>Gnaphalium luteoalbum</i>	jersey cudweed			
	<i>Gutierrezia sarothrae</i>	kindlingweed			
	<i>Helianthus annuus</i>	common sunflower	X	kwata	Heads were collected in the fall by breaking them off, then dried and beaten to remove seeds. Seeds were eaten raw, roasted and ground into meal.
	<i>Heterotheca subaxillaris</i>	camphorweed			
<i>Hymenoclea salsola</i>	white cheesebush				
<i>Laemecia coulteri</i>	coulter's marshtail				

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Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
ASTERACEAE	<i>Malacothrix glabrata</i>	smooth desert-dandelion			
	<i>Monoptilon bellioides</i>	mojave desertstar			
	<i>Osteospermum cf. Sinuatum</i>	glanduar-cape-marigold			
	<i>Palafoxia linearis</i>				
	<i>Pectis papposa</i>	many-bristle cinchweed			
	<i>Perityle emoryi</i>	emory's rockdaisy			
	<i>Peucephyllum schottii</i>	schott's pygmy-cedar			
	<i>Pleurocoronis pluriseta</i>	bush arrowleaf			
	<i>Pluchea odorata</i>	sweetscent			
	<i>Pluchea sericea</i>	arrow-weed			
	<i>Porophyllum gracile</i>	slender poreleaf			
	<i>Prenanthes exigua</i>	brightwhite			
	<i>Psathyrotes ramosissima</i>	velvet turtleback			
	<i>Psilostrophe cooperi</i>	whitestem paperflower			
	<i>Rafinesquia neomexicana</i>	new mexico plumseed			
	<i>Senecio mohavavensis</i>	mojave ragwort			
	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>	common sow-thistle			Greens of plant are eaten (Rea 1997:208).
	<i>Stephanomeria exigua</i>	white-plum wire-lettuce			
	<i>Stephanomeria pauciflora</i>	brown-plum wire-lettuce			
	<i>Trichoptilium incisum</i>	yellowdome			
<i>Trixis californica</i>	american threefold				
<i>Viguiera parishii</i>					
<i>Xylorhiza tortifolia</i>	mojave woody-aster				
BERBERIDACEAE	<i>Mahonia haematocarpa</i>	red oregon-grape			
BIGNONIACEAE	<i>Chilopsis linearis</i>	desert willow	X	eyoo	Branches used for vival digging. Sticks and small branches used for foundation for coiled baskets.
BORAGINACEAE	<i>Amsinckia intermedia</i>	intermediate fiddleneck			

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Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
BORAGINACEAE	<i>Amsinckia tessellata</i>	bristly fiddleneck			
	<i>Cryptantha angustifolia</i>	panamint catseye			
	<i>Cryptantha holoptera</i>	winged catseye			
	<i>Cryptantha maritima</i>	guadalupe catseye			
	<i>Cryptantha micrantha</i>	redroot catseye			
	<i>Cryptantha pterocarya</i>	wingnut catseye			
	<i>Heliotropium curassavicum</i>	seaside heliotrope			
	<i>Lappula occidentalis</i>	flat-spine sheepburr			
	<i>Pectocarya heterocarpa</i>	chuckwalla combseed			
	<i>Pectocarya platycarpa</i>	broad-fruit combseed			
	<i>Pectocarya recurvata</i>	curve nut combseed			
	<i>Plagiobothrys jonesii</i>	mojave popcorn-flower			
	<i>Tiquilia canescens</i>	woody crinklemat			
<i>Tiquilia palmeri</i>	palmer's crinklemat				
BRASSICACEAE	<i>Brassica tournefortii</i>	asian mustard			
	<i>Descurainia pinnata</i>	western tansymustard			Seeds are used to make a drink, also has medicinal uses (Rea 1997:223-224).
	<i>Dithyrea californica</i>	california sheildpod			
	<i>Draba cuneifolia</i>	wedgeleaf whitlowgrass			
	<i>Lepidium lasiocarpum</i>	hairy-pod pepperwort			
	<i>Lesquerella sessilis</i>	sessile bladderpod			
	<i>Sisymbrium irio</i>	london rocket			
	<i>Stephanthella longirostris</i>	long-beak fiddle-mustard		X	a'ah
CACTACEAE	<i>Carnegia gigantea</i>	saguaro			Fruit collected in early summer and eaten raw or seeds removed and ground into mush and formed into cake. Juice from fruit was mixed with other foods or drink, as a sweet drink or fermented. Seeds were stored and eaten.
	<i>Echinocactus horizonthalonius</i>	nichol's echinocactus			

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FLORA OF YUMA PROVING GROUND**

Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
CACTACEAE	<i>Echinocereus engelmannii</i>	saints cactus			The fruit is eaten raw (Rea 1997:261-262).
	<i>Echinocereus nicholii</i>	nichol's hedgehog cactus			
	<i>Ferocactus cylindraceus</i>	california barrel cactus			The flesh is used for water and food (Rea 1997:263).
	<i>Ferocactus wislizeni</i>	candy barrel cactus			Spines may be used as fish hooks (Rea 1997:263).
	<i>Mammillaria tetrancistra</i>	corkseed cactus	X	ha thde	
	<i>Opuntia acanthocarpa</i>	buckhorn cholla			Fruit collected when ripe, spines removed with snakeweed (rabbitbush) and seeds removed. Then filtered mush eaten raw or boiled into a juice/ drink. Green pads may also been eaten.
	<i>Opuntia basilaris</i>	beavertail pricklypear			
	<i>Opuntia bigelovii</i>	teddybear cholla			Grown as a covering for graves to protect them from being disturbed by animals (Rea 1997:274-275).
	<i>Opuntia echinocarpa</i>	staghorn cholla			
	<i>Opuntia kunzei</i>	devil's cholla			
	<i>Opuntia leptocaulis</i>	christmas cholla			The fruit is eaten in limited amounts. It also may have medicinal attributes (Rea 1997:279-280).
	<i>Opuntia ramosissima</i>	branched pencil cholla			
	<i>Peniocereus greggii</i>	night blooming-cereus			Used for medicinal purposes (Rea 1997:281-282).
	<i>Sclerocactus johnsonii</i>				
CAMPANULACEAE	<i>Nemacladus glanduliferus</i>	glandular threadplant			
CAPPARACEAE	<i>Koeberlina spinosa</i>	crown-of-thorns			
CARYOPHYLLACEAE	<i>Achyronychia cooperi</i>	onyxflower			
	<i>Spergularia salina</i>				
CHENOPODIACEAE	<i>Atriplex canescens</i>	fourwing saltbush			Sometimes used to wash baskets (Rea 1997:125-126)
	<i>Atriplex elegans</i>	wheel-scale saltbush			Sometimes boiled and eaten with other foods (Rea 1997:201).
	<i>Atriplex hymenelytra</i>	desertholly			

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Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
CHENOPODIACEAE	<i>Atriplex lentiformis</i>	big saltbush			Used as soap to clean out baskets. The seeds are also cooked and eaten as mush. The root may also have medicinal purposes (Rea 1997:126-127).
	<i>Atriplex linearis</i>	thinleaf fourwing saltbush			
	<i>Atriplex polycarpa</i>	cattle saltbush			Used for kindling (Rea 1997:127-128).
	<i>Chenopodium album</i>	lamb's quarters			
	<i>Chenopodium murale</i>	nettleleaf goosefoot			
	<i>Monolepis nuttalliana</i>	nuttall's poverty-weed			Greens are boiled and eaten (Rea 1997:204-205).
	<i>Salsola kali</i>				
CONVOLVULACEAE	<i>Ipomoea triloba</i>	littlebell			
CROSSOSOMATACEAE	<i>Crossosoma bigelovii</i>	ragged rockflower			
CUCURBITACEAE	<i>Brandegea bigelovii</i>	desert starvine			
CUCURBITACEAE	<i>Cucurbita digitata</i>	fingerleaf gourd			The flesh of the gourd is used as a detergent. It also has medicinal uses (Rea 1997:219-220).
CUSCUTACEAE	<i>Cuscuta californica</i>	chaparral dodder			
EUPHORBIACEAE	<i>Argythamnia adenophora</i>	glandular silverbush			
	<i>Argythamnia lanceolata</i>	narrowleaf silverbush			
	<i>Argythamnia neomexicana</i>	new mexico silverbush			
	<i>Argythamnia serrata</i>	yuma silverbush			
	<i>Chamaesyce micromera</i>	sonoran sandmat			
	<i>Chamaesyce pediculifera</i>	carrizo mountain sandmat			
	<i>Chamaesyce polycarpa</i>	smallseed sandmat			
	<i>Chamaesyce setiloba</i>	yuma sandmat			
	<i>Croton californicus</i>	mojave croton			
	<i>Euphorbia dentata</i>	toothed spurge			
	<i>Euphorbia eriantha</i>	beetle spurge			
	<i>Stillingia spinulosa</i>	annual toothleaf			

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Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
EUPHORBIACEAE	<i>Tetracoccus fasciculatus</i>	purplebush			
	<i>Tragia nepetifolia</i>	catnip noseburn			
FABACEAE	<i>Acacia greggii</i>	catclaw acacia	X	kechesa	Young stems may have been stripped and used as a base for baskets.
	<i>Caesalpinia virgata</i>	wand holdback			
	<i>Calliandra eriophylla</i>	fairyduster			
	<i>Dalea mollis</i>	hairy prairieclover			
	<i>Dalea mollissima</i>	soft prairieclover			
	<i>Hoffmannseggia glauca</i>	waxy rush-pea			Tubers are eaten as food (Rea 1997:229-230).
	<i>Lotus salsuginosus</i>	coastal bird's-foot-trefoil			
	<i>Lotus strigosus</i>	strigose bird's-foot-trefoil			
	<i>Lupinus arizonicus</i>	arizona lupine			
	<i>Lupinus sparsiflorus</i>	mojave lupine			
	<i>Marina parryi</i>	parry's false prairie-clover			
	<i>Melilotus indicus</i>	annual yellow sweetclover			
	<i>Olneya tesota</i>	desert-ironwood			The seeds are roasted and ground and are eaten for food. The wood of this tree is fashioned into tools and used for fire wood (Rea 1997:172-174).
	<i>Parkinsonia aculeata</i>	mexican palo-verde			
	<i>Parkinsonia florida</i>	blue palo-verde			
	<i>Parkinsonia microphylla</i>	yellow palo-verde			
<i>Prosopis glandulosa</i>	honey mesquite		X	anal ya'	Pods were collected at lower elevations in the late summer, then pulverized and made into meal, then into cakes. A sweet drink was made from pulverized pods and was used for the relief of gas. Sap and river mud was used for hair dye. Wood from the tree used for housing and bows.
<i>Prosopis velutina</i>	velvet mesquite				Mesquite is used for food, medicinal purposes, fire wood (Rea 1997:183-192).
<i>Psoralea argemone</i>	dyebrush				

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Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name	Ethnobotanical Use
FABACEAE	<i>Psorothamnus schottii</i>	schott's dalea			
	<i>Psorothamnus spinosus</i>	smoketree			
	<i>Senna covesii</i>	hairy wild sensitive-plant			
	<i>Sesbania exaltata</i>	peartree			
	<i>Vicia ludoviciana</i>	louisiana vetch			
FOUQUIERIACEAE	<i>Fouquieria splendens</i>	ocotillo			Used in construction and also has medicinal uses (Rea 1997:263-264).
FUMARIACEAE	<i>Corydalis aurea</i>	scrambledeggs			
GENTIANACEAE	<i>Eustoma exaltatum</i>	catchfly prairie-gentian			
GENRANIACEAE	<i>Erodium cicutarium</i>	red-stem stork's-bill			
	<i>Erodium texanum</i>	texas stork's-bill			
HYDROPHYLLACEAE	<i>Eucrypta chrysanthemifolia</i>	spotted hideseed			
	<i>Eucrypta micrantha</i>	dainty desert hideseed			
	<i>Nama demissum</i>	purplemat			
	<i>Nama hispidum</i>	sandbells			
	<i>Phacelia crenulata</i>	notch-leaf scorpion-weed			
HYDROPHYLLACEAE		alkali scorpion-weed			
	<i>Phacelia pediculoides</i>	lousewort scorpion-weed			
	<i>Phacelia rotundifolia</i>	round-leaf scorpion-weed			
KRAMERIACEAE	<i>Krameria erecta</i>	small-flower rantany			
	<i>Krameria grayi</i>	white rantany			
LAMIACEAE	<i>Hedeoma nana</i>				
	<i>Hyptis emoryi</i>	desert-lavender			
	<i>Salazaria mexicana</i>	mexican bladder-sage			Used for medicinal purposes (Rea 1997:150-151).
	<i>Salvia columbariae</i>	california sage			Seeds are boiled and made into a drink (Rea 1997:243-244).
	<i>Teucrium cubense</i>	small coastal germander			

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LOASACEAE	<i>Mentzelia albicaulis</i>	white-stem blazingstar			
	<i>Mentzelia involucrata</i>	white-bract blazingstar			
	<i>Mentzelia pumila</i>	golden blazingstar			
MALPIGHIACEAE	<i>Janusia gracilis</i>	slender janusia			
MALVACEAE	<i>Eremalche rotundifolia</i>	desert fivespot			
	<i>Herissantia crista</i>	bladder-mallow			
	<i>Hibiscus coulteri</i>	desert rose-mallow			
	<i>Hibiscus denudatus</i>	paleface			
	<i>Horsfordia alata</i>	pink velvet-mallow			
	<i>Horsfordia newberryi</i>	newberry's velvet-mallow			
	<i>Malva parviflora</i>	small-whorl mallow			
	<i>Sphaeralcea ambigua</i>	apricot globe-mallow			
	<i>Sphaeralcea coulteri</i>	coulter's globe-mallow			
	<i>Sphaeralcea emoryi</i>	emory's globe-mallow			
	<i>Sphaeralcea orcuttii</i>	carrizo creek globe-mallow			
NYCTAGINACEAE	<i>Abronia villosa</i>	desert sand verbena			
	<i>Allionia incarinata</i>	trailing windmills			
	<i>Boerhavia erecta</i>	erect spiderling			
	<i>Boerhavia triquetra</i>	slender spiderling			
	<i>Boerhavia wrightii</i>	largebract spiderling			
NYCTAGINACEAE	<i>Mirabilis bigelovii</i>	desert wishbonebush			
OLEACEAE	<i>Menodora scabra</i>	rough menodora			
ONAGRACEAE	<i>Camissonia boothii</i>	shredding suncup			
	<i>Camissonia brevipes</i>	golden suncup			
	<i>Camissonia californica</i>	california suncup			
	<i>Camissonia cardiophylla</i>	heartleaf suncup			

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ONAGRACEAE	<i>Camissonia chamaenerioides</i>	longcapsule suncup			
	<i>Camissonia claviformis aurantiaca</i>	browneyes			
	<i>Camissonia claviformis peeblesii</i>	peebles' browneyes			
	<i>Camissonia claviformis peirsonii</i>	peirson's browneyes			
	<i>Camissonia refracta</i>	narrowleaf suncup			
	<i>Gaura parviflora</i>	velvetweed			
	<i>Oenothera deltooides</i>	devil's-lantern			
OROBANCHACEAE	<i>Orobanche cooperi</i>	desert broom-rape			Cooked by covering young sprouts with ash and baking in a fire place, then eaten as food (Rea 1997:239).
PAPAVERACEAE	<i>Argemone polyanthemos</i>	crested prickly poppy			
	<i>Eschscholzia glyptosperma</i>	desert golden-poppy			
	<i>Eschscholzia minutiflora</i>	pygmy golden-poppy			
PEDALIACEAE	<i>Proboscidea althaeifolia</i>	devil's-horn			Used in weaving (Rea 1997:241-242).
PLANTAGINACEAE	<i>Plantago ovata</i>	blond plantain			
POLEMONIACEAE	<i>Eriastrum diffusum</i>	minature woolstar			
	<i>Gilia latifolia</i>	broad-leaf gily-flower			
	<i>Gilia stellata</i>	star gily-flower			
	<i>Langloisia setosissima</i>	bristly-calico			
	<i>Linanthus bigelovii</i>	bigelow's desert-trumpets			
	<i>Loeseliastrum schottii</i>	schott's calico			
POLYGONACEAE	<i>Chorizanthe brevicornu</i>	brittle spineflower			
	<i>Chorizanthe corrugata</i>	wrinkled spineflower			
	<i>Chorizanthe rigida</i>	devil's spineflower			
	<i>Eriogonum deflexum</i>	flat-crown wild buckwheat			
	<i>Eriogonum fasciculatum</i>	eastern mojave wild buckwheat			
POLYGONACEAE	<i>Eriogonum inflatum</i>	indian-pipeweed			

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POLYGONACEAE	<i>Eriogonum reniforme</i>	kidney-leaf wild buckwheat			
	<i>Eriogonum thomasi</i>	thomas' wild buckwheat			
	<i>Eriogonum wrightii</i>	bastard-sage			
	<i>Polygonum argyrocoleon</i>	silver-sheath knotweed			
PORTULACACEAE	<i>Cistanthe ambigua</i>	desert pussypaws			
	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	little-hogweed			Greens are boiled for food (Rea 1997:205-206).
RESEDACEAE	<i>Oligomeris linifolia</i>	line-leaf whitepuff			
RHAMNACEAE	<i>Colubrina californica</i>	las animas nakedwood			
	<i>Condalia globosa</i>	bitter snakewood			
	<i>Ziziphus obtusifolia</i>	lotebush			Fruit eaten raw as food (Rea 1997:155-156).
RUBIACEAE	<i>Galium stellatum</i>	starry bedstraw			
RUTACEAE	<i>Thamnosma montana</i>	turpentine-broom			
SALICACEAE	<i>Populus fremontii</i>	fremont's cottonwood	X	ahah'	Used to start coil of baskets. May have been used in Yavapai snake dance as recorded in oral history. Shade is cast by cottonwood branch placed upright for mythical house called "Sekaamcha".
	<i>Salix exigua</i>	sandbar willow	X	yo'	Twigs and branches used in the construction of huts, mats tongs for collecting cactus fruit, cradles and the foundations for coiled baskets.
SCROPHULARIACEAE	<i>Mohavea confertiflora</i>	ghostflower			
	<i>Penstemon pseudospectabilis</i>	rosy desert beardtongue			
SIMAROUBACEAE	<i>Castela emoryi</i>	thorn of christ			Boiled and used as a medicinal tea (Rea 1997:160-161).
SIMMONDSIACEAE	<i>Simmondsia chinensis</i>	jojoba	X	ikasu	Seeds were collected in late summer and parched, ground and eaten. The seeds may have been boiled down to make a form of glue.
SOLANACEAE	<i>Datura discolor</i>	desert thornapple			Dangerous hallucinogenic that has some medicinal uses (Rea 1997:220-223).
	<i>Lycium andersonii</i>	red-berry desert-thorn			

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SOLANACEAE	<i>Lycium cooperi</i>	peachthorn			
	<i>Lycium fremontii</i>	fremont's desert-thorn			
	<i>Lycium parishii</i>	parish's desert-thorn			
	<i>Nicotiana clevelandii</i>	cleveland's tobacco			
	<i>Nicotiana trigonophylla</i>	desert tobacco			Used as a smoking tobacco (Rea 1997:236-238).
	<i>Physalis crassifolia</i>	yellow nightshade ground-cherry			
	<i>Quincula lobata</i>	chinese lantern			
	<i>Solanum elaeagnifolium</i>	silver-leaf nightshade			Berries are used to curdle milk in cheese making (Rea 1997:153-154).
STERCULIACEAE	<i>Ayenia cf. microphylla</i>	dese ayenia			
TAMARICACEAE	<i>Tamarix aphylla</i>	athel tamarisk			
	<i>Tamarix chinensis</i>	five-stamen tamarisk			
URTICACEAE	<i>Parietaria hespera</i>	rillita pellitory			
VERBENACEAE	<i>Aloysia wrightii</i>	wright's beebrush			
VISCACEAE	<i>Phoradendron californicum</i>	mesquite mistletoe			Berries are eaten for food and also have a medicinal use (Rea 1997).
ZYGOPHYLLANCEAE	<i>Fagonia laevis</i>	california fagonbush			
	<i>Fagonia pachyacantha</i>	sticky fagonbush			
	<i>Kallstroemia californica</i>	california caltrop			
	<i>Larrea tridentata</i>	creosote bush	X	huvthii	Leaves were used for medicinal purposes such as a drink for sore throats, wash for rheumatism, and disinfectants for cuts and sores. Dried pulverized leaves were applied directly to sores and to deodorize men's feet. Leaves were used as a mattress for sick people and during child birth to make them strong.
	<i>Tribulus terrestris</i>	puncturevine			

Appendix B
Mammals, Amphibians, and Reptiles of
Yuma Proving Ground

APPENDIX B
MAMMALS, AMPHIBIANS, AND REPTILES
OF YUMA PROVING GROUND

Order	Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name
Insectivora	SORICIDAE	<i>Notiosorex crawfordi</i>	desert shrew		
Chiroptera	MOLOSSIDAE	<i>Eumops perotis</i>	western mastiff bat		
		<i>Nyctinomops femorosaccus</i>	pocketed free-tailed bat		
		<i>Nyctinomops macrotis</i>	big free-tailed bat		
		<i>Tadarida brasiliensis</i>	mexican free-tailed bat		
	PHYLLOSTUMATIDAE	<i>Leptonycteris curasoae</i>	lesser long-nose bat		
		<i>Macrotus californicus</i>	california leaf-nose bat		
	VESPERTILIONIDAE	<i>Antrozous pallidus</i>	pallid bat		
		<i>Eptesicus fuscus</i>	big brown bat		
		<i>Euderma maculatum</i>	spotted bat		
		<i>Lasiurus blossevillii</i>	western red bat		
		<i>Lasiurus cinereus</i>	hoary bat		
		<i>Lasiurus ega*</i>	southern yellow bat		
		<i>Myotis californicus</i>	california myotis		
		<i>Myotis velifer</i>	cave myotis		
<i>Myotis yumanensis</i>		yuma myotis			
<i>Pipistrellus hesperus</i>		western pipistrelle			
	<i>Plecotus townsendi</i>	townsend's big-eared bat			
Lagomorpha	LEPORIDAE	<i>Lepus californicus</i>	black-tailed jack rabbit		
		<i>Sylvilagus audubonni</i>	desert cottontail		
Rodentia	CRICETIDAE	<i>Peromyscus boylii</i>	brush mouse		
		<i>Peromyscus eremicus</i>	cactus mouse		
		<i>Peromyscus maniculatus</i>	deer mouse		
		<i>Peromyscus crinitus</i>	canyon mouse		
		<i>Onychomys torridus</i>	southern grasshopper mouse		
		<i>Neotoma albigula</i>	white-throated woodrat		
		<i>Neotoma lepida</i>	desert woodrat		

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Order	Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name
Rodentia	CRICETIDAE	<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i>	muskrat		
	ERETHIZONTIDAE	<i>Erethizon dorstum</i>	porcupine		
	GEOMYIDAE	<i>Thomomys bottae</i>	botta's pocket gopher		
	HETEROMYIDAE	<i>Dipodomys deserti</i>	desert kangaroo rat		
	HETEROMYIDAE	<i>Dipodomys merriami</i>	merriam's kangaroo rat		
		<i>Perognathus amplus</i>	arizona pocket mouse		
		<i>Perognathus baileyi</i>	bailey's pocket mouse		
		<i>Perognathus intermedius</i>	rock pocket mouse		
		<i>Perognathus longimembris</i>	little pocket mouse		
		<i>Perognathus penicillatus</i>	desert pocket mouse		
		<i>Perognathus spinatus</i>	spiny pocket mouse		
	MURIDAE	<i>Mus musculus</i>	house mouse		
	SCIURIDAE	<i>Ammospermophilus harrisi</i>	Harris' antelope squirrel		
<i>Spermophilus tereticaudus</i>		round-tailed ground squirrel			
<i>Spermophilus variegatus</i>		rock squirrel			
Artiodactyla	BOVIDAE	<i>Ovis canadensis</i>	bighorned sheep		
	CERVIDAE	<i>Odocoileus hemionus</i>	mule deer		
	TAYASSUIDAE	<i>Tayassu tajacu</i>	collared peccary		
Perissodactyla	EQUIDAE	<i>Equus caballus</i>	horse		
		<i>Equus asinus</i>	burro		
Carnivora	CANIDAE	<i>Canis latrans</i>	coyote		
		<i>Urocyon cinereoargenteus</i>	gray fox		
		<i>Vulpes macrotis</i>	kit fox		
	FELIDAE	<i>Felis concolor</i>	mountain lion		
		<i>Felis rufus</i>	bobcat		
	MUSTELIDAE	<i>Taxidea taxus</i>	badger		
		<i>Mephitis mephitis</i>	striped skunk		
<i>Spilogale gracilis</i>		spotted skunk			

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MAMMALS, AMPHIBIANS, AND REPTILES
OF YUMA PROVING GROUND

Order	Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name
Carnivora	PROCYONIDAE	<i>Bassariscus astutus</i>	ringtail		
		<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon		
Salientia	BUFONIDAE	<i>Bufo cognatus</i>	great plains toad		
		<i>Bufo woodhousei</i>	western woodhouse toad		
	RANIDAE	<i>Rana catesbeiana</i>	bullfrog		
		<i>Rana yavapaiensis</i>	lowland leopard frog		
Squamata	BOIDAE	<i>Lichanura trivirgata</i>	rosy boa		
	COLUBRIDAE	<i>Arizona elegans</i>	glossy snake		
		<i>Chilomeniscus cinctus</i>	banded sand snake		
	COLUBRIDAE	<i>Chionactis occipitalis</i>	western shovel-nosed snake		
		<i>Diadophis punctatus</i>	ringneck snake		
		<i>Hypsiglena torquata</i>	night snake		
		<i>Lampropeltis getulus</i>	common kingsnake		
		<i>Masticophis flagellum</i>	coachwhip		
		<i>Masticophis taeniatus</i>	striped whipsnake		
		<i>Pituophis catenifer</i>	gopher snake		
		<i>Phyllorhynchus decortatus</i>	spotted leaf-nosed snake		
		<i>Rhinocheilus lecontei</i>	long-nosed snake		
		<i>Salvadora hexalepis</i>	western patch-nosed snake		
		<i>Sonora semiannulata</i>	western ground snake		
		<i>Tantilla hobartsmithi</i>	western black-headed snake		
		<i>Thamnophis marianus</i>	garter snake		
	<i>Trimorphodon biscutatus</i>	lyre snake			
	CROTALIDAE	<i>Crotalus atrox</i>	western diamondback rattlesnake		
		<i>Crotalus cerastes</i>	sidewinder		
		<i>Crotalus mitchelli</i>	speckled rattlesnake		
<i>Crotalus molossus</i>		black-tailed rattlesnake			

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MAMMALS, AMPHIBIANS, AND REPTILES
OF YUMA PROVING GROUND

Order	Family	Scientific Name	Common Name	Utilized by Yavapai	Yavapai Name
Squamata	CROTALIDAE	<i>Crotalus scutulatus</i>	mojave rattlesnake		
	ELAPIDAE	<i>Micruroides euryxanthus</i>	western coral snake		
	HELODERMATIDAE	<i>Heloderma suspectum</i>	gila monster		
	IGUANIDAE	<i>Callisaurus draconoides</i>	zebra-tailed lizard		
		<i>Crotaphytus collaris</i>	collard lizard		
		<i>Crotaphytus insultris</i>	great basin collard lizard		
		<i>Dipsosaurus dorsalis</i>	desert iguana		
		<i>Gambelia wislizenii</i>	long-nosed leopard lizard		
		<i>Phrynosoma mcallii</i>	flat-tailed horned lizard		
		<i>Phrynosoma platyrhinos</i>	desert horned lizard		
		<i>Phrynosoma solare</i>	regal horned lizard		
		<i>Sauromalus obesus</i>	chuckwalla		
		<i>Sceloporus magister</i>	desert spiny lizard		
		<i>Uma notata</i>	Colorado desert fringe-toed lizard		
		<i>Uma scoparia</i>	mohave fringe-toed lizard		
		<i>Urosaurus graciosus</i>	long-tailed brush lizard		
		<i>Urosaurus ornatus</i>	tree lizard		
<i>Uta stansburiana</i>	side-blotched lizard				
LEPTOTYPHLOPIDAE	<i>Leptotyphlops humilis</i>	western blind snake			
TEIIDAE	<i>Cnemidophorus tigris</i>	western whiptail			
XANTUSIIDAE	<i>Xantusia vigilis</i>	desert night lizard			
Testudinata	CHELYDRINAE	<i>Kinosternon sonoriense</i>	sonoran mud turtle		
	TRIONYCHIDAE	<i>Trionyx spiniferous</i>	texas spiny turtle		

Appendix C

Yavapai Historical Timeline

Time Line

1540	Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (Spain) explored the Southwest in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, encountering, Hopi, Apache, Pawnee, Zuni, and Wichita Indians.	1629-33	Spanish found Christian missions among Acoma, Hopi, and Zuni tribes.
1582	Espejo, a wealth merchant took an expedition into New Mexico.	1652	Smallpox reaches the pueblos in New Mexico.
1598-99	Espejo travels to the Hopi and becomes the first non-Indian to enter Yavapai land.	1661	Spanish raid the sacred kivas of the Pueblo Indians and destroy hundreds of kachina masks in an effort to suppress Indian religion.
1598-99	Juan de Oñate founds Spanish colony of San Gabriel del Yunque in northern New Mexico, known today as San Juan Indian Pueblo.	1680	Pueblo Indians stage the Pueblo Rebellion under Pope, a Tewa medicine man, against Spanish rule and religion, and manage to drive out the occupiers.
1598-99	Indians at Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico attack a group of visiting Spanish. A year later, a Spanish retaliatory force under Juan de Oñate kills as many as 800 Indians.	1689	The Spanish begin reconquest of the Pueblo Indians.
1598-99	Juan de Oñate enters Yavapai territory on his way to the ocean.	1694	Eusebio Kino, a Jesuit priest entered the Pima, Maricopa, Quechan and Cocopa communities.
1598-99	Spanish found Santa Fe in New Mexico.	1695	First Pima uprising against the Spanish in the Southwest.
		1699	Eusebio Kino made contact with people he called the Apache.
		1743	Father Ignacio Keler, and nine soldiers, made the only known expedition into Yavapai territory.

1751	Second Pima uprising against the Spanish in the Southwest.	1826	Four trapping parties receive licenses to enter and trap in Arizona.
1767	Spanish royal decree expels Jesuits from all of New Spain and the Franciscans take over the Jesuit missions.		Jedediah Smith's party stayed with the Mohave for several weeks.
1776	The Declaration of Independence is signed.	1827	By 1827 at least 100 trappers were in the region of the Gila, Salt and Colorado Rivers.
	Francisco Garces visited the Hopi.	1829-44	Several large trapping parties passed through Yavapai territory.
1780	Garces established a mission among the Quechan.	1834	Congress reorganizes the Indian Office, creating the U.S. Department of Indian Affairs (still within the War Department). The Trade and Intercourse Act redefines the Indian Territory and Permanent Indian Frontier, and gives the army the right to quarantine Indians.
1797	Smallpox epidemic among Indians in Mexico.		
1803	Louisiana Purchase by the United States from France (who had gained the territory back from Spain two years before) adds a large Indian population to the United States. The Louisiana Territory Act shows the intent of the United States to move eastern Indians west of the Mississippi.	1845-48	War between the United States and Mexico over the American annexation of Texas.
1821	Mexican Independence from Spain.	1848	The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is signed and the Spanish Southwest and its Indian tribes become part of the United States.
1824	Mexico becomes a federal republic which included the present day states of Arizona and New Mexico.	1848-49	Gold discovered in California, starting the California Gold Rush and slow destruction of Southwest Indians.

1850-51	<p>U.S. Army soldiers try to set up camps along the Lower Colorado River. Four Hundred Quechan, Yavapai, and Mohave drive the Army soldiers from the Lower Colorado River.</p> <p>In October the Quechan sign a peace treaty with U.S. Army.</p>	<p>The first land claim is staked by a non-Indian in Yavapai territory.</p> <p>By the end of the year more then 1,000 non-Indians had moved northern Yavapai territory in search of Gold.</p>
1857	<p>The last great Colorado-Gila River battle was when the Quechan, Mohave and Yavapai attacked the Maricopa.</p>	<p>The number of non-Indians now residing in their territory threatens the seasonal rounds of the Yavapai.</p> <p>With ranchers livestock were very close to the settlements of the Kwevkepayas, Wipukepas, and Tonto Apache the Indians began raiding the herds.</p>
1858	<p>Mohave attack and kill 8 settlers crossing their land.</p> <p>The Gila River Indian Reservation was established by and Act of Congress February 28th.</p>	<p>Arizona Volunteers between February and April kill eighty-three Yavapai.</p>
1859	<p>The U.S. Army sent 600 troops to punish the Mohave for killing 8 settlers the year before.</p> <p>Settlers were now residing in the Gila-Colorado River region.</p>	<p>A prospector by the name of King Woolsey established a ranch in Yavapai territory.</p>
1861-65	<p>The Civil War took place.</p>	<p>1865</p> <p>Settlers began staking out new farms on Yavape and Wipukepa garden spots located along the Verde River.</p>
1863	<p>Twenty Yavapai are killed by a mining party.</p> <p>The Tolkepaya stop a party of miners from crossing their land.</p>	<p>Squatters killed a very influential headman.</p>

The Colorado River Indian Reservation is established on March 3rd and the Tolkepaya and Yavape relocate to the reservation.

A line is drawn and Indian located farther than 75 miles east of the Colorado River are considered hostile and will be arrested or shot on site.

Fighting breaks out between the Paiute tribe and the Mohave and Yavapai.

1866

The Yavapai begin leaving the Colorado River Reservation because of the river wars among the tribes, smallpox, soldiers, and the lack of food.

The Pima and Maricopas assisted soldiers in their war against the Yavapai.

1867

The Yavapai begin returning to the Colorado River Reservation., but in June of that year they left again because of an outbreak of whooping cough up river among the Mohave.

A Yavapai camp was attacked and all were killed. The remaining Yavapai at the Colorado River Reservation left

and took vengeance on travelers in the area.

In October about 100 Yavapai returned to the reservation and asked for permission to farm, but once they had received their rations the left. After that the Mohave did not welcome the Yavapai back to the reservation.

In November the Kwevkepayas took up farming along Tonto Creek, near the future site of Camp Reno, under the protection of the U.S. Army.

1868

Troops were sent out from Fort McDowell to arrest all Kwevkepaya who had left the area of Tonto Creek.

1869

The Kwevkepaya were once again asking for peace and settled near Camp Reno. They began to perform camp chores, for money and rations and carry the mail between Camp Reno and Fort McDowell.

1870

The Kwevkepaya fled once again because the camp surgeon who had fired at the shadow of someone he believed had wounded one of the headmen.

- | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|--|
| 1871 | <p>The Fort Mohave Reservation was established in August.</p> <p>The Kwevkepayas and Tonto Apache express their desire for a reservation.</p> <p>On November 9, 1871, the San-Carlos Apache Reservation, Camp Verde Yavapai-Apache Reservation, and the Fort Apache Reservations (also know as the White Mountain Apache Reservation) were established.</p> | 1873 | <p>The Kwevkepayas did not want to be relocated so they left and were once again considered hostile renegades and subject to attack by U.S. troops.</p> <p>In the December General Crook sent two companies of U.S. Cavalry out of Fort McDowell and one out of Camp Grant, along with about 100 Pima and San Carlos and Tonto apache scouts to hunt down the Kwevkepayas. Over 76 Kwevkepayas died in a cave they were using.</p> |
| 1872 | <p>Fort McDowell and Camp Grant were established as temporary Indian reserves and all Kwevkepayas and Tontos were order to settle at either the Rio Verde or the White Mountain Apache Reservation.</p> | 1873 | <p>By June over 250 Kwevkepayas, Tontos, a few Wipukepas, and San Carlos and White Mountain Apache had been killed, and close to 500 Yavapai and Tontos had surrendered at Camp Verde.</p> |
| 1875 | <p>In February the Rio Verde Reservation was eliminated and 1,476 Yavapai and Tontos began walking to the San Carlos Reservation where they stayed for more than twenty-five years.</p> | 1903 | <p>The Fort McDowell Mohave-Apache Reservation was established, and the Yavapai, Kwevkepayas, Yavapés and Wipukepas relocated to the new reservation.</p> |
| 1903 | <p>The Fort Yuma Reservation was established.</p> | 1956 | <p>The Yavapai-Prescott Reservation was established.</p> |

Appendix D

Historic Yavapai Territorial Maps

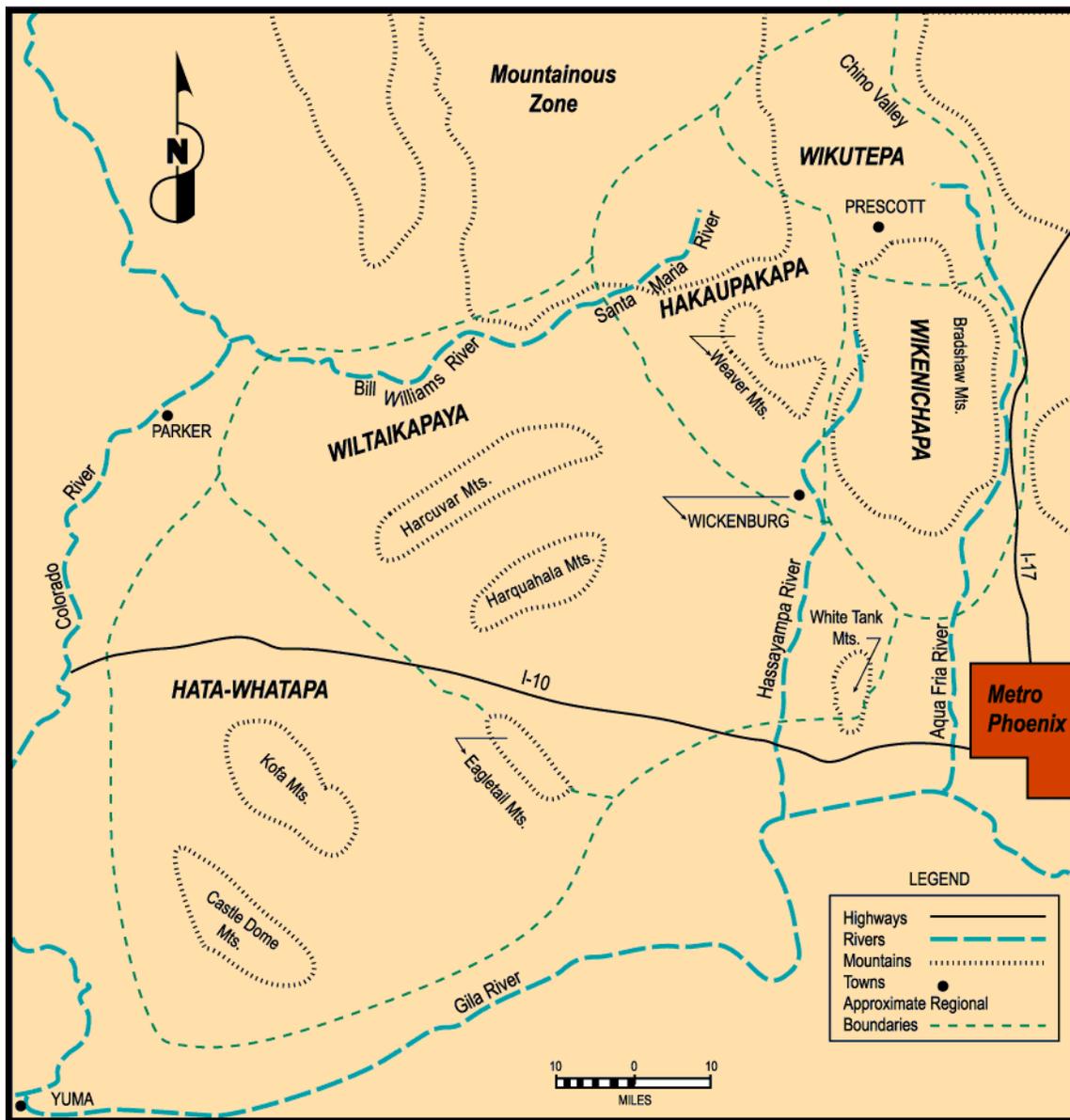


Figure D-1. Yavapai regional bands.

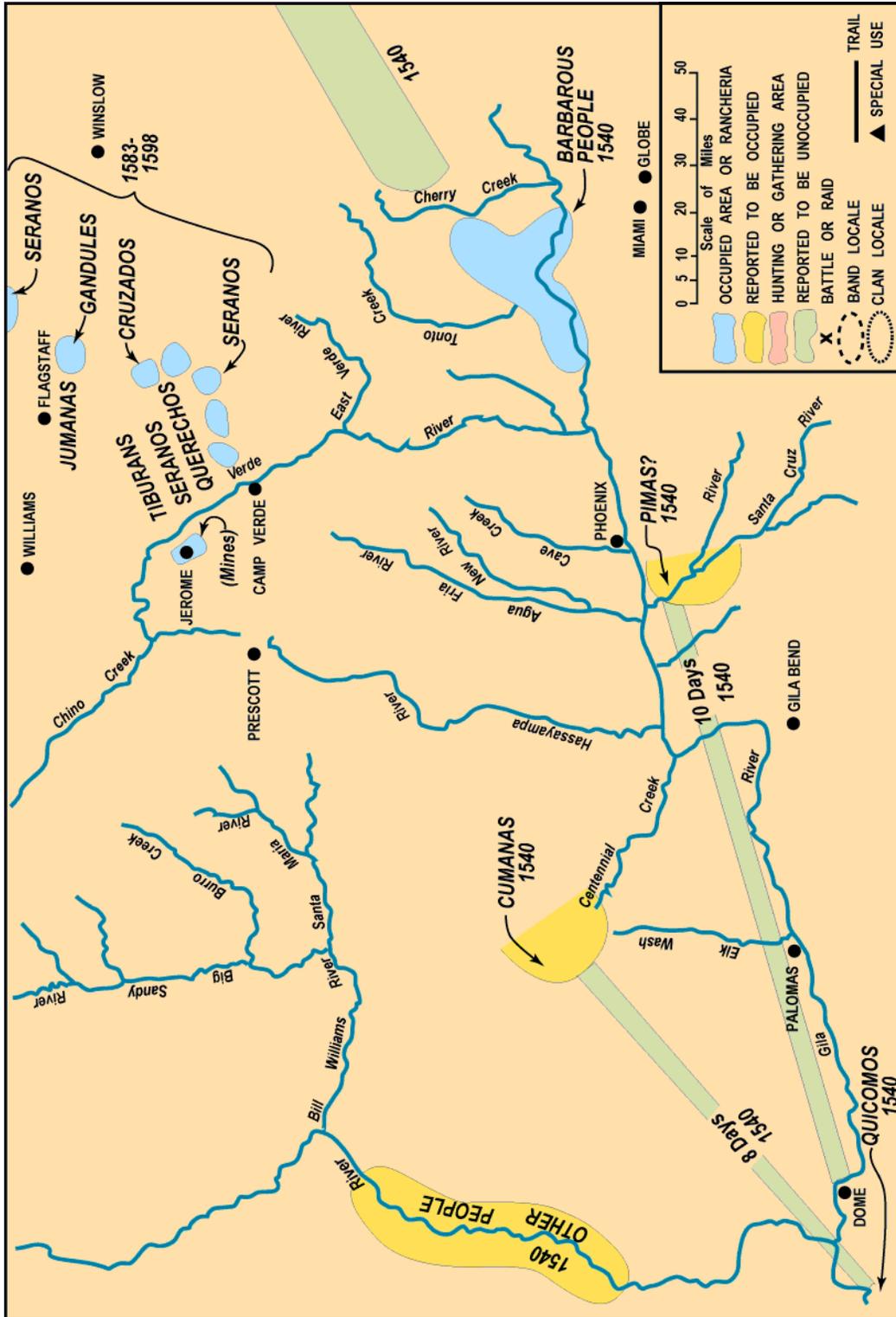


Figure D-2. Yavapai locales 1540-1600.

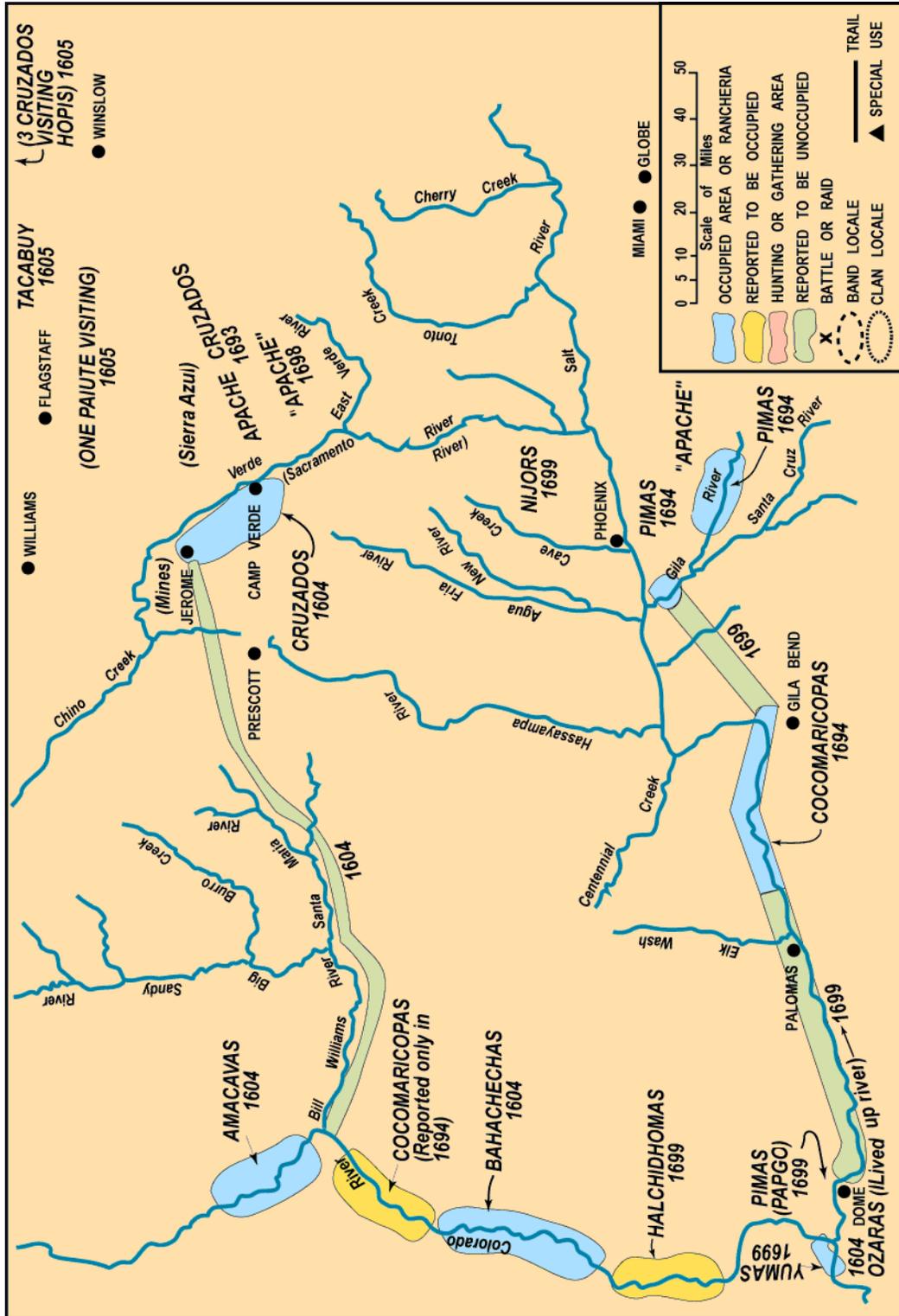
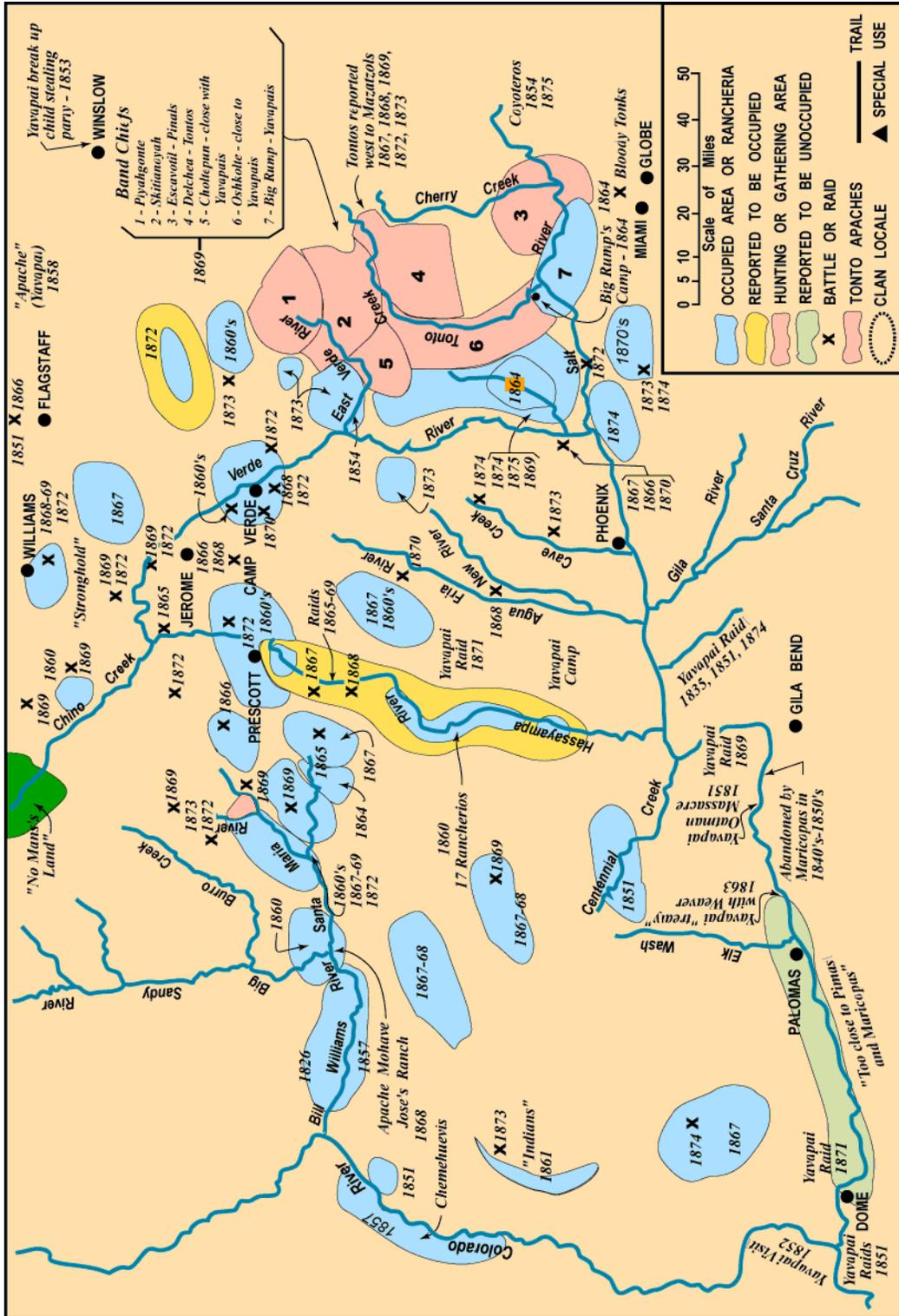


Figure D-3. Yavapai locales 1600-1700.



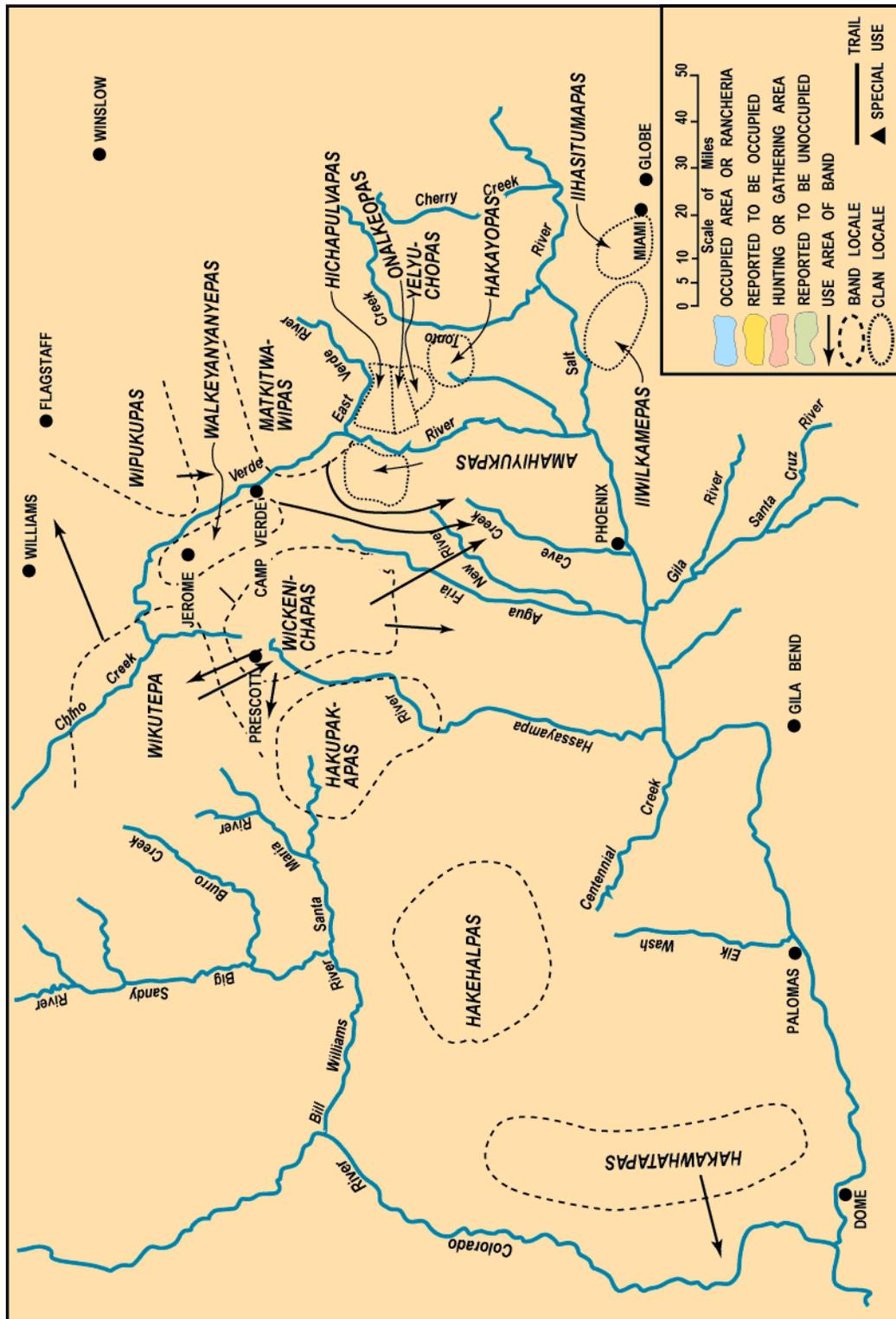


Figure D-6. Yavapai Bands According to Gifford

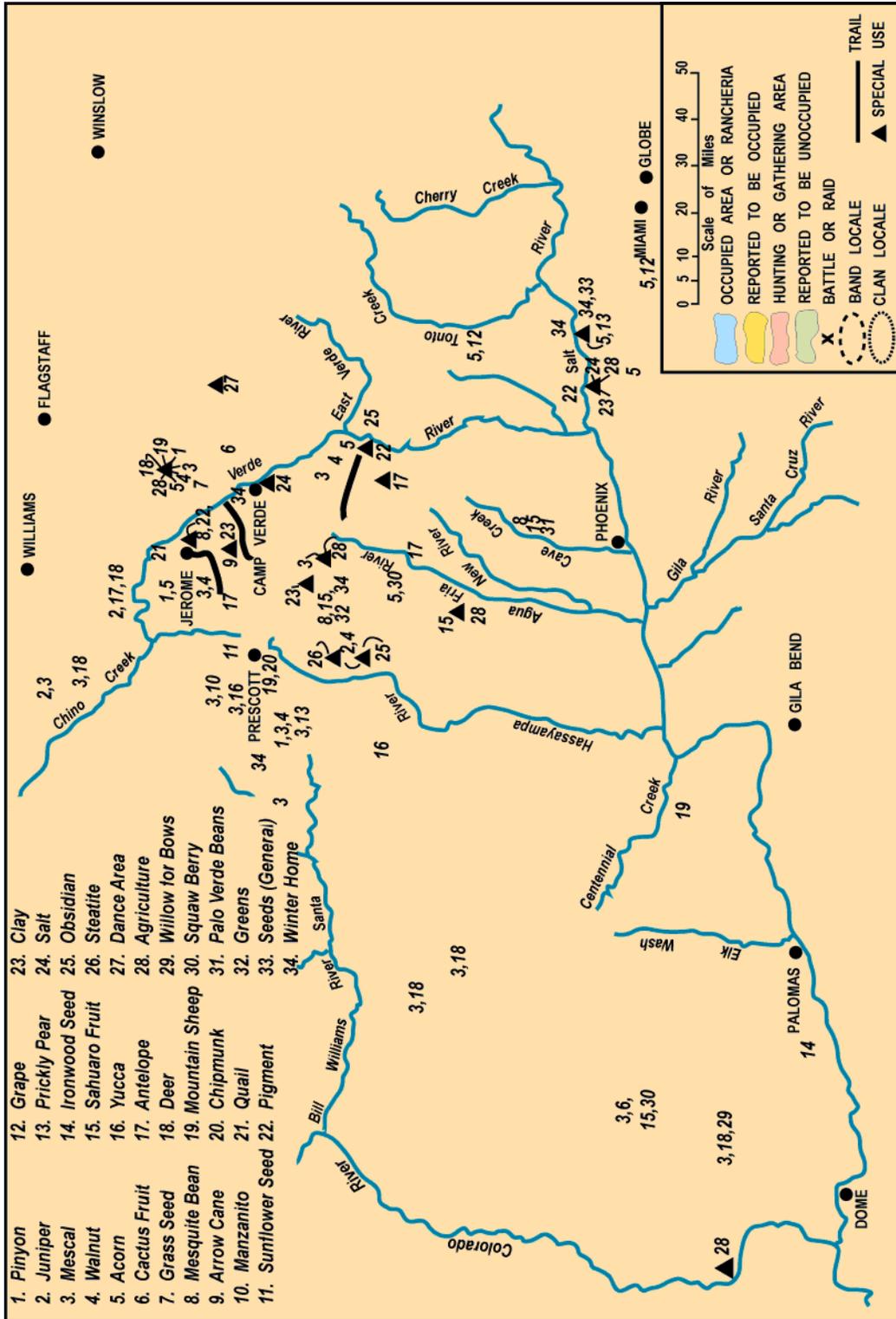


Figure D-7. Yavapai Use Areas. (Based on Gifford)