

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE YUMA INDIANS

BY

C. DARYLL FORDE

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PREFACE

The Yuma at the present time occupy a reservation on the west bank of the Colorado at the confluence of the Gila, immediately north of the International Boundary. This land includes the greater part of the territory occupied by them in the period of Spanish exploration, so that they have suffered little direct disturbance. This territory was, however, allotted before the development of the Imperial valley irrigation scheme, which has since transformed the eastern part of the reservation. While the extensive fertilizing floods, remarked by the Spanish explorers, have been reduced by the construction of Laguna dam and riverine dykes, the passage of a main distribution canal across reservation territory and the construction of branch and distributary canals which have equipped it for modern irrigation, have greatly enhanced the economic value of their land.

With the establishment of ginneries on the reservation, cotton growing has been developed on the irrigable land, but the Indians have

taken little advantage of these developments and have frequently leased their allotments to white operators, relying themselves on casual employment.

Participation in irrigation agriculture and the close proximity of the town of Yuma across the river have given the Yuma a measure of prosperity and sense of self-respect and importance which is all too rare among reservation Indians. This unusual degree of assimilation has, however, resulted in a rapid disappearance of native crafts, so that, although the sense of tribal solidarity is remarkably strong, American culture has penetrated deeply into their material life. Pottery, basketry, and native weaving are virtually extinct. The aboriginal cultivation has necessarily been supplanted and the social organization of former times has largely disappeared.

The ceremonial and religious life of the people has, nevertheless, suffered little disturbance and is at present practically unaffected by the thin veneer of methodism and catholicism which compete for their adherence in the missions at Fort Yuma.

The Yuma reservation was visited in December-January, 1928-29 and again in September and December, 1929. In connection with the work I wish to thank Mr. E. W. Gifford, who accompanied me in 1928 to study the neighboring Kamyas; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, for much advice based especially on his knowledge of the culturally related Mohave; and Dr. H. E. Bolton, who has kindly given me access to his manuscripts and commentaries of the Anza expeditions which traversed the Yuma territory in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

For financial assistance I am indebted to the University of California, the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, the Southwest Society of New York, and the Commonwealth Fund of New York.

The simpler phonetic system of the American Anthropological Association¹ has, in general, been followed in the transliteration of native speech. The following summary and notes may be of service.

a as in father	ä as in but
ō as in fato	e as in met
ī as in pique	i as in pin
ō as in note	o as in not
ū as in rule	u as in put
	o as in idea (obscure)

¹ Sapir, 2-7.

The short *ä* as in hat was not heard. The open *ē* is not as wide as in the English equivalent give above. The long *ū* is relatively unrounded as compared with the English in rule. *ā* is very common; it frequently appears to have an *e* quality but when slowly enunciated approaches *a*.

The stops (*p,b*; *t,d*; *k,g*; and *q,g*) tend to be intermediate throughout; when spoken slowly they are probably sonant at the occlusion, but surd during the expulsion of breath. They have usually been written with the surd symbols. Palatalized *k* (*ky*) is frequent.

Nasals are bilabial and dental, *m* is frequently sustained (*m̄*). The palatal *ñ* as in ring was rarely heard except in songs. Palatalized nasals, especially *ny* as in the English, *new*, are frequent.

Spirants are:

- v* sonant bilabial as in Spanish
- ð* sonant interdental as in *though*
- c* prepalatal as in *shine*
- s* surd sibilant as in *sing*
- x* surd palatal as in German *ich*

An affricative *dð* was frequently heard. *r* is sonant and trilled.

Both the surd and sonant laterals, *l* as in *light* and *L* as in *Llewellyn*, occur.

Aspiration when weak is indicated by *'*, when strong by *h*.

- '* glottal stop
- '* accent (placed after the vowel)
- aː* indicates greater length of sound
- aːh* indicates exceptional length of sound

I am greatly indebted to the following informants for their services during the course of my field work. My general interpreter, Mr. Patrick Miguel, actively cooperated with the work throughout.

	Born ²	Age in 1929
Manuel Thomas	1842	89 years
Joe Homer	1869	60 "
Stephen Kelly	1870	59 "
Patrick Miguel	1877	52 "
Lincoln Johnson	1879	50 "
Mrs. Hipa Norton	1863	66 "
Mrs. Xavtea's Roosevelt	1870	59 "

² According to the Agency Records. These dates may in some instances be approximations. Wherever one informant is more particularly responsible for an account his name is given.

Since the material culture was known to have followed the Mohave pattern and is at the present time decayed and adulterated by white influence, my attention has been devoted primarily to social, ceremonial, and religious practice. I have, however, endeavored to give a balanced, if incomplete, picture of the culture as it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

When first encountered the Yuma were one of a large group of peoples occupying the bottom lands of the lower Colorado from the Needles, California, to the gulf of California. The aboriginal population of this region was, exclusive of the higher cultures of Middle America, probably as dense as any in the New World. This concentration of people depended, however, on no great elaboration of material civilization but rather on fortunate environmental circumstances, which a crude agriculture and moderate industry in the collection of wild fruits were able to exploit with relatively little effort. The life of the Lower Colorado tribes, despite their desert environment, was less arduous than that of the Basin gatherers or the hunters of the Plains, while their economic security was probably as great as among the Pueblo peoples.

Relatively undisturbed in Spanish and Mexican times the Yuma maintained their aboriginal culture almost unchanged until the fifties of the last century, when the establishment of the caravan trail to Southern California terminated their freedom. By the eighties they had been gathered on a reservation, had adopted white men's clothing, and had begun to work as laborers in the neighboring town established on the Arizona border. Although the greater part of their religion and non-material culture has been preserved up to the present time, American control and changed economic circumstances have extinguished their tribal organization, obliterated the old settlements, and above all, ended the constant warfare which they practiced.

The Yuma call themselves kwátea'n, a true tribal name distinct from the term for man (ipā) or people (pī'pa). The native etymology derives it from an incident in the creation myth. The Yuma took a special trail down from the top of avikwame'. This was xam kwátea'n ("another going down"), so they took the name kwátea'n.

The origin of the term Yuma is doubtful. The statements that it was derived from terms for "son of the chief" or "sons of the river,"³ were always improbable⁴ and have been disproved by inquiries. Ten Kate⁵ was informed by the Pima that their native name for the Yuma was Yum. This was confirmed by A. L. Pinart, a resident among the Papago, in a letter to Gatschet⁶ in which he stated that the Pima would call both a Yuma and a Comoye'i (Kamya and (?) Diegueño) man i'-um o'-otam; the Papago, according to his information, call both the Yuma and the Maricopa "Yum" while an "Apache-Mohave" (Yavapai) whom he questioned also used the term "Yuma" and did not know the term "kutch'a'n." Heintzelman, 1854, apparently used the word "Yum" in reference to the Kamya alone ("New River Indians"), calling the Yuma "Kuchan." Without some investigation of the occurrence and associations of the term "Yum" among the Pima, Papago, and other tribes, the question cannot, however, be considered settled. The Spaniards were already using the term Yuma in the eighteenth century and it still remains possible that they introduced it among the Pima and others where it supplanted earlier usage.

THE LOWER COLORADO REGION

The Colorado, emerging from its narrower gorges about sixty miles south of the great bend which forms the Arizona-Nevada boundary, flows in its lower course through a longitudinal oasis created by the annually flooding river and is flanked on either side by barren ranges whose festoons segment the valley into a series of broad flood plains, some twenty-five miles in width, connected by narrow canyons. A few miles below the final constriction at Yuma, where the river has cut a narrow gorge across a low conglomerate spur, the muddy waters forsake a single channel and splay out over the great alluvial fan of the delta which extends sixty miles south from Yuma to the present gulf head⁸ (map 2).

³ Whipple in Schoolcraft, 2, 115.

⁶ Gatschet, 97-98, 1886.

⁴ Cf. Gatschet, 381, 1877.

⁷ Heintzelman, 36.

⁵ Ten Kate, 356.

⁸ The ancient gulf extended into and included the present Imperial Valley now separated by a geologically recent uplift, which has converted the valley into an enclosed basin into which the Colorado has flooded to produce the Salton Sea. The most recent incursion of the river occurred in 1905-7, since when channels along the western side of the delta have been maintained (cf. Cory, H. T., Imperial Valley and the Salton Sink, and Kniffen, F., Colorado Delta, MS).

In both its valley and delta courses the river flows over a deep alluvium and is nowhere at bed rock. Bluffs, some fifty to a hundred feet in height and varying in distance from a few hundred yards to several miles from the thalweg, border the valley and mark the limit of the flood plain.⁹

The Colorado is fed from a catchment area of somewhat more than a quarter million square miles, but much of this is semi-arid and the lower affluents contribute little to the flow. Apart from occasional floods on the Gila in February and March, the river does not rise appreciably until May or reach a maximum before the end of June. The waters of western Colorado are then pouring into the main stream to produce a flood of about 80,000 second feet as compared with the low water average of about 13,000 second feet. The flood rises slowly and irregularly, sometimes in a succession of peaks with falls between, from the end of April onward. The maximum flow and total run-off vary considerably from year to year, rising occasionally to between 150,000 and 200,000 second feet for a day or so but failing, in some seasons, to produce an appreciable flood.¹⁰ The siltload of the Colorado is extraordinarily heavy, the ratio being far higher than that of the Mississippi or the Nile¹¹ and an annual burden of over a million tons is spread over the river and delta flats.

Under aboriginal conditions the greater part of the river plain and upper delta was normally flooded every year. Since precipitation is almost negligible under the conditions of intense summer heat and low humidity,¹² the flooded land presented the strongest contrast with the sandy and stony deserts above the bluffs which limited the flood waters, and today, despite the transformation of modern irrigation, the contrast between "mesa" and "valley" is outstanding (map 2). On the mesas creosote bushes, cacti, and occasional desert willows and ironwood trees are scattered sparsely over the waste of sand, gravel, and boulders, but the vegetation of the lowlands is luxuriant and often approaches jungle. Dense groves of cottonwood (*Populus macdougalii*), willow (*Prosopis velutinea*), mesquite (*P. pubescens*), and

⁹ Cf. Lee, W. T., 66 ff.

¹⁰ Data obtainable from the Yuma Gauge station, U. S. Reclamation Service; cf. also U.S.G.S. Water Supply Papers 395 and 556 quoted by Kniffen, MS.

¹¹ See Collingwood, C. B., 7; and Reichel and Leitr, quoted by Kniffen, MS.

¹² Average annual precipitation at Yuma is 3.42 inches, but varies considerably from year to year, e.g., 1904, 1.43 inches; 1905, 11.41 inches; mean Jan. temp. 54.4° F; mean July temp. 91.0° F (76.6-105.4 mean min. and max.); mean annual relative humidity at noon 27 per cent. See Annual Meteorological Summary, Yuma, Ariz., and Sec. 13, Summary Climatic Data; U. S. Weather Bureau, 1921.

sycamore cover the uncleared land. Impenetrable thickets of arrowweed (*Pluchea sericea*) confronted the early travelers and compelled the use of guides in journeying from village to village. The cottonwoods flank the main river channel above the level of permanent swamp and form dense continuous belts, sometimes several hundred yards in width, which can be seen from the Fort Yuma hill extending far into the distance along the Gila and Colorado. The black willows cluster below the cottonwoods at the water's edge (pl. 49b). They grow also in thick clumps out in the plains in natural depressions where flood waters accumulate. The sloughs and mud banks of the broad meandering channels are thickly overgrown by rushes, tule, and canes (*Phragmites*), which demand permanent surface water. Below Pilot Knob the longitudinal belts of rushes, willow, and cottonwood tongue up the westward flowing distributaries of the Colorado, Alamo, New River, and Paredones, and extend down the ancient main channel toward the gulf.¹³ Arrowweed thickets, six to eight feet high and so dense that trails must be hacked through with knives, formerly occupied the greater part of the plain which was inundated for only a few weeks of the year. Mesquite, intolerant of marsh conditions and able to draw water from considerable depths, grew most abundantly along the margins of the plain beneath the mesa bluffs¹⁴ on land that was rarely well flooded but whose water table was still high.

The game of this territory, although probably fairly abundant under aboriginal conditions, was limited in species and relatively unimportant in the native economy. Deer and antelope were sometimes to be found in the mesquite groves near the mesa and less frequently among the cottonwood close to the river. Wildcats, coyotes, and raccoons abounded and preyed on the numerous rabbits. Beavers and muskrats were found in the river but trapped neither for food nor pelt. The water birds, of which the most conspicuous were apparently the American and the Snowy Egret (*Casmerodius egretta* and *Egretta candidissima candidissima*), were valued for their plumage and shot while at rest with blunt arrows.

The climate of the Lower Colorado in the neighborhood of the Gila confluence is of the hot desert type. In winter the diurnal range is noticeably great; while a few nights of frost are expected in late December and January, the days are pleasantly warm. But severe conditions occasionally develop. Anza's first expedition arrived in winter to suffer unexpected hardships from the cold, and snow fell

¹³ MacDougal, 10.

¹⁴ Cf. Trippel, 573.

in surprising amount. The absolute minimum temperature obtained in modern records from Yuma is 22° F. Temperature rises rapidly in spring accompanied by valuable but erratic cyclonic rains and by the end of May the tropic summer has developed. Apart from occasional thunderstorms which produce a temporary but unpleasant damp heat, the days are hot but dry, since no longer, as in the past, is the air moistened by the evaporating flood. The glare of the sand and the saltiness of the slight breezes are trying to the stranger, who obtains little relief at night until a few hours before dawn. But the slight chill of night is dispelled within an hour of sunrise and the temperature rises rapidly again to a mean maximum of 105° F, which may on occasion mount to 120° F in the shade.

ABORIGINAL CONDITIONS

The Yuma formerly lived in a series of scattered settlements near their patches of arable land and mesquite bushes. The men went naked.¹⁵ The women wore a two-piece skirt of bark. Rabbitskin blankets were made and worn in cold weather, but true weaving of the Pima type, which they employed to make bark-cloth blankets and breech-clouts, may have been introduced at a relatively recent date, since woven garments are not mentioned by the Spaniards who visited them in the eighteenth century.

The woman's skirt consisted of two aprons of shredded willow-bark strips hung from a girdle of bark twine. The upper part of the rear girdle was frequently bunched up to form a large bustle, which was commented on but not accurately described by the early travelers. Although they were still being worn in the latter half of the nineteenth century, specimens are today unobtainable.

Leather sandals are believed by the Yuma to have been aboriginal (fig. 1). They were made of deerskin and, more recently, of horsehide. A flat strip of hide was cut to the shape of the foot. Two tags were left on either side at the position of the arch, or were threaded through slits in the sole. Through holes in the side tags and between the big and fourth, and third and second toe a single thong was threaded which bound the sandal to the foot. Similar sandals were known to the Diegueño and Pima.¹⁶ Sandals of yucca or other fiber

¹⁵ By the nineteenth century a breechclout had been adopted. This was a long band of buckskin or woven bark cloth drawn up between the legs and over a girdle of bark twine.

¹⁶ Spier, I, 344, and Russell, 122 and fig. 48.

were unknown. The hide sandals themselves may be relatively recent since they are not mentioned by the early travelers.

Both the dog (*axa't tsoktsok*) and the horse (*axa't musi'n*) are believed by the Yuma to have been aboriginal. The first horses actually seen by them were probably those of Oñate's expedition at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but they did not begin to possess any until the end of the eighteenth. Horses were highly esteemed as show animals, were ridden, but more frequently eaten. They were

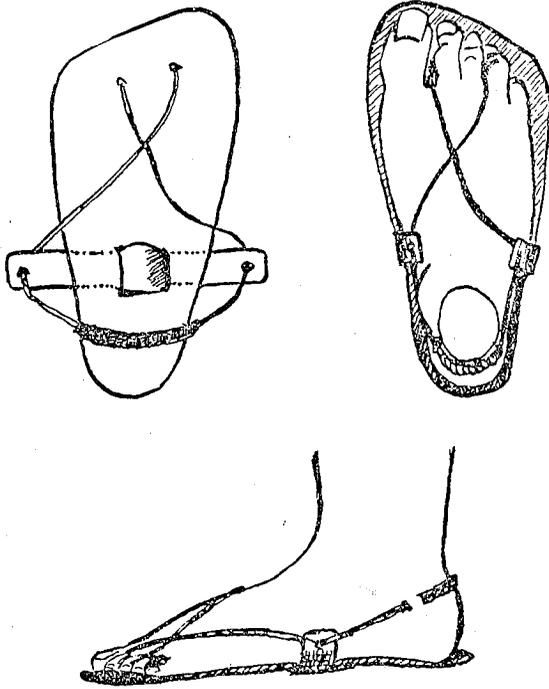


Fig. 1. Rawhide sandals.

apparently little used in warfare and the Piman use of the horse in fighting is frequently mentioned as unsportsmanlike. Horse racing became a very popular sport in the nineteenth century.

There is no mention of the dog in the early Spanish records. The etymologies of the words for horse and dog were not obtained; *axat* probably defines the animal as domestic, *tsoktsok* and *musi'n* were said to be untranslatable.

The Yuma resemble the other Indians of the lower Colorado in their large stature. The Lower Colorado physical types as seen among the Yuma, Mohave, and Cocopa are immediately distinguishable from

those of central California or the Pueblo area. The Yuma appear, in general, to be less tall and more heavily built than the Mohave, but two relatively distinct types appear among them: a tall, spare type with narrow face, long limbs, and a stature well over six feet; and another, also tall but at the same time massively built with a heavy, square face, massive shoulders, thick waist, and broad hips (pl. 51). The pigmentation of the Yuma is noticeably darker than that of the Pueblo peoples. There has unfortunately been little detailed study of the somatological types.¹⁷

The general appearance and character of the Yuma under aboriginal conditions are vividly portrayed by the Jesuit father Font in the diary of his second journey to California in 1775-76.¹⁸

The Yumas dwell on the bottom lands of the Colorado River and on both of its banks. Its waters although always more or less turbid, are fresh and good, and are not salty like those of the Gila River, for this stream, on account of the Río de la Assunción, has such muddy waters, making the Colorado River somewhat impure after the Gila joins it. The bottom lands extend on one side of the river and the other for about two leagues, and in some places more. In them there are many cottonwoods, and also mesquites and other scrubby trees; and the cottonwoods, although very tall, are usually very slender because they grow so close together. Of these and of the willows there are many that are dry, for they die because the Indians strip the bark off and use it to make the little skirts of the women, as I said.

The river appears to have only a small amount of fish, and this is bony. Each year the river spreads out for a long distance through the bottom lands in the season of the floods, which come from the melting of the snow in summer in the mountains to the north and far in the interior. For this reason it does not rise suddenly but gradually. Indeed it rises and falls nearly all the year, for it begins to rise in March and April and from that time each day it gets larger until June, when it begins to go down, and then every day it gets smaller until the end of the year. The lands which it waters are generally good, and since the water spreads over them so gently it does not injure them. On the contrary, from this irrigation they are greatly fertilized and have moisture for the crops which the Indians plant in them when the water recedes, and for the abundant harvests which they get. In a word, this Colorado River appears to me very much like the Yaqui, both in its floods and in other circumstances, as well as in the nature of the Indians who inhabit it, although in everything this river excels the other, especially in the cottonwood groves, which the Yaqui River lacks.

The climate in winter is very cold, and in the mornings there are ice and very heavy frosts, this weather lasting three or four months, from November to February inclusive.¹⁹ The rest of the year the climate is very hot, with excessive heat in the height of the summer, when it usually rains a little, as it also does in the winter. The crops raised by the Indians are wheat, maize, which they call Apache maize and which matures in a very short time, orimuni beans, tepari beans, cantaloupes, watermelons, and very large calabashes of which they make dried strips,

¹⁷ Cf. Hrdlička.

¹⁸ Bolton, 4:98-109.

¹⁹ An abnormally cold winter, see pp. 91, 92.

which in Sinaloa they call bichicore, and seeds of grasses. With these things they have plenty to eat. They likewise gather a great quantity of tornillo and péchita [screw and mesquite beans], although this is more for variety than for necessity. . . .

These Yumas, and likewise the Cajuenches and the rest, are well formed, tall, robust, not very ugly, and have good bodies. Generally they are nearly eight spans high and even more, and many are nine and some even above nine, according to our measurements. The women are not so tall, but they also are quite corpulent and of very good stature.

Their customs, according to what I was able to learn, are the following: In religion they recognize no special idolatrous cult, although it appears that there are some wizards, or humbugs, and doctors among them, who exercise their offices by yelling, blowing, and gestures. They say that there is a god, and that they know this because the Pimas have told them so; and that these Pimas and the Pápagos, with whom they maintain peace and have some commerce, have told them that above, in the heavens, there are good people, and that under the ground there are dogs, and other animals that are very fierce. They say they do not know anything else because they are ignorant, and for this reason they will gladly learn what we may teach them, in order that they may be intelligent. And since the basis of a well-ordered monarchy, government, or republic is religion, even though it may be false, and since none is found among these Indians, they consequently live very disorderly and beastlike, without any civilization and with such slight discipline as I have previously said, each one governing himself according to his whim, like a vagabond people.

Their wars and campaigns usually last for only a few days, and they reduce themselves to this: Many of them assemble with the captain or some one who commands them; they go to a village of their enemies; they give the yell or war-cry, in order that their opponents may flee or become terrified if taken by surprise. They usually kill some woman, or someone who has been careless, and try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from, and this commerce in Nixoras, so unjust, is the reason why they have been so bloody in their wars. Their arms are a bow, taller than themselves, badly tempered, and a few arrows, of which generally they carry only two or three, as I saw, and these somewhat long, bad, and weak. Very few carry quivers, if indeed they carry any at all, for I did not see a single one.

Their houses are huts of rather long poles, covered with earth on the roofs and on the sides, and somewhat excavated in the ground like a rabbit burrow; and in each one twenty or thirty or more live like hogs. These houses are not close together in the form of towns, but are scattered about the bottom lands, forming rancherías of three or four, or more, or less.

The clothing of the men is nothing, although . . . we saw some Indians wearing blankets of cotton, and black ones of wool which come from El Moqui, which they have been able to acquire through the Coecomaricopas and Jalchedunes. These they wore around their bodies from the middle up, leaving the rest of the body uncovered. . . . But as a rule they go about totally naked.

. . . In the matter of incontinence they are so shameless and excessive that I do not believe that in all the world there is another tribe that is worse. The women, it might almost be said, are common, and the hospitality which they show their guests is to provide them with a companion. And although among the old people there seems to be a sort of natural matrimony, recognizing as legitimate some one of the many women they have or had in their youth, yet among the young men I believe there is no such thing as matrimony, because they live with

anyone they desire and leave them whenever they please—or at least polygamy is very common among them.

All the females, even though they may be small, and even infants at the breast, wear little skirts made from the inner bark of the willow and the cottonwood. This they soften a little, tear it into strips, enlase or interweave them, and make a sort of apron of them which they tie around the waist with a hair rope, one piece in front and the other behind, the one behind being somewhat longer than the one in front and reaching clear to the knees. Since they are made of so many strips or narrow ribbons the thickness of a finger, and hang loose, with the shaking which they are given on walking they make quite a noise. Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never joining the men. The commander called them *americanos*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas*. I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest, and for this reason they went around covered this way. From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices. . . . Likewise, some women, although not many, are accustomed to cover the back with a kind of cape or capotillo which they made from the skins of rabbits or of beaver, cutting the skin into strips and weaving it with threads of bark; but generally they go around with all the body uncovered except for what the skirts conceal.

On cold nights, and especially in the winter, they make a fire and crouch round it, lying down huddled together and even buried in the sand like hogs. In the daytime they are accustomed to go around with a burning brand or tizón in the hand, bringing it close to the part of the body where they feel the coldest, now behind, now in front, now at the breast, now at the shoulders, and now at the stomach. These are their blankets, and when the fire goes out they throw the brand away, and seek another one that is burning.

The men are much given to painting themselves red with hematite, and black with shiny black lead-colored earth, whereby they make themselves look like something infernal, especially at night. They use also white and other colors, and they daub not only the face but all the body as well, rubbing it in with marrow fat or other substances, in such a way that even though they jump into the river and bathe themselves frequently, as they are accustomed to do, they cannot remove the paint easily. And those who have nothing else, stain themselves with charcoal from the top down with various stripes and figures, making themselves look like the Devil; and this is their gala dress. The women use only red paint, which is very common among them, for I saw only one large girl who, in addition to the red hematite, had some white round spots in two rows up and down the face.

The men have their ears pierced with three or four large holes (the women not so many); and in them they hang strings of wood or *chomete* and other rags. Likewise they wear around the neck good-sized strings of the dried heads of animals that look like tumble bugs, which are found here. They are very fond of *cuentas* or glass beads, for which they barter their few blankets, and with which some members of the expedition provided themselves. They likewise traded their grain and other things which they brought, so that yesterday about five hundred water-melons and great quantities of calabashes, maize, beans, etc., were sold at the camp, and today more than twice as much. Besides this, nearly all the men have the middle cartilage of the nose pierced (I did not notice this among the women), from which the richest men, such as Captain Palma, hang a little blue-green stone, others a little white stone, half round, like ivory or bone, such as Captain Pablo wore. Others wear beads or other frivolry in the nose, and although I saw several with nothing, on the other hand I saw some who were contented to wear a little stick thrust through the cartilage.

The coiffure of the men is unique. Most of them wear the hair banded in front at the eyes, but some have it cut at the neck, others wearing it quite long. They are accustomed to make their coiffure or dress their hair by daubing it with white mud and other paints, in order that it may be stiff. They usually do this on the banks of the water and with great care. They raise the front hair up and fix it like a crown, or like horns, and the rest they make very slick with the paints and mud, and they are accustomed also to decorate it with figures in other colors. The women do not make use of all this, their ordinary coiffure being to press the hair together and fix it with mud as in Europe the women use flour paste. Their usual custom is to wear the front hair cut off even with the eyebrows, wearing the rest somewhat long, hanging down the shoulders and back.

They are very fond of smoking, and are very lazy, and if this were not so they would reap much larger harvests; but they are content with what is sufficient to provide themselves with plenty to eat, which, since the soil is so fertile from the watering by the river, they obtain with little trouble. This consists solely in the following: before the river rises they clear a piece of land which they wish to plant, leaving the rubbish there. The river rises and carries off the rubbish, and as soon as the water goes down and recedes, with a stick they make holes in the earth, plant their seeds, and do nothing else to it. They are likewise very thievish, a quality common to all Indians. Their language is not so harsh as that of the Pimas, and to me it appeared to be less difficult to pronounce; for there is a pause like an interrogation at the end of each clause or thing which is said.

As a result of our persuasion the Yuma tribe at present is at peace with all of its neighbors, except the Indians at the mouth of the river, who are still hostile because of a war which Palma made on them a short time ago, in which he killed about twenty of their people. But this breach has now been composed by Father Garcés during his journey there, as he says in his diary. In virtue of this peace some Jalchedunes came down to the junction of the rivers, bringing their Moqui blankets and other things to barter with the people of the expedition. They did not find us there, but Father Thomás, who remained there, received them well and gave them presents.

Finally, these people as a rule are gentle, gay, and happy. Like simpletons who have never seen anything, they marveled as if everything they saw was a wonder to them, and with their impertinent curiosity they made themselves troublesome and tiresome, and even nuisances, for they wearied us by coming to the tents and examining everything. They like to hear the mules bray, and especially some burros which came in the expedition, for before the other expedition they had never seen any of these animals. Since the burros sing and bray longer and harder than the mules, when they heard them they imitated them in their way with great noise and hullabaloo.

The men's style of hair dressing referred to by Font is still maintained by the majority. The uncut hair is divided into a large number of small tresses each of which is plastered with mud and mesquite gum and coiled into long pencil-like rolls. These hang freely down the back or are coiled over and around the head. A more recent fashion has developed since the introduction of colored kerchiefs. The coils are bunched together and brought up from the nape of the neck over the crown. The head is then covered with a tightly bound kerchief so that the ridge of hair below the cloth forms a crest which protrudes above the forehead (pl. 57b).

TERRITORY AND SETTLEMENTS

The distribution and movements of the various tribes on the Lower Colorado, according to the early sources, have been analyzed by Kroeber.²⁰ The diaries of the Anza expeditions to California²¹ extend our knowledge on one or two points. The Yuma occupy at the present time approximately the same territory, at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, as that in which they were found by the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century. They cannot, however, be recognized in accounts of earlier date. Alarcon, who traveled up the river by boat perhaps as far as Parker in 1540,²² has left a very vivid account of the culture of the region but only the Quiquima (Quicoma) and Koxwan or Coana (koxhwa'n), who have since disappeared, are certainly identifiable in his account. In 1604 the Oñate expedition²³ encountered the Ocaras (Ozares or Oseres) at the Gila-Colorado confluence, which later became the center of the Yuma territory. The Ocaras were found immediately north of the Coguana (or Cohana, koxhwa'n).²⁴ They are described as a "people of a different language, from whom I learned that a continuous settlement extended all along the River Nombre de Jesus [i.e., R. Gila]. . . . they made *mantas* of cotton, some of which I saw, which are stitched like those of the provinces of New Mexico." A people of somewhat similar name, the Opas, were described in the diaries of the Anza expeditions of 1774 and 1775. They lived among and appear to have formed part of the Maricopa (Cocomaricopa), who were found some distance up the Gila. Since there has always been a tendency for defeated peoples to move eastward from the Colorado and since the bitter enmity of the Yuma and Maricopa probably originated at some period when they were in close

²⁰ Kroeber, 1.

²¹ Bolton, 4.

²² Hakluyt's Voyages, 3:425-439. Alarcon claims to have traveled 85 leagues up the river and describes a gorge section at the upper limit of his journey which corresponds well with the condition of the river immediately above Parker.

²³ Oñate's expedition is known in two complementary Relations, of which the more direct source is the recently discovered diary of a member of the expedition, Father Escobar. A later account apparently based primarily on Escobar, written by Father Zaraté-Salmeron, includes further data obtained presumably from other members of the expedition. This account, however, omits several important points and explanations found in Escobar. (See Bolton, H. E., 3, and for Zaraté-Salmeron, *idem*, 1:268-280).

²⁴ Bolton suggests that the Coguana are the Yuma (3, 15, note), but this name corresponds more closely to the historically known koxhwa'n, later the southern neighbors of the Yuma and already mentioned by Alarcon, *vide supra*.

proximity, there is some support for the view that the Opas and Ocaras are to be equated.²⁵ Kroeber, stressing Escobar's statement that the Ocaras were linguistically distinct from the other Lower Colorado peoples, which the Maricopa certainly were not, and their possible relation to the Tepeguanes, suggests that they were most probably a non-Yuman people, "Pima or Papago, or at least some Piman division, who then lived farther down the Gila than subsequently."²⁶ There is in the Anza diaries no suggestion that the speech of the Opas was distinct from that of the Maricopa among whom they were found in the 1770's. That the Ocaras were not in any case a typical river tribe is indicated by their cotton *mantas* and long braided hair covered with cloth and deerskin according to Zaraté,²⁷ or tied with maguey fiber as described in Escobar's Relation.²⁸

Oñate's failure to encounter the Yuma may be simply explained by the assumption that they were at that time living exclusively on the west bank where they have always been most numerous. Oñate did not cross the Colorado and it is expressly stated that the east bank people did not cross the river "because those on the other side were enemies although of the same nation."²⁹

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the presence of a people identified as the "Yumas" at the Gila-Colorado confluence was commonly known in Pimeria. These Yuma were already regarded as traditional enemies of the Pima and of the Maricopa, a Yuman-speaking group who had found asylum near them on the middle Gila. Kino had already visited the Yuma at the beginning of the century.³⁰ He gives the impression that in his time (1683-1711) the greater number lived east of the main river and were settled along the lower Gila, extending down to the Colorado junction. But he also records that others lived on the west side of the main river to which he did not cross. Indeed, some three hundred swam over to greet him on the occasion of his visit.

The lone visit of Garcés in 1771 and the records of the two expeditions to California under the leadership of Anza in 1774 and 1775 afford more detailed information. The Yuma figure prominently in the diaries of these journeys, for cooperation was needed in fording the Colorado and missions were founded in their territory at Puerto de la Concepción, and at the southern village near Pilot Knob. The

²⁵ Bandelier, 110, wished to identify the Ocaras with the Maricopa.

²⁶ Kroeber, 1, 483.

²⁷ Bolton, 1, 273.

²⁸ Bolton, 3, 33.

²⁹ Zaraté-Salmeron, *in* Bolton, 1, 277.

³⁰ Bolton, 2, 249, 251.

Concepción mission was built on the hill forming the northwest side of the narrows through which the Colorado passes at Yuma. The same site was later occupied by the garrison post, Fort Yuma, and the modern Indian Agency. In 1775, Garcés and Bixaroh remained behind on the Colorado, while the rest of the expedition pushed on into California.³¹ At this time Yuma settlements were no longer found up the Gila valley³² and apart from an occasional war party they rarely passed east of the Gila range. The extent of the Yuma lands was variously estimated. Anza describes their territory as extending fifteen leagues south and one and a half leagues north of the junction, presumably on both sides of the river. He makes it clear that their lands were, at that time, separated from those of the Cocomicopa (Maricopa) by fifteen leagues of deserted country.³³ In his diary, however, Anza reports that the southern limit of Yuma territory lay at Laguna de los Coxas, i.e., seven leagues from Concepción.³⁴ Font, writing at the same time (1775), describes the territory as about twenty leagues long with its center at Puerta de la Concepción (the present Fort Yuma).³⁵ Between the Kohuana and the Yuma there was another group called Cojats, whom Font regarded as a branch of the Yuma.³⁶ Their territory began, according to Anza, at Laguna de los Coxas, seven leagues from Concepción. They were more numerous than the Yuma proper and had superior lands.³⁷ The Kohuana (Cajuenches) lived below them, south of Santa Olalla³⁸ (map 2).

Only two large settlements were visited by the expeditions. The first, clustered about the house of the chief (coxot) Palma, was a mile or so east of la Concepción but on the west bank of the river.³⁹ Anza in his diary of the first expedition (1774) describes this settlement

³¹ The early visit of Garcés is summarily recorded in Arricivita's *Life of Garcés*, chap. 17, translated in Coues. Unfortunately both Garcés and his biographers are completely muddled as to his route, believing that he did not reach the Colorado when, in fact, he actually traveled almost to the Gulf. (Cf. Bolton, 5, 323 ff.). Garcés was, however, an inferior ethnographer and the competent diaries of other members of the Anza expeditions of 1774 and 1775 are of far greater importance. They are collected in one series, recently translated and edited by Dr. Bolton, who was kind enough to permit me to use his page proofs as the work went through the press. See Bolton, 4.

³² Apart from a recently deserted Yuma camp encountered at Laguna Salobre on the route down the Gila.—Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:66-67.

³³ Letter to the Viceroy, Bolton, 4, 5:397 ff.

³⁴ Anza's *Diary of the Second Expedition*, in Bolton, 4, 3:18.

³⁵ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

³⁶ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:90.

³⁷ Anza's *Diary of the Second Expedition*, in Bolton, 4, 3:18.

³⁸ Font's *Complete Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 4:90.

³⁹ Font, in Bolton, 4, 4:89.

as situated on an island in the river at the junction of the Gila and Colorado. He reached the Colorado in February when the water was low and was informed that these habitations would be abandoned when the river rose.⁴⁰ Diaz records a general shift of population during the season of maximum flood. During the floods of April and May the Yuma move away from the banks of the river in order to escape inundation, camping in the nearby uplands until the river returns to its channel.⁴¹ Alarcon had also been informed of a similar practice among the lower Colorado peoples.

I asked him whether the people who dwelt on the river's edge dwelt there always or else sometime went to dwell in some other place; he answered me that in the summer season they abode there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered they went their way and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foot of the mountain far from the river. And he showed me by signs that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without and I understood that they made a round house wherein the men and women lived altogether.⁴²

The season of migration does not agree in these two accounts but they indicate the instability of occupation of any particular site.

The site of Palma's village continued to be one of the main Yuma settlements until recent times, and it is remembered as such at present. There is a considerable group of houses at this place, although it has now lost significance as a distinct settlement. It lies about two miles northeast of Fort Yuma and is known as axakwedexor, water-reed place (axa, water; kwedexor, an unidentified plant described as "like the willow but brittle"). The people living there were known as akyet kuma'ts (sunflower eaters). Miguel informed me that axakwedexor is particularly remembered as the place where Mexican soldiers are said to have camped but the incident could not be traced.

The second large village encountered by the Anza expeditions lay immediately south of Pilot Knob (Cerro de San Pablo) north of the confluence of the Alamo stream with the Colorado. This settlement, whose population was estimated by Diaz in 1774⁴³ at more than eight hundred, was said to be larger than that of Palma.⁴⁴ It was ruled by a chief whom the Spaniards had named Pablo, who was definitely subordinate to Palma. That a village maintained itself until recent time in this vicinity is indicated by the statements of my own informants that a large number of the Yuma lived until recently along the river near Pilot Knob, a few miles south of Algodones across the present

⁴⁰ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:38.

⁴¹ Diaz's Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:265.

⁴² Alarcon, in Hakluyt, 3, 425 ff.

⁴³ Diaz, Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:268.

⁴⁴ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:51.

International Boundary. This place was called *xuks'i'l* (sandstone) because a large mass of sandy rock stood out near-by. The people were called *kav'e'l'tcaδum* (south dwellers).

Another settlement of considerable size is remembered at a site about two miles south of the present Laguna Dam on the California side. This was known as *kwerav ava'io* (pneumonia living), apparently an unhealthy spot; its inhabitants were *metvalcaδum* (north dwellers). The term *alteaδum*, according to my informants, meant "pushed out to a distance."

There was also another permanent settlement, whose name was forgotten, a little east of the present site of Picacho at the foot of the Chocolate mountains.

It will be noticed that all these settlements are found near projecting spurs of the mesas which approach closely to the river and were in consequence subject to a minimum of disturbance during the flood season (map 2).

Fages,⁴⁵ who covered the greater part of the Yuma territory in 1781-82, in a punitive expedition after the destruction of the missions, indicated that Yuma villages at that time also extended some ten miles up the Gila above the confluence; and Steve said that in recent times people regularly went out to Wellton to get the rock slabs for metates, since only there was suitable stone to be obtained.

Cortez,⁴⁶ in a manuscript report of 1799, states that the Yuma numbered about three thousand, occupied the right (west) bank of the river, and extended south as far as 33°.

The Yuma were found in approximately the same territory when the early American expeditions entered the country. The establishment of a military garrison on the former site of the short-lived Spanish mission at la Concepción, henceforth known as Fort Yuma, resulted in fairly detailed reports on the native population. Heintzelman, captain in charge of the garrison, reported in 1853 that the Yuma, or Cuchan Indians, extended along the Colorado from sixty miles above the Gila to forty or fifty miles below, that there were several "bands" of them but that the greater number lived, at that time, below the Mexican boundary. He commented on the fact that they never left the river.⁴⁷ Ives, who navigated the Colorado from the gulf to the Mohave country in 1857-58, attempts to delimit the tribal

⁴⁵ Fages, in Priestley, 9.

⁴⁶ Report of Don Jose Cortez on the Indian Tribes of the Northern Provinces of New Spain, 1799, translated by Buckingham Smith in Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 124.

⁴⁷ Heintzelman, 36.

territories as he found them. The Yuma were concentrated in the country ten to fifteen miles to the north and to the south of Fort Yuma,⁴⁸ but Yuma villages were found at intervals all the way up the valley to Half Way mountain, about 135 miles above the Gila confluence, and it was at this point that his guides left the boat to visit Yuma friends. But the upper end of the "Great Colorado Valley" (Ehrenberg to Parker) was occupied exclusively by Chemehuevi. At Bill Williams fork two Mohave messengers, who had come downstream from their territory, awaited him.⁴⁹

These accounts do not necessarily exaggerate the extent of the territory then occupied by the Yuma, for a shift of population had occurred in the preceding years. The remnants of two tribes occupying the valley around and north of the present town of Ehrenberg moved east to join the Maricopa. In Oñate's time (1604), as we have seen, both the Kohuana and the Halchidhoma were south of the Yuma. Before Garcés arrived among them (1776) the Halchidhoma had already moved north. The Kohuana, according to Mohave tradition,⁵⁰ joined them in the territory north of the Gila confluence at the end of the eighteenth century. After being harried for many years by Yuma and Mohave raiding parties they moved off eastward, the Halchidhoma going first, before the arrival of the American explorers. This evacuation of the wide valley south of Bill Williams fork was apparently followed by a considerable northward extension of Yuma settlements.

One of these northern villages was called avi'kwotapai. It was some distance south of Parker on the Californian side. Steven Kelly's father lived there.

Both the Spanish and early American explorers agree in estimating the Yuma population at about three thousand. Anza judges them to number thirty-five hundred.⁵¹ Whipple⁵² quotes an estimate made by a M. Leroux "early in the 19th century," which attributes five hundred warriors and a total of three thousand population to the Yuma. Heintzelman⁵³ stated in 1853 that there were less than four hundred warriors (i.e., adult males) in the vicinity of Fort Yuma. The present population according to the Agency rolls (June, 1929) is:

	Male	Female	Total
	447	399	846
Adults (over 20 years)	278	247	525

⁴⁸ Ives, 42.

⁴⁹ Ives, 53-59.

⁵⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 1, 478-81.

⁵¹ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:54.

⁵² Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 16.

⁵³ Heintzelman, 36.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The activities of war, barter, and festival brought the Yuma into contact with many of the numerous peoples who lived in the hinterland of the Lower Colorado (map 1). The travels of the Yuma, apart from war expeditions, were confined largely to the journeys up and down the Colorado valley. The impression gained from both the early diaries and the reminiscences of living Indians is one of constant but restricted movement. Kroeber says of the Mohave, however, that:

Tribes hundreds of miles away were attacked and raided. Visits carried parties of Mohave as far as the Chumash and Yokuts. Sheer curiosity was their main motive; for the Mohave were little interested in trade. They liked to see lands; timidity did not discourage them; and they were as eager to know the manners of other peoples as they were careful to hold aloof from them.⁵⁴

The accounts of early travelers introduce us to a large number of tribally distinct peoples living in close proximity along the Lower Colorado and Gila rivers. The majority of these can be traced through the successive accounts⁵⁵ but since the Yuma themselves are not identifiable as a tribal unit before the time of Kino at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the history of their external contacts is confined to the relatively short space of two hundred years. Throughout this period their relations with neighboring tribes have been comparatively stable. Certain traditional alliances and enmities have been maintained. An unbroken alliance linked them to the Mohave and an equally tenacious traditional enmity ranged these two tribes against the Cocopa to the south and the Maricopa who lived around the confluence of the Salt and Gila.

The Maricopa appear to have been originally a river tribe and are, of all the Yumans, linguistically closest to the Yuma, but there is no trace of them in Alarcon's account and the later travelers found them already established on the Gila. Their mourning ceremony fails to show the elaboration of the river tribes and unlike the Hualchidhoma and the Kohuana, more recent immigrants to the Gila, they have no legend or belief of having lived on the Colorado.⁵⁶ There can be little doubt, therefore, that their exodus occurred before the sixteenth century. The Yuma have now but vague memories of the Hualchidhoma

⁵⁴ Kroeber, 2:727.

⁵⁵ Kroeber, 1:482 ff.

⁵⁶ Information from Dr. L. Spier.

and Kohuana and only the latter are thought of as enemies.⁵⁷ The Kamya are regarded as a small, inoffensive group to be treated in friendly fashion. They are said to have lived about sixty miles west of Fort Yuma on the distributaries of the northwestern delta. The Diegueño or foreign Kamya (Kamya' axwe') are their kinsmen, but living far away in the mountains and of no importance as fighters, they were visited only occasionally by small parties at the time of important ceremonies.

The extent of aboriginal contact with the Diegueño is difficult to estimate. The two peoples are coupled closely together in myths but most of the traceable connections are recent and the evidence of Anza's expeditions, which is, however, not applicable to the nineteenth century, suggests that hostile Kohuana territory intervened between them. The Yuma knew and occasionally encountered the Cahuilla and Chemehuevi but paid them little attention. Of the more eastern Shoshoneans, Luiseño, Serrano, and others there was no recollection.

The Yuma claim that they were friendly toward their eastern neighbors, the Yavapai and the Papago. Garcés reported that the Yavapai were old friends who visited them each winter to eat corn and beans.⁵⁸ They appeared in January during the winter spent by Eixarch at Concepción. They were dressed in deerskins and were poorer but cleaner than the Yuma.⁵⁹ Diaz also states that the Papago were welcome "through their skill in disorderly dances."

The centuries-old hostility against the Maricopa and their allies in recent times, the Pima, was responsible for the most extensive of their expeditions; otherwise the Yuma rarely left the vicinity of the main river.

Wider communication, in a limited degree, existed in aboriginal times. Alarcon, as early as 1540, found one people that knew of the negro who had come to Cevola (i.e., Zuñi) with Friar Marco. He was also informed that Cevola was forty days away up the river, a place of "the houses of stone three or four lofts and windows on each side, that the houses were compassed about with a wall containing the height of a man and a half." On another occasion he was informed that the journey involved ten days' travel across the desert. Anza was informed in 1774 that the journey from the Yuma country to the Hopi took twelve days. He says that "the blankets of black

⁵⁷ Garcés (1771) described the Jalchedunes as friends of the Yuma (Coues, 1, 208), but Eixarch (1775) found them to be enemies (Bolton, 4, 3:312).

⁵⁸ Coues, 1, 208-9.

⁵⁹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:343.

and blue wool that come from the province of El Moqui are seen in abundance among the Yumas who acquire them through the Siopa.⁶⁰ Font, however, in his diary of the second expedition states that the Yuma had no blankets when seen the year before but were now getting cotton blankets made by the Opas (Maricopas) and a few black woolen ones from Moqui (Hopi).⁶¹ The Mohave and the Havasupai appear to have been the intermediaries in this sporadic traffic with the western Pueblos.

Within the river territory, however, the Yuma and the other tribes traveled freely and over long distances. Bands of "Yumas" and "Cocomaricopas" journeyed down to the gulf to meet Kino and his party.⁶² War parties would travel for days with very little food, covering over a hundred miles to fight a battle; and in modern times Trippel⁶³ claimed that the messengers and trailers were expert runners who could cover sixty to seventy-five miles a day when necessary.

LINGUISTIC RELATIONS

The linguistic relations of the various Yuman tribes have not yet been closely studied. More recent data, however, considerably modify the general scheme outlined by Harrington. The following tentative grouping is suggested by Kroeber:

Tentative Linguistic Classification of Yuman Tribes

1. Cochimi-Laymon—little known, but seems most differentiated from all others.
2. Cocopa, Halyikwamai, Kohuana—very similar to each other.
3. Kamia-Diegueño, Kiliwa.
4. Akwa'ala (Paipai)—seems most generalized.
5. Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai—fairly close to 4.
6. Hlalchidhoma, Maricopa, Yuma.
7. Mohave—similar to both 5 and 6.

⁶⁰ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:50.

⁶¹ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:73.

⁶² Kino, in Bolton, 2, 205-10.

⁶³ Trippel, 572.

FOOD SUPPLY

Although warlike in their practices and aspirations, the Yuma and other peoples of the Lower Colorado differed from the Indians of the Plains in their indifference to the chase.⁶⁴ This attitude is understandable in environmental and cultural terms. Since their country was largely arid, game, both large and small, was exceedingly scarce. A few deer might stray through the cottonwood groves along the river, rabbits burrowed in the sandy banks, but beyond these and the water birds of the Colorado, there was little to reward the hunter. Buckskin was largely an imported product obtained from the north-east, valued highly but little used. Rabbit-skin blankets were rare and a sign of considerable wealth.⁶⁵ The feeble bow, the light and often unpointed arrow, the absence of the curved throwing stick, and of communal hunting practices are all associated with this deficiency in the culture, a lack which was emphasized and strengthened by the unusual natural abundance of vegetable food to be had for the gathering, and also by cultivation of the annually flooded bottoms of the Colorado river.

AGRICULTURE

The Lower Colorado country is practically rainless. Before the building of the modern Imperial Valley irrigation system, vegetation was confined, with the exception of occasional cacti, mesquite, and ironwood trees to the river bottoms. The flooded sloughs, annually enriched with a layer of fine mud, frequently remain moist throughout the hot season.

The construction works for the irrigation of the Imperial valley and of a section in southwestern Arizona have modified the flood conditions of the Colorado below Laguna Dam, twelve miles above Fort Yuma. The aboriginal conditions, however, are known to us from early reports. The inundation was in those times very extensive. Anza reports that the waters spread over a distance of half a league on either side of the main stream.⁶⁶ The extent of water was so great that Garcés failed to recognize the Gila-Colorado confluence when he reached it in August, 1771, and traveled on for several days toward

⁶⁴ Cf. Diaz's Dairy, in Bolton, 4, 2:265.

⁶⁵ Anza, Diary of the Journey from Tubac to San Gabriel, in Bolton, 4, 2:157.

⁶⁶ Anza's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:550.

the Gulf imagining himself to be still on the Gila.⁶⁷ Font⁶⁸ records that the river began to rise in April and May, reaching a maximum in June, from which it sank slowly until the end of the year; but Eixarch, who spent the winter at la Concepción in 1775-76, was able to supply further details. He noted that the Gila began to rise before the main river at the end of January in 1776;⁶⁹ the Colorado did not begin to increase in volume until the middle of February (15th).⁷⁰ By the 20th of April the river was already flooding "many lakes which it usually fills every year,"⁷¹ but in a few days (23rd) the level fell again, to his great surprise, whereupon he was informed by the Yuma chief, Palma, that the river "is in the habit of doing this and then much water comes."⁷²

The river rose again at the beginning of May when the Yuma began to clear the land and gather in the harvest of their winter-grown wheat.⁷³ In the previous year the flood had been weak and there was a shortage of cultivated crops which was remedied by the more assiduous gathering of wild fruits.⁷⁴

Heintzelman also notes the uncertainty of the flood and its effect on agriculture:

The summer of 1851 there was no overflow here [at Fort Yuma which was, in normal years, converted into an island by the filling of a wide slough to the west of the bluff] but a partial one below. The last year [1852] our military operations prevented them from planting below, between us and the Cocopas and above within fifty miles. This caused great suffering the past winter; for months our camp was filled with men, women, and children begging for something to eat.⁷⁵

The naturally irrigated soil is very productive. The Spaniards were strongly impressed by the success of the crude agricultural methods they found, and speculated enthusiastically as to the yields which could be obtained by "modern methods." Eixarch tells us that "the land is so good that only with the bathing given it by the river during the time of its flood it conserves enough moisture so that it produces wheat and also maize, beans, watermelons, calabashes, etc. . . ."⁷⁶

The Spaniards, with the idea of colonization always at the back of their minds, were careful to note the most fertile lands in the neighborhood of la Concepción. They record that while the planting was good

⁶⁷ A point on which Coues, his biographer, was also led astray. Cf. Bolton, 5, 323-325.

⁶⁸ Font, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

⁶⁹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:347.

⁷⁰ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:357.

⁷¹ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:372.

⁷² Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:374.

⁷³ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:376-77.

⁷⁴ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:375-76.

⁷⁵ Heintzelman, 37.

⁷⁶ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:321.

Immediately to the north of the narrows on the west bank, it was even better further south at Pablo's village; while the very best land in the district lay south of the Yuma among the Cajuenches.

The aboriginal agriculture depended almost entirely on this natural irrigation. Planting was begun when the mud of the sloughs began to cake at the surface. This, according to Manuel, coincided with the dawn rising of Big Star, *xamacevetai* (?*Formalhaut*), which rose early in spring and was watched throughout the earlier part of the year in order that the approach of the flood could be gauged. The same star was used as an index of the normal harvest period, September-October, for at that time it appears setting in the west just after sunset.

Hipa Norton said that planting cannot begin until after the inundation has dropped sufficiently to free the plots from stagnant water. In normal years the land was in fit condition for planting when the Pleiades first appeared in the east in the morning (late June). All plants should be in the ground before Orion (amo, mountain sheep) first appeared at dawn,⁷⁷ for plants sown later would not get enough water from the ground.

From the stars it is easy to tell if the river is late, but if it is late we must wait for it. Sometimes a second overflow ruins the planting. If so the work must be done all over again, but the crops will be poor and scanty. Some years we wouldn't plant until the very end of July. Then there would be less food.

A little corn and some melons were also planted in February in damp places. These depended largely on the slight and unreliable spring showers and waterings from wells. The Yuma claim that the spring planting is aboriginal, while Eixarch in 1776 observed that two harvests of maize were obtained, commenting: "It is true that the seed is from what they call Apache maize, which matures very rapidly."⁷⁸ The main spring crop is yellow corn which will ripen in two months. No beans can be grown at this time.⁷⁹

The main planting in June-July included corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, and grasses. Font specifies the following cultivated plants as observed in 1775: maize (short season variety), *orimuni* beans (i.e., cow-pea), *tepany* beans, cantaloupes, watermelons, very large calabashes "which were dried in strips."⁸⁰ In addition to wheat, which

⁷⁷ The record is ambiguous as to dawn or dusk observations for these two stars. The former must be meant since only so would their observation coincide with June-July planting.

⁷⁸ Anza's Diary of Second Expedition, in Bolton, 4, 2:267.

⁷⁹ But Eixarch records that the Yuma were beginning to plant beans, calabashes, and maize on April 21st. Bolton, 4, 3:372.

⁸⁰ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:100.

was already well established as a winter crop,⁸¹ Anza mentions barley as a crop in cultivation among the Yuma at this time.⁸² It should be noted that Alareon, in the sixteenth century, claimed that beans and wheat were unknown to the Lower Colorado peoples, while wheat is no longer mentioned among the crops grown by the Yuma in Heintzelman's report which describes their agricultural practices in some detail.

Heintzelman describes conditions in the 1850's:

Their agriculture is simple. With an old axe (if they are so fortunate as to possess one) knives and fire, a spot likely to overflow is cleared. After the waters subside, small holes are dug at proper intervals a few inches deep with a sharpened stick, having first removed the surface for an inch or two as it is apt to cake. The ground is tasted, and if salt, the place is rejected, if not the seeds are there planted. No further care is required but to remove the weeds which grow most luxuriantly wherever the water has been.⁸³

The Yuma have neither legendary accounts nor ritualizations of the introduction of maize or wheat and, unlike the Pueblo peoples who depend on inadequate and uncertain rainfall and flush floods, were not preoccupied with their agriculture but accepted it as an essential but unremarkable element in their life.^{83a} Apart from the magic of the rainmakers, used mainly to produce storms to baffle their enemies, there appears to have been no ceremonial or magical practices associated with the assurance of their crops. The river itself, all important for their existence, figures only in a minor way in myth as the sweat or blood of Kumastamxo, or again as magically spouting up from the depths when the Creator plunged a stick into the earth. It is not personified and has no associated spirits.

Five varieties of corn (taḍi'ts) are recognized:

Yellow—taḍi'ts akwe's

White—taḍi'ts hama'l

Red—taḍi'ts axwa't

Blue—taḍi'ts havaló'

Speckled—taḍi'ts iruwa'

All are apparently varieties of flour maize, *Zea amyloacea*. No specimen corresponding to the "small Apache corn" described by Eixarch was obtainable. This was probably similar to the Mohave corn, a small

⁸¹ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:100; Eixarch, Diary of Second Expedition, in Bolton, 4, 3:321, 372 ff.

⁸² Anza's Dairy from Tubac to San Gabriel, in Bolton, 4, 2:177.

⁸³ Heintzelman, 36-37.

^{83a} There is however a ritual use of corn in the keruk ceremony (see p. 228).

variety of *Zea amyloacea* with ears only 12 cm. long, ripening in two months, and still grown among the Havasupai.⁸⁴

Four varieties of bean were regularly grown:⁸⁵

axma, vata'x, and noku—large and small "black-eyed bean" or cow pea, *Vigna sinensis*.

amaḍotar—"blind bean," another variety of cow pea.

mare'k xama'l—white tepary bean, *Phaseolus acutifolius*.

mare'k akwe's—a yellow tepary bean.

Beans were planted only on well drained ground. Three or four seeds were dropped into each hole, which was a pace from the next. Beans were sometimes planted between the rows of corn.

The cow pea has undoubtedly been introduced in post-Columbian times since it is not an indigenous American plant. The tepary bean is found, both wild and cultivated, over a large territory in the southwestern United States and Mexico.⁸⁶

Melons (tsum'e'to), *Citrullus vulgaris*, were grown in two varieties:

akwe's—yellow muskmelon.

nya—dark green watermelons.

Pumpkins (axma'ta), *Cucurbita pepo*, are differentiated as axmata han, a yellow pumpkin measuring about a foot across, and axmata'a, a larger pink-skinned variety. Gourds, *Cucumis*, were planted for the manufacture of rattles.

Watermelons formed the first planting. The seeds were sown in the still damp soil immediately after the flood waters had run off. They were planted two paces apart, four or five seeds being dropped into a hole six inches deep. They ripened before the beans or the main corn crop and, as in the Pueblo area, offered a welcome green diet in the last days of waiting before the new harvest. A considerable proportion of the watermelons was also stored for winter use. By enclosure in a dry earth pit they could be preserved in good condition until the following spring. A large pit, three or four feet deep and often more than six feet across, was excavated at a spot usually near the dwelling where the soil was dry, sandy, but firm. The pit was lined with dried bean foliage, or less efficiently with small arrowweed stalks. The melons were packed close, covered with the same material and finally earthed over, making a low mound. Bixarch records the

⁸⁴ Cf. Spier, 3, 103.

⁸⁵ Identification by Dr. Hendry, Dept. of Agriculture, Univ. of California.

⁸⁶ Cf. Freeman, G. F., 573 ff.

opening of a melon pit by Palma during the winter of 1775.⁸⁷ Muskmelons, which could not be stored in this way, were dried in strips hung from wooden frames. Pumpkins were both dried and stored in pits but they did not keep as well as watermelons.

Pumpkins and muskmelons were planted in the same manner as the watermelons but were generally segregated in special plots.

Several crops were grown together in the fields, which were irregular in size and shape, varying according to the topography of the sloughs. Corn was sown in holes two to four inches deep and a pace apart. The hole was made standing, with a dibble. Three or four seeds were placed in each hole. There was no hilling, the rows were irregular, and their spacing depended on the extent to which other plants were sown in the patch. Both beans and melons were often planted between the rows of corn. Melons, which ripen at the same time as the corn, were also frequently planted in a patch in the center of the field.

Beans were sown together with, or a little after, the corn but ripened a month later. Pumpkins were grown at the outer edge of the field, taking nearly four months to mature and so ripening much later. Before the introduction of modern irrigation agriculture no cotton was grown by the Yuma, who occasionally received it by trade from the north and east, but made little use of it. Wheat was grown, after its introduction, as a winter crop. The seeds were sown after the beans and melons had ripened. They were planted at a depth of a foot in the damper places. Slight rains in September and

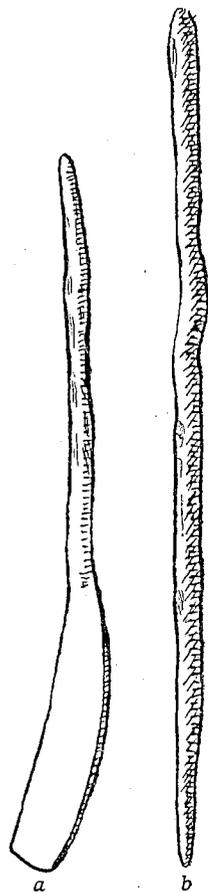


Fig. 2. Agricultural tools. *a*, weed cutter; *b*, dibble or planter, 3 to 4 feet long.

early spring were valuable in improving the crop which should ripen in May.

Two simple agricultural tools were used, kwetce's (planter or dibble) and analtahau'k (weed cutter). Both were of mesquite wood and similar to the Mohave tools (fig. 2).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. Kroeber, 2, pl. 67.

⁸⁷ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:323.

Although animals attacked the field crops, no traps were set to catch them. Seares were made of poles wrapped with reeds and hung with pottery shards and stones, and small boys also assisted in driving crows from the corn. But the raccoons and coyotes who devoured the melons went almost unmolested, unless the family camped by the fields throughout the season.

PLANTED GRASSES

The Yuma also planted several wild grasses of the region on other, generally less fertile, patches of land. This practice, until recently, provided a considerable portion of the food supply. Since they are agriculturists and also collect wild seeds and fruits which are not planted, the significance of the wild-grass planting in the culture is uncertain. It might possibly be thought to embody a very primitive stage in food production and to afford a concrete illustration of transition from the gathering of natural vegetation to true plant cultivation. But both the crops and cultivation methods make it clear that Lower Colorado agriculture as a whole is directly related to the American maize-squash complex and may be regarded as an impoverished version of the Pueblo type of agriculture.

Kroeber has obtained the names of similar plants used by the Mohave.⁸⁹ These are given for comparative purposes:

YUMA		MOHAVE
	<i>Planted grasses</i>	
akata'i		akatai
aksam		aksamta
akyire		akyesa (a rumex?)
		ankithi

The planted wild seeds are grown on cultivated tracts of personally owned land. One informant claims that they formerly were eaten quite as frequently as maize and indeed were prized articles of diet. The unplanted seeds were gathered at random from uncultivated tracts.

Eixarch recorded this practice of growing wild seeds:

I note also that these Indians harvest another grain which they call quics and of which they make atole bread baked in ashes and other dishes. This grass which they sow in winter and in the lakes when they are drying up looks like the seed of the fig although somewhat smaller. In color it is between red and brown and has a very pleasant taste.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Kroeber, 2, 736.

⁹⁰ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:372.

This is doubtless the akyire of my informants, of which it is a very good description.

Similarly Heintzelman notes that:

They also grow grass seeds for food. It is prepared by pounding the ^{seed} in wooden mortars made of mesquite[?], or in the ground. With water the ^{meal} is kneaded into a mass and then dried in the sun.⁹¹

It may be that a wild grass is indicated by Alarcon in his statement that the people of the Lower Colorado grew "maize, certain gourds, and another corn like until mill." Trippel⁹² mentions this planting of wild grasses and identifies one variety as "Sacaton grass," which suggests that it is *Sporobolus airoides* Torr., a grass which seeds plentifully and flourishes in this region on alkali soils.⁹³ It is probable that all are autochthonous. Their use is not reported outside the Lower Colorado region and does not in any case relate directly to the American agricultural complex. So far as I am aware the planting of the seeds of wild grasses is not practiced elsewhere in America and the uniqueness of the Colorado régime may explain its occurrence here. While it is impossible to define with certainty its historical relationship to the agriculture proper, it would seem more probable, however, since the seed scattering is completely integrated with the agricultural régime, that this intermediate practice was the consequence of agricultural knowledge rather than its precursor, a happy adaptation of local products previously collected where they happened to grow.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In modern times, land is inherited in the male line and is frequently allotted by the owner, who announces his wishes in his later years. But, formerly, neither lands nor property were inherited, since all were theoretically destroyed (often given away to strangers) at death. The plots of a dead person were left uncultivated for a season or two and then, if needed, were taken over by any person not of the deceased's family. It could not be determined whether relatives, other than the closest descendants, were prohibited from using such land. Land was not regularly bought or sold, although plots were sometimes exchanged or handed over.

Since the boundaries of plots were indicated only by small mounds of earth which were liable to be obliterated by the flood, or were

⁹¹ Heintzelman, 37.

⁹² Trippel, 575.

⁹³ Information from Miss A. Eastwood, California Academy of Sciences.

identified by common knowledge, disputes quite often arose concerning them. A man whose land bordered on a fertile patch might openly claim part of another's land. Such disputes were settled according to an established procedure. Supported by friends, the rivals would grasp each other at the waist or shoulders, the supporters would line up behind them, and each party would endeavor to push the other back. The winner would throw down his rival and place a knee on his stomach while his supporters marked the boundary at that place. If this mark remained untouched, the matter was considered settled; but if interfered with, the two parties met with sticks the next day and fought for possession. The same procedure was followed if an entire plot were contested. Each of the two parties endeavored to drive the other off by pushing and wrestling, the dispute being finally settled by a stick fight if the defeated party did not admit its loss.

GATHERED SEEDS AND FRUITS

A large variety of wild seeds and fruits were formerly collected. These included seeds of wild grasses growing in the flats and the fruit of desert and semi-desert plants grown on or near the mesas.

The most important are:

Collected (unplanted) grasses or herbs

YUMA	MOHAVE ⁹⁴
akwa'v	akwava
anki'	ankika
kwiskwa'k	koskwaka
sukwatō'e	
atpi'l	
	aksama [planted by the Yuma]
	kupo
	namaskwera

Other collected fruits

oya''	mesquite bean, <i>Prosopis juliflora</i>
i'i'c	screw bean, <i>Prosopis pubescens</i>
axpa'l ^k	ironwood tree nuts
ata'lk	a small potato-like tuber
idū't	a fungus appearing on the mesa in spring
av'a'	"sagebrush" seeds

The relative importance of cultivated and gathered foods is at present difficult to estimate. The Spanish accounts of the abundant food, especially corn, melons, and pumpkins put at their disposal when

⁹⁴ Kroeber, 2, 736.

they passed through the country, indicate that the agriculture on the Colorado was no mere accessory to the collecting of wild fruits.

It is also clear from the statements of my informants and the accounts of Trippel and others that the mesquite and screw bean were very important items in the food supply, and insured against starvation in years of irregular flood. Mesquite trees were not owned exclusively except where they happened to grow near a habitation, but families were in the habit of collecting beans from the same districts every year, and erected permanent storage bins for their reception. Mesquite was stored both on or near the house, and also near the foot of the mesas in the vicinity of the most abundant supply. The large storage granaries were erected on platforms of cottonwood poles. The platforms were often six feet square and raised four or five feet above the ground.⁹⁵ On these were built large cylindrical storage bins in birds'-nest weave (see p. 125), from three to five feet in diameter and two to four feet deep. The beans were broken to permit of closer packing and the filled bin was covered with arrowweed brush and damp mud, which caked hard under the sun. The current supply was taken from the house stores. The beans were pounded with a rough stone pestle in wooden mortars, hollowed in cottonwood trunks. A considerable quantity of this bean meal would be prepared at one time, dampened, and kneaded into lumps which were allowed to dry. These cakes of dried meal could be stored indefinitely in the house.

Agricultural burdens as well as others were carried by the women in nets on their backs supported from a headband.

Apart from sagebrush seeds (av'a'), the other gathered seeds and fruits were mostly delicacies and played a relatively unimportant part in the food supply. Sagebrush seeds were gathered in large quantities on the mesa. They were prepared by roasting in a pit. The seeds were heaped in the bottom of the pit, covered by a layer of clay, and a fire built on top which was allowed to burn all night.

The ironwood tree kernels have been identified as "the halves of a legume from the ironwood shrub or small tree *Olneya tesota* A. Gray (known variously as palo fierro, palo de hieuo; tesota, una de gato, etc.). It occurs in Arizona and Mexico."⁹⁶

Corn and small seeds were parched before being ground on the metate. Parching was known as máxu'l for corn and beans(?) and

⁹⁵ Cf. Trippel, 572.

⁹⁶ Data from Dr. P. B. Kennedy, Dept. of Agriculture, University of California.

hanya' for small seeds, but the technique was the same. The grains were placed in a shallow tray together with red hot charcoal and shaken with a lifting and twisting motion of the tray. They were then ground on a rectangular metate (*axpe'*) with a cylindrical muller (*examo'tsi*). The first coarse grinding is called *ately'sk*, the second fine grinding, *atawa'm*.

Mescal was not collected or eaten; the Kamyá were known to use it extensively, but the Yuma disliked it.

TOBACCO

Tobacco was obtainable in small quantities where it grew wild near the mesa edge. The local tobacco was known as *mela'ū'v* and was not cultivated. In order to impart a stronger flavor to the leaves, those going to gather it would pretend to quarrel and fight with one another as they approached the plant; they would stamp and shout around it; but even so, imported tobacco obtained from the Kamyá and Akwa'ā'la was preferred to the local product. These were known as *a'ū'v kamyá'* and *a'ū'v akwa'a'L*. The latter was darker and had the stronger and better flavor. The aboriginal supply was apparently not abundant, for Eixarch was greatly plagued by the incessant demands for tobacco during his stay at Concepción in 1775-76. He notes regretfully that "they put tobacco into a reed as thick as the finger, to fill which a good handful is necessary, and so they smoke, for they are not satisfied with a cigarette."⁹⁷ The smoking of tobacco in cane tubes was also noticed on the Lower Colorado by Alarcon in the sixteenth century. These tubes are about six inches in length and cut from withered canes. They are known as *axta'* aka'sa' (soft cane). Clay pipes (*melxo*) were also used in the past. Steve described them as from four to six inches in length, swelling and curving up slightly at the end into which the tobacco was placed. They were baked like pottery.

Although used by doctors in their curing, tobacco had little esoteric significance and no restrictions associated with its use were known to my informants.

⁹⁷ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:351.

HUNTING

Aboriginal hunting has been practically obsolete among the Yuma for half a century, but it appears to have been always of minor importance. It was undertaken in winter; men went out alone or in small parties of three or four. Deer (akwa'k), antelope (mo'ū'l), and more rarely mountain sheep (amō'') were killed. The mountains to the north of Yuma, Castle Dome, Dome Rock, and Tugo were most frequently visited. Deer could also be taken in the valley. No animal masks or disguises were used, nor were there any communal hunts. Rabbits (cottontail—xel'ao; jackrabbit—ak'ū'l) were killed throughout the year but were usually shot with a bow. The employment of the curved rabbit stick used by the Mohave was denied by most of my informants. Lincoln Johnson remembers people using it when he lived in Mexico, near Algodones, but these may well have been Kamyá, among whom it was in common use.⁹⁸

FEASTS

According to Trippel,⁹⁹ feasts were held at the harvests of mesquite beans and of agricultural crops. In June a large shade was built in which large quantities of the ripened mesquite beans were collected. They were soaked in water and buried in the ground for two or three days. When almost solidified, the sticky mass was removed and stacked in piles beneath the shade. This continued for several days while the harvest was being gathered in. Singing and gaming occupied the evenings. Finally, at a given signal, all rushed into the shade, tearing down a light fence which had been built around it, each endeavoring to obtain as many bundles as possible and carry them off.

The crop harvest was celebrated by a similar gathering to which every family contributed pumpkins, melons, and squashes which were stacked in great heaps and consumed. The days were spent in games and contests, the nights in singing and gambling. Dreams were told, songs sung, and the leaders discussed tribal affairs. The festival ended abruptly when the provisions were consumed.

Harvest festivals were known, according to Steve, as nyima'ts xavtea'ts, i. e., "corn" singing. The kwoxot (chief) was expected to organize singings and feasts in times of plenty, and it is probable that those witnessed by Trippel were of this character.

⁹⁸ Gifford, 2.⁹⁹ Trippel, 7-8.

FISHING

Two large and a number of small fish were caught in the Colorado river. The most important were

tsa'xnap—humpback, one and one-half to two feet long

máw'lk—white "salmon," about three feet long

meko'lk—bony tail, less than a foot long

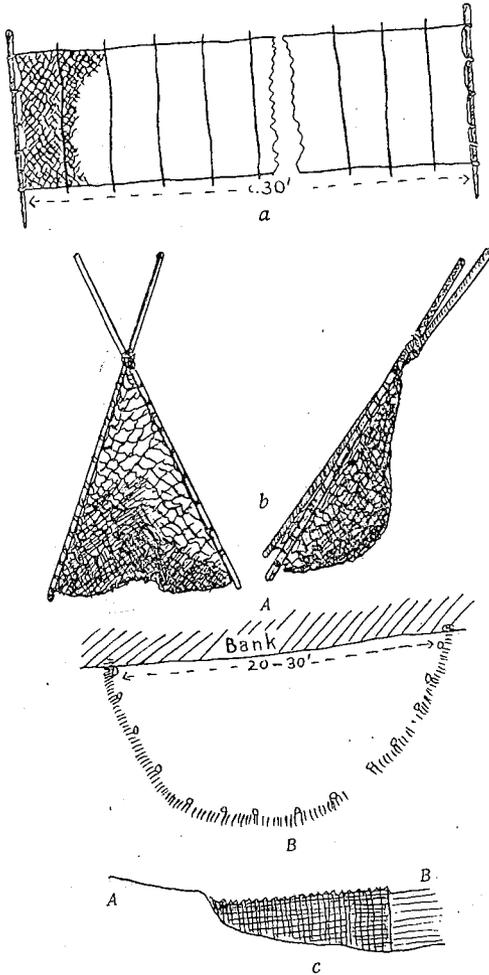


Fig. 3. Fishing nets and trap. a, drag net; b, scoop net; c, fish trap.

The humpback was occasionally shot with unfeathered arrows and cactus-spine hooks were used for small fish, but the most were caught with nets and traps in the sloughs during the flood season.

Two types of net were made:

(1) A large drag net hauled by two men. This net was of rectangular shape as much as thirty feet long and four feet deep. It was woven of willow-bark twine and stiffened by vertical rods of arrowweed tied at the top and bottom. The end poles, held by the two fishermen, were usually of tougher mesquite or willow. After dragging the net vertically for some distance they brought the end poles together, stuck them into the loose mud and recovered the fish (fig. 3a).

(2) A smaller scoop net, fixed on a cross-frame (fig. 3b) and pushed through the water. The Mohave basketry scoop was not known.

Traps were built on shelving banks. They consisted of semi-circular walls of arrowweed three and a half to four feet high, reaching to water level, in which a gap of about two feet was left near the center of the arc. Crushed watermelon seeds were scattered to entice fish into the trap (fig. 3c).

SEASONS

Time was sometimes measured in moons, xalya', in referring to a recent event, but no named lunar months were known and the calendar was seasonal. The year, meta'mk, was counted from one budding (of the mesquite and willow) to the next. Ape'n (spring) extended from budding to the rise of the flood. Nikapē't (summer, flood season) ended with the fall of the river in September. Xetsuri'm (fall, literally, getting cold) was a short, indefinite season lasting until about the middle of November. The period until the next budding was known as xetsoruk (winter, literally, got cold). The calendar of six repeated month names found among the Pueblos and in southern California was known only as a Diegueño practice.

HOUSES¹⁰⁰

The Yuma formerly lived almost entirely in open shelters—flat shades roofed with arrowweed (ava' metkya'l—shelter above). These were rectangular structures, extended at need by the addition of further poles.

Closed houses (ava' cōpe't) were also built, but were occupied only in winter. There were rarely more than one or two in a settlement and several families crowded into each during the cold spells.

¹⁰⁰ Joe Homer and Lincoln Johnson.

These houses were built in a depression or swale and the floor was excavated two or three feet until fine sand was reached. They were rectangular in ground plan and built around four center posts (fig. 4). The center posts were about eight feet high, the front and side posts four to five feet. The rear section of the roof sloped down more

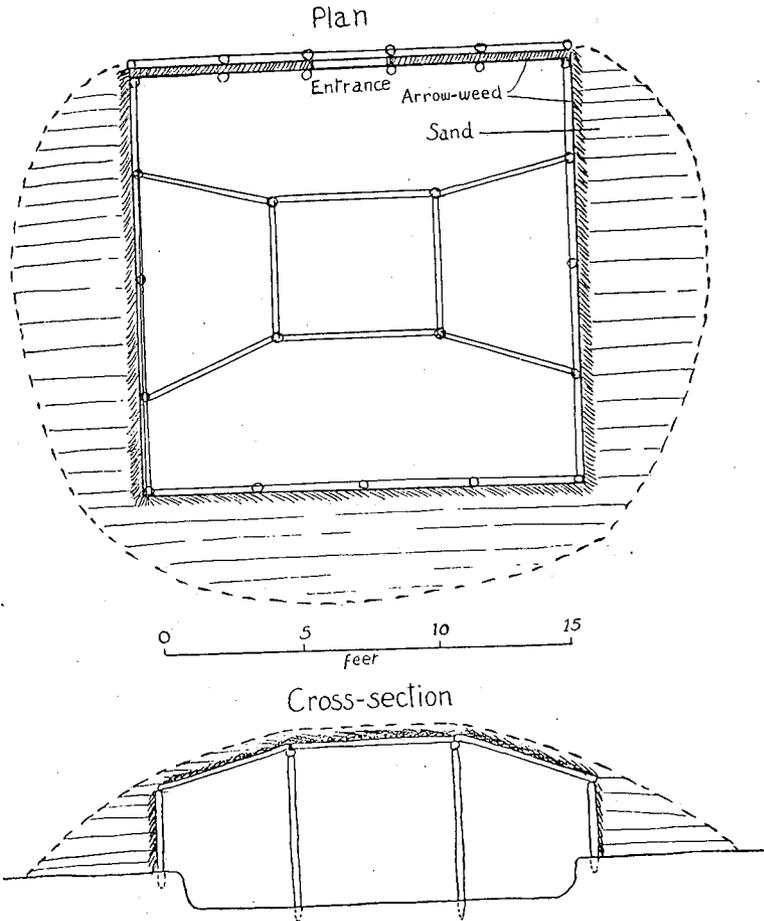


Fig. 4. Sand-covered house.

steeply and was supported by poles less than three feet high. The front wall was built of a double row of posts between which arrow-weed was tightly packed and retained by horizontal slats. A central section of this wall was left open and covered with a blanket or skin hanging. The walls of the sides and rear were built by tying horizontal slats closely together between the poles on the outside. Against

the slats a thick layer of arrowweed was placed, held in position by a bank of sand which reached to the roof when all the arrowweed packing had been placed in position. The roof was built by running poles across the center posts and from these to the side walls. These were straddled by another series of lighter poles and the whole covered with arrowweed and finally with loose stones and sand.

The interior measurements varied from twelve to about sixteen paces each way. The fire pit was toward the rear of the house behind the center poles. There was apparently no smoke hole. Storage granaries were frequently built on the roofs of these houses. The rectangular shade (*ava metkya'l*) was sometimes attached to the house and extended out from the front part of the roof to form a porch almost as large as the house itself.

The houses were built by the leaders. A *kwoxot* (chief), for example, was expected to have a house in which he could shelter all who asked. They were built by general labor, one man or family rarely undertaking the work alone. It was suggested also that such houses would not be burned at funerals unless the leader himself had died. The excavated floor, low doorways, and heavy sand covering of these houses gave early visitors the impression that they were excavated in sand hills.¹⁰¹

These sand-walled houses, which were abandoned some forty years ago, have been replaced by higher, flat-roofed dwellings said to have been adopted from the Mexicans. All four walls are built somewhat after the manner of the front wall in the aboriginal house. Horizontal slats are nailed between the inner and outer sides of the supporting posts and the space between packed with mud instead of arrowweed.¹⁰² This house type is now giving way to plank and galvanized iron shacks.

A small domed shelter (*ava aru'uk*—shade bent over) was also used, especially in the fields and after the flood when mosquitoes were troublesome. Willow and arrowweed branches were used to make this structure, which was very light and rarely more than three paces in diameter. A dung fire was built close to the narrow entrance hole to impede the entrance of mosquitoes.

A semicircular, roofless enclosure (*ava' tsoxw'er*) was built near the house or shade in which the women cooked and performed other

¹⁰¹ But cf. Heintzelman, 47.

¹⁰² Kroeber's account of the front wall of the aboriginal Mohave house indicates this type of construction, but my Yuma informant stated that among them two sets of upright poles were used as described. Kroeber, 2, 733-34 and fig. 63.

tasks when the wind or blowing sand interfered. This enclosure consisted of arrowweed stems about three feet high tied to a framework of stakes driven in the ground.

Trees were felled, shortened, and partly shaped by burning; other work was done with chipped stone knives. No informant knew of polished stone tools and all denied that the Yuma possessed them aboriginally.

POTTERY

Native pottery has practically disappeared but a few ollas are still made. Hipa Norton gave an account of the types made in her youth and drew sketches of their shapes (fig. 5). They were kwí'lyo, olla or water jar, from 18 inches to 2 feet high; tū'ekin, a spheroid cooking

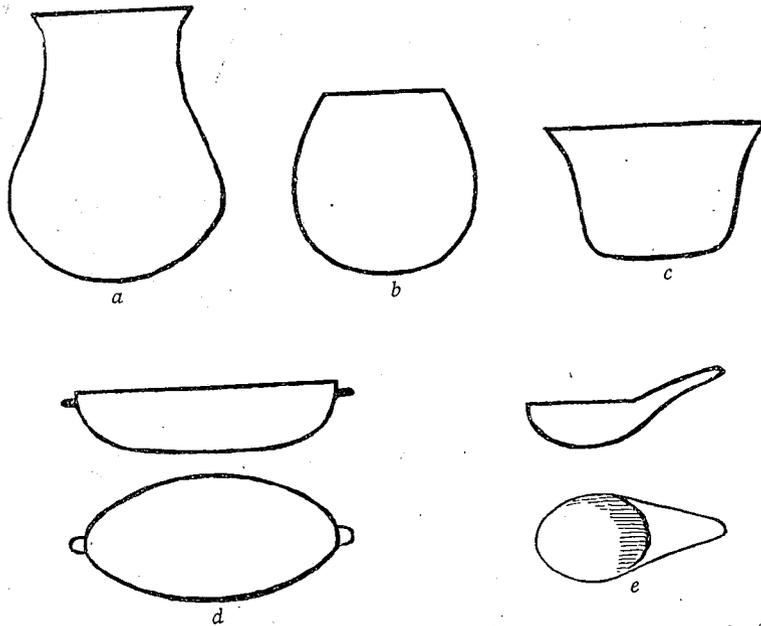


Fig. 5. Aboriginal pottery forms. *a*, kwí'lyo, olla, 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet high; *b*, tū'ekin, cooking pot, 8 inches to 1 foot 6 inches high; *c*, kwiski, serving bowl, 9 inches to 1 foot high; *d*, katē'l, roasting bowl, 2 feet long, 6 inches deep; *e*, kamotū, dipper, 8 inches long.

bowl, from 8 inches to 1½ feet high; kwiski', serving bowl, from 9 inches to 1 foot high; katē'l, an oval roasting dish, about 2 feet long and 6 inches deep; and kamotu, a pottery dipper, used for serving. A large bowl known as kate'lhakem, of the form of the kwiski' but

about 4 feet across, was also made to carry goods and children when crossing the river.

Kwí'lyo (ollas) were of two kinds: a carrying jar known as axa'nyamopa'iv which had a narrow and a strongly flared neck (pl. 52a); and a larger storage and cooling olla known as halyosó'v (literally, for drinking), which was sometimes over 2½ feet high and nearly 2 feet in diameter at the belly.

An account of the technique of pot making was given by xavtea'ts Roosevelt. Only one ware was made. Red clay from the mesa was soaked in water and mixed with finely ground decomposed granite from an outcrop to the north of Yuma. The damp mixture was wrapped in willow bark or rags and buried a few days. The pot was built up by coiling, using a rounded pebble anvil, kwilaxai, and a curved paddle of mesquite wood, kwiskokye, after which it was sun-dried for a day. Lugs but not handles were made. Black and red paints were sometimes applied with a bark brush. The paint frequently covered the entire outer surface of the pot. Mrs. Roosevelt remembered seeing geometrical designs in two colors (black and dark red), but never made any herself.¹⁰³

The pot was now warmed at the edge of a fire while small pieces of very dry willow and cottonweed were collected. For firing, the vessel was placed on a stone slab and covered with a pyramid of this dry wood which was allowed to burn out before the pot was removed.

BASKETRY

Apart from occasional storage baskets, basketry is no longer made. According to Hipa Norton four materials were formerly used: willow twigs, *Martynia* pods (kwaxato'n) obtained from the Pima, a reed (exo'r), and arrowweed (īpa). All basketry was coiled and three forms were regularly made: a shallow tray, akwisu't, usually from 2 feet to a yard in diameter and 6-9 inches deep; a basketry "olla," kwelto'n, particularly used for storing seeds; and an arrowweed storage basket, sikwiny.

Akwisu't was made with willow-rod coils. The willow had to be young stems, only a few months old, and were freshly picked in spring

¹⁰³ Kroeber, 2, gives a brief account of Mohave pottery designs. My informants recognized these as resembling the Yuma style, and the rough sketches of Trippel indicate great similarity. On the general problem of the distribution of pottery techniques in this area see Gifford, 3.

for basket working. They were split lengthwise, or shaved down into rods. Two rods were used for each coil, the coil being bound to the uppermost rod of the previous coil. Fresh rods were spliced to those already used and bound with kwaxaton. For binding, thin willow strands were used for the white, and kwaxaton for the dark parts of the pattern. Willows used for binding were shredded, the "heart" strip taken out, boiled, and then shaved very thin. The central foundation disc was always made of kwaxaton which is suppler and easier to work. A small pointed mesquite stick was used to insert the binding strands. In the old days trays were often made entirely of willow.

Willow was not used for the kwelto'n, because food stored in it was distasteful. It was made entirely of the reed *exo'r*. The coil consisted of a bundle of several stems which were not prepared in any way. Each binding stitch connected two coils by passing under the previous coil and over the one in progress. The kwelto'n always had a narrow neck which splayed out above. One form used for storing seed was sealed after filling by curving over the mouth and sealing with basketry. The informant believed that the kwelto'n was made in imitation of an "olla" and that its name was derived from *kwelyo-olla*.

Arrowweed storage baskets, *sikwi'ny*, were roughly made, cylindrical containers as much as 5 or 6 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high. They were built up on a stout willow ring of two or more $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch stems, left open at the bottom, and placed on a platform or the roof of the house. The body was built up by birds-nest weaving. Lengths of arrowweed were cut, the leaves were left on and the butt ends pointed. The pointed ends were stuck in on both sides of the wall of the basket in the last completed coil, drawn across one another over the coil in progress and twisted into it, thus extending and forming part of the coil itself. Loose ends were trimmed away and when the arrowweed had dried, a thick rigid container was available for storing beans, corn, and mesquite pods (pl. 52b)

WEAVING¹⁰⁴

Weaving was restricted to coarse willow-bark strips and rabbit-skin blankets. Willow-bark twine was prepared from the bark of young trees about six inches in diameter. The bark, removed in long strips, was wrapped in a large bundle and immersed in a pond for a month. The inner fibrous bark was then easily peeled off and shredded into strips about half an inch wide. These strips were taken, two at a time and twisted, first separately and then together on the thigh to form a coarse twine which was used for the warp.

A horizontal loom, similar to the Piman,¹⁰⁵ was used for weaving. Two thin poles, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, were set up parallel on low stakes about 18 inches from the ground. The warp was a single continuous string which was wound to and fro from pole to pole. Thin ribbons of untwined bark formed the weft. A slender rod was used to separate the warp strands for insertion of the weft, which was beaten to position with a flat length of mesquite or willow. Before the poles were removed a strong thread was passed through in their place and twisted round the outer warp threads at the side. Unless the weave was left fairly loose the cloth would be harsh and unpliant. Breechclouts and small blankets were made by this technique (pl. 53).

Cotton (xa'tso), obtained from the Pima, was also occasionally woven in this manner, but for this the weft, as well as the warp, had to be spun. The threads were drawn out from the mass of raw cotton and twisted in the fingers. Two strings thus formed were twisted together on the thigh.

Rabbit-skin blankets were made on a similar frame. The warp consisted of long strings of willow-bark twine wrapped with strips of skin. This was stretched between the poles. Bean fiber was superior to willow twine for the "weft," which was twisted once around each warp element.

Rabbit-skin blankets were rare. Anza¹⁰⁶ remarked that their owners were considered rich, and my own informants said that the Yuma depended largely on the Yavapai, who were better hunters, for skins. In preparing the strings, the skins were first scraped free of flesh, rubbed on a stone, and softened by immersion in ponds and working with the hands. They were then cut in strips while still damp, wound round the twine, and stretched between poles to dry.

¹⁰⁴ Hipa Norton.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Russell, 148 and fig. 72.

¹⁰⁶ Bolton, 4, 2:177.

RIVER NAVIGATION¹⁰⁷

Although the river was used extensively for traveling downstream and was frequently crossed, the Lower Colorado peoples had no boats or canoes. Single cottonwood logs were sometimes used by the Yuma to carry a small party or load down the river. Large pottery vessels were also used to ferry goods and children from one bank to the other, the swimmer pushing this receptacle in front of him. Individuals would also travel considerable distances on half-submerged floats. A bundle of rushes and canes was attached to the fore end of a relatively slender pole; the man sat astride the other end, which sank down, and propelled himself with his arms.

Rafts were also made of cottonwood logs and bundles of tule. Both were flat rectangular contrivances bound together with hide thongs, or bean-fiber twine. The larger reed rafts, *tušil*, said to have been "as large as a house," were braced with cottonwood poles. They were more buoyant and also more readily constructed. For longer journeys a layer of earth was arranged at the rear on which a fire was built for cooking.

My informant assured me that entire families made two- and three-day trips traveling down from the Mohave country in this way.

SONGS

The songs of the Yuma belong to a style, shared with the Mohave, Diegueño, and probably other Yumans, which presents many remarkable features. The songs are arranged in groups or series, which should be sung as a whole. Each song refers to an incident in a myth on which the series itself is based. The song consists of a few disconnected words taken from the subject matter of the legend and is often meaningless apart from its context. Songs in the various Yuman languages, the original tongue being in general retained, have been interchanged among the various tribes. Other songs and more particularly the mourning songs, are largely untranslatable. Most songs are believed to have been received by individuals in dreams. Dreamed power is also necessary in order to sing traditional songs, including those known to have been adopted from other peoples. The character

¹⁰⁷ Steve Kelley.

of Yuman songs and those of the Yuma known to the Mohave, have been recorded by Kroeber.¹⁰⁸ A study of the Yuman musical style has recently been made by Herzog.¹⁰⁹

The following song series were heard, or reported as sung, by individuals who are at the present time the more renowned singers:

hura'v (lightning)—a relatively recent, but most popular song, said to have been dreamed by the present singer when he was a young man:

When he was a young man Wilson rose up into the sky while he was sleeping and saw there a place leveled off in a circle. Here there stood a group of young men and women dressed as in the old days in loincloths and willow-bark skirts. Each had a white eagle feather in the hair. They sang songs and danced in a circle winding in and out without touching each other.

In the center stood a small boy who was naked and carried a bow and one-feathered arrow. This boy directed the singing, telling the story of a long journey two boys were making down below on earth. The boy could see all over the earth and described every mountain and all the animals as the travelers came to them. When the travelers came to important places the boy made the dancers sing. At one point the boy told the story of the death of Kukumat and the dancers sang for that.

Wilson's song repeats all the singing he heard in his dream, and he also tells of the travels as the small boy described them. The boy was Lightning; he is up there in the center of the circle all the time. When he shoots the arrow, it zig-zags across the sky because it has no feathers and comes down to strike the ground.

Wilson claims that his song will bring rain, for by singing it he makes the cloud spirits dance round as they did in his dreams.

tuma'npakaul—sung by Burns, but considered an old song; similar in name and content to the Mohave tumanpa akyulya (long Tumanpa).¹¹⁰

etseyer (birds)—sung by James Hammond; an old Yuma song, borrowed also by the Mohave.¹¹¹

tsuta'x—a harvest song sung beneath a shade roofed with corn stalks; the song refers to a story of a wading bird and was identified by Miguel as the same as the Mohave "Chutaha."¹¹² As in the latter, only a half-dozen words are used which are sung repeatedly for hours. Unless the reference and context of the words in the myth are known they are meaningless. This is not considered a Mohave song by the Yuma.

hanye' (frog)—said to have been sung to the accompaniment of a rasped and beaten basket.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Kroeber, 2, 755-87.

¹⁰⁹ Herzog.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 759.

¹¹¹ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 786.

¹¹² Cf. Kroeber, 2, 764.

¹¹³ Cf. Herzog, 214, and Densmore, 41.

batea' (Pleiades)—sung after harvest time, now sung by Gold-

ing(?).
alyca' (deer?)—sung by Kechora, possibly related to the Mohave
deer songs.

axta' amailya'e—no data.

xwetsoxwetso—said to be a Yuma song sung by Joe Homer, but
possibly this song is the one later referred to as tsoxwets.

metxa motcets—a Yuma song no longer given but well remembered
by the older men.

Several songs of foreign origin are very popular:

sikwetxot—sung by Felix Escalanta, a travel song said to come
from the Diegueño. The words of both song and story are, however,
Yuma throughout:

There was an old woman, akoi senuxav, who all her life would have nothing to
do with men. One day te'kce (Gopher) thought he would like to have her. She
had a curious custom which he knew about. She would go to a pond to bathe
and cover the sloping bank with soft, wet mud and then slide down on her buttocks
into the water. She would do this many times and Gopher dug himself into a
hole at this place and lay waiting for her with his penis erect. The old woman
came along and slid over him, and before she got back to her house, twin boys
were born to her.

When they were young boys the twins moved east into enemy country. One
day they saw some fine bamboos growing in a pond. They wished to make flutes
with them but the water in the pond welled up so rapidly that they could not dive
down to root up the bamboos. Finally, the younger brother transformed himself
into a round stone and fell to the bottom of the pool. It was very deep and at
the bottom he found White Beaver, who greeted him as his nephew, saying that
no one had ever visited his home before. White Beaver offered his help and
chewed through the base of a fine bamboo stem. The boy held on to the stem
and rose with it to the surface. The elder brother snatched at the stem and
claimed the thicker end. They quarreled, but finally the younger brother gave in.
In the night spirits came to prepare and decorate the flutes.

The boys played on their flutes and the sound traveled to twin sisters who
were living among the enemy. They were greatly excited by the music and set
out to find its source. They finally reached the two boys and slept with them for
one night before returning home. The boys determined to find the girls again
and set off in their direction. But they were captured by a band of the enemy
Maricopa. The Maricopa killed the younger boy. When he saw that his brother
was dead, the other lay down and let the enemy kill him for he could not live
alone.

One of the Maricopa girls had a child called kwiya'homa'r, to whom she told
the story of the twin lovers. Later she neglected the boy, who was cared for by
an older woman, a relative of the girl. Reaching manhood the son schemed to
revenge his father and finally set fire to the enemy village, killing everybody but
the old woman, with whom he set out into the west. They traveled together for
many years, naming all the new animals they saw and telling them how to help
men. Finally they reached a sea coast in the west. Here the boy transformed

the woman into a bird, kwelte'ek (meadow lark). She rose up into the sky while he himself walked down on to the beach and sprang up into the air, rising up into the heavens and became Thunder.

harraup—a Diegueño song (orup), sung by Narpi, a Kamyá.

tsoxwets—a travel song said to have been borrowed from the Koxwan and sung in their tongue. It refers to another myth of the twins in which they visit enemy (Maricopa) country, and bring back a girl over whom they quarrel on their return.

Songs were not sung at the funerals witnessed,¹¹⁴ and my informants said that there was no singing until the keruk. The mourning songs, i.e., keruk and awaxom, are discussed later (p. 245). The former series relates to the creation and consists of a series of some fifty songs of which about thirty are sung at the present time. The texts of the majority of these were obtained. Translation and explanation are given where possible, but the informant, although a leading singer had learned by rote and was uncertain of meanings.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The gourd rattle (ekna'tL) is the usual accompaniment to songs and dances. Globular gourds are opened at the junction of the stalk, cleaned out, and dried. A handful of small pebbles are inserted and a wooden handle, about six inches long, fixed in the hole with arrowweed or mesquite gum. Rows of holes are punched in the surface of the gourd, forming patterns and increasing the resonance. The gourd is then painted, black on the upper half and red near the handle, or red with black stripes were the more usual designs in the past. No special significance attaches to the gourd rattle, which anyone may possess. All singers have one or more (fig. 6).

The deerhoof rattle (ta'sidL or mō'me) can be used only by the leader of the keruk songs in the mourning ceremony. Twenty or more hoofs are needed. These are pierced at the apex and threaded in pairs, one at each end, on lengths of cord. The cords are then looped up and bound together to form a handle (fig. 7).

For certain songs an inverted basketry tray is beaten with a stick or with a bunch of twigs tied together. The notched stick and scraper are not used.

¹¹⁴ Contrast Herzog, 184.

The flute (*wilwil*) and flageolet (*wilwil melyakí'v*; *melyakí'v*, wailing, noise in the throat) are now rare. They were used only by individuals and not at any group singings. The player was often a young man who wished to court a girl. He would sit near her house, or wherever she happened to be, and play without speaking to her. The instruments were made from a length of the cane *axta*, from 18 inches to 2 feet long. This included two or three notches which were

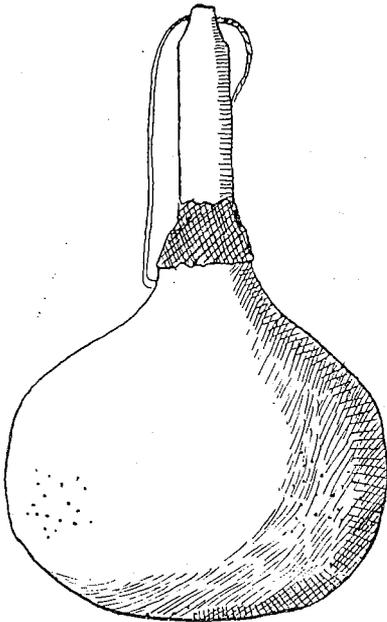


Fig. 6. Gourd rattle, 10½ inches long.

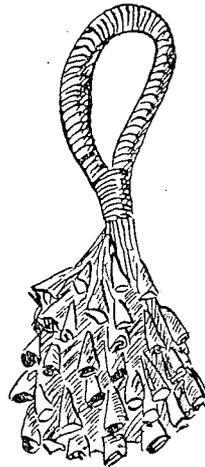


Fig. 7. Deerhoof rattle, about 9 inches long.

bored through inside and smoothed without. The flute was held almost vertically and blown across obliquely at the upper end. There were four stops in the middle section. For the flageolet one notch partition was pierced with only a small hole near the wall of the tube. An opening was made in the wall immediately below the notch and this half covered with a sliver of cane or a piece of bark. The stops, also four in number, were at the lower end and the player merely blew in at the top. Both types were decorated throughout their length with incised and painted designs for which squares and triangles of the smooth outer surface of the cane were removed, in order that paint might be applied (pl. 54).

GAMES

The games described by Yuma informants are similar to those recorded for the Mohave.¹¹⁵ Several field games were played, *shinny* *asūta'v*, the ball race, *ktsō'orv*, and the stick and hoop game, *ortuv*. The shinny stick was fashioned from a yard length of mesquite sharply curved round like a walking stick and flattened on one side.¹¹⁶ There were seven to eight players on each side and the game began in a scramble to unearth the ball with shinny sticks from the hole in which it was buried. Two parallel lines about a quarter of a mile apart, generally marked out with arrowweed stakes, were the goal lines. The game usually ended when one side had carried the ball across their opponents' line. Play was vigorous but entirely chaotic, both parties chasing after and huddling around the ball in an unorganized crowd. There were generally leaders who selected the teams but these exercised virtually no control over their side or the course of the game.

The ball race was played by two and occasionally more men, each of whom had a ball of mesquite wood about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter.¹¹⁷ Starting level, the ball was lifted on one foot and flung as far forward as possible, chased, and sent forward again. The runners carried the ball in this way out and back over a prearranged course of two to five miles each way. The pole and hoop game, *orturv*, played between two men according to the scoring recorded for the Mohave, was the most popular of all pastimes.¹¹⁸

Archery contests were formerly frequent. A slim bundle of arrowweed tips, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, was thrown out as far as possible from the group of archers. It was stuck up in the ground where it fell and the competitors shot at it in turn. Those that hit the bundle received an arrow from each of the other players. This continued until one archer had all the arrows. The winner now threw the bundle into the air and shot at it with the arrows won from the others. If he hit the bundle he kept the arrow; if he missed, the arrow was returned to its original owner.

The gambling game, known as *tatū'dūlv*, was played at night by a camp fire between two groups of four, but differed from that of the

¹¹⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 740-41.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Culin, 646 and fig. 844.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Culin, 682 and fig. 908.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Alarcón, Heintzelman, 49, and ten Kate, 2, 108.

Mohave. One group held two sticks each, a black and a white. The members of the other party guessed in turn, dealing with one opponent at a time. Each guesser continued until he made a mistake. The game changed sides when the challenging side obtained all the fifteen counters.¹¹⁹ The sandhill guessing game was not recorded, but the women's "dice" game was formerly played. The short, semicylindrical pieces were about six inches long. A design was painted in red on the flat side. The thrower won if the painted side fell uppermost.¹²⁰

A ring and pin game, *ak'a'a'v*, was played in the Mohave fashion, scoring being recorded on a spiral, but men as well as women were said to play.¹²¹

LEADERSHIP

The great changes of the last fifty years make it very difficult to ascertain the aboriginal organization of the Lower Colorado peoples. The Yuma, although they retain in their figures of speech and psychological attitudes strong traces of their earlier life, are, nevertheless, very vague as to their past organization. The irrigation of their territory by perennial canals has given much of their land considerable economic value, converting them into sedentary landowners who tend to abandon the old community life for the particularist activities of their farms.

I was able to obtain fragmentary information on the early organization of the Yuma settlements and attempted, by careful questioning, to coordinate these data. Two characteristic Yuma traits must, however, be borne in mind. Although they will go into elaborate and even fanciful detail in describing the places in which magical and mythological events occurred, and will give minute but unidentifiable descriptions of dream journeys, there is a remarkable lack of interest in the distribution of habitations and in actual organization. Unlike the river Kamya and the Kamya proper (Diegueño), the Yuma afford little information as to the past extent of their territory, the location of their fields, and movements necessitated by the vagaries of the flood. The details of everyday existence are always of minor interest. It is always far easier to obtain an informant's dreams and opinions on mythology than to evoke his memory of past conditions of life.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Trippel, 5. Cf. Culin, 327, who describes the play differently.

¹²⁰ Cf. Culin, 208-210 and figs. 280-282. Similar pieces were used by the Cocopa, Mohave, Maricopa, Diegueño, and Havasupai and dice of the same form are widely distributed through the Pueblo region.

¹²¹ Cf. Culin, 560, fig. 744.

This indifference to the mechanics of life extends also to much of their social organization. Sib exogamy is generally observed and its infringement was, until recently, severely frowned upon, but it was not deeply rooted in the emotional life. At the present time few persons know the names of all the sibs, and sib mates certainly do not form functional units. There is no evidence that the military or economic organization of the people was based on, or even integrated with the sib organization, and the existence of exogamous groups is not recorded in any of the Spanish or American accounts of the Yuma. Activities of all kinds were undertaken when there was a consensus of opinion among the people who happened to be gathered together at any one time.

Strong and enterprising personalities could, therefore, exercise considerable influence in virtue of their qualities. No prerogative of clan, society, or grade existed to hamper the rise to leadership of a man of determined character. War expeditions are the one feature of their practical life which are considered worthy of remembrance and attention. Success in the numerous small skirmishes that constituted warfare in this region, was indispensable to welfare. It was the concrete expression of spiritual strength. To be severely beaten by an enemy or to draw back sluggishly and avoid attacks would bring down scorn and shame, for Yuma mysticism was essentially directed at the acquisition and manifestation of great "power," power which should make them invincible before their enemies. The need of bold, adventurous leaders who could rouse the enthusiasm of the people, convince them of their tribal greatness, and also plan wisely that they might not suffer defeat follows inevitably from this ideal of invincibility. There is, however, no evidence of any set organization for the electing and empowering of leaders; "dream power" again afforded the medium through which an individual laid claim to authority. Leadership was theoretically obtained by vision or dream from one or the other of the spirits who live forever on *avikwamé'* and were appointed by the Creator to appear to those whom he thought worthy.

One informant¹²² gave me an account which is very illuminating and probably affords a fair picture of the stable anarchy of aboriginal Yuma society:

You know how some men are quick and strong and know the things to do how people like to do things for them, and how they have a gift for getting everybody cheerful. Well, those men were leaders (*kwoxot*). When a man knew he

¹²² Miguel.

had the power to be a good leader, he told his dreams. If his dreams were good, his plans would be followed, but if they were poor and stupid others would tell him so and he could do nothing. Sometimes men struggled with each other to lead war parties and arrange daily affairs. Then each would try to get more of the people on his side, giving feasts to his friends and encouraging them to speak of his wisdom. But it was not long before we knew who was the better man and he became leader and gave positions to others. If a leader acted stupidly, it meant that his power had deserted him and it was time to have another to decide things. A man did not become kwoxot because his father had been kwoxot, although some families were more powerful than others and had a lot of good men.

In old times the Yumas did not live altogether in one place, but were scattered in little groups along the river at the foot of the mesa. Each group planted its corn and beans in the same place for many years. Each of these bands had its own leaders. Young men, chosen for their endurance and reliability, were used for their runners between the camps. They were always going to and fro with messages so that whenever anything big was planned, a battle or a feast, all the leaders of the villages would get together and decide what was to be done. If the head leader got sick, the leaders from various bands were called in and they decided who should be the new head leader. Sometimes their plan did not work. If the people liked another better they listened to him and gave the chosen man the cold shoulder. If he was strong and wise enough to hold the people, the popular man became the regular head in a little while. It was the same if the leaders disputed among themselves. Nobody did anything and the man that was really wanted soon came out top.

The kwoxot was a tribal leader, an authority to whom appeal might be made on any matter of dispute, but more significant as an embodiment of spiritual power than as a lawgiver or executive.

It is clear from native accounts of the character and means of acquiring this office that it cannot have been hereditary.¹²³ This is confirmed by the Spanish data of the eighteenth century. Kino¹²⁴ refers without comment to the Captain and Governor of the Yuma. It is to be presumed that these are two titles for a single leader, but Kino is nowhere explicit on this point. In the time of Garcés and the Anza expedition, the Yuma kwoxot was the very remarkable man "Olleyquotequiebe,"¹²⁵ later known as Palma.

Extremely anxious that his people should receive the benefits of Christianity and Spanish civilization, he first became known to the Spaniards when he made a journey to Tubac to solicit a visit to his country. His devout character, of which the Fathers speak with warmth and gratitude, was associated with considerable ability and strength of personality. He impressed the Spaniards so considerably

¹²³ Gifford, 4, 116, states for the Coeopa that "the . . . Chieftain was selected by the people, a son succeeding his father only in case the people considered him to have sufficient ability."

¹²⁴ Bolton, 2, 2:204.

¹²⁵ Whoezy One, with reference to his asthmatic breathing.

that they write with unusual fullness of the source and extent of his power. Palma himself in a letter to Buccarelli¹²⁶ stated that he changed his title from cofot (kwoxot) to capitán presumably to show his admiration of Spanish ways. In this letter he claims "supremacy by right of primogeniture from time immemorial," but there is little doubt that Palma or Anza were endeavoring to impress Buccarelli with the dignity of the chieftaincy, for Font¹²⁷ states specifically that the chieftainship was not hereditary among the Yuma, and that Palma succeeded another chief whose son figures in the diary but has no position of rank. Font also makes the acute observation that the chief's "rule and authority should not be understood as very vigorous, for since the Indians are so free and live so like animals and without civilization, sometimes they pay no attention to their chief even though he may give them orders";¹²⁸ and further, that Palma is chief "because of his intrepidity and verbosity as is usually the case among Indians."¹²⁹ That members of eminent families were, in practice, the most likely to have authority is, however, indicated by the fact that the sons of both Palma and Pablo are described by Pages as petty chieftains in his diary of the punitive expedition sent against the Yuma in 1781-82.¹³⁰

We also learn from the diarists of the Anza expedition that the village near Pilot Knob had a leader of its own, whom they called Pablo. A sullen and perhaps treacherous man, Pablo was disliked by the Spaniards, while he in turn resented their presence. But his authority was definitely subordinate to that of Palma and he attempted no overt opposition.

The last kwoxot is said to have died several generations ago,¹³¹ but it is clear from the field data still obtainable that the term connoted a title rather than an office. Whatever the historical development may have been, there can be little doubt that although there were duties and functions associated with the title, the title was, in more recent times, acquired by voluntarily undertaking the duties rather than by any definite elective procedure. There might be more than one kwoxot within the tribe at the same time. Miguel claims to have been told

¹²⁶ November 11, 1776 (actually written by Anza), in Bolton, 4, 5:397 ff.

¹²⁷ Font's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 4:102.

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 4, 4:102.

¹²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 4, 4:69.

¹³⁰ Priestley, 25, 47.

¹³¹ He was probably the Santiago whom Heintzelman deposed from authority in his efforts to crush native insubordination (Heintzelman, 46). The next "chief" was Pasqual, chosen by Heintzelman himself in 1852, "despite the violent opposition of several claimants." He had previously been the "military leader." It is to be noted that Pasqual was not succeeded by his own son, but by an unrelated man, Miguel, according to Pasqual's own wish. Cf. Trippel, 567-568.

by his father that when the latter was a child there were two kwoxot. Asked for his opinion on such a situation he explained that there would be no rivalry between them because the men with power among the Yuma did not quarrel but worked together for the good of the people and that since the kwoxot was a source of great power, the more kwoxot there were, the more power and safety there would be for the people.

The functions of the kwoxot are most clearly understood from native attempts at definition:

Whoever has many followers and keeps an enemy scalp is usually called kwoxot. People gather round his house whenever anything is happening, for good times, funerals and meetings.

Kwoxot had to feed and look after poor people. He had to get together a big store of food for this. His followers gave him what they could spare, but this was not for his use, only for him to give away to the needy. When there was a death, the family burned its house and almost everything it had. Then they were very poor, without shelter and short of food, but they could go to the kwoxot and he would look after them; give them a place to live and food to eat. The kwoxot always did this for he was supposed to be kind to everyone, especially to widows. If he needed food for these people, he called on his followers and each gave a share of their stores.

Kwoxot was the rain maker (*hū'voeama*). Sometimes other men have this power but usually only kwoxot. He could bring a thunderstorm to confuse the enemy, and also make rain in the spring to make plants grow.

Kwoxot can be understood by all living creatures, by animals, and plants. He can control them, so he can drive out sickness and prevent it from attacking the people. He has the biggest powers of any man, is strong and happy and tells the people what they must do to remain healthy. Kwoxot might sometimes cure diseases, but as a rule he did not, he used his powers to keep everybody well. Men with smaller special powers cured the sick.

Kwoxot had little to do with arranging ceremonies, he just did his part like anyone else. But he made the best speeches at these times. For it was by his speeches that people knew he had great power and was kwoxot.

A man who believed he had the power of kwoxot told his dreams to the old people. They could tell from the dreams how much power he had. If he had full power he became kwoxot. When a man became kwoxot like that, he did not interfere with another kwoxot but worked alongside with him and continued when the older man died. But as a rule the spirits only gave full power to one man at a time so there was only one kwoxot.

Kwoxot gave feasts and people came to his house to eat and sing and dance when the war parties returned or whenever there was to be a good time.

The Yuma kwoxot clearly parallels the kohota of the Mohave and, like the latter, he undertook two specific tribal duties connected with warfare, the care of scalps and the guarding of captives.¹³² These duties are still very clear in the native mind and are readily specified as most characteristic of his position.

¹³² Kroeber, 2, 745 ff.

But the kwoxot did not control or direct military operations. Indeed, he is frequently mentioned in the war tales as remaining behind in the settlement, awaiting the warriors and the captives they should bring. Moreover, the idea of the kwoxot engaging in battle is foreign to them. Except on rare occasions when a Yuma settlement was surprised and in danger of defeat, his duty was to remain apart from the battle, preserving the strength and integrity of the tribe in the security of his own person.

The control and direction of warfare lay, therefore, in separate hands, those of the kwánami (brave man), the war leader. The war leader had authority throughout the tribe, sent messengers to gather war parties, and decided the scope of the expeditions. He was expected, however, to defer to the wishes of the kwoxot who "often advised him not to be too restless." The kwánami was distinguishable in battle for he alone of the warriors covered his body entirely with black paint and wore two eagle feathers in his hair. He would fight with club alone. He gained his position by slow increase of authority in a career of campaigning until he succeeded a predecessor slain in battle, or could supersede him in the eyes of the warriors, for small war parties often went out independently and sometimes contrary to the wishes of the kwánami. If a warrior organized several successful raids he could count on many adherents to his next plan, if well-timed. Eventually encountering the opposition of the kwánami he would stake his reputation on the success of an independent expedition. If beaten by the enemy it was clear that his power was negligible and inferior to that of the war leader, but should he succeed despite the remonstrances and warnings of the kwánami, he demonstrated great power and might supplant the old leader. But such usurpations were rare, for the Yuma, although courageous and enterprising, held in deep respect the accredited power of a leader, since that power was derived, not from his own character or ambitions, but from Kumastamxo and the spirits. "A man would not try to supplant his leader unless he had himself received stronger power in his own dreams."

A statement by Heintzelman indicates dual leadership of kwoxot and kwánami. In his efforts to break the power of the tribe he had deprived the two "chiefs," Santiago and Cavallo en Pelo, of their power, and he says of them:

I could never get from them the difference between Santiago and Cavallo en Pelo; they evidently looked up to them with great deference. My impression is the former was the civil and the latter the war chief.¹³³

The Yuma ranged over considerable territory and were subdivided into a number of distinct bands, each with its settlement. Although they did not threaten tribal unity, these settlements were relatively stable and autonomous. There is no evidence that they were aligned with the sib system and men frequently, and perhaps usually, married within their own band. Each band had its village leaders, known as *pi'pa taxá'n* (good for the people). These were not limited in number but included the more active heads of the families living in the village who met frequently but informally to decide any public business. The *pi'pa taxá'n* were the final authorities within the village. They decided where the shelters and winter houses should be built, and whether the site of the village should be moved. Private quarrels were adjusted by their arbitration, and their acquiescence was sought before taking the life of a doctor. They appointed runners who maintained communication between the several villages and the allied tribes, especially the Mohave.¹³⁴ Joint meetings of the *pi'pa taxá'n* of several villages were held in times of crises, for example when the flood had failed or when the Pima and Maricopa were expected to invade Yuma territory.

No regular procedure for the election of the *pi'pa taxá'n* was known to my informants nor was there a definite chief among them. The approval of the *kwoxot* would be sought in all affairs of tribal importance, but otherwise the strongest personality and ablest debater dominated their deliberations, which were often noisy and interminable. That some individual usually dominated the situation is suggested by Heintzelman's general statement that:

There is a chief to each band and he acts in all important matters with the members of his band. Any matter affecting the whole tribe is determined on by the principal men of the different bands. I think the chieftaincy is hereditary but not followed rigidly.¹³⁵

Membership of this democratic village council was acquired by cooption. "If a man knew how to do something well, or was wise in advice, he was asked to come and help decide, and in time became a *pi'pa taxá'n*." Furthermore, absolute seniority was no qualification for a voice in these matters. The village council was essentially an executive body from which the senile were retired. "Men when they are old become weak and lose their vision, their power goes from them and they give up to younger people, or after a time people will take no notice of them." At the present time it is very conspicuous that the oldest men have relatively little authority. The "committees"

¹³³ Heintzelman, 46.

¹³⁴ Cf. Stratton, 220 and 226.

¹³⁵ Heintzelman, 46.

which arrange the singings and mourning ceremonials consist of active men in their forties and early fifties such as Miguel and Johnson, while Manuel Thomas, a very old man of considerable knowledge, is not consulted and takes no active part. Joe Homer, although the self-accredited authority on religious matters, is largely ignored in practice and has no executive authority.

Trippel¹³⁶ purports to describe an elaborate political organization including a police system, "sheriff," judges, and captains appointed by the chief to rule the various districts for a term of years. Some such organization may have been instituted by Heintzelman but it is almost certainly not aboriginal. No traces of it appear in the Spanish records, the alleged titles are unknown at the present time, and the whole scheme is foreign to the native attitude toward government.

It appears from these accounts that the Yuma were previously segregated in a number of bands, each centering around a favorable section of the river bottom in which crops were grown. There is little evidence that these bands were clan groups or lineages, although Trippel says that the families in a "rancheria" were usually related.¹³⁷ Each band had its own leaders who were not hereditary chiefs but derived their authority from popular estimation of their worth and "power." There is little doubt that the aboriginal organization was so loose and the scattering of settlements so extensive that there was comparative autonomy and independence of the village units. Only in time of stress was the authority of any leader-in-chief exerted over the entire people.

Despite this segregation, tribal solidarity was strong and a tribal leader, probably head man of one of the more powerful groups, was recognized as leader of the people. The need for such an office was apparently strongly felt. The Yuma is arrogantly conscious of his distinctness from the other surrounding peoples. His mythology and religious belief centers around the concept of spiritual power and there can be little doubt that the tribal leader derived his authority from the display of those qualities of superior judgment and force of personality which are believed by the Yuma to be supernaturally bestowed. No inevitable sanctity attached to any leader; should his power appear to fail, his dreams were at once called in question and unless he could rehabilitate himself by wise action and the claim of further visionary experience, his authority was at an end.

¹³⁶ Trippel, 568-570.

¹³⁷ Trippel, 573.

The curious blend of mysticism, respect, and realistic criticism with which leadership is surrounded is Southwestern rather than Californian in quality, and the absence or even denial of the hereditary principle sets the Yuma organization apart from that of most Californian groups. Among the Mohave Kroeber found a practically functionless hereditary title, *hanidhala*, which he considered to be a corruption of the Spanish "general," and was probably modern. The true leaders, *kohota*, war leader, and doctor (*kwathidhe*), obtained their power individually through dreaming.¹³⁸ Chieftainship was also non-hereditary among the Pima.¹³⁹ Among the Yuman-speaking *Havasupai*¹⁴⁰ and also the *Walapai*,¹⁴¹ it was a vague function slowly acquired by increasing influence in public exhortation and debate, but likely to continue in the same paternal line.

In California, however, the concept of hereditary chieftainship was well established except in the northwest, where wealth supplanted hereditary prestige.¹⁴² Among the Southern Shoshoneans (*Serraño*, *Cahuilla*, *Cupeño*, and *Luisseño*), where the *sib* was the ceremonial unit and a true paternal lineage, the hereditary principle was followed both for the ceremonial chief and his assistants.¹⁴³ Among these people tribal cohesion was extremely weak and their organization, based on localized kin groups, presents the strongest contrast with the tribal units of the Lower Colorado.

The *Diegueño*,¹⁴⁴ although a Yuman people sharing some features of the religious outlook of the Yuma, approximate in social organization to the Southern Shoshoneans. Non-agricultural and relatively peaceful like the latter, they lived in localized *sib* or lineage groups, each with its hereditary leader whose functions were also primarily ceremonial. Among the Northern *Diegueño* there is an indication of village chiefs (*kwapai*) as well as clan leaders. The organization of these people was, however, seriously disturbed by the Spanish missions and it is probable that aboriginally their organization differed as markedly as that of the Southern *Diegueño* and the Shoshonean from that of the river tribes.

¹³⁸ Kroeber, 2, 745. The *Havasupai*, however, use the term *hanáta'vá* (very good) as a vague chiefly title, which may throw doubt on the etymology of *hanidhala*.

¹³⁹ Russell, 195.

¹⁴¹ Kroeber, verbal information.

¹⁴⁰ Spicer, 3, 235 ff.

¹⁴² Kroeber, 2, 832-33.

¹⁴³ Cf. Strong, W. D., 15, 56-59, 105-07, 163, 249-53, 292. Kroeber, 2, 719 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Spicer, 1, 309.

SIBS

The Yuma have a patrilineal exogamous system, of which twenty-three existing or recently extinct sibs¹⁴⁵ (cimū'l) were attested by informants.

xavtea'ts hākwi'ts. Totems (nye'dsa'wen): Frog, hanyō'; Corn. tađi'ts; Moon, xelya; Cricket, e'nmolol. "Came from the western coast."

xavtea'ts kwátea'n. Totems: Corn; Moon, i.e., Yuma **xavteaks** frequently referred to as the premier sib among the Yuma.

xavtea'ts tuđi'l. Totems: Corn; Moon. A warlike sib.

xavtea'ts cetmadđo'n. Totems: Corn; Moon.

xavtea'ts anyi'k. Totem: Corn.

xavtea'ts hapu'k. Totems: Frog; Corn. Cf. Piman "sib" a'puki given by Russell, 197.

xavtea'ts xetamu'n. Totems: Corn (Fish—tamu'n? (M. T.)).

hi'pa. Totems: Coyote; Moon. "Hipa has moon namesake because Coyote is in the moon. He went up to make love to moon because she was so beautiful and he never came away." (M. T.) P. M. and J. H. considered that hi'pa had always the implication of alien. "Hipa is a foreign name always." But M. T. and H. R. claimed that there was a pure Yuma clan called Hipa alone.

hi'pa halteađu'm. Totem: Coyote (ha'tolwe). Derived from the neighboring northern people, the halteađu'm.

hi'pa panya'. Totems: Coyote (Frog, according to M. T.; P. M. denies this). Derived from the Maricopa. The Yuma word for Maricopa is xetpanya' (P. M.).

hi'pa xetpa'. Totem: Coyote. "xetpa is the Yuma word for Pima. This word also means coyote among the Maricopa and in ceremony by Yuma" (P. M.).

li'ō'ts. Totems: Clouds, akwe'; Buzzard (?Raven), ace'. P. M. believes this sib originated with the Mohave.

li'ō'ts xetpa'. Totems: Coyote; Clouds. J. H. did not know this sib, which is claimed by M. T.

li'ō'ts kwe'stamuts. Totem: Clouds(?). Now extinct, believed by P. M. to have practiced exposure of the dead.

li'ō'ts hatsmiya'tl. Totem: Cloud(?). Derived from the Diegueno, according to M. T.

¹⁴⁵ The term sib is used throughout to connote a patrilineal exogamous group; for the corresponding matrilineal group the term "clan" is used.

ma've'. Totem: Rattlesnake, a've'.

ma've' metama'i. Totem: Sidewinder (rattlesnake), eksa'.

elymu'e. Totems: Deer, akwa'k; Screwbean, e'i'e. elymu'e is claimed to be an archaic word meaning deer.

mat'a'. Totem: Chaparral Cock (road-runner), telpo.

kwecakū'. Totem: Willow bark headring, kweckō (for carrying pots and bundles). Now extinct, said to have been an insignificant sib (P. M.; J. H.).

xakei'. Totem: Red mud, mātāwi't. (M. T.)

xalpō't. Totems: Dispersal of the People, matcelpō't; Ashes, xamū'l. xelpō't = dispersal. This clan is considered mythologically as the last group that asked for a name, after which the people scattered in various directions.

vaxa's. Totem: Beaver, ape'n. Very small and believed to be a Mohave clan which drifted in among the Yuma a long time back." (P.M.)

The following sib names are reported by Harrington and Gifford, but were not obtained from my informants:

*Harrington:*¹⁴⁶

sin'kwa'l. Totem: Deerhide (eagle—Gifford). Diegueño according to P. M.

cikupa's. Totem: Red ant, ikwī's; teamaḍul according to Gifford.

estamaḍum. Totem: Insect. A remark of Gifford's (164) that estamaḍum = xavtea'ts suggests that this = my cetmadḍon.

*Gifford:*¹⁴⁷

sikuma. Totem: Dove. Also recorded by Gifford for Cocopa, Kamia, and Koxwa'n; probably intrusive.

sikus. Totem: ?. Cited also for Cocopa as salt; probably intrusive.

teia. Totem: Night hawk, uru. Diegueño according to P. M.

Although sib membership is inherited in the male line the sib name is taken as a personal name only by women. The sibs are not nameless, however, as Kroeber has suggested. Sib names are, indeed, used only in referring to women, but the sib group is referred to by a collective term composed of the prefix pa (from pīpa, people) and the sib name, e.g., pa'xavtea'ts. The sib title is sometimes phonetically modified in this usage, e.g., ma've (snake people are known as pamavi'ts). This usage became apparent in discussing origins and ceremonials with

¹⁴⁶ Harrington, 344-45.

¹⁴⁷ Gifford 4, 158 ff., tables 1 and 2. The lists were in the first instance taken from the agency records, in which the names of Cocopa, Kamia, and other foreign women living with the Yuma would appear.

Joe Homer. The term was not generally used to refer to modern sib groups, but it appeared that this was due to the almost complete decay of sib function.

Among the sibs there are several groups which share a common name, no less than sixteen fall into four groups in this way. There has in recent times been some amalgamation of sibs and a breakdown of exogamy, but old informants such as Joe Homer, Manuel, and Hipa Norton are all agreed that there were originally several quite distinct sibs with similar first names, but distinguished in the second name. Their relation to one another was of the same order as that to any other sib. For instance, a hi'pa halteađum could marry a hi'pa panya', etc. This is borne out by the genealogical table obtained from one informant. In recent years several sibs have become extinct and in consequence the various hi'pa, for example, have felt themselves more closely knit, tending to develop even into a single exogamous unit. The full effect of this has, however, been masked by the decay of the exogamous rule which "the young people don't want to bother about." It is therefore impossible to ascertain, far less demonstrate, what the precise relationship of these similarly named sibs was in the past. It was neither suggested nor admitted that they cooperated or reciprocated in any social function. Where they had any views, my informants believed them to have been as distinct from one another as from any other. Some original association would, however, appear to be indicated by the fact that they share common "totems," but they can scarcely be regarded as phratries since they never function as a group. The frequency of alien tribal names in the second term, e.g., hi'pa halteađu'm, hi'pa panya', suggests that they may have originated with the arrival of foreign groups among the Yuma. These would in some instances have belonged to a sib of similar name in their own tribe. They may have retained this name but have been further distinguished by their tribal name, and have at the same time maintained exogamy only in relation to their own people.

Particular animals or objects are associated with the various sibs. Among those of similar first name there is a common totem, e.g., xavtea'ts—Corn, hi'pa—Coyote, and sometimes in addition, a second animal or object specific to one alone. The attitude toward these "totems" is perhaps best expressed in the English word namesakes adopted by the natives to describe them.

But the possession of "namesakes" is now only vaguely understood. Joe Homer said all xavtea'ts have the same, i.e., frog, corn,

moon, and cricket. Other informants claimed more for xavtea'ts hākwi'ts than other xavtea'ts which have only "corn" and according to Hipa Norton, also "moon." Manuel, who recorded the extinct sib xavtea'ts xe'tamun, believed it to possess exclusively the fish namesake given. Miguel doubted this and considered it an attempt at etymological explanation.

No observance or belief was found to be correlated with these totemic names, no theory of avoidance or descent was suggested by my informants who offered no explanation for their existence and showed little interest in their origin. The totemic concept is, indeed, tenuous and weak.

Reference is made in the keruk mythology to certain ritual prerogatives appertaining to one sib, pamavi'ts, to build the keruk house. These usages are now obsolete but no systematic division of ceremonial activities among the sibs was indicated in the mythology of the accounts of ritual.

Women in addition to the sib name also frequently use another name derived from some characteristic feature or activity of the namesake, as mave'tēkv (tēkv—creeping closer all the time). These names are adopted in childhood without ceremony.

In old age, i.e., when the hair is turning grey, the sib name is prefixed with akoi—old woman. Sometimes the sib name is contracted, or the namesake used instead, e.g.,

hī'pa: akoi hī'pa

li'ō'ts xetpa': akoi xetpa'

elymu'e: akoi'akwa'k (akwak—deer)

Men's names have no relation to sib affiliation.

Although only a few, but those the most important, e.g., li'ō'ts and xavteats, of the sib titles, are common to the other river tribes, the type is the same.¹⁴⁸ Descent is everywhere patrilineal and the totemic references are of varied character, including birds, animals, plants, natural and cultural objects.

It will be observed that there is in the Yuma system no trace of moiety organization, and practically no ceremonial function associated with the sib. The sibs had no "chiefs" or ceremonial leaders. The Yuma sibs are, therefore, radically distinct from those of the Southern Shoshoneans to the west.¹⁴⁹ The non-totemic localized sibs of the Diegueño are also of the Shoshonean type, and among them, too, the sib is the ceremonial unit.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Gifford, 4, tables 1, 2 and 3.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Strong, and Gifford, 4.

The Yuma organization is similarly distinct from the somewhat obscure conditions existing among the Pima and Papago in which five non-exogamous groups of patrilineal descent are grouped in moieties.¹⁵⁰ These groups, which may be obsolescent sibs, are not localized, but members of most of them occur in every village. The Papago, strangely enough, consider that members of any one group are not related but that the inhabitants of a single village are, and village exogamy is practiced.¹⁵¹

The other river tribes, however, with the exception of the recently intrusive Kanya who retain in part the Diegueño system, closely parallel the Yuma both in the type of sib organization, in its divorce from ceremonial activity, and also in several of the sib and totemic names used. The Maricopa, although so long resident with the Pima, retain the river system.¹⁵²

The sibs of the river tribes are, therefore, distinct in pattern and function from those of neighboring areas and have practically only patrilineal descent in common. They have scarcely penetrated the tribal life. Gifford suggests a parallel between the practice of using the sib title to indicate the women and the personal names of totemic significance among the Miwok.¹⁵³ The resemblance, however, is not specific and close.

It is to be observed that while among the Diegueño and Shoshoneans, where Puebloan ceremonial traits are observable, the sibs are named territorially and have no totemic reference, among the river tribes, where there is no trace of these Puebloan ceremonial features, one yet finds such common Southwestern sib titles as corn, cloud, frog, tobacco, rattlesnake, and coyote.

While we have no data at present with which to trace the relations of the river system, it would appear probable that it is a long established variant, which can scarcely be derived from the other neighboring types of organizations. There is an undoubted correlation between the restricted function of the sibs and the strength of tribal feeling among the Lower Colorado peoples, but there is no evidence that these sibs have been developed or adapted from localized lineages and their alien character in this region suggests that further knowledge of aboriginal organization in northern Mexico may disclose their relationship to a wider system.

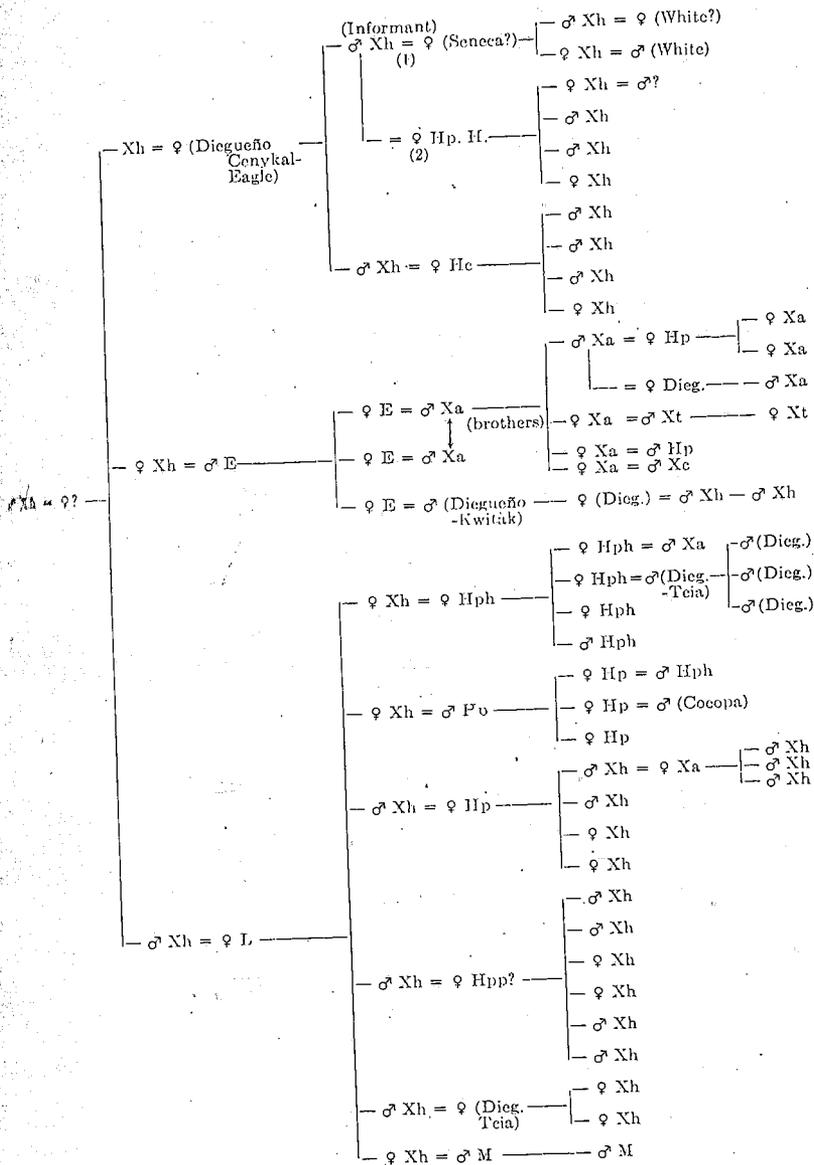
¹⁵⁰ Russell, 197; Curtis, 2, 9.

¹⁵¹ Kroeber, in Gifford, 4, 177.

¹⁵² Cf. Gifford, 2, tables 1, 2, and 3; and Gifford, 4.

¹⁵³ Gifford, 5, 142, and 4, 219.

GENEALOGY



Sib names abbreviated:
 Xh—Xavtea'ts Hák-wits
 Xa—Xavtea'ts Anyik
 Xt—Xavtea'ts Tušil
 Xc—Xavtea'ts Cetmadšom
 Hp—Hi'pa
 Hph—Hi'pa Ha'lteašom

Hpp—Hipa Panya'
 E—Elmu's
 M—Ma've'
 L—Li'š'š'
 Male ♂; female ♀.
 Names are perforce withheld.

KINSHIP

The Yuma kinship system has been recorded and analyzed by Gifford in his elaborate comparative study of Californian Kinship Terminologies.¹⁵⁴ It was checked in the course of my field work but apart from minor phonetic distinctions, no divergence was found.¹⁵⁵ The most striking characteristics are the development of sex and age distinctions, and the elaborate cousin terminology. A woman does not distinguish the sex of her children, the father does. Correspondingly a man and woman use distinct terms for the father, but the same for the mother. Siblings are distinguished as younger brother, younger sister, older sibling, paternal, and maternal sibling. Paternal uncles and maternal aunts are distinguished as older and younger. Maternal uncles and paternal aunts are not. The children of a man's brother and of a woman's sister are distinguished according to the relative age of the parents. A man's cross-cousins are distinguished as to sex, a woman's are not. Maternal parallel cousins and a woman's paternal parallel cousins are not distinguished as to sex, but a man's paternal male parallel cousin is distinguished from the general term for paternal parallel cousin (W. S., or female cousin M. S.). Second cousins are siblings, older or younger terms being used not according to the actual age of the cousins but to that of the original pair of siblings, two or more generations removed, through whom they are ultimately related. No distinction according to the cross or parallel cousinship of the parents appears. Step relations tend to be equated with the siblings of grandparents and their reciprocals, and parents-in-law with the spouses of uncles and aunts.

The distinctive characteristics of this system are found among the other Yuman speaking groups, Cocopa, Mohave, Kanya, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Havasupai in lesser degree, among the south Californian Shoshoneans: Cahuilla, Cupeño, Serrano, Luiseño. In his Yuman type Spier¹⁵⁶ also includes the Plateau Shoshoneans (Wind River, Uintah Ute, Southern Ute), the Papago, the Northern Tepehuane, and the relatively remote Kitanemuk, Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Southwestern Pomo, and possibly the Biloxi. But the Yuma them-

¹⁵⁴ Gifford, 1, 62 ff.

¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately the only available informant competent to supply the data (Patrick Miguel) had also served as Gifford's main informant.

¹⁵⁶ Spier, 2, 75.

ives are, according to Gifford's statistical analysis, the most specialized of the Californian group.¹⁵⁷ While the Diegueño terminologies show considerable Southern Shoshonean influence, the Yuma remain almost entirely unaffected.

PERSONAL NAMES

The Yuma are very secretive about personal names. The name of a dead person may never be mentioned among themselves nor may that name be given to another. In taking a name a man must be certain that the proposed name was not used by anyone recently dead. The use of personal names in certain contexts may be highly insulting; it would perhaps be more exact to say that in abuse or ironic comment the use of the personal name is an added insult or may be the indication that criticism is implied. An occurrence of this kind took place in my presence between two of my informants, the one addressed being extremely annoyed by the otherwise mild remark.

Women did not formerly use personal names but were identified by their sib names. As children they were given nicknames describing some feature of the "totem," but these were not often used when they were grown.¹⁵⁸ As children, boys have nicknames after some characteristic activity. The formal name is given at about the time of the initiation rite. It is announced at a feast which is little more than an advertising medium. This name might never be changed but a man who wished to call attention to himself and gain the rewards of hospitality would frequently take a new name as the occasion for a feast.

I was able to obtain men's names from one informant. There are apparently no set forms from which names may be chosen; indeed, the invention of an interesting name is frequently the aim. They do, however, fall into well defined groups:

1. Names derived from natural or cultural objects:

etcá'e'r anok, Little bird.

etcá'e'r axwe't, Red bird.

apu'k komaxa'n, Admirer of yellow beads.

maxwe't komaxa'n, Admirer of the bear.

eðolyū't Boiled willow (leaves and pith "tea").

sotik anyai, Sotik light (sotik alleged to be untranslatable).

¹⁵⁷ Gifford, 1, 200.

¹⁵⁸ See p. 145.

2. Names referring to personal characteristics:

- eme'válāka's, Splayed toes.
iwa kwispē'r, Strong heart.
heto' kwányi'l, Black belly.
etsi't uta'v, Hit in the rump.

3. Names with a sexual reference:

- maša'r ya'kápet, Crazy penis.
maša'r tepum, Big penis.
senya'k i'mat,¹⁵⁹ Woman's parts.
mecaxa'i hecpa'n, Girl's vagina.
hecpa'n minu'v, Fighting for vagina.
hecpa'n came', Seeking the vagina.

BOYS' INITIATION RITE¹⁰⁰

The Yuma until recently practised an ordeal initiation for all males, which was known as *ixū'ūca'ts* (nose piercing). It can hardly be called a puberty rite since seven or eight years was considered the suitable age at which to undergo the ceremony. It was held in late summer whenever a sufficiently large group of boys (normally varying from six to ten years of age) was ready. Ten was considered a suitable age.

The boys were gathered together in charge of a guardian, under a shade at some distance from the houses. In the early afternoon of the first day the septum of the nose was pierced by some experienced elder and a length of willow-bark string was passed through the incision. The boys were then taken on a long cross-country run in a northerly direction. Athletic adults accompanied them, joining in the race at various points to spur on their effort. Ten or fifteen miles were covered in this way. On their return the boys were bathed in the river and taken back to their shade. They were strictly forbidden to lie down with their heads in contact with the ground or any other object and were not allowed to touch their faces or hair. Squatting or adopting some other posture in which the head was kept clear of the ground, they passed the night in charge of the guardian.

¹⁵⁹ *i'mat* is used both as a specific term for vulva and more generally for the sexual attractiveness of woman. Its meaning is distinct from *hecpa'n*—the vagina, a term also used for intercourse itself.

¹⁰⁰ Joe Homer.

No special songs were sung; men would gather around and sing the songs they knew. Food was restricted to a single bowl of watery corn mush and by constant interruption and interrogation the boys were prevented from sleeping.

At dawn on the second day they were again taken out as before, running this time in a westerly direction. After bathing on their return they were compelled to manipulate the strings in their noses to keep their wounds open.

Procedure on the third day was as before, running this time to the south. On the fourth day, after running to the east, the nose strings were replaced by short lengths of greasewood which were left in the wounds until healed, and the period of seclusion ended that night. A length of shell or a short string of blue shell beads strung on a willow-bark cord was later worn in the nose when the wound had healed.

The rite has some points of resemblance to the western toloache rite, i.e., the foot racing, fasting, etc., but it is far less elaborate, no drug is used, and the ground painting is unknown on the Lower Colorado. Jimsonweed, although known to the Yuma, was used only occasionally and never in the nose-piercing ceremony.

The Yuma regarded the boys' initiation rite as comparable to the girls' puberty rite. Its object was to guarantee strength and endurance. Despite a number of common features such as fasting and scratch avoidance, it is, however, probable that they are historically distinct, since there is in the girls' ceremony no suggestion of an ordeal. The latter attempts to assure fertility and physical well-being by semi-magical observances; it is definitely focused on maternal function and occurs, theoretically, at a particular physiological crisis. The boys' rite, however, has no reference to puberty or mating and is associated in the native mind with the acquisition of a warrior's qualities.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES¹⁶¹

The Yuma practise a girls' puberty rite (tūno'k) similar in function and procedure to that of the Diegueño.¹⁶² It is, however, less elaborate and more privately undertaken. Among the Northern Diegueño several clan mates, all at about the period of puberty, participate in a common "roasting." The Yuma, however, although like their western neighbors in regarding the ceremony as necessary for the present and future physiological well-being of the girl, treat it, nevertheless, as a family affair of little public interest and the rite is conducted separately for each or for two related girls. Close to the house a shallow pit about six feet long is dug. It is floored with stones previously heated in a fire. On the stones a layer of sand is spread and sprinkled with water to temper and conserve the heat. A thick bedding of fresh cut arrowweed (about one foot deep) is placed above and the girl lies on this, face down and naked, but covered with a blanket. The arrowweed couch is sometimes built over a recently extinguished fire without any attempt at digging a pit.

The rite takes place as soon as possible after the appearance of the first menstruation. The girl is first secluded for four days in the care of an elderly female relative.

A group of relatives and friends gather in the morning before the "roasting." In a hollow scooped in the ground, a mud paste is made with the dark adhesive fluid obtained by boiling a quantity of mesquite bark or from pulverized root of the arrowweed. The heads of all the visitors and of the girl herself are plastered with this mud. The female visitors form a circle around the girl, singing and advising her on good conduct. In the late afternoon the pit is prepared and the girl placed in position where she is expected to remain without movement until nightfall. The father of the girl makes and receives flattering speeches during this time.

Now you all know this girl has menstruated. She is become a woman. She will be a fine woman. Soon we will invite all you people again (a reference to her future marriage).

Your girl has menstruated. We are glad she is such a fine girl. After this [the rite] she will grow straight and strong and one day rear many children. Yes, we will all be glad to come again soon.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Joe Homer.

¹⁶² Waterman, 2; DuBois.

¹⁶³ Free English renderings by the informant.

The guests disband that evening but the treatment of the girl continues for four days; each morning her head is washed, deloused and replastered with mud and in the afternoon she returns to the heated arrowweed bed. During this period, as well as the previous four days, the girl is kept on a very scanty diet, without salt or meat. She may not scratch herself or she will become lousy and her hair will fall out; a scratching stick of willow is, therefore, supplied. She may not talk or she will become garrulous. She may not laugh or she will become lightheaded, and may not bathe or she will lose her strength.

This account differs somewhat from the rite observed by Eixarch in 1775:

Today I went with two interpreters to see a very rare thing. It happened that they had told me that it was the custom of these Indians when a woman comes to her first menstruation to bury her in the sand, having warmed it previously with fire. Then many women sing and dance about her for a space of two or three hours, performing this ceremony four consecutive days at a designated hour. During these four days the woman does not eat, they say, and only drinks water at sunset. These four days having passed, they daub her hair with a kind of gum like *zoquete* for four more days, and during this time they give her food to eat without salt. After these four days they daub her hair with *zoquete* four more days, and then she eats and drinks as she wishes.

I did not wish to believe that they buried her or that after the dance was over they took her in their hands, tossed her up in the air three times and the last time let her fall. But since Palma had told me these things, and I had heard the singing for the two previous days consecutively, I asked the two interpreters to accompany me. They did so, and we hid ourselves in the woods, whence I observed the manner of dancing, and the singing by a large circle of Indian women. When I saw them deeply absorbed in their ceremony I emerged from the wood with my interpreters, and we went near to a little fire which they had there. The mother of the girl, or woman, of the ceremony, was crouched low down near a bulk covered with a blanket made of the bark of trees which they weave. I removed the blanket and saw the girl, and I recognized her because she lives near by and comes here every day. She was buried full length in the sand as if dead, with only her head uncovered. At her head were planted two little stakes to hold up the blanket, in order that it might not prevent her from breathing. I touched the sand with which she was covered and it was hot, although not extremely so. This ceremony and the others, they say, they perform with all the girls at their first period. I here relate what I saw; as to the rest I can give no assurance.¹⁶⁴

It will be noticed that in this account there is no mention of an arrowweed bed, the girl being buried directly in the warm sand, a procedure still followed by the Mohave.¹⁶⁵ While it is possible that warm sand was heaped over both the girl and the arrowweed in order to retain the heat, it is also possible that the Kamyas have since introduced the use of a herbage bed in the Diegueño style; for while the

¹⁶⁴ Bolton, 4, 3:335-337.

¹⁶⁵ Kroeber, 2, 748.

rite is obsolescent today among the Yuma, the Kamyas still practice it. Miguel had seen it recently performed by the Diegueño (i.e., Kamyas) "but not by the Yuma and knew of it among his people only as an old-time custom." Joe Homer, however, who had at one time a Kamyas wife, was conversant with Diegueño customs, and until closely questioned described the use of the Diegueño thigh stone (atulk) as a Yuma custom, volunteered the information that the arrowweed was important because it made the girl grow straight and supple of limb. Arrowweed was, of course, not available in the Diegueño country where local grasses were employed.

The tossing was not practiced in recent times but an analogous rite is sometimes observed. A man, renowned for his good carriage and fine physique, places one foot between the shoulder blades of the girl as she lies face downward in the pit and slowly transfers his weight to that foot, thereby causing her "to grow straight."

Trippel was told of the puberty ceremony but did not witness it. It was said to have been performed inside a dome-shaped hut, a couch of boughs was mentioned, and he adds the interesting information that people "gather about the hut where they employ the time in passing coarse jests, playing on reed pipes and jesting much to the annoyance of the parents who bid them begone."¹⁶⁶

Seclusion of a woman during her menstrual period should continue throughout life. She should fast and avoid touching any person or their goods. This applies specifically to her own family.

The girls' puberty rite, whether in a sand pit, as seems to have been formerly practised, or in an arrowweed-lined trench filled with hot stones, is clearly related to the Gabrielino-Luiseño rites, which may in turn have been derived from the extinct coastal Salinans and Chumash. Assuming that the sand-roasting procedure was aboriginal to the Yuma, the relation is still close—older women sing round the patient, she must bathe, fast, and use a head-scratcher; the underlying idea being that the girl's behavior at this time would control her character and disposition ever after. Associated with this is a crude belief in the therapeutic value of heat to ensure her health. The concept of malignancy at puberty and menstruation, which is deeply rooted in northern California is weak here, as also among the Southern Shoshoneans. While menstruating women must be avoided by their menfolk, and should not approach cures or war parties, there is, however, no trace of an attempt to counteract any evil influence from the girl that is undergoing the rite.

¹⁶⁶ Trippel, 580.

TATTOOING

As among the Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño female tattooing is associated with the puberty rite. But the two are not coincident. Tattooing is effected without ceremony after the puberty rite¹⁶⁷ and completed, usually, before the girl reaches the age of sixteen years. The tattooed designs are in general confined to the chin. One, or occasionally, two lines are drawn vertically down from each corner of the mouth, between which vertical rows of dots are made. Four or five rows of three or four in a row are usually found, but the precise number is said not to matter.

One or two horizontal bars, rows of dots, or a representation of a bow are sometimes tattooed on the forehead immediately above the nose bridge. This ornament is also occasionally found on men who, however, never tattoo the chin. Pricking and scratching with cactus thorns and rubbing in mesquite charcoal are the means employed in tattooing. A girl might be tattooed by a relative and it is usually performed by a woman.

MARRIAGE

Accounts of marriage customs were conflicting. Joe Homer claimed that a somewhat elaborate betrothal and exchange of presents between the families was formerly practised, while Miguel asserted that the parents took no active part in the matter and were informed after the event, that the two young people were going to live together. It is probable that Joe described a relatively rare but orthodox procedure formerly followed by the more prominent families. The accounts of both informants are given.

Joe stated that marriage was often arranged when a girl reached puberty. The occasion of the puberty ceremony was often used to announce a betrothal. The boy's parents would attend at this time, speak in praise of the girl, and make presents to her parents. The usual presents were stores of corn, beans, etc., and occasionally horses. These presents would be repeated at intervals for the next two or three years until a feast was finally arranged by the boy's parents. The feast would last three or four days, with much singing and dancing.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Kroeber, 2, table 9.

Considerable prestige attached to the scale on which it was conducted. After the feast the two were considered permanent mates. There was no rule as to domicile but more usually the girl would come to live with or near her husband's parents.

Miguel had never heard of any marriages arranged between children and suggested that they would probably refuse to marry if such arrangements were made. When a young man wanted to marry he hung about the house of the girl, endeavoring to win her favor. The parents might sometimes drive him off if they disapproved strongly but as a rule they let the affair alone. If the young woman wanted him she eventually let him come to her bed at night and they slept together. The young man would sleep with her for four nights. During this time it was considered improper for intercourse to take place. He then took the girl to his home, or should she be shy, he asked his mother to fetch her. On her arrival the boy's parents welcomed her and the mother set a metate before her with corn and other food. It was then the duty of the girl to prepare a meal for the kinsfolk of her future husband. Neighbors were frequently invited and there was singing and dancing. Sometimes if the husband was the son of a very prominent man the festivities would last several days. After that the young people lived where they pleased.

Girls usually married two or three years after puberty. The husband was, as a rule, a few years older than his wife.

Marriages were dissolved at will, the woman returning to her family. If a woman left her husband he kept the children and put them under his mother's care.

Marriage was usually monogamous but there was no strict rule. A man who could persuade two or more wives to live with him, or who had an ailing wife whom he did not wish to abandon, might practice polygamy without criticism. The two wives would, in such instances, live in the same family group. There was no custom of marrying the sister of the first wife either before or after the latter's decease.

The concept of purchase, which is so widely a characteristic trait of marriage in California, is apparently lacking for the gifts of the bridegroom's parents, mentioned by Joe Homer, were not considered as payments and no return could be claimed.

TRANSVESTITES

Both male and female inverts are recognized; the females are known as *kwe'rhame*, the males as *elxa'*. *Elxa'* are more numerous. Such persons are considered to have suffered a change of spirit as a result of dreams which occur generally at the time of puberty. Such dreams frequently include the receiving of messages from plants, particularly the arrowweed, which is believed to be liable to change of sex itself. An *elxa'* known to one informant, however, dreamed of a journey to a place at the southern foot of *avikwala'l* (Pilot Knob) where he saw a mound called *tewe've* (*metate?*). This dream implied his future occupation with women's work.

When he came out of the dream he put his hand to his mouth and laughed four times. He laughed with a woman's voice and his mind was changed from male into female. Other young people noticed this and began to feel towards him as to a woman.

As a rule parents are ashamed of such children, but there is no attempt to force them or suppress the tendency. In some cases the "transformation" is publicly recognized, friends are invited, and in the case of an *elxa'* food is prepared by him. It is, in any case, customary for an *elxa'* to undertake women's work, fetching water and grinding corn.

An *elxa'* later goes to live with a man; such a pair often remains together permanently. It is considered unwise to interfere with them for the *elxa'* has more power than the ordinary man and is thought to have a peaceful influence on the tribe.

Female inverts (*kwe'rhame*) are rarer, but they too realize their character through a dream at puberty. The characteristic dream is of men's weapons. As a small child the *kwe'rhame* plays with boys' toys. Such women never menstruate; their secondary sexual characteristics are undeveloped or in some instances are male. Parents object more strongly to *kwe'rhame* than to *elxa'* and attempt to bully them into feminine ways.

Casual secret homosexuality among both women and men is well known. The latter is probably more common. This is not considered objectionable but such persons would resent being called *elxa'* or *kwe'rhame*.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Actual conception is known to the man before it is to the woman. His psychological condition is considered all-important in determining the result of intercourse. To him, it is believed, comes the power to create the child. Conception can only occur when the man has received this power of which he should normally dream beforehand. Without this sense of spiritual exaltation intercourse cannot be fruitful, and he is immediately aware if he has achieved impregnation. The woman, for her part, can also resist conception by merely refusing to desire a child. If she puts a strong psychical barrier between them, it is very difficult for the man to make her pregnant.

It would be expected, as Hipa Norton indicated, that these views were associated with a belief in the male as producer of the child. "The man gives the woman the child and she nurses it inside." Joe Homer, however, believed that both supplied seed, and that sex depended on which grew in the woman. Pat was aware of the white man's knowledge of sexual reproduction.

A good doctor can often help if a woman has no children. A woman he knew, said Joe, who had been unable to produce children went with her husband to a doctor. "The doctor lay them both on the ground in an open space and lifted one after the other by the armpits. He decided that the man had seed in him but the woman had no seed." The doctor then plunged his right arm into the ground just as if it were a sharp stick and brought out some very coarse sand. He rubbed this all over the woman, blew smoke on her belly, and soon after she had a child.

A variety of practices are believed to be effective in avoiding conception. Abstinence from intercourse for four days after menstruation is very generally recommended on the theory that this is the most fertile period. A small quantity of freely pounded ashes of mesquite wood taken in water is believed to prevent conception. Ants are very definitely associated with sterility, and while the barrenness of certain women is explained on the theory that they have micturated on an ant pile, other women do so regularly for a complete menstrual cycle, believing that thereafter they will be barren.

A pregnant woman is believed to dream the sex and fate of her child. If, for example, she dreams of eagle feathers, bows and arrows,

the sex will be male; to dream of birds assures her of a safe delivery and a healthy child. Joe Homer said that a pregnant woman received a whole series of dreams foretelling the character and fate of the child.

When the actual time of birth is approaching both the mother and father must cease all work and fast.

The mother frequently goes back to her own family, i.e., her father's house for the delivery. Unless the weather is cold she is placed under a shade at some little distance from the house. The patient is generally attended by two women with some reputation as midwives. Close female relatives, and more particularly her mother, are not considered as eligible for this duty, although there is no attempt at exclusion of any but the father of the expected child. His presence is believed to delay the birth and weaken the child.¹⁶⁸

The woman is placed in a half-sitting, half-reclining position with her legs splayed over a shallow pit about a foot wide.

If there is any unexpected difficulty a doctor is called. After blowing smoke over the head and in the ears of the woman he instructs a male assistant to lift her by the armpits. As she is lifted into a semi-erect position he slaps her sharply on the belly. After this lifting, slapping, and lowering has been repeated four times the doctor again smokes over the woman and the whole process is repeated indefinitely. The midwives will also independently massage the patient and attempt manipulation. Trippel¹⁶⁹ affirms that if the mother died in childbirth, the child was usually burned with her.

Immediately after the delivery the child is lifted on strips of willow bark and the father called. He cuts the cord with a stone knife. The afterbirth is left in the shallow pit and immediately covered with earth and stones. The cord should be cut about four inches from the child's body and coiled into a knot. A paste of wood ashes is mixed with shredded willow bark to make a small cake large enough to cover the coiled cord. This is left on the umbilicus until it drops off together with the dried cord. For four days the woman may not touch her face or any part of her body with her hands. She is given a scratcher for the head. A stick to which bark shreds have been attached is used to wipe the face and even the nipple has to be lifted to the mouth of the child with the aid of two sticks. During this period both she and the father may eat nothing but very watery corn

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Trippel, 579: "If he is present it is believed that the child cannot be born and the father will become grievously ill."

¹⁶⁹ P. 579.

mush and neither may touch the child with the hands. A woman should be at hand all the time to attend its needs.

The father is expected to make the cradle during this period.¹⁷⁰ A slender length of mesquite wood is bent to a long U shape on which flat transverse slats are lashed. Hoops of mesquite wood are curved over the upper end to form the frame for the awning. This form of cradle is also found among the Mohave and Pima.¹⁷¹ According to Trippel,¹⁷² the shade was "covered with flannel or buckskin, elaborately garnished with beads, bells, small coins, bits of glass, etc. The child is tied in with a piece of buckskin . . . tightly held in place with thongs." The cradle is carried "under the arm," i.e., on the hip as with the Cocopa.

Formerly the ears of the child were pierced within a few days of birth. This task, known as *acma'lk*, was performed by any one accustomed to it. Three holes were made, one in the lobe and two in the cartilage, in each ear. Strings were inserted and manipulated to prevent the wounds healing. A few white disc beads of clam shell were later threaded on strings which were each separately looped through the holes. These ornaments were worn throughout life. The ear piercing was of urgent importance, for should anyone die without it he would fail to reach the land of the dead. It was apparently regarded as more truly a tribal mark than the nose piercing which occurred at the boys' initiation rite.

Children were suckled for long periods, sometimes for as much as two years. When not in the cradle they were carried about on the hip or on the bustle of the bark skirt.¹⁷³

WARFARE

The Yuma, like all other people of the Lower Colorado, considered military success a most essential condition for their well-being. Courage and daring were arrogantly boasted in the face of enemies who were decried as craven wretches if they refused battle. Intrigues and alliances for the destruction of enemies and the elaboration of treacherous plans for surprising a hostile settlement are the dominant

¹⁷⁰ Anza, however, records seeing the mother make the cradle on the day after the birth.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Spier, 3, 317, fig. 56. Cradles of somewhat the same type, but constructed out of packing-case boards, are still used by the Yuma.

¹⁷² Trippel, 580.

¹⁷³ Cf. Trippel, 565.

themes of their historical tales. Fighting was not justified merely as a virile pursuit, nor was economic need adduced as a factor; warfare to the Yuma possessed a strong mystical value as the means whereby the spiritual power of the entire tribe was enhanced and at the same time demonstrated.

With a food supply that was relatively secure and with no elaborate ceremonial cycle to maintain, the Lower Colorado peoples were

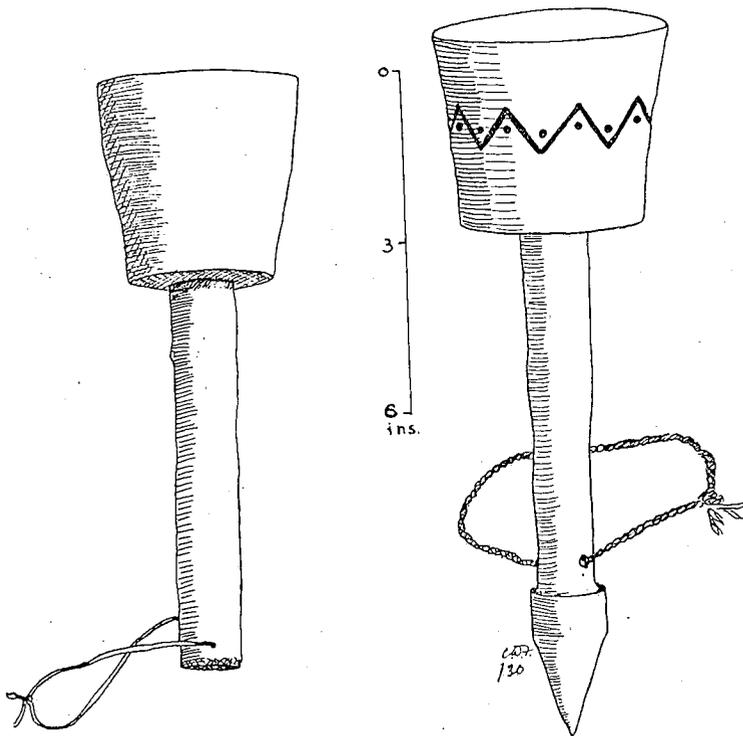


Fig. 8. Lower Colorado war clubs.

free to devote a great part of their energies to belligerent activities. Alarcon remarked the incessant warfare among the tribes of the Lower Colorado. He speaks of "warre and that very great, and upon exceedingly small occasions; for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together and some of them said, let us go to make warre in such a place and then all of them set forward with their weapons."

But, as throughout their culture, they showed no power to develop or maintain any elaborate organization. No analogy to the system of "counting coups," as appeared in the Plains, no grading or societies of warriors, indeed little formal organization corresponding to their

military activities appears among these people. Apart from the kwánami or tribal war leader, their organization for war was, like everything else, extempore.

Yet again, although their campaigns were only short-lived sallies which might be abandoned or resumed according to the opportunity of the moment, and were led and participated in by those who were anxious and willing at the particular time, they nevertheless adhered to a definite pattern in the pitched battles which were waged between traditional enemies. While they were grandiloquent in tribal eulogy, persistent and unremitting in their attacks, the warfare of the region by no means decimated the population, for the individual campaigns involved few men (two or three hundred on each side would constitute a memorable battle), and such conflicts could be and were frequently broken off. When the defeated felt that they were losing too many men they simply disappeared under cover of darkness or failed to keep the appointment fixed for the next encounter. And finally, their military equipment of poor bows, light arrows, wooden staves and hand clubs was not of the most lethal character. Diaz comments that "as a rule they are hostile to each other and do each other a great deal of damage which would be greater still if they were skilled in the use of weapons of which many or even most of them are lacking."¹⁷⁴

The pitched battles which were fought between enemies of long standing were often arranged by appointment.¹⁷⁵ Such a challenge would in general be issued only by a force which considered itself superior. In their long and bitter feud with the Maricopa, however, the Yuma would march openly to an enemy village and demand combat in hostile territory. Russell records such an attack as told him by the "reader" of a Piman annals stick:

In the autumn [of 1842] the Yumas again came to attack the Maricopa village, but did not attempt to surprise it. They formed in line of battle opposite the line of Maricopas, who were equally courageous. The war chiefs stood between the lines. Each man was armed with a club only. The Yuma chief said to his opponent: "I am ready to have you strike me first if you can." The Maricopa chief answered: "It is for me to let you try your club on me, because you want to kill me, and you have traveled far to satisfy your heart." In the personal combat which ensued the Yuma was killed, the sharp end of his opponent's club piercing his side. Then the fight became general, each attacking the man opposite him in the line. There were some Mohave Apaches with the Yumas who fought with bows and arrows. When they saw the line of Yumas wavering, they deserted them. The Yumas retreated some distance and again made a stand, and the fight ended in an indecisive manner, with perhaps a greater loss to the Maricopas than

¹⁷⁴ Diaz's Complete Diary, in Bolton, 4, 2:267.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 3.

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to the Yumas. After the fight the Mohaves wanted to scalp the dead enemy, but the Yuma chief said, no, they might scalp some Yumas by mistake, and they must wait until these had been gathered from the field.¹⁷⁶

There was an element of restraint and deliberation in these pitched battles, a sense of accommodation if not of chivalry. In the previous year, for instance (1841):

The Maricopas of the village of Masakimult, accompanied by one Pima, went on a campaign against the Yumas. The enemy gathered to meet them and sent a messenger to tell them that they should leave aside their knives and bows and fight only with sticks. The Maricopas agreed to this, but the Pima said he had made his bow and arrows to use on the enemy and he would keep them in his own hands. The Yuma messenger showed the Maricopas where to cross the Colorado river and conducted them to the assembled Yumas on the farther side. It was agreed that four from each side should engage in the combat, using sharp sticks about 6 feet long (lances) instead of the customary war club.

Four times each squad ran in a semicircle near the enemy's line; four times they approached each other before the fight began. At the first onslaught three Maricopas and two Yumas were killed; the Yumas killed the surviving Maricopa and retired to their line.

Then Pantatuk, "bravest of the Maricopas," ran his horse through the entire party of Yumas, striking many with his lance before being caught in the line of women behind the warriors. Kâutei Pai, Hawk-tail, also rode through the Yuma lines and is living today (1902).

Teuwut Hakûtiny, Earth-crack, challenged a Yuma to single combat and was wounded, but recovered.

Then the fight became general, most of the Maricopas being killed. Many Yumas were also killed. The Pima killed so many with his arrows that they could not reach him with their lances, and he escaped, as did some Maricopas, and they reached home in safety. Aâpap Anton, Maricopa Antoine (pl. XLIII, b) also kept his bow and arrows and when closely pressed by the Yumas exclaimed in the Pima language: "You can not catch me!" which somewhat confused his enemies and enabled him to escape.¹⁷⁷

The last native conflict on the Colorado occurred in 1857, when the Yuma and Mohave attacked their traditional enemy, the Maricopa. Several accounts are known and already all conflict. Joe Homer¹⁷⁸ was told by an old man, now dead, that the Yuma party consisted of about a hundred men from the Algodones settlement who went against the orders of Pasqual, the chief at Fort Yuma. They traveled for seven days to Parker to meet the Mohave. The Mohave contingent, which Joe apparently regarded as a handful, was by their own account¹⁷⁹ twice as large as the Yuma, while some Yavapai and a few Apache (?) were also of the force. The entire party went east for nine days until they surprised and scattered a Maricopa village. These fugitives gave the alarm. The Yuma were defeated because the Pima

¹⁷⁶ Russell, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Russell, 40-41.

¹⁷⁸ Gifford, 6, 65.

¹⁷⁹ Kroeber, 2, 573.

had guns and horses and cut off the retreat. Most of the Mohave ran off in an early stage of the fight. The opening of the battle according to Joe's account is especially interesting and typical of the Colorado fighting:

The Maricopa began the attack. . . . The Maricopa leader stood in the middle of the line and asked, "Which are the Yuma?" Apparently he could not distinguish Yuma from Mohave. The Algodones man [who had dreamed his success and organized the party] said, "I am here, to the right of the Mohave. I am a Yuma." The Maricopa approached close to the Yuma hoop and pulled out one man, whom they stabbed to death with a steel-bladed spear. Then followed club and spear fighting between the Maricopa and the Yuma, who fell dead in pairs. The Maricopa tried to drive out the Yuma but they stood their ground determined to die rather than yield. "Do not bother with the Mohave," the Maricopa said. "Let's settle with the Yuma." Most of the Mohave ran away and only a few who stayed with the Yuma died.¹⁸⁰

According to Ives,¹⁸¹ who was at Fort Yuma at the time, the Cocopa had warned the Maricopa of the impending attack. The first village affected surprise and lured attackers into a canyon

where they suddenly found themselves surrounded by an overpowering force. They attempted to fly but finding that impossible, fought bravely to the last. . . . The contest lasted less than an hour. Out of the whole number only three or four escaped.¹⁸² . . . The very name Pima or Maricopa now inspires the Yumas and Mohaves with chagrin and dread,

for, as he comments earlier, they had been previously "disposed to treat them with contempt as an inferior race."

Many of the warlike incidents were ambushes, surprise attacks followed by massacre, or skirmish according to the strength of the defending party.¹⁸³ Heintzelman neatly summarizes the character of these skirmishes, saying that

wars are commenced by a party lying in wait to attack some defenceless rancharia, when they rush upon the occupants, kill all the men, old women and small children, making prisoners of the able-bodied women and larger children.¹⁸⁴

Smoke signals were used to call the people together, especially after fighting during which they had scattered over the country.¹⁸⁵

A clear distinction is made between a war party (*axwé haya'ig*—going to the enemy) which sought battle (*metápuí*) with the enemy

¹⁸⁰ Kroeber's account, however, states that seventy were killed.

¹⁸¹ Ives, 42 ff.

¹⁸² Two, according to Kroeber's Mohave account, seven, according to Joe Homer's. Kroeber's informant said the battle occurred on an open plain. He and Joe Homer agree that the place was called Avivava.

¹⁸³ Stockades for the defense of settlements are reported for the Cajuenches and Halliquami (Cortez, in Whipple, 123), but were unknown among the Yuma.

¹⁸⁴ Heintzelman, 46.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Fages, in Priestley, 49.

axwé'), and a small raiding party (*axwé'* *oma'n*—waking the enemy) intended to rekindle the hostility (*axwa'iv*—state of enmity) at little expense.

The war party was distinguished from a group of raiders by the possession of feathered staves, similar to those now used in the *keruk* (fig. 14).

Tribal pride played a great part in the continuance of hostilities: every attack had to be repaid by a counter-attack. This code was externalized and strengthened by the custom of scalping (*nye''uñao*—hair taken).¹⁸⁶ Every scalp lost had to be avenged. There is now perhaps no means of knowing how deep-seated was the scalping ritual among the Yuma but the acquisition of scalps is almost invariably alluded by the teller of war stories as one of the primary objectives of war parties and the procedure is still well known among the older men.

Scalps should only be taken from great warriors and more particularly from the enemy "war chief," but in practice a good head of hair tempted the victor, and I was informed on several occasions that if the hair were abundant and lustrous, it did not matter greatly if the victim were not eminent.

Scalping could only be effected by the victorious party for they remained in possession of the field. The defeated dragged off as many of their dead as possible to minimize the power that the enemy might obtain, and it rarely happened that more than two were taken. Scalping could only be performed on the instructions of the war leader and only by a recognized scalper (*nye''kwitsadña'*). The power to perform this duty had to be dreamed and only one or two men possessed it at the same time. An ordinary man would be afraid to scalp an enemy. The scalper was not expected to show great bravery or fighting ability and remained in the rear of the battle until called upon. The neck of the victim was first broken across the knee. The scalp was then removed with a flint knife, cutting down from the bridge of the nose obliquely across the cheek, and below the ears, and round the back of the neck.¹⁸⁷ The scalp was torn off from the rear. The scalper then placed it on the ground and pushing his toe under it kicked

¹⁸⁶ Alarcon's account contains no reference to scalping on the Lower Colorado; instead he mentions another practice which I have not found elsewhere in the literature and is unknown to my informants, viz., "They took out the hearts of some [of their enemies] and ate them and others they burned."

¹⁸⁷ The Spaniards were scalping in the Gila-Colorado region in the eighteenth century and were also removing the ears together with the scalp. See Fages, in Priestley, 9.

it out four times. Picking it up he waited for a group of warriors to surround him and threw it into the air four times. The warriors cried out at each throw, beginning with a low growl which rose in volume and pitch with each throw.¹⁸⁸ A special scalp song and dance (*yaxai*) followed immediately. The presence of women was claimed to be essential for the correct procedure. The women formed a close ring around the scalper and holding hands danced around him clockwise with a sideway shuffle while he sang four songs received in his dream. As he sang he shook the scalp like a rattle and turned continually around.¹⁸⁹

When the war party returned to its village the scalper with his trophy remained at a distance behind the main party, for it was dangerous so long as the flesh was moist and he could not be approached without undergoing subsequent purification. This the scalper achieved by bathing at dawn and fasting for four successive days.

On their arrival the scalp was given to the *kwoxot* and mounted on a long pole (about eight feet high and three inches in diameter). This was carried about by a woman, usually the wife of the man who killed the victim, during the four days of purification and rejoicing which followed the battle. These scalps were carefully preserved, but since they had great power for evil, were hidden away. The *kwoxot* was responsible for their care. They were placed in sealed ollas and kept in a shallow covered pit in an old house. It was the *kwoxot*'s duty to maintain them in good condition. At intervals they were taken out and the hair was carefully brushed. When a foray was contemplated he decided the suitability of the occasion after inspecting the scalps taken from people belonging to the group against which the present attack was planned. The scalp hairs were alive and reflected the condition of the enemy. "When the hairs are happy, and bright, and shiny, it is a bad time for war for the Yumas. But sometimes they cry and the *kwoxot* can hear them and he knows the time is good for war."

The appropriate scalps sometimes were taken on war expeditions and ensured success against the enemy from whom they had been previously taken. "Cocopa hair is good to kill Cocopa only." They were mounted on short red and black painted sticks and carried by the leader himself.

¹⁸⁸ This procedure is now followed in the *keruk* ritual. See p. 237.

¹⁸⁹ It will be observed that there were women in the opposing parties that engage in ritual combat in the *keruk*.

The Yuma now make weapons and war regalia only for ceremonial purposes. Since these are destroyed at the conclusion of the ceremony it is difficult to obtain specimens for examination.

Joe Homer gave the following account of the former equipment of a war party:

Two chief warriors carried feathered staves. One stick was decorated with white and one with black feathers. They were just like those still used in the *keruk*. One of the staff bearers also carried a shield like the one in the ceremony (fig. 16, see p. 240). He had to be the bravest fighter of all and went ahead of all the others and showed the way. In the fight he was always in the middle calling on the others to fight well. He could never draw back and didn't have much chance to protect himself because he carried no weapons. He would die rather than give up his feathered staff or shield. The shield would help against arrows but it was not much good against clubs and spears. Nobody else had a shield. The other feathered staff carrier went with him. He also carried a mesquite wood club and protected them both until the others came up.

When the Yuma were going into a fight a small bunch with spears and clubs kept close behind the leader. The largest group of all came next, they had bows and arrows and shot at the enemy over their leaders' heads. Everybody had a stone knife for fighting up close. They carried these in their teeth. When there were horsemen these carried long spears.

The same war party always fought together and each man had the same weapons all the time and knew where he was to fight. The spearers and clubbers did not carry bows and arrows.

Other informants did not remember the fringed shield being carried in battle. Miguel was told as a boy that the two bearers of the feathered staves were brave warriors who stuck their staves in the ground when they reached the battlefield and stood by them fighting until they were victorious or killed. They dared not run away. The war leader (*kwánami*) did not carry a feathered staff. He was the strongest and wisest fighter and had to be free to command the party.

In the *keruk* ceremonial, as will be seen, there are two prominent fighters in the attacking party, painted black and white respectively, the one carrying the black staff, the other the white. Questioned at the time, Miguel said that the black painted warrior was the war leader of the party and the white painted one was his second. The feathered staff bearers formerly went into battle painted in this way according to the color of their staff.¹⁹⁰ *Yalak* who went with them and urged them on to fight was a war dreamer and war speaker but not a war leader. He would be asked to decide the suitability of the place and occasion for battle but would not lead the fighting.

¹⁹⁰ These staves are discussed later in connection with their ceremonial use, see p. 265.

No ritual acts other than an examination of the enemy scalps were necessary before setting out on a military expedition. On the return, however, all warriors had to observe a strict seclusion, fasting for four days. They remained outside the village, especially avoiding their own wives and children, eating almost nothing, and bathing every morning before sunrise. If blood-stained, the warriors should also take a mud bath. When a man had killed an enemy this seclusion continued for eight days, during which time his family also restricted themselves to a "fast" diet. Women and wound-curing doctors frequently accompanied military expeditions and the women would enter the battle at need.

CAPTIVES

Women and children were frequently captured, especially in surprise raids (captive—*axwao'ts*, pl. *axwē'cutū'ts*). They belonged to their individual captors and were often bartered or gambled away. The children were sometimes adopted into families after being purified in the same manner as the returning warriors. They are said also to have been frequently sold to the Mexicans.

The treatment of the women varied considerably. They were compelled to dance in the festivities that followed the warriors' return and were then subject to scorn and ill-treatment; but after that they were usually well treated. They were sometimes taken as wives by old men whose own wives were dead or feeble. Although this practice was regarded as a fitting insult to the enemy, it seems that the women were not despised and frequently settled down permanently without attempting to escape.

Sometimes, however, they were killed. "Someone who has lost a relative will buy a captive and kill her in revenge." A Mohave record suggests that the killing of captives was accompanied by procedure recalling the Natchez tortures in the southeast. Olive Oatman, an American girl captured and sold to the Mohave by the Apache and who remained their captive for several years, claimed that the Mohave customarily tortured and killed prisoners and captives up to the number of their own slain. She described the torture of a Cocopa woman who had attempted to escape.

A noisy meeting was held, and the night spent in one of their victory dances during which they would dance around her, shout in her ears, and spit in her face. The next morning a post was firmly planted in the ground and about eight feet from the bottom a cross beam attached. They then drove rough wooden spikes through the palms of their captive's hands and by these raised her to the cross

man and drove the spikes into the soft wood, extending her arms as far as they would reach. Then with pieces of bark stuck with thorns they tied her head firmly back to the upright post, drove spikes through her ankles and for a time left her.

They soon returned and placing me, with their other captives, near the sufferer, bid us keep our eyes upon her until she died. They then commenced running round the stake in circles, halloing and stamping like demons. After a while several applied themselves with bows and arrows and at every circle they would shoot an arrow into her quivering flesh. Occasionally she would utter piteous cries which would awaken from the mocking crowd taunting yells.

For two hours she hung in this dreadful condition bleeding and sighing, her body mangled in a shocking manner. Whenever she would scream aloud they would stuff rags in her mouth to silence her. After she was dead they took her body to a funeral pile and burned it.¹⁹¹

The technique of crucifixion, if correctly reported, suggests Spanish influence although it would seem improbable that the story of the crucifixion would have been well enough known to the Mohave, whose territory the Spaniards had rarely entered. Among the Natchez and Pawnee a frame, which probably presented less constructional difficulty, was employed for the extension of the victim. Although the victim was shot by arrows, no sacrificial element similar to that in the Pawnee sacrifice to Morning Star¹⁹² is apparent. My Yuma informants denied that slain captives were regarded as sacrifices or that they should be killed for any motives other than revenge. They were usually killed by the blow of a club.¹⁹³ It is fairly clear that the majority of captives escaped death and lived for long periods in the settlements to which they were taken. The significance of this practice is not clear. Captives were frequently a main objective in raiding and no doubt afforded concrete evidence of success. Indeed it is probable that their presence in Yuma villages was mainly esteemed as an indication of military prowess, for their organization and economy were too simple and democratic for true slavery to find any place and a captive child or woman performed the same tasks as a Yuma. There is no evidence that they were usually overworked, ill-treated, or exploited. The majority were obtained in warfare from

¹⁹¹ Ives, 73. Cf. Stratton, 225, and fig. on 229.

¹⁹² Linton.

¹⁹³ Elsewhere in the Oatman narrative reference is made to a story told by the son of a "chief," who killed two captives at the death of his father. One was killed when the father fell ill in the hope that he would recover. The other was threatened with death if the father did not get well. When he died the second captive was burned alive. Cf. Stratton, 214. Unfortunately the whole account of the Oatman captivity is lurid and sensational and an extremely unsatisfactory document on which to base any conclusions. The "crucifixion" of this account may be nothing more than the hanging of the dead enemy from a tree or post, as among the Pima and Maricopa.

neighboring tribes, but others were occasionally secured from distant places. The situation here implies a definite idea of purchase, for "slaves" were bartered for horses from one people to another and from one man to another within a tribe. Eixarch¹⁹⁴ records that he obtained an Apache boy slave from a Yuma in return for a horse.

The taking and keeping of captives is a distinctly Southwestern and non-Californian trait.¹⁹⁵

WEAPONS

Clubs and Spears.—These were fashioned from the relatively abundant and heavy wood of the mesquite. The short club (ke'lyaxwai) was of the distinctive type found in the Lower Gila and Lower Colorado region (Pima, Cocopa, Mohave, etc.; see fig. 8.) It was a very short weapon, often less than a foot in length. The head had the form of the base of a truncated cone. The upper surface was slightly hollowed and its edge was kept sharp so that maximum damage might be inflicted. The short handle was pointed at the tip and pierced to take a thong which was looped around the wrist. It was essentially a weapon for close-in fighting and used only by the bravest men. The clubber endeavored to jab his opponent with the pointed handle in the stomach and then, as his victim doubled up, the club was brought up with a twisting movement and smashed into his face.

Longer clubs (to'kyet), consisting of tapering truncheons of mesquite wood about two feet long and one and a half to two inches thick, were also used. These were frequently carried for self-defense by the women who accompanied war parties.

The spear (ū'tā't) was simply a stabbing stick, a four-foot stake of mesquite wood, sharpened at one end which had been hardened in the fire. It was distinct from the double-pointed feathered staff (aokwī'l), which was never used as a weapon.

Stone knives were used in both hunting and fighting. The material was obtained from the mesa. Suitably shaped rock fragments were sought out, which were roughly trimmed to a point at one end, the other being bound with sinew or willow-bark twine to form a dagger-like weapon about eight inches long.

Bow and Arrow.—Mesquite afforded the best bow wood but it was difficult to obtain a suitable straight length and willow was most commonly used. The bow (utí'e) was about five feet long, light, and

¹⁹⁴ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 3:322.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 573.

unbacked. A willow branch a little more than an inch thick was split lengthwise. One-half was trimmed to shape and bound with damp bark. By heating in the hot ashes of a fire and manipulating on the knee, it was given a sharp permanent curve at each end. After final trimming it was strung with deer, or more recently, horse sinew, from notches cut in either end (pl. 55).

The bows of all the Lower Colorado peoples are of this type; they are poor weapons, necessitating light arrows with a limited range and weak impact.

Both simple and foreshafted arrows (i'pa') were made. Their length was measured along the arm from the tip of the index finger to the nearer nipple. The simple arrow (i'pa'isa'v) was a light arrowweed (*Pluchea sericea*) stem about thirty inches long to which a triangular chipped stone arrowpoint was sometimes lashed with sinew. Stone arrowpoints were never abundant and no specimens are available at the present time.

The main shaft of the foreshafted arrow (ipa'axta') was of the light cane (axta—cane, i.e., *Phragmites communis* Trin.)¹⁹⁶ growing along the river banks; the tip (tova'lv) made of arrowweed or mesquite was about six inches long, pointed and hardened in a fire, and wedged tightly into the cane. The cane arrow was faster and lighter; it carried further and could be used with more accuracy than the arrowweed. Before using a foreshafted arrow the archer would chew the joint between the tip and shaft to ensure their separation after the impact.

Arrows were feathered with two or three six-inch crow or goose plumes. They were attached with mesquite gum and bound by fine sinew. My informants all stated that the same arrows were used for warfare and hunting.¹⁹⁷ Foreshafted arrows were apparently less numerous, but especially valuable in hunting game. Frequent reference to warriors who left the field with arrows "sticking out all over them," suggests that the simple shafts of pointed arrowweed were commonly used in war where many arrows were lost. Indeed, the rôle of the archers in battle was rather to intimidate and demoralize than seriously to injure the enemy. Hand-to-hand combat was the objective in warfare and arrow wounds are rarely spoken of as fatal.

¹⁹⁶ Identified by A. Eastwood, Calif. Acad. of Sciences, San Francisco.

¹⁹⁷ Kroeber, 4, was informed explicitly by the Mohave that only untipped arrowweed arrows were used in warfare. Like the Yuma, they believed the arrowweed to be poisonous because men would sometimes die after being wounded by arrows, although none had penetrated a vital organ.

Unfeathered arrows were used in fishing. Proprietary marks of red and black paint were usually placed by the owner on the feathered end of his arrows.

Arrowweed shafts were straightened between the teeth after they had been wrapped in damp bark and heated in the fire. Cane arrows needed straightening more frequently and were tried by pressure against a smooth, ridged stone kept for the purpose (ke'lyua'i). Grooved and bored arrow straighteners were unknown to my informants. Arrows should be straightened before each hunting trip and also every day when fighting is expected.

Arrows were carried in wildeat-skin quivers. The skins were cured intact, head, limbs, and tail remaining, and sewn up along the belly with an opening below the head.

The shooting position was a crouching one with a horizontal bow. The index finger of the left hand, which grasped the bow, was pointed at the object and the arrow was guided by it. The method of arrow release was not obtained with absolute certainty since archery, even as a sport, has been abandoned for many years. One informant, Joe Homer, described the Mediterranean release in which the pull is made on the string by the index, middle, and ring fingers, the arrow being wedged between the index and middle finger. This release is consistent with the more common two-feathered arrow of which specimens were obtained, since the feathering is at right angles to the direction of the notch and extends close to the butt, which is not knobbed.

Miguel, however, described the primary release in which the pull is on the arrow itself, which is held between thumb tip and the knuckle of the index finger. Arrows were held in this manner by the scouts in the mimic warfare at the keruk but the bows were not pulled. The method of release in the later shooting at night could not be observed. The Mediterranean release is possible in this area since it is found among the Luiseño of southern California, the San Carlos Apache of Arizona, and the Seri of Sonora and was the probable method among the Aztecs.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ On the problem of arrow release distribution see Morse, 1 and 2, and the more recent discussion by Kroeber, 5. Among the neighboring Cocopa, Gifford found the secondary release in use. The arrow butt was grasped by the thumb and index knuckle while the string was pulled by the tips of the middle and third finger.

SHIELDS

Shields (ca'kove) were sometimes carried in battle but their protective value was not great in close fighting and they were scorned by good fighters. No specimens were found in existence but they were described as hide discs, about two feet in diameter, bound on a willow frame. They were held by a central strap passing through the center of the shield. No feathers were attached, but the hide was daubed with red paint. The painting of shields with different colors in four quarters, as reported for the Cocopa,¹⁹⁹ was unknown.

The ceremonial shield (akwē'l', fig. 16) was, according to Joe Homer, formerly carried in battle by one of the stave bearers. It was of magical value to the party, but did not protect the bearer since it was covered only by light buckskin.

TRAINING

Boys were given a sporadic military training throughout their youth. After the initiation rite they were expected to form parties and run long distances across country under the leadership of the older men. They played arrow games and target shooting. Two parties were lined up facing each other and told to shoot with blunt arrows in turn, so that they might acquire skill in dodging arrows. Such groups would also sling hard mud balls at each other. The balls were stuck on the end of flexible willow sticks which were swung from the shoulder so that the balls flew out toward their opponents. These were used only in training boys, never in warfare. Boys were also sent out in war party formation to destroy hornets' nests. Those who received stings were considered wounded and were treated by doctors. The nest had to be entirely destroyed before the party might return home.

Old fighters would also arrange sham battles on a large scale in which young men, boys, and even women would take part. The two parties would track each other down from a distance and fight with blunt arrows and sticks until one side ran away or lost too many members through minor injuries. The older men would decide who would have been wounded or killed, and judge disputes as to victory.

The militarism of the Lower Colorado peoples is in marked contrast with the peaceableness of the Californians to the north and

¹⁹⁹ Gifford, 7.

west.²⁰⁰ But there is no indication that it arises from any innate pugnacity of temperament, absent among their western neighbors. In their tribal and private life there is and was very little strife. A man showed his strength by spiritual and magical, rather than practical means, and the individual was and is extremely mild.

The explanation of this continual fighting is to be sought in the deeply rooted tradition of warfare as a means for obtaining and demonstrating tribal strength. This tradition is associated with a definite technique of fighting, with particular criteria of bravery, and the use of the feathered standards, symbols of bravery and invincibility analogous to those of the Plains. Above all, warfare enters intimately into the creation myth and its reenactment in ritual. While it would be impossible to prove that the mythological and ritual correlates are earlier than the practice of habitual fighting among these people, the two would appear to be associated in origin. While no attempt is made here to demonstrate or investigate the source of the military tradition among the Colorado Yumans, it appears inherently probable that their particular weapons, their feathered staves, and their attitude toward war have correlates outside the area, that the militarism of these people is not a local growth but their particular expression of a tradition which has entered the area probably from the south. The scantiness of our knowledge of military practices in the wide area between the Mexican highlands and the Colorado makes it impossible to attempt detailed comparative study. But although there is a great difference between an Aztec army and a Yuma war party, it appears probable that they are both terms in a wide proliferation of military practices which also penetrated the Plains and the Southeast.

The parallels to be noted between the ceremonial shield of the Yuma and the fringed shields of the southern Plains suggests that there has been direct influence from the east, perhaps at a relatively recent date, but "feathered shields" are also found in Sinaloa and these too may have reached the Plains and the far west from southern centers. (See p. 269.)

The conditions on the Lower Colorado, then, would appear to conform to the postulates of Perry²⁰¹ that primitive warfare, in the sense of organized violent behavior, is an institution, not an innate tendency, a product of human culture depending everywhere for its existence and perpetuation on a definite code of belief and practice

²⁰⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 2.

²⁰¹ Perry, 1, 2, 3, and 4, 191 ff.

more stable and significant than any one of the series of military activities in which it is manifested; in other words, that a warlike society must of necessity maintain a permanent tradition and apparatus without which its practices will fall into decay. Reviewing the data over a wide area he finds a very high correlation between truly primitive culture and an absence of warfare, a condition which very largely substantiates the view of the romantic philosophers that warfare was a product of corruption. Although it undoubtedly utilizes such universal human qualities as the instinct for self-preservation and the desire for esteem, it does not proceed directly, as McDougall has suggested,²⁰² from any fundamental and particular instinct of pugnacity, but has developed in certain areas in response to cultural stimuli and passes through the vicissitudes of all cultural phenomena, flourishing at one time, declining at another, spreading in association with other cultural equipment from one people to another, ramifying over vast areas and forming new adhesions; so that the warfare of one area, although apparently quite dissimilar in technique and objective, may yet in certain instances be shown to be genetically related; whence it is to be concluded that apart from certain origin centers in which the cultural foundations were elaborated, the practice of warfare in any area has proceeded from the introduction of definite traits such as military traditions, warrior classes, human sacrifice, and theories of the value of human heads and scalps.

No detailed analysis or critique of these views is possible here, but the agreement of certain of the postulates with the conditions on the Lower Colorado are pointed out, since fundamentally it is in the possession of a crystallized military tradition that these belligerent peoples differ from the more peaceful tribes of California. The ritual and mythological foundation, the style of their fighting, the weapons and symbols, the association of warfare with scalp trophies which involve fasting and purification but yield spiritual power, all indicate that the warfare of this region is related to the wider militancy of the south and east and is probably as intrusive as their agriculture and the metate.

²⁰² McDougall, 59 ff.

THE CREATION

The Yuma story of the creation has been published by Harrington.²⁰³ It was told by Joe Homer, who remains the recognized myth teller. Harrington's abstract²⁰⁴ follows:

Kwikumat and Blind-Old-Man emerge from the water. The latter becomes blind because he opens his eyes while still in the water. Kwikumat makes dry land, also the moon and one star. He also makes a Yuma, Diegueño, Cocopa, and Maricopa man and woman out of mud, swings life into them, names them with the tribal names, and gives them speech. Blind-Old-Man makes four fingerless and toeless people. Kwikumat kicks them into the water, where they become Duck, Beaver, Turtle, and Wild-Goose. Blind-Old-Man flees into the ocean, whence he emits pestilence.

The Yuman woman is forbidden by Kwikumat to marry the Cocopa man. She is then tempted by Blind-Old-Man. Kwikumat sends a flood to punish her. He transforms the people into animals except the Yuma man, whom he names Marxokuvek.

Kwikumat creates a house at Axavolypo. He creates a woman, Xavasumkulvi, and a man. He cohabits with the woman. In four days she bears Kumastamxo.

Kumastamxo creates the sun and the stars. Kwikumat creates more people. Kumastamxo causes vegetation to grow, gives the people seeds of food-plants, and institutes agriculture.

Kumastamxo fastens the sun, but Kwikumat sets it free.

Marxokuvek creates Coyote, Raven, Mountain-Lion, and Cougar. These animals by their conduct enrage Kwikumat, who sends a second flood, which rises until it touches Raven's tail, and then subsides through the instrumentality of Kumastamxo, who wishes not to drown Raven. The waters sink so low that Blind-Old-Man comes forth again. He tries in vain to tempt Xavasumkulvi.

Xavasumkulvi, and later Kwikumat, instruct the people how to produce children.

Kumastamxo dreams Kwikumat and Marxokuvek sick. Kwikumat creates Rattlesnake, who bites Marxokuvek. Kwikumat throws Rattlesnake into the northern ocean, where he dwells.

Kumastamxo teaches the Yuma men how to cure the sick.

Marxokuvek dies. Kwikumat revives him.

Kwikumat creates more people. As punishment for their racial aloofness, he destroys them with fire. Kumastamxo saves some good people by burying them in snow. Others escape by flight.

Kwikumat makes horse and boat for the whites. He drives them away because of their unbelief.

Kumastamxo gives bows and arrows to the Yuma.

Kwikumat makes another flood. The waves make the mountains. Kumastamxo rescues some people; others on a mountain he turns to stone.

Kwikumat creates Yuma-Old-Woman.

Kwikumat offends his daughter, Frog, who therefore causes his death by burrowing up under him and eating his excrement. He dies after charging

²⁰³ Harrington, 328 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Idem.*, 347.

Kumastamxo to complete his work. Wren decides to burn Kwikummat, and conducts the cremation. The people believe that Coyote will steal Wren's heart instead of Kwikummat's. Beaver and Ant-Lion prepare the pyre. Wren sends Coyote east to fetch fire. But House-Fly and Big-Blue-Fly produce fire while he is gone. Coyote returns and steals Kwikummat's heart. Chicken-Hawk pursues Coyote in vain. Coyote becomes an outcast because he has stolen the heart, and crazy because he has eaten it. He copulates with Moon, and she carries him up to the sky. At the cremation Brown-Bug and Green-Bug begin to cry first; then all the people cry. Individuals throw their hair, feathers, or tails into the fire. Frog keeps burrowing beneath the earth. The fourth time she emerges, she becomes a rock.

In the ocean Rattlesnake grows to enormous size. Kumastamxo summons him to Axavolyo on the pretext that he is needed to cure a sick man. When he reaches Axavolyo, Kumastamxo kills him. His blood becomes gold, his spittle silver, and his head gravel, his body a bulwark about the earth, and his urine the ocean.

Kumastamxo burns his house at Axavolyo. He instructs Night-Hawk to habitually wake people up in the morning.

Kumastamxo makes the Colorado River flow forth by thrusting a spear into the ground. With the spear he also cuts its channel.

Kumastamxo and certain medicine-men float down the river on a raft. Kumastamxo slays a great snake near Mellen. He settles the Yavapai south of Parker.

Kumastamxo takes the people to Avikwaame Mountain. Here various animals build him a house, in which he instructs people in the Yuma religion. He gives the Yuma "nations" their totemic names. Kumastamxo dismisses the various tribes to their present territories.

The Yuma and Diegueño march west and hold a ceremony at Aviive'ra Mountain, where they are attacked by the Cocopa and Maricopa.

Kumastamxo and Marxokuvek start to return to Avikwaame Mountain. Marxokuvek sickens. The Yuma carry him south. He dies near Yuma, and is burnt on a mountain near Gila City.

Kumastamxo sinks into the earth, where he remains four days. Then, emerging, he transforms himself into four different kinds of eagles.

The myth as obtained from Joe Homer in 1928-29 varies very little in the earlier parts from the version obtained by Harrington. But the later episodes in which Kumastamxo instructs the people on Avikwame' was obtained in far greater detail. Since this section of the myth is the basis of the keruk ritual, it is of the greatest practical importance and frequently discussed among the natives but mentioned only with reserve before strangers. Some of Joe's views are disputed by others. The versions obtained from various informants are given in the account of the mourning ceremony.²⁰⁵

It is a remarkable and characteristic trait of the Yuma creation story that the origin and mythological history of all the neighboring linguistically related peoples are included. The Maricopa figure prominently but the linguistically divorced Pima are not mentioned.

²⁰⁵ See pp. 214-221.

In this myth the Yuma associate themselves with the Diegueño rather than the Mohave. The Southern Diegueño do not, however, appear to show a reciprocal interest in the neighboring river people, and the Yuma are mentioned only casually with the Cahuilla.²⁰⁶ In his comparative analysis of the origin myths of Southern California Kroeber²⁰⁷ has indicated the relations between the cosmogonies of the Southern Shoshoneans and the Yuman tribes. An underlying structure of quarreling brother creators is found among the Shoshoneans (Cupeño, Cahuilla, and Serrano), the Yuma, the Diegueño, and half-forgotten, the Mohave. The more western Shoshoneans, however, had a concept of Earth Mother, Sky Father creation. All things were born from the Earth Mother and Wiyot, the divinity, is but the leader of men. Among the Mohave this concept has almost obliterated the presumably older belief found among the Yuma that the creation began with the emergence from below the ocean of the two creators who proceed to model mankind and the animal kingdom out of clay. This sea emergence appears to be a specifically Yuman trait, whereas the Sky-Earth cosmogony of the Luiseño and Mohave is, as Kroeber points out, of distinctly Pueblo type.

The complex of ideas connected with the dying god and Coyote's theft of his heart is again common to both the Yumans and Shoshoneans:

This concept of the dying god and of the mourning for him, is universal among Yumans and Shoshoneans, and is probably the dominant and most poignantly felt motive of every mythology in southern California. Its analogue in the Aztec Quetzalcoatl story has already been commented upon; but it is important that no parallel is known among the Pueblos or any true southwestern people. There may have been connections with the central and south Mexican story through Sonora. But except for dim suggestions, the development of the idea is probably local. All the Californians make much of the origin of death; and the Yuman and southern Shoshonean tale appears to think less of the impending end of the great god himself than of the fate of humanity as typified by him.²⁰⁸

The Yuma are, however, closer to the Mohave in their attitude to Kukumat and his son Kumastamxo than is suggested by Kroeber. Kukumat (Matavilya of the Mohave) is revered and mourned but he is a vague and symbolic figure. It is towards Kumastamxo (Mas-tamho) that warmth and gratitude are shown, for he was the teacher of mankind and remains the enduring source of spiritual power, giving strength to the people and instructing the spirits of the first

²⁰⁶ Spier, 2, 331. This account is, however, very summary. Cf. also Waterman 2, 271 ff.

²⁰⁷ 2, 788-92.

²⁰⁸ Kroeber, 2, 790.

men, who still surround him, to confer supernatural power on leaders and doctors. The vital and significant part of the creation follows the death of Kukumat. While mourning his father Kumastamxo confers power and culture upon the people. It is this that is re-enacted in the keruk ritual. The curious Pueblo-like snake monster who embodies evil and contains sicknesses in his body is common to Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño. In the Yuma keruk he is symbolically destroyed and the sicknesses are driven out by the fire into distant mountains. "This is an incident not recorded among any Shoshonean tribe; but the monster recurs in the Zuñi kolowisi and is an ancient Northwestern concept with water associates."²⁰⁹

THE SOUL AND AFTER LIFE

The soul or spirit, *metr'aō'*, dwells within the body and is associated with the heart. In addition to the soul proper, the shadow, *metkwica'*, has a soul-like quality. It may be stolen by witchcraft and so cause sickness. At death the shadow disappears into space. The pulses which can be felt at various parts of the body are considered as small independent souls. Their loss may also cause sickness. The *metr'aō'* continues to exist after death. At first it goes no great distance, remaining near its home but dwelling a little above human beings. Then after a progress through four different planes it finally reaches the land of the dead, *amai mātapo'i* (dwelling of the dead), or *amaiðik kwasūmpo^p* (fourth layer dwelling), which lies far to the south of Yuma territory. The after-world is considered as an ameliorated earth. Joe said:

It is the same as earth only there is no death; they eat the same sort of food but it is very good and plentiful, there is no frost and it is green all the year through. Those that are killed (i.e., fall in battle) stay in a special part near the river and have the best time of all. The dead know when the people are going to have a ceremony and come back on the fourth day and go to their own image and look for clothes. They have to wait till everything is burned, then the smoke carries the clothes and everything else up into the air where the dead spirit can get them.

The four planes previously mentioned include the earth and the final destination. From the earth, *amu't*, the soul passes first to *ampō't*, dust. This level is very little above the earth and is named from the very fine dust which permeates it. There is no wind and the

²⁰⁹ Kroeber, 2, 791.

dust which hangs in the air is finer than on earth. The third level, *asa'*, fog, lies farther south and still higher, and is enshrouded in *fine* mist from which it is named.

All prematurely dead persons live a longer time in each plane, growing no older. This allows those from whom they were taken to overtake them. So it is that when a mother reaches the fourth heaven she finds her child as it was when it died on earth. The progress is regulated so that the people who lived together on earth rejoin each other in the after-world. One story tells that souls finally become nothing but bits of cinder, but the more general belief is that they live indefinitely.

The owl is regarded with reverence and awe for the souls of the dead can return among the houses of the living in the guise of an owl and lure living souls (*metr'aō'*) with them to the land of the dead.²¹⁰ The hooting of an owl, therefore, announces the approach of a dead soul who might well be seeking a living companion on the road back to the south. Should anyone die, or even fall ill after hearing an owl, the misfortune would be attributed to the abstraction of the victim's soul. The veneer of Christianity and of American sophistication prevents most of the people from speaking of this or of the beliefs concerning the soul for fear of remonstrance or ridicule. One informant asked me very earnestly and with some anxiety whether "the people on the hill," i.e., the missions, really knew any more about it than the old men.

PRAYER

Direct invocation of the creator or of spirits is not characteristic of the Yuma, and prayer offerings are lacking. There is no intercession with Kumastamxo in daily life. The hunter used charms but did not pray to spirits. There was no prayer at planting or before the harvests were expected. The native term used for prayer is *ovrē'e*, meaning to kneel. This was adopted from the Christian custom of kneeling at prayer. Otherwise, according to Miguel, there is no word. The ordinary person did not pray. Dreamers alone held communication with the spirits, but gifts or sacrifices were never made. Kumastamxo is said to be addressed in some of the *keruk* speeches.

²¹⁰ Cf. Garcés, in Cones, 1, who says that the Yuma view of the soul "coincided with the nonsense already related of the Opas," 201, i.e., "that when they die their ghost goes to live toward the Western Sea; that some of them after they die live like owls," 122.

The war dreamer (axwecama'—enemy dreamer, or kwánamicama'—war leader dreamer) calls on various animals to trap the enemy and to indicate their position as described in the keruk ritual. Joe Homer and Miguel said that these war prayers had a set form, were in a "different" language and were received from one of the animal spirits in a dream. It appears that the doctor did not pray to, or intercede with, his guardian spirit when curing. The statements of Manuel and Steve, suggest rather that the songs and speeches of the doctor contained an inherent magic and were not appeals for the help of the spirit, or that they are formulas associated with the magical power at the time of its bestowal, which automatically, as it were, canalize the power at the time of the curing, whether it be in the form of an invisible spirit or is conceived only as a force latent within the doctor himself.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

The aboriginal theories of disease and the belief in and practice of magical rites which will produce and cure sickness still persist among the Yuma despite the influence of American culture and the recognition that the doctors in the Agency hospital are "clever and have great power."

During the keruk of 1929 a girl of about seventeen lay in the brush a few yards from the clearing throughout the whole period. She was in the hands of a doctor who was attempting to cure a chest complaint. Although the doctor did not take exception to my presence, I was unfortunately prevented from approaching closely by the objections of the parents.

Eixarch (1775-76) recounts a curing by Pedro, leader of the village near Pilot Knob (Algodones):

Last night I heard this fellow chanting a canticle very deliberately and melancholic, having a sick man in his house to whom he gives such rubbings of the belly with sand that only a brute would be able to stand it. He blows on him many times and then blows against the wind making many passes as he blows. They say that in order to perform his office properly he bathes himself very carefully early in the morning.²¹¹

He also notes the interesting fact that a Yuma performed the usual curing practices in an endeavor to cure the wound of a horse.²¹²

Since dreamed power is essential for the performance of any important public duty, the doctor is not set off sharply from the rest

²¹¹ Eixarch, *Diary*, in Bolton, 4, 3:377.

²¹² *Op. cit.*, 340.

of the community. Many men are dreamers. The leaders, the singers, the funeral orators, all dream their power. The doctor may at the same time be a singer, an orator, or a "chief." Moreover, the doctor's claims are usually modest. His powers cover only a certain range of sickness or misfortune, beyond which he cannot go. He alone decides on the basis of his dreams or the advice of his guardian spirit what he is competent to treat. He regards his curing power as essentially of the same type as any other "power." As Kroeber says of the Mohave,²¹³ there is "a complete interweaving of shamanistic beliefs and curative practices with the national mythology and . . . complete dependence of both on individual dreaming."

Yet the power of a doctor is in one important aspect distinct from that of an orator or leader. The spirit, whom he encounters on his dream visit to *avikwame'*, remains faithful to him throughout his life. He advises him when to accept a patient and how to treat the disease. The spirit in return demands obedience from the doctor.

If one is to be a great doctor the spirit appears before the man is born, when he is only one or two months in the womb. As he grows up he is shown many things but he does not cure yet. The one thing that the spirits impress on those they have chosen is that they must always obey and never doubt the power of the spirit. A man may have been shown how to cure many sicknesses but he may not attempt to do so until the spirit tells him. His obedience is often tested. His relatives may fall ill and he will want to try to save them; but if he tries to cure before the spirit tells him that he is ready he will himself fall sick.

This happened to an old *Kamya* who had been getting great power. A prominent man fell ill and he said he would like to cure him. He succeeded but shortly after fell dangerously ill. He almost died and afterwards said that his spirit [i.e., guardian spirit] had appeared to him during his sickness and had told him that he had lost all his power through disobedience.

Each doctor had his own particular spirit. Lincoln Johnson and Miguel claimed that these spirits were connected with animals. The relation was somewhat obscure.

Badger, Fox, Crow, Sun, Moon and other spirits appeared to doctors. The spirits do not appear in the form after which they are named. The spirits themselves are those of the first people who were created, who had great power, far more than men today. They tried to create men as the Creator himself had done, but succeeded only in making animals after which they themselves were named. Some say that the Creator was angry with them and turned them into the animals which they had created.

The spirits of the two doctors, Manuel and Steve, who described their dreams and powers, had, however, no animal qualities or associations. Their names were abstract and remarkably similar—*tenya'm kweny*.

²¹³ Kroeber, 2, 777.

masa'v (darkness, very pure) [Manuel] and *tenya'm kwenya'me'ts* (darkness, opposite to?) [Steve]. Badger and Raccoon spirits appeared to Manuel and taught him single cures, but they were not the chief source of his power.

The power of a doctor is limited by the scope of his dreams and the instructions of the spirit. Manuel Thomas, an old man of over eighty who had cured for many years, explained that:

A doctor gets his power for one sickness specially, that power may be good to cure other things, but he will not be so good for them. The visit to *Avikwame'* that the doctor makes when he is asleep gives him a general knowledge and power for curing. But for really great power he has to perform a cure of the disease while he is there. A few doctors have had many good dreams and are very powerful for many sicknesses. When a man is sick he gets the best doctor for his sickness that is around. If he is not so good, the doctor will send him on to another and he will get moved around until he is cured or dies. The Yuma are not angry if a doctor cannot cure, they are sorry his power is not so good and go to another. They do not try to hurt a doctor if the sick person dies unless they are sure it is witchcraft. But doctors don't often use witchcraft, they do not get the power for that, but only to cure the sicknesses they have dreamed of.

The existence of several broad categories of curing is implied in the special terms employed:

- etsate*'v, sickness curer (*etsara*'v, sickness)
- avete*'v, snake (bite) curer
- i'pate*'v, arrow wound curer
- xwemanate*'v, stunned curer
- alye'cate*'v, fracture curer
- metuša'vate*'v, witch doctor (curer of bewitchment)
- xelyatsameama'*, ghost dreamer

Within the general category of sickness (*etsara*'v) any one doctor will claim to be able to cure only certain forms, but the diagnosis depends largely on the doctor himself, sometimes with but scant attention to the symptoms of disease.

The relation of the doctor, his familiar spirit, and the patient is somewhat obscure and is said to vary in different diseases. In general the spirit merely instructs the doctor to undertake treatment and gives him the strength to effect the cure. With Manuel Thomas, as will be seen, the spirit does not appear to him whenever he is called to cure. Manuel decides his ability to cure by his own state of mind, which is optimistic and vigorous when he has the right power and apathetic and reluctant when he has not. He describes the power as always latent within him and makes no reference to direct vision of the spirit at the time of curing.

I had my dreams first when I was quite young [about 12 years old] but I did not try to cure until I was an old man. I remembered them quite clearly always and never forgot anything in them.

If I hear of a sick person something tells me whether his illness is one I would be good for. This may happen even if I have not had a dream and power especially for his sickness. If I feel right I know that if they have come for me I will be able to cure the man. When I have a good feeling I am very strong and light inside and any other doctor who works on the sick one usually fails. The patient and his relations know too, for I seem to draw the sick man to me. Always, I think, I have been asked to cure when I felt strong for it, and on these occasions I am always successful. When I am called to go to the sick man I have a different (i.e., special) feeling, it is like being back on the Mountain. There is some fluid in me which I have drawn from the air and I do not mind walking a great distance. I do not know how far I have traveled. When I work on the patient it does not tire me at all and it makes me very happy. Generally I can cure very quickly then, maybe in a few hours or in a day or two.

Sometimes I feel quite different about it, I don't get any good feeling and though I do my best I do not often cure then. I don't get any feeling of lightness and when I go away from the sick man I don't want to return to him. I feel heavy and tired and very sleepy at night. I think about all the jobs I have to do around here and cannot keep my mind on the sick man. I know it is really no good me trying to help him even if I have had a dream for his sickness.

But I do not always know how things are going to be. Sometimes I do not feel really good until I begin to cure. Other times I lose a lot of strength when I start to work on the patient and it does not go well.

One dream often gives power to cure several sicknesses, the doctor knows in his dream exactly what it is for. I can cure five or six and can give you the names of more, but I do not know them all.

In witchcraft, however, both in the bewitchment and curing, the spirit is believed to enter the doctor and true possession occurs. When a patient is on the point of death the doctor also attempts by singing to induce the spirit to enter his (the doctor's) body, whence it passes into the sick man in an effort to draw his soul back into his body. Doctors may also, according to Miguel, speak as the spirit in these cases; indeed, it is the spirit speaking but using the voice of the doctor because it has no voice of its own.

The patient, also, may have a guardian spirit who protects him through life. This spirit will assist in the cure. Pat's wife has such a spirit which

follows her all the time and speaks to her in dreams. She has never seen it, for it always speaks from behind, but it is a female spirit. She has no name for it. Once it saved her life, for she was very sick and unconscious and no one could do her any good. As they sat around her, suddenly a voice was heard speaking through her mouth, very gently but strong, saying, "Go and get onyakalak," a doctor who lived some distance away. The voice was different from her ordinary voice. Her father tried to make it speak again but it didn't answer. They sent for the doctor, who came a long distance and cured her, after everybody had thought that she would die.

Sicknesses which appear similar may yet be caused in entirely different ways. Four distinct causes of sickness emerge from the descriptive data obtained from Manuel Thomas and Stephen Kelly.

1. Sickness from natural causes, which include fractures, physical injuries, and colics from bad food. In this category fall numerous ailments of children which are usually ascribed to some mishap before or at birth. The alleged causes, although fanciful, do not involve any magical or dream influence. Massage and blowing of saliva on the injured part are used to aid the cure.

2. Dream poisoning by spirits in which the poison must be sucked out by the doctor. The seat of the poison may also be brushed with feathers and pointed at with the finger or a short stick.

3. Soul loss consequent on a severe blow resulting in unconsciousness, or due to the efforts of ghosts (i.e., the spirits of the dead) to carry off the soul of the patient, especially when weakened by other sickness. The blowing of tobacco smoke and the spraying of saliva frothed up in the mouth are devices employed to aid the recovery of the soul.

4. Bewitchment, in which one individual, generally a doctor, induces sickness in another by magical means with the aid of a spirit.

SICKNESS FROM NATURAL CAUSES

In the first category a number of chest ailments are distinguished. *atsux* is the general term for bad coughing. For *aox*, a common cold, a doctor is rarely called. Manuel Thomas, if called for a bad case of *aox*, would froth saliva over the head and chest, but he had no special cure or songs. *avaxanuts* is a feverish condition with violent coughing, frequently occurring in young children.

There is no pain in the daytime, but the child gets all hot at night and coughs all the time. Then in the morning it feels better again. This sickness is caused before the child is born. It happens from using sooty wood in cooking the food of the mother when she is pregnant. The odor gets carried into the child when the woman eats. The illness may not come on for a long time after birth. Some children have it badly and cough a great deal.

There are no songs for this sickness. When I cure I go to the child only at night and stay with it. First I blow saliva on my palms and press them on the chest to relieve the fever. Then I suck the chest and blow saliva on it. I keep this up all night with brief rests, and after a few nights it should get well.

aloxoa, a disease of newly born infants, is said to be caused by crushing during childbirth.

If the mother stops to take a breath when the child is coming out, she cannot open properly for it and crushes in its chest so that it does not breathe well after it is born. After they find the child is breathing very feebly they know what has happened and call any doctor, for it is not hard to cure. You rub the body gently from the shoulders down towards the legs and breathe on it (without saliva). There are no songs and the sickness generally gets better in a few days.

Rashes are known as *xemalyū's* (rough skin), hence the terms *xemalyus vatate*, for small-pox, and *xemalyus anakor*, for measles. Manuel Thomas had not the power to cure these sicknesses but knew that they came from a distant place and were carried by the winds. In this way he explained how so many people contracted them at the same time. *nye'xw^hatanyī'lk* (swallowing blood) is an infant's sickness in which the stomach swells. It is attributed to the swallowing of blood by the child during parturition. This poisons the blood and the doctor's aim is to cause vomiting or excretion of blood. He massages the stomach with a wet thumb but does not froth saliva or sing.

Minor stomach troubles with acute pains and constipation were very common in the old days and were attributed to bad food and to drinking too much water when very hungry. Manuel treated these, but "was not very good for it." The doctor presses the belly to loosen the bowels, sucks the belly on each side and again below the navel. This draws out impurities. Frothed saliva is sprayed over the belly as a further inducement to evacuation. When this has been effected the patient usually recovers.

xatakū'lyāda'o is recognized by bleeding from the rectum. This is usually thick and dark. The patient is not unwell apart from acute rectal pains, but the condition is regarded as a stomach disease and is treated in the same way. Manuel said, however, that the condition might appear suddenly and go away in a few days, or might linger on recurrently for years.

If a patient gets worse despite the doctor's efforts, it is clear that the sickness is more serious than was thought and has been caused by dream poisoning or bewitchment, whereupon cures suitable for these conditions are attempted.

DREAM POISONING

The nature and curing of dream poisoning was described by Manuel Thomas, who had received powers to cure such diseases:

The first power I had was to cure *icáma xekwír* (dream wasting). It is one of the worst sicknesses, which is caused by an animal who lives out in the desert. The animal is *xumír* (?chipmunk); a little animal with a curving body, it has a black back with a white streak along it. Its tail sticks up in the air. This animal appears as a small human being in a dream, to anyone who is going to be afflicted. You always see the desert in your dream before this sickness. The little chipmunk man is walking in the desert. He has a supply of fine ground mesquite flour, lumped and made into little balls, which he throws to the dreamer, who cannot resist the temptation and eats one of them. The sweetness goes into the insides and remains there. It slowly dries them all up. On awakening, the dreamer does not want to eat, his insides are all dry and he gets thinner and thinner and will slowly die.

This dream sometimes causes other forms of sickness, such as great swellings on the skin and open sores or hard lumps on the skin, *icáma kaká'p* (dream holes, i.e., sores), which do not go away and slowly rot away underneath.

In reply to questions Manuel described the following symptoms for *icáma xekwír*:

At first there is a little fever but no pain, defecation is normal but makes the patient very weak. He can eat very little and if the disease lasts long he evacuates very little. The patient can only drink water and that, too, often tastes bitter.

The patient is brought to the doctor's house. The doctor enquires about the dream and immediately recognizes the ailment. If he has come in time there is a good chance of recovery. He inhales tobacco smoke [formerly another weed was used] and fills his mouth with frothed saliva. With these he blows a smoky spray on to the patient's head. He then sucks on each breast above each nipple and in the middle, a little below the breastbone. [Sucking is believed to draw poisoned blood out of the body. No wound is made, the blood flowing through the pores without trace.] He will then massage the stomach with his hands, but this is not considered absolutely necessary. During the treatment a series of songs are sung. This treatment is employed three times a day and three times at night for three days; by this time the patient should show some signs of recovery. The doctor feels the body at each visit. If the body gets cooler he orders a watery mush of green tepary bean. If the temperature remains down, a fire is built and green arrowweeds are placed on top. The patient is bathed in warm water and his body is then smoked over the fire. This is done once a day in the morning for four days, after which he should be well enough to take a normal diet. The doctor must fast during the cure, eating only a little corn meal without salt. The less he eats, the greater his power.

Manuel described the dream which gave him power to cure these sicknesses:

In my dream I was called to Avikwame'. It took me only four steps to get there. I saw the shelter. In front of it on the ground were two war bonnets, the ceremonial shield (akwē'l), two feathered staves (aokwī'l) and sandals. There were many gourds all around. In the shelter were two men both bigger than ordinary men. They were really spirits. One said, "I shall not tell you what you are here for; someone else shall come for that."

Another spirit now appeared and the first speaker said, "Here is tenya'm kwenyamasā'v, and I knew it was the spirit who gives power to leaders and doctors among our people. tenya'm kwenyamasā'v came right in front of me and said, "I will give you power but I shall not tell you the things to do. When you want to know something these others will tell you."

On the ground before me I noticed a collection of things: a piece of burnt wood (about six feet long) still glowing at one end, a small cane tube (about two inches long) filled with tobacco and alight, with the burning end stuck in the ground, and a bowl of water. Without being told I seemed to know what to do and I took up the cane tube, smoked it and inhaled four times. Then I picked up the bowl, washed my mouth and spat out the water.

Looking around, I now saw two persons lying at the west end of a space of level ground close to me. They appeared human but were turned away so that at first I could not see very well. The one on the north side had great big lumps all over his body looking like boils ready to burst; the other also had lumps on his skin but they were already broken open and he was full of sores. Their sickness was icāna hakā'p.

I came with the spirit tenya'm kwenyamasā'v to the north side of these persons. tenya'm kwenyamasā'v instructed me, singing the songs to be used in curing these kinds of sickness. He sang the first song standing on the north side, for the second he moved to the west, standing by their heads. He sang again on the south and finally on the east side, making four songs in all.

The first song, tenya'm kwenyamasā've ya' masā've, calls for the help of the spirit. Those are the words and they are repeated over and over.

The second is kwenyamudha'ne and says, "I am dragging the sick man away from his sickness. I am grabbing you back from sickness," calling on the north heaven which draws down life-giving fluid into the sick man.

The third song is onaye'areao, the way to health. It tells, "I have heard of your sickness, I have the power to cure and I have come to cure you. I shall take your body and bend you back and forth and give you new life. All sickness shall leave you and you shall be well."

The fourth song, yaxa'i yaxa, is called by an old name for the "chipmunk." It talks to the "chipmunk" dwarf who had come to the sick man in his dream and tells him, "You are a weak thing, without power, hasty and heedless of our power. You are evil, go back to the western heaven where you belong. Stay away and do not dare to return."

Nothing happened after the spirit had sung the songs for he had not put his power into them. He told me to sing them, now promising his power. I sang the four songs and when I had finished the last, the two sick men sat up without help and rubbed themselves all over because the sores and lumps were going away. They stood up and walked over to a pool of water which lay to the north. They jumped in and washed themselves and when they came back their skin was all fresh and no marks of their sickness were left. Now I noticed that there were skeletons all around on the ground and these, as if being led by some leader, made four long cries of joy at my success.

The sicknesses I saw in the dream were *icâma hakâ'p*, but they belong to a family of illnesses for which the same songs are good. The others are *icâma xekwîr* and *icâma yakâpe't*. I knew without being told what the songs were for all these sicknesses. That is why I would use them for *icâma xekwîr* for they are all caused by the same bad dream as I have told.

The happenings in the dream also told me the other things I was to do for curing. Picking up the cane and sipping the water meant that I was to use smoke and saliva to cure with. It was the smoking that gave me understanding without being told anything and the water made me pure and gave me a feeling for the whole human race.

Before I had my dreams I knew that men could cure others if they had the power, but I did not pay any attention to it. My first dream, that I have told you, came quite unexpectedly when I was still a child about twelve years old. I did not ask the spirits for it.

icâma yakâpe't is the other sickness I got the power for in this dream. Women mostly have it and the dream that they get beforehand is a little different. The woman sees little dwarf creatures but they are the spirits of the arrowweed; they gather around and form a circle. They dance and the woman joins in.

She feels bad when she wakes up and after a little time says wild things and becomes rough or else screams out. She won't let anybody touch her and when she has to be brought to the doctor it often takes three or four men to hold her down. A great deal of strength comes into the body with this sickness. Quite often she is tied up before the doctor begins to work.

The cure is the same as I have already said, except that there is no sucking because there is no poison to be got out of the body. It is a spirit only that has to be driven out.

The set pattern of the curing dream is indicated by the similarity of Steve's dream. Steve is a younger man and has been practicing only a few years. He lives several miles from Manuel and is not related or connected with him:

I did not dream any power until I was about forty years. One night I was asleep and a spirit came. His name was *tenya'm kwenyame'ts* (darkness different from, shining darkness). He had wings and flew down to where I was and told me to get up and come with him to *avikwame'*. He lifted me up by the small of the back and took me there through the air. Then he said, "What do you want?" and I answered I didn't know. Then he said "I can see all over the world. You look too and you will see." First he told me to look down to the right and I saw four trails coming together. One trail was for Yuma, one for Mohave, one for Maricopa, and one for Cocopa. The spirit said, "Seeing this means you will be able to speak to all these people," and after that night I was one of the best to understand all those people said. Then I came back and soon I woke up. The next night I went again to *avikwame'*. The spirit did not come for me. I just went by myself. It only took a minute. The spirit was there and spoke to me. He said, "I will give you a little thing," and showed me a bit of stick, like arrowweed, but thicker. He tried to bend it but it wouldn't budge. Then he breathed on it and tried again and it broke into two pieces. So then he breathed on it again and rubbed it and put it back whole as if it had not been broken. And I said, "What is that for?" The spirit said, "When a man breaks his arm, you can mend it that way. Breathe on it and rub it like I do. So I tried to break and mend the stick and did it easy, just like he did. So the spirit said "That's

fine, now I've showed you how to do it, you can go back and try.' Then I went back again every night for four nights. Nothing special happened but it was good to go because it is cool up there like when snow is on the ground and moist like when there is a mist. But it is clear and you can see everything. There were lots of things and people but I didn't go near anything; just stayed where I was with the spirit. He was like a man but very white,—more white than an American and he had white hair, white whiskers, and white wings. He was bright and shining. I guess that's why he was called *tenyam kwenyamets*, which is opposite of darkness.

Soon after one of my boys broke his arm and I cured it just like the spirit said and since then I have cured lots of broken bones.

When I cure, I sing songs which the spirit told me to sing. That's what makes the cure good. I sing like this:

<i>ma'nyi</i> your	<i>miwa'</i> heart	<i>xo'tem</i> good	
<i>kutinyā'm</i> darkness	<i>kwenyame'ts</i> very different from	<i>viye'mem</i> is going to be	
<i>ilyəmoḍū'ts</i> [uow] you think	<i>wilnyamū'ē'm</i> unpleasant		
<i>etsaxo't</i> Goodness	<i>ilyəmoḍū'ts.</i> you think [of]		
<i>məpā'm</i> lie down	<i>acāma'tvidi'.</i> sleep here		
<i>tenya'm</i> darkness	<i>kwenyame'ts</i> very different from	<i>viya'm</i> is going	<i>toke'kya</i> to make meeting
<i>elye'kəḍūts</i> You think of this	<i>etsaxo't</i> good		<i>mecāma'ts</i> in your dream
<i>xotmai</i> good given	<i>hesa'e't</i> will yet be.		
<i>e'im</i> I will speak	<i>a'e'tkwiva'ha</i> it will be made		<i>a'e'tkwi'etxa</i> it will be done here
<i>a'e'tsəkukia'v</i> I will ask for	<i>ma'nyimoxo't</i> all your good		
<i>va'e'tkwiva'tka</i> it will now be done sitting	<i>va'e'tkwiva't</i> it will be done sitting		<i>aḍukya</i> here in this place

Your heart is good.

[The spirit] Shining Darkness will be here.

You think only of sad or unpleasant things,

You are to think of goodness

Lie down and sleep here

Shining Darkness will join us

You think of this good in your dream

Goodness will be given to you

I will speak for it, and it will come to pass

It will happen here

I will ask for your good

It will happen as I sit by you

It will be done as I sit here in this place.

It will be observed that Steve's song, although he cures only accidental injuries to which a magical cause is not ascribed, nevertheless implies an active intervention of his guardian spirit, who is said to come at the call of the doctor.

In another dream Manuel received the power to cure *xwet matcē'rk*, a stomach disease also caused by dream poisoning.

A person dreams that he is traveling on a strange path and finds food all prepared by the side of the trail. He eats and enjoys it greatly. The very next day sharp stomach pains come on. The patient is constipated and bleeding accompanies difficult defecation.

When I was at *avikwame'* I saw two animals who were also like humans. They were *maxwa'* (badger) and *nāmu's* (raccoon). They showed me the disease and gave me the songs to cure it.

To cure the disease you must drive out the dream food which was poisonous. It is the smell of the food which is making the sickness. I sit by the patient and just press and pound on his stomach as I sing. Then I blow on it (with smoke or saliva) to drive off the odor. Next I suck his stomach at the navel and blow saliva on it. I will do this three times a day until the sick person is better, sometimes it takes a week or two, but after a good motion he begins to recover and the blood stops coming.

Paralysis of the face or body is known as *avekuwī'l*, because it is believed to be the work of *avē'* (mouse), who enters the body in a dream. Manuel Thomas could give no details of the cause or of the power necessary to cure it but claimed that some doctors have been very successful. *elha'xno* (gonorrhoea) was also dream-caused, and cured by some doctors, but Manuel had no power for it.

SOUL LOSS

Soul loss follows both from severe injury, shock, or fright and the efforts of ghosts or bewitchers.

In a later dream series which lasted several nights, Manuel received the power to cure sickness in which severe injuries resulted in exhaustion and coma. The coma was produced by the efforts of the man's soul to leave the body which was no longer any use to it.

i'pa, coma or numbness from arrow wounds. This cure has a special dream, others have had it too. I went to *avikwame'* where there were four arrowweed stems lying on the ground. They were not prepared for arrows but were very straight. I picked one up and ran it to and fro through my closed hand after blowing saliva on the palm. This peeled the stick which I put around my waist. I pulled it tight so that the ends met without breaking the stick. I now picked up the second and stuck it in the ground, then I bent it to and fro to make it flexible, for I knew I had to make this one go twice around my waist. I tried to

do this but it snapped. I was very careful with the third stick, because breaking is a very bad sign; I made it flexible and got it around me twice, but just as I was going to tie it up it too snapped near one end. I now took the fourth and was very careful this time. All went well and I was able to tie the ends together, by which I knew I had some power to cure arrow wounds. But my power was not very great and I could not hope to be always successful. The good arrow wound doctors never break any of the arrowweeds in their dream.

A doctor who can cure *īpa* goes along with a war party. Beforehand he collects young willow plants about three feet high, cuts them at the ground, peels them, and coils the bark into little balls. He generally makes four of these, one from each plant. Before beginning to cure a man, he puts one in his mouth, this draws out the saliva and makes it sharp and cold when it leaves the mouth, so that when he blows froth in the cure it drives away faintness and prevents coma. In the cure four songs are sung too, but the doctor does not suck the wounds or any part of the body. The patient is seated propped on the ground, facing east. The doctor stands in front a little way away and blows saliva all over the patient from this distance. In between he walks to and fro, always facing the sick man and singing the four songs. It would not be good to tell these songs.

If the cure is going to work, the doctor has a creeping feeling which starts in the feet and rises over the body. If this stops at the knees or the waist he knows he cannot do much good, but if it goes on rising he knows the patient is getting along, and when the tingling gets right up to the top of his head something goes out of the doctor into the sick man and he knows he has made a cure. This feeling of success is not the same as in other sicknesses, which come beforehand as I said.

xweman and *hata'olyuk* are similar to *īpa* but caused by different injuries. As in *īpa*, the sick man loses consciousness and his spirit is believed to be drawn out of his body by the severity of his injury.

xweman is caused by several club wounds over the head and body. Like arrow wounds, this was a common war injury in the old days. A bad fall has the same effect, the soul is driven out of the body by the severity of the blow. The soul goes up with the dust caused by the fall and hovers above undecided whether to return. The main object is to get it to come back to the body. This is achieved by blowing frothed saliva over the body to clear the dust that obscures it from the soul, so that the soul can find its way back.

hata'olyuk is the corresponding collapse consequent on several knife or spear wounds.

Ghost influences fall in the same category as ordinary "curing" and although the achievement may be considered somewhat more esoteric, the technique is the same, the object being to restore the soul to the body. The doctor smokes copiously, attempting thereby to find the lost soul. There is no sucking since there is no poison in the body. Manuel Thomas named the special disease, *halyatsxamm huθao* (ghost taking), in which the soul of a human being is danced off by his dead relations. The symptoms vary from lassitude to unconsciousness. The cure he was not disposed to tell; but it was "like curing other sicknesses, but with the proper songs." It is, however, noteworthy that the ghost doctor is called spirit dreamer (*xelyatsxa'm căma'*) and not a curer (suffix, *-tečv*). The task is more severe than

ordinary curing, since in severe cases the soul no longer hovers round the body and has to be brought back from the land of the dead.

It sometimes happens that a man drops down "dead" and may be in that condition for days. The soul has been taken away by that of a relative who wants it with him in the spirit world. I remember it happening just across the border when I was a young man. They got a ghost doctor because the man had not been sick at all. The doctor came about midday and stretched the body out in the open with the head lying to the east. He built four little hills of sand in a line stretching away from his feet to the west. He stood near the westernmost hill and look out of his bag came tubes with tobacco in them. Carrying these he walked in a wide circle around the man, singing as he went. He stopped where he had begun and laid the tubes at his feet. Then he picked up one, lit it and smoked. In one whiff all the tobacco had gone. But no smoke came out of his mouth. In a minute the smoke began to come out of the hill nearest to the dead. He repeated this four times, walking around, singing, smoking and making the smoke come out of the hills one after another. When he had finished he waited awhile and then said that the dead man's soul could not be found in the spirit world, that no one knew about it. He said that the spirits had not taken it and perhaps it was witchcraft.

This doctor was killed later on because a sick man accused him of bringing the souls of dead relatives to speak to him at night. The spirits would call to him, asking his soul to join them and he grew tired of life. He suspected the doctor because they had had a dispute about their powers. He got weaker and would lie unconscious for several hours. At length he died, calling on this ghost doctor to relieve him and send away the spirits. The ghost doctor was fetched by the relatives but said he had no power for the sickness.

The relatives accused the doctor and were so certain from what the dead man had said that they killed him. But the dead man had lost many relatives who were dear to him. If they had not been enemies the family would not have killed the doctor. (Miguel.)

The sister of Iipa Norton suffered soul loss, according to Miguel, and described her experiences when she recovered.

During the last night of the keruk, about twenty years ago she fell down unconscious and was not yet restored for several hours. She said afterwards that she had suddenly heard a great rumbling noise as if a lot of horses were coming towards her at full speed. Then she found that she herself was riding on a horse, behind a man, a relative who had been dead for several years. A great number of others were on horseback all around her. They were all riding towards the south. Presently they came to a large village. The people were Yuma and she recognized many people who had died. These came out to meet her and were very glad. But after some time a great cloud of smoke appeared in the west as if a fire were going to sweep over the village. Everybody ran, she tried to run but could not move fast. She stumbled over a block of wood and fell down. Just then she came to and found a doctor working over her. The smoke from his tobacco was the smoke that appeared in the spirit world which drove off the other people and brought her soul back.

SORCERY

Bewitchment (*metuḍa'uk*—he is bewitched) is generally practiced only by doctors. Only those who have a very powerful spirit can do it, and a doctor who bewitches (*metuḍauvu'k*) can also cure victims of witchcraft (*metuḍa'vateč'v*). Sometimes ordinary people bewitch; they suddenly get the power. Steven Kelly gave an account of a bewitchment and cure he witnessed as a young man. It was corroborated by Miguel:

Witch doctors get their power from the *etsö'r* (hawk). On New Year's Day in 1897 I came over to the horse-racing along the river bank, and was met by a friend. We came along together and after about half a mile stopped to wait for some others. In front of a house close by a girl was standing. She looked at us and then turned her back.

Later in the day we were riding home in a bunch when my friend came up to me and said, "There's something wrong with me, I think I'm going to die." And as he spoke he toppled off his horse and fell to the ground. When I got down to him he was dead. We tried to revive him with water but could not and sent word back to the relatives who came and took his body home. One of them suspected that he had been bewitched and sent for the witch doctor. He came at last and about two dozen of us watched the cure. The witch doctor had red feathers in his hair and the upper half of his face was painted black. He laid the body with its head to the east and as he placed it in position it showed some signs of life and began to twitch all over.

The doctor then stood several yards away to the south of the man. Walking slowly towards him and moving round to his head, he sang his first song. The man now became quite quiet and when he reached the head the doctor leaned over and placed a round mirror on his patient's chest. The mirror was in place of the bowl of water which doctors used in the old days.

The doctor now stood on the north side and began his second song, which he continued while making a complete circle around the patient, going west, south, east and back to north.

He then crouched over the man and sucked blood out of his chest, blew saliva into his ears and eyes, and stood up again ready to sing his third song as he made the same circuit again. Stopping once more at the north he looked into the mirror for a long time and then began singing again as he walked around for the fourth time.

The man was now cured. Although he was very weak he was able to sit up and after four days fasting he was quite well. After the fourth song the doctor spoke to the relatives and said that the man had stood near the house of a young woman. No one had known this but myself and I had not spoken to the doctor, yet he knew all that had happened. He saw it all in the mirror. In the old days the doctors used to fill a small bowl of water in which ground charcoal had been allowed to settle at the bottom. Because the man recovered they did not try to punish the girl. Only a witch doctor can bewitch a person and it is dangerous to interfere unless you are going to kill the bewitcher straight away. If the doctor fails to cure he will tell who did it and urge the relatives to kill the bewitcher.

For fear that he will direct his power against accusers the suspected sorcerer is not informed of his danger. Once a decision has been made the man selected for the task awaits a favorable opportunity when his victim is off guard, creeps up behind him, and kills him before he can resist.²¹⁵

It will be noticed that in this cure sucking was employed although the symptoms, from the native point of view, were those of soul loss. My informants claimed that any kind of sickness could be caused by bewitchment but most commonly an effort was made to drive out the victim's soul. They could not explain why the doctor had sucked in his cure unless the girl had poisoned him when she stared. Nail parings, hair, or clothes, they thought, were not used in witchcraft. Mignel was told by a witch doctor that he sent his spirit out over the universe to find the soul of the sick man which had been hidden by the sorcerer. It was the doctor's own soul, not that of the guardian spirit, that undertook the search.

CHARMS

Milder forms of sorcery were also practiced in which an effort was made to control the body or will of another. For this purpose charm substances were used. Manuel described the characteristics of to'ū'l haxnāk (charm sickness; etso'ū'l: charm). To influence others, the charm substance is generally smeared on the body by the charmer. A relatively stereotyped technique exists for its preparation.

An Indian goes into the hills to find charm stones; they are colored or transparent, but can be any shape. The stones must be ground up very fine into powder and mixed with red paint and, if possible, the intestines of some animal or bird. The lizard is very good. Men used this a great deal to weaken their enemies in fights and their competitors in races. The odor of the charm substance afflicts those who approach the charmer. In a race the runner with the most powerful charm goes ahead and the odor of his charm causes those behind to sweat and breathe with difficulty. Without knowing the cause they are tired out and get cramps. If the charm works for a long time it causes boils over the body, swellings filled with watery substance which itch badly. A man came to me not long ago who had been charmed like this. Before I worked on him I said that if I was successful in my cure the carrier of the charm would die. It is always like this, the power of the charm is driven back to its owner. The charm bearer did die soon after. Sometimes when a person has a powerful charm his relatives about the house die off in consequence.

²¹⁵ Cf. Trippel, 582, who also states: "The bewitcher generally goes off to a quiet place to make his spell. He draws an image of his victim and with a sharpened stick pierces the image where the heart is."

In the ordinary way charms (i.e., charm stones) are carried hidden about the body, but they are not so powerful this way. They will protect the wearer but it is hard to make another sick.

When curing charm sickness where there are sores like those I described, songs are not necessary. I froth saliva over my hands and massage the body from the head towards the feet.

Young men sometimes smear themselves with charm paint to attract women. For this they must also stop eating any fat, bread, or salt, then there is no danger of giving sickness. Girls get crazy for such a man. But if he lies with a girl he has charmed in this way he must not copulate for four nights or she will become very sick. After that the danger is over and he can copulate. Women also use charms in a similar way to attract men that they want.

kwats humu'k (crystal) is a common charm. Another that is very powerful is icima, a pebble that is found in the desert. If you look at it with an open mind you will see a face on it and as you stare this little face twitches and begins to laugh and smile. If you put it down and look at it from a little distance the face will move from side to side. It is the face of the animal spirit I have already told about.

SNAKE BITE CURES

The curing of snake bites is a special craft for which great power is needed. Snake doctors still practice among the Yuma but the two known to me refused all information. Miguel gave me an account of the dream recounted by the foremost snake doctor in announcing his power. He was also a witch doctor of some repute.

His snake power was obtained on the journey back from arikwame' (where he had learned witch doctoring). On this return journey he stopped at several places acquiring special powers. At one mountain to the east, near Phoenix, he was met by a spirit who was no different from a human being except that he had very abundant hair which hung down to his waist in great coils. This spirit said: "I have lived here alone for many years and I am glad to have your visit. For you I will go through the curing of snake bites." Close by there was a dying fire, a few embers glowed among the ashes. Around it were four bowls lying in the four directions. The water in the eastern bowl was bright red, in the northern it was clear, in the western yellow, and in the southern dark blue. The spirit pointed to the bowls and said: "You will always find one of these liquids in the body of a person bitten by snakes. If you find the red it means that immediately after the bite a witch doctor has seen an opportunity to make use of his powers, so that the victim has two sicknesses, snake poison and witchcraft, and both of them must be cured. If the water is clear there is little danger and you can give the patient water to drink. If the water is dark blue you will have to use all your power." [The doctor would not impart the full significance of the dark color (death in the Yuma symbolism) for the spirit had commanded this and the means of acquiring strength for the cure to remain secret.]

In curing snake bites the wound is stroked and jabbed with feathers or arrowweed tips specially prepared by the doctor. He sucks the wound and sings special songs. The doctor frequently

becomes very excited and a snake-bite cure is apparently considered something of an event.

Snake-bite cures have been known to be effected at a distance.

A few years ago a young girl was bitten and there was no doctor at hand. A man went down south of the line (i.e., across the Mexican border) to fetch a snake doctor who was living there. The doctor insisted on walking north to the reservation. He stopped frequently and watched the sky. During these halts he made power and sent it north to the sick girl. His spirit was with her all the time and when he finally reached her she was already out of danger and he effected a cure within half an hour.

RAINMAKERS

Rainmaking, as a practice involving supernatural power, was associated with curing. It was formerly a prerogative of the *kwoxot*, and an important indication of his power.

The Yuma formerly had powerful rainmakers. These doctors could prevent rainfall as easily as they could produce it; they also had power to control the direction and force of the wind. The last rainmaker died some years ago.

Joe Homer gave a general description of the methods employed which corroborated a more detailed account I later obtained from Miguel.

The last rainmaker we had was an old man who died in 1893. His name was *siluŋa'up* and he belonged to the *liŋts kwestámuts*. There is no one left belonging to this line except perhaps one old woman. It was a very religious clan and its members had very powerful dreams. People said it was different from the other clans because in the old days it treated the dead in a different way. Instead of cremating, a special shelter was built. The dead man was put with his back against one of the center posts in a sitting position and the body was left there to rot.²¹⁶

I remember a time when there was no rain for two years and the flood was very low. There was very little overflow. Everybody got very worried and all the men got together. They decided to send for this old man who was living out to the west at the foot of the mesa. He sent a message telling them to place four bamboo tubes filled with tobacco in the middle of the big shelter where the meeting was held; to build a fire close by them and let it die away into embers.

When he came to the place hundreds of people had gathered around. He picked up the tubes one at a time and smoked them very quickly. He made a short speech, saying that it was the spirit *Turtle* (*kupe't*) that had given him the power on the mountain *amyxape'* (to the west of Pilot Knob). The spirit had shown him exactly what to do and had told him to think of the *Turtle* and name him when he performed the ritual. He commanded the people to follow him out of the shelter and run in a body towards the north, raising as much dust as possible. This they did and the old man went off home. Before he had gone very far there were patches of cloud all over the sky and rain had fallen in several places. In less than an hour a heavy downpour had begun which lasted about four days.

²¹⁶ No further information on this point, which is of considerable interest, could be obtained.

Joe Homer said that in the old days rain doctors as a rule caused rain for two special reasons: to confuse enemies when the Yumas were not ready to fight, and to enable them to grow some crops in the winter season. If no rain fell in December and January the rain-makers were asked to make rain. It would fall at intervals of a few days over a period of three or four weeks until the cottonwood and willow leaves began to sprout. Then the people could plant in the ground on the higher lands and have fresh supplies of food in the late spring. This was especially important if the harvest had been poor after the previous flood.

THE DOCTOR

The function of the doctor was to avert death and his technique was entirely magical. Manuel claimed that doctors never gave herbs to cure disease. Certain plants were used in cases of sickness but these usages were common knowledge and not alone sufficient to cure serious disorders. A doctor was not asked to cure unless the patient was so seriously ill that his life was threatened.

The doctor usually knew whether he could cure a sickness and was expected to tell the family of the patient. If he refused treatment without good reason he might be suspected of witchcraft. If successful the doctor was given presents such as blankets, horses, food, etc. If he failed he got nothing. The family would often promise the presents in advance when asking the doctor to cure, but he was not expected to bargain or ask for more. If the family was rich he would remain away until they offered a sufficiently large present.

During the cure he must fast and bathe at sunrise. He must not have intercourse with his wife and cannot cure while she is menstruating.

When working over a patient the doctor sits at his right side and points at the disease with the left hand.

A doctor does not lose his power as he grows old but he will stop curing when he can no longer endure the hardships of curing any more.

Foreign doctors are sometimes used but are not considered superior. Such are usually Kanya, Cocopa or Mohave and have the same dreams and power as Yuma. The Maricopa and the Yavapai use gourd rattles in curing, the Yuma do not (Miguel).

The equipment of the doctor is fundamentally non-material. A supernatural aura surrounds him and his songs, but he has practically no recourse to sleight-of-hand or other manipulatory skill in order to demonstrate his power. There is a surprising lack of apparatus.

ghost doctors sometimes wear hawk feathers; all carry a pouch containing tobacco and cane tubes for smoking and in which feathers for brushing and charm stones were sometimes kept. But the inevitable crystal which represents the "pain" in northern California and among the Pima to the east is absent. The juggling tricks of the Pima are not resorted to, and would be considered improper. The doctor has received a divine power, an immaterial essence which flows into him from his guardian spirit and ultimately from the creator himself. His duty is to transfer this power to the patient or use it to bring back his soul; any jugglery or physical demonstration is superfluous and inappropriate.

Trippel claims that at the time he visited the Yuma a doctor who made three false predictions of his power to cure in one family, or nine in the tribe as a whole, was killed. "Upon passing the limit in either case he is visited by a male relative of one of the patients who asks why he prophesied incorrectly. If the explanation is not satisfactory he is quickly murdered with a mesquite club and nothing is said by the rest of the tribe."²¹⁷ So precise a regulation would seem unlikely. My informants said that a doctor was killed only when he was suspected of misusing or withholding his powers. A doctor would sometimes move away to another village or tribe to avoid the revenge of angered relatives. By now, however, the influence of American control has practically eliminated such killing and produced a tendency to minimize its former importance. The killing of failing doctors was general in the Lower Colorado region, to the west among the Yuman-speaking Diegueño, and very widely in California.²¹⁸

Doctors do not associate with one another, and form no societies.

In the old days there were doctors among all the groups of people [i.e. the different Yuma settlements], but each doctor was separate. Doctors did not go about or cure together. They did not meet together to discuss their powers. Once in a while they would mock each other saying that the other had no power, but generally they left each other alone. The doctors did not have any power to order people about and did not choose the leaders. (Manuel.)

Doctors do not speak of their powers in public because others might bewitch them for boasting. Sometimes two doctors quarrel and one challenges the other to bewitch him. They are left to fight it out themselves. (Miguel.)

The power of doctors is not inherited; each man must dream his own power. It is clear, however, that the children and relatives of doctors will tend, from their familiarity with "curing," to believe that they have power. Miguel, for example, said,

²¹⁷ Trippel, 571.

²¹⁸ Cf. Kroeber, 2, 718, 778, and Gifford, 7, who describes the killing of a doctor which occurred during his field work among the Cocopa.

— who died two years ago, was a very famous doctor. Soon after he died his son said he had dreams like his father and saw the same spirit. The spirit had not given him as much power as his father. One of the dead doctor's brothers also said he had received power from the same spirit.

In this way, without any formulated concept of inheritance, curing power tends to continue in the same family for several generations.

THEORIES OF DISEASE

Theories of disease on the Lower Colorado thus include the concepts of intrusion and soul loss. Both are extremely widespread and doubtless ancient in both the Old World and the New. The concept of soul loss is dominant in northwestern America but is apparently absent or weak elsewhere, apart from one or two small areas in the greater southwest and among the Algonkians of the Great Lakes. The extensive development and elaboration of this disease theory in north-eastern Asia suggests that its occurrence on the Colorado represents an outpost of an early movement from Asia. But soul loss as a theory of disease occurs widely in South America, in the Guianas generally, among the Carib, and among such tribes as the Bakaili and Paressi in Central Brazil. It is also reported for the remote Yahgan in Patagonia.²¹⁹ It would therefore seem to be less recent in North America than has been supposed,²²⁰ and its occurrence on the Lower Colorado may be extremely ancient and unconnected with relatively recent developments to the north. The theory of intrusion of a pathogenic object is as important as soul loss, and is nominally associated with the sucking technique in curing. Object intrusion, probably universally known in aboriginal North America and the dominant theory outside the northwest and Mexico, was the prime cause of disease among the peoples surrounding the Lower Colorado on all sides, Shoshoneans, Pimans, and Pueblo groups; but the intrusion among the Yuma was of an aberrant type, which appears to have been colored by their intense belief in dream power. The object, as has been shown, has none of the characteristics of the usual material object. No splinter of wood or bone, nor crystal, is produced. The belief is that an unspecified poison has been consumed under the almost hypnotic influence of a malevolent spirit. The food itself in which the poison was contained was appetizing and harmless, and is not removed or shown by the doctor at the cure. It is a poisonous essence, only vaguely material, which lies at the root of the disease. The doctor

²¹⁹ Data summarized in Clements.

²²⁰ Cf. Lowie, 1, 177 ff.

effects to suck out the blood that has been poisoned in this way and to relieve the victim.

Witchcraft or sorcery, the production of sickness by another human being with the aid of magic or spirits, is believed in and guarded against. But it appears rather as a final appeal after other views have failed and it is usually the doctor himself who is suspected. On the evidence available, imitative rather than contagious magic is used and the effect, contrary to the probabilities of the magical procedure, is to produce soul loss and not the intrusion of a harmful substance. Here again the psychological matrix appears to have controlled the individual characteristics of the concept.

It is to be observed that any elaborate sorcery of the type of the Aztecs and other Central American peoples is absent.

The infringement of taboos, in connection with birth, menstruation, ceremonial, and warfare, is believed to cause sickness, sometimes to the culprit but in other cases to his relatives or neighbors.

Although spirits play an extremely important part in the esoteric life of these peoples and possession may sometimes occur, the belief that spirit possession will cause sickness appears to be entirely foreign. This is true of California as a whole, and the concept is rare throughout western North America.

DREAM VISION

The dream vision among the Yuma and the other Lower Colorado peoples is functionally similar and doubtless genetically related to the vision of the Plains and the east. Conceptually, if not terminologically, there is a clear distinction between the power-bestowing dream, or dream vision, and the less significant dream of everyday life. Some forms of the latter may approach the dream vision in a supernatural character, they may be omens indicating success or warning of danger²²¹ or informing about some remote happenings. An ill-defined spirit may indeed be associated with such dreams. But the true dream vision derives from Kumastamxo or from one of the ancestral spirits. It is an experience of tremendous significance, which at the same time conforms to a definite pattern. It usually involves a journey to the scene of the creation, or to one of the mountains which was visited by Kukumat or Kumastamxo. As in a vision, audition and the receipt of songs play a considerable part. The dreamer holds converse with

²²¹ Cf. Gifford, 6, 60 ff.

a spirit and is taught definite songs.²²² While the evidence does not permit of so sharp a distinction as that between dream and vision, which Benedict claims as general in North America,²²³ there is in practice little difficulty in differentiating between the two. And indeed the power-conferring dream among the Yuma and Mohave approximates to the vision and cannot be considered a dream in Benedict's sense.²²⁴

In marked contrast with the belief so widespread in the Plains area, the Woodlands, and the southeast, waking visions, hallucinations, and fits were not media for supernatural power. If a man had a fit he was suffering from soul loss or bewitchment, if he heard voices as he went about his work he would fall sick, for his dead relatives were speaking to him. The powerful spirits did not work in this way; they came only during sleep when the soul was free to accompany them to their mountain home to receive power and songs.

But the dream vision in the Lower Colorado region is not induced, as was the custom in western North America and Siberia with the vision. It is often claimed to have occurred before the dreamer left his mother's womb. Manuel dreamed as a young child. Stephen's dreams occurred unexpectedly during sleep. Although fasting and seclusion are practiced, they are, as among the Pueblos, regarded strictly as means of obtaining purity. The doctor indeed fasts during his cure, but his object is to rene and purify his personality. The appearance of his guardian spirit during the treatment is not directly conditioned by such observances.

The dream vision is not, as so widely in North America, associated with puberty, and the puberty rite has no association with the acquisition of supernatural power.

Jimsonweed, although known, was not used in obtaining supernatural power and appears to have had therapeutic and utilitarian, rather than supernatural, value. While it was perhaps occasionally used to induce dreams, such a procedure was undoubtedly irregular. It was not an ancient or integral part of the dream complex.

The guardian spirit concept is fundamental to dreamed power. Power is acquired only on the bestowal by an individual spirit who remains jealously interested in its use, may withdraw it or augment it, and will reappear to assist the doctor or speaker in the performance of his duties.

²²² Cf. Benedict, 2, 23 ff.

²²³ Benedict, 2, 26.

²²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 26.

There are also guardian spirits of a minor character who confer no power but ward off danger and come to one's assistance in time of great need. They do not manifest themselves in a definite dream vision. One slowly becomes aware that they are there protecting after they have appeared or spoken several times. Such spirits are the fortunate acquisition of the ordinary man; they are not accompanied by any remarkable psychic experience and are usually only voices, associated in the native mind with the ordinary dream and not at all with personal acquisition of supernatural power. The character of the power-giving spirits is somewhat vague and variable. While they are believed, in general, to be those of the first ancestors of mankind who have a vaguely conceived relation to animals and bear animal names, it is also found that the spirits of doctors may be devoid of animal associations and are named after abstract qualities. Although these spirits dwell permanently on *evikwame'*, or one of the other mythically important mountains, they are never confused with the mountain-itself or any other natural object. Whether or not of animal origin and name, the spirit is always conceived as having existed since the beginning of time when Kukumat first made living creatures with the mud fished from the ocean floor, and their power is attributed to the great spiritual strength with which the creator endowed the first men.

The dream vision of a speaker is in pattern similar to that of the doctor. Joe Homer is a funeral orator, *keruk* speaker and singer, and a self-appointed repository of true doctrine. His prestige has waned in recent years and there has been some criticism of his "crazy notions" and obstinacy, but so long as he has the moral strength to support his claims to power, involving as it does the delicate adjustment of both aboriginal and Methodist orthodoxy, no attempt is made to undermine his authority.

Joe was unwilling to give a straightforward account of his dreams and power, alleging previous misrepresentations of his statement by others. His dependence on help from the Mission, and the curious blend of craftiness and apprehension in his character which lead him to place a fantastic value on his knowledge, resulted in frequent suppression and temporary withholding of information. It appears, however, that he believes his dreaming to have begun before birth.²²⁵ The dreams, which are the sanctions of his power as an authority on ritual and as a religious teacher, were, as Kroeber found among the

²²⁵ Cf. Harrington, 326.

Mohave, supernatural in two dimensions. Not only did he visit *avikwame'*, but he had at the same time retraced all time so that the original *keruk* was in progress when he reached there. He was instructed by *yalák* (Goose), one of the ancestral spirits who participated. Joe now performs the functions of *yalák* in the mourning ceremony and speaks of himself as Goose when describing the ritual. The dreams in which he learned to perform these duties were distinct from those which endowed him with power as a funeral orator.

HERBAL REMEDIES

Manuel stated that doctors never gave herbs to cure the disease. Many plants were known to be valuable in alleviating various sicknesses, but such usages were common knowledge. Old women would advise various remedies to their families, but Manuel had a doctor's scorn for such practices which "were not alone sufficient to cure any serious disorder." An infusion of mesquite leaves was frequently taken in cases of gonorrhoea; this relieved painful micturition, but only a doctor could cure. An interesting herbal test was made for severe coughing when blood was spat up (tuberculosis of the lung!). Portions of the root of an old willow tree were boiled and the liquid drunk by the patient, who vomited violently. This was regarded as a kill or cure expedient, since if the disease were in an advanced stage the patient would vomit blood and drop dead. If this was done early enough, however, it was believed to dislodge the infecting blood and lay the foundation of a cure. This, however, said Manuel, was a very risky thing to do.

An old woman, *Iipa Norton*, supplied further data on practical remedies. For stomach pains she used a decoction of *icū*, a desert plant described as leafless and growing to a height of about three feet. The stalks are boiled in water, large quantities of which are drunk. It causes flatulence and belching, rapidly alleviating the pains.

A strong emetic and purge was obtained from the roots of another desert plant, *wemocir*. The root is chewed in the mouth and the juice swallowed. The patient should eat nothing for a day and later take only weak corn or bean mush. It causes headache and dizziness followed by sickness and frequent defecation. Although the patient may feel very miserable for a day or two, this treatment will alleviate stomach trouble of long standing. This is also regarded as an efficacious method of bringing about menstruation.

SWEAT BATHS

A kind of vapor bath is prepared to ease rheumatic complaints. A large fire is prepared on a stretch of smooth sandy ground, the coals of the fire are later scraped away, water is sprinkled on the hot sand and a bed of greasewood leaves (avse) is laid over it. The patient is placed naked on this bed and covered with heavy blankets. For the best effect he should remain all night. This treatment was learned from the Diegueño.

In winter a sweat cure for similar complaints was effected by overheating one of the winter houses. A large fire is built in the house. As it dies down all openings are sealed and the patient stays within.

Lincoln Johnson also knew of the sweat bath in the winter house; but claimed that it was not for the sick alone. It was used by anyone who felt dirty and wanted to feel fresh.

The true sweat-house is not used by the Yuma, and the treatments here described had no ritualistic associations.

JIMSONWEED

Jimsonweed, probably *Datura discolor*, is known as ecmakapit (ear stopped up) on account of the buzzing it produces. Loco weed is the English term usually employed. Miguel could not remember anyone having taken it in the last twenty years. Joe had seen it given but had not taken it himself. It was not used ceremonially and was not associated with the acquisition of dream power. It was sometimes taken by those who wished to become doctors or leaders, but this was infrequent and, according to my informants, of doubtful value. The emphasis is rather on the direct acquisition of practical skill or foresight through the narcotic than on its use as a means of inducing dreams. Miguel knew of no doctor who had actually received his curing power in dreams received while under the influence of jimsonweed. The ostensible reasons given were to acquire skill and worldly wisdom, and to foresee one's fate. The activities of the patient while under the influence of the narcotic indicated their natural propensities. Women did not take it save in exceptional cases, e.g., of sickness. Older men would persuade the younger that it was an exciting experience and would prove of value to them. According to Joe Homer, jimsonweed was especially valuable as a means of obtaining

good crops. During the narcosis the youths were set to work clearing ground and pretending to plant. Their antics amused the onlookers but gave them great skill as cultivators.²²⁶

Groups of young men, who had decided or been persuaded to take it, put themselves in the hands of a man who could administer it safely. As among the Mohave, the leaves of the plant are used. These are in suitable condition in the late fall and winter and should be taken from plants which grow far from human habitations; only those leaves on the north side of plants should be picked. The concoction should be prepared by one who has abstained from sexual intercourse for a considerable period, and women should be kept away. The juice of the leaves is squeezed into a bowl of warm water and each patient is given a suitable quantity.

Miguel's father was one of a group of six who took jimsonweed in their youth. It was administered by a witch doctor who told them he could impart his powers to them when they were under the influence of the drug. The youths fasted for four days, drinking only a little water. The drug was then administered in the early morning under a shade. For several hours they were unconscious. When they regained consciousness in the afternoon several of them recounted dreams and began to act strangely. Some were bombastic, others went through the forms of curing people. The doctor remained with them for four days, fearing that they would wander off and attempt to drown themselves, or lie in the sun and become ill. They did not acquire any power.

It might be taken several times during one's life, whenever, in fact, one desired it. The sick often drank jimsonweed, especially when they had been ailing for a long time and had obtained no relief from doctors. Miguel knew an old woman who took it in this way at the suggestion of her relative. She remained in a trance for four days and went about acting as though she were cooking food. When she got better she said everything had seemed dark to her except dangerous things such as rattlesnakes and ants. These were all around her but they had the appearance of fire, so that she was able to avoid them. Jimsonweed was not used as an anæsthetic or anodyne.

It was sometimes used to stimulate horses in racing. The rider would chew the leaves and blow the frothed saliva into the horse's nostrils about an hour before the race.

²²⁶ Cf. Gifford, 6, 68.

Jimsonweed seeds are used as a remedy for burns and sores. They are roasted and made into a poultice which is placed on the wound.

It was not regarded as a direct aid in magical power. It was not taken by doctors to strengthen their power or enable them to see the patient's disease. Lost objects were not sought in dreams induced by the weed. No reference to it occurs in any myth, and, according to my informants, there is "no story about it."

The use of jimsonweed remains unattached to the ceremonial or spiritual life, a curious and valuable experience, but little more. The use of the narcotic, which extends from Peru and Chile to the Great Basin is especially developed in south and central California and the southwest. But the Yuma and similar Cocopa practices cannot be aligned simply with any one of the three specializations that occur in this region, i.e., among the Yokuts, the Southern Californian Shoshoneans, and the Pueblos.²²⁷ The general pattern, i.e., the obtaining of good fortune and foreseeing the future, is present but certain features which are generally characteristic are absent. The dissociation from divination of disease or loss of objects distinguishes it from Pueblo and Yokuts usage. At a relatively recent date the jimsonweed, doubtless known and used before, was introduced into a sib initiation rite for males among the Southern Californians. Some traces of the pattern developed there are apparent on the Colorado in the restriction to males, except for sickness and the group drinking with exclusion of women.

CREMATION RITES

As throughout the Lower Colorado and among the Diegueño, Luiseño, etc., to the west, the Yuma cremate their dead after a day of mourning.

All relatives, friends, and well-wishers of the deceased are invited and expected to attend the cremation. Anza records vividly that:²²⁸

While I was engaged in the distribution (of presents) an Indian naked like all the rest came groaning so pitifully that it seemed he was suffering the greatest affliction and grief. He gave these groans to each person touching him on the shoulder, and so he went among them all. I asked what this man was suffering from for in truth he won my compassion, and they replied "Nothing"; that he was from one of the villages down the river; that he brought news that his father had died, and accordingly he had come to invite all those present to go and weep while they were burning the body of the deceased, which was the kind of funeral they customarily held.

²²⁷ Gayton.

²²⁸ Anza, in Bolton, 4, 2:46.

Both Yuma and Cocopa funerals occurred during my visit in 1928 and certain variations in procedure were noticed. The Yuma consider it necessary to cremate before sundown on the day of the decease.²²⁹ They dig a shallow pit beneath the funeral pyre in which the ashes and unconsumed bones are collected and buried. The Cocopa burn at dawn after a night of waiting and collect the ashes for removal from the site of cremation.

The Yuma funeral was that of an old woman. She died in the early hours of the morning. Relatives and friends had surrounded her during the night, mourning her expected end. After the death the body was immediately prepared and messengers were sent out to arrange for the cremation. The body was fully dressed, wrapped in a large number of blankets, and carried in a farm cart to the cremation ground. No further mourning took place during this period and the rites were not considered to have begun until the relatives, friends, and the orator had assembled at the site of cremation. It was formerly the custom to burn the body near the house of the dead person and to fire the house itself after the ceremony. This practice has now been abandoned and a cremation ground with a permanent mourning shelter has been set aside on the reservation (pl. 56a).

Mourning began at about 10:30 A.M. Joe Homer was chief speaker, recounting the qualities of the dead woman, the severity of the loss, and the need for courage. The body lay on the ground wrapped in its blankets on a frame of wooden poles. A nucleus of close relatives remained crouched and kneeling by it throughout. They wailed incessantly. Others joining in the mourning for short periods came and went during the day. The wailing is inarticulate and does not consist of words or phrases. It is a musical crying on two or three notes, resembling the keening of Irish wakes, punctuated by bursts of sobbing and loud cries in periods of more intense emotion. The atmosphere induced hysteria in all present. Small groups would approach nonchalantly, smoking cigarettes, and chatting. Within a few minutes of the entry into the mourning groups they would be wailing loudly, with tears streaming down their faces. Similarly others would leave the shelter for a while, investigate the condition of the pyre, talk casually, and return to wail again after this respite.

The speaker's voice could be heard above the wailing in short staccato phrases. He mingled fragments of mythology with the

²²⁹ Putnam, who observed a cremation about 1895, reports, however, that the burning took place before dawn, at about 2:30 A.M. after the moon had risen, 266.

condolences and exhortation. Several other older men also joined in and the relatives of the deceased paid formal thanks to mourners before they left the shelter. The visitor in leaving would place his hand on the shoulder of the bereaved saying:

'I'll have to go back home now. I'm sorry because you are sad. You can't help it, we are all sad at these times. But you will feel better soon. Meantime there is nothing to do. There is no place you can go to take away your sadness. But remember you are not the only one, we all lose our relatives. That is how the plan has always been.

And the other would reply:

Yes, all right. I'm glad you came over and told me all these things, because it makes me feel better. This death has made me different in my heart. I feel as if I will have to go off and die in some place. But now I won't have to go off because I understand what you tell me.²³⁰

This ceremonial speaking which is used in funeral orations, keruk speeches, and doctors' exhortations to their patients is very remarkable and impressive.²³¹ It is also used by the Mohave and Cocopa. A loud mandatory tone is employed, but each word or group of short words is separated by a pause of one or two seconds from the next. Each word is forced out in an artificial manner with a rising tone and is accompanied by a jerk of the body as though the speaker would raise himself higher. The impression is almost that of a stammerer endeavoring to dictate at a distance. The accented syllables rise almost to a shout but the rest of the word is clipped and blurred. Significant and allusive words are repeated and recur in a long series of phrases. The normal word order is frequently inverted. Words and incomplete phrases stand for entire sentences, which render translation difficult. The discourse breaks off as abruptly as it begins.

A funeral speech obtained later from Steven Kelly is given at the end of this section.

²³⁰ Paraphrases given later by Joe Homer. At the cremation witnessed by Putnam, a medicine man worked over the body presumably in an effort to restore life: "For nearly two hours the medicine man went through various rites. He inhaled the smoke of a cigarette and blew it into the mouth, eyes, nose, and ears of the corpse, and occasionally blew it up toward the stars. He rubbed and pressed the body and now and then straddled grotesquely up and down over it. He finally sang with a clear voice a rude incantation, a repetition of a few short sentences. As his effort ceased one of those from Algodon began to speak and continued for many minutes in a calm, dignified and most pleasing tone." 266.

²³¹ Cf. La Oyuela in Bolton, 2, 2:211: "I saw a thing very worthy of pondering over in a people so ignorant, that after Father (Kino) preached to them one of their Captains continued warning them with such force and energy that it seems that the Lord must have given him words to enable him to speak so long for he harangued them for the space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterwards another took up the thread and continued in the other language. In this manner day dawned upon them; and the next night it was the same."

During the wailing a small group of men prepared the pyre about a hundred yards from the shelter. They dug a shallow pit about six feet long and two feet wide. On this they placed a bed of dried arrowweed and three large logs, seven feet long and about a foot in diameter. Two other logs of the same length were mounted on each side along the outer edges of this floor, supported by stakes driven into the ground. Arrowweed and other brushwood were placed in the open trough so formed, and a wall of dried twigs was neatly arranged around the outside²³² (fig. 9).

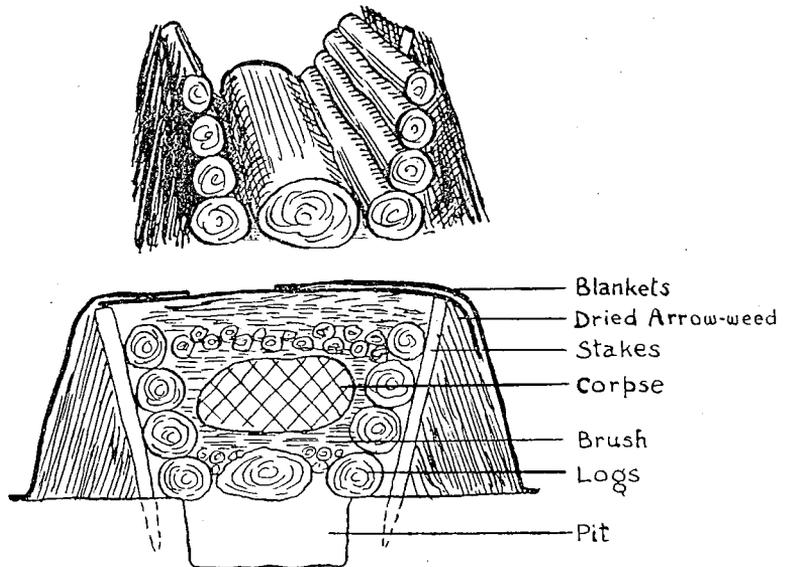


Fig. 9. Cremation pyre.

In the late afternoon a procession was formed. Led by the speaker, the body was borne slowly towards the pyre in four stages. At each halt the speaker raised his voice in a brief repetition of his previous eulogies and condolences. The fourth and final halt brought them to the pyre. The body was laid in the trough formed by the logs and covered with brush. Large numbers of colored blankets belonging

²³² Trippel, 582, describes the pyre constructed at the cremation of Miguel somewhat differently: The pit was V-shaped, 3 feet wide, 3 feet deep and 7 feet long, "dry poles were arranged along the sides slanting upwards and outwards. Between them a bed of inflammable twigs and brush was heaped to the surface and covered a larger frame of wood built up horizontally for an additional foot or two. Upon this the body, tightly wrapped in a heavy canvas, was laid and short thick pieces of wood arranged upon it until a total height of 7 feet was attained. To the pyre was added the personal effects of the deceased to accompany his spirit wherever it might go."

the pyre about
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to the deceased were then draped over the pyre concealing the logs and giving it the appearance of a large, gaily decorated stand. The pyre builders fired the brushwood with long torches made of mesquite poles tufted with twigs and the whole rapidly burst into flame.

For a period there was a renewed outburst of loud wailing among the mourners who formed a close ring around the pyre. The increasing heat soon forced them to withdraw but the more distraught would run forward thrusting a hand momentarily into the flames.

The greater part of the mourners now drifted away in small groups. But the closer relatives remained with the pyre builders to tend the fire. A daughter of the dead woman was roused to a frenzy as the flames consumed the body. She walked around and around the pyre, stopping at each corner calling loudly on the dead person.

By sundown the fire had burned quite low, the larger pieces of charred wood were moved to one side and the rest shoveled into the pit and covered with loose earth.

In former times the house and belongings of a dead person were all burned. His favorite horses were killed and buried; others were given away and his fields were left untilled. No relative could use his land but a stranger could cultivate it after a full season had elapsed. Eixarch²³³ was informed "that these Indians practice other ceremonies such as burning their dead until they are reduced to ashes and burning their treasures, breaking their jugs, and deserting their homes and their fields even though they have many crops."

At the cremation of Pasqual, the last great leader, the procedure was relatively elaborate:²³⁴

Two splendid horses, gaudily caparisoned in red and blue flannel and waving feathers were led to deep holes dug near either side of the body. After being killed with axes they were disemboweled, thrown into the graves and covered with dirt to insure their carrying the good old chief in his future wanderings.

Several young men strangely dressed in curious cloaks and cowls of many colors and holding bows and arrows in their hands stepped forward. Grasping Pasqual's gun, a much prized treasure by the way, one of them fired it into the air. . . . instantly another applied the match, and tongues of fire darted heavenward; enveloping the remains in a shroud of scething, spluttering fire. . . .

Breaking from the ranks [the crowd] threw their most valued possessions into the flames. Strips of calico, pottery, weapons, sacks of flour and mesquite beans, playing cards, beads, and trinkets of every description followed each other in rapid succession. Several men and women denuded themselves of their clothing piece by piece until they stood naked to the breech cloth. A daughter of the dead man carrying a child in her arms walked around the fire, and holding a bundle of arrowweeds to the blaze, touched the infant's cheek, to prevent the deceased

²³³ Eixarch, in Bolton, 4, 4:337.

²³⁴ Trippel, 582-583.

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from haunting it. A tall brave nearly nude and provided with a sharp knife, cut off more or less hair from the relatives in accordance with the degree of kinship, each softly muttering incantations. The medicine-men with their hair pulled over their faces, tore a large cotton cloth into small fragments and made another pile of the pieces which they burned. In fact, every individual seemed actuated with entirely different motives, known only to himself.

FUNERAL SPEECH

pī'ipa'ts! / axō't venyū'va iwa'mvats / axō't inya' udi' etsuvi'ts
 People! good strong heart our good day all work

ecū'pō vīya' ađō'tk etsura'v /
 I know it goes does sickness

ađa'u ima't / axa'v apa'm nyūđi'k / tsūđu'ts sūmđi'
 I take my body inside I lie down on the bed what is done don't know

vəđa'ts ađō'tk ađu'kyə nyāđu'm /
 this does here make(?) nothing

enpīpa' / iwa'mvats ela'i xe'e'tem /
 all people heart our not good will(?) change

enya'vats vəyc'mtok / ađu'kyə vəyc'm /
 day this passing away here passing

venya'ađa'uk / etselyāđu'ts axō't / elya'em va'ađa'u ađu'kyə
 we are together now will we think good think we now here

venya'mađa'u^k /
 we are together now

vāđa'ts a'e'tkyā i'kyā pī'pa vāta'i yetsa'nalyam va'e'm
 This I say it(?) man big we lose him passes

iwa'tsky mala'i va'ađa'u^s / nyanī' makī'n elyađu'ts mats
 hearts not good we now this thing nobody must think about

enyamā'k nya'vəđi' / enyamā'k axō't /
 I will end right now I will end good.

elyāđu'ts va'ađa'u ađu'kyə venya'ađa'um
 we think we now here all together now

pī'ipa' / 'enyaxō't 'enyavi'kwam etselyāđu'ts /
 People when(?) good this day going we are thinking here

xelkwa'k etselma'k xelkwa'k axot /
 I will find our strength(?) I will find good

kwāđō'nik ima't ela'im / ipa'm venya'vikum nya'va ađu's
 it used to be my body not good when I lay down on that I rely

elyāđu'ts elai iwam' xakəi'm / ađa'us nya'vá /
 we think not good hearts will change I rely on that

enyamā'k etsoxo't elyāđu'ts taxa' /
 I will end good things we think right.

Translation

Oh, people! Our hearts are good and strong. We can work all day
 This sickness does go away, I know it.
 I myself go away alone in the house, I lie down on the bed and forget every-
 thing, all this fades away,
 All the sick hearts of our people will change.
 This day is passing away now,
 We are all together now, we will think well now that we are all together in
 this place.
 I tell you when we lose a strong man our hearts cannot be good,
 So are we now but we must not think about it,
 We must think about our being all together,
 I will finish now. I will finish well.
 We think about our being all together,
 People, it will be well. This day is going
 We commune with one another.
 I will find our strength. I will find our good.
 My body was not good when I lay down alone.(?)
 On that I rely.
 Our thoughts are sick but our hearts will change.
 I rely on that.
 I will finish. Rightly we are thinking good things.

My interpreter had difficulty in translating and found even the general sense obscure. Normal word order is changed. Words are omitted and others repeated to produce the rhythm of the speech. They are sometimes abbreviated, sometimes expanded by the addition of consonants to increase the staccato of the speech. The pauses are indicated by a stroke.

Thinking in the sense of this speech refers to an introspective process whereby the individual restores his sick heart and overcomes his sense of loss. The heart is not said to be bad, which would mean evil, but not good, i.e., sick. Steve declares his power to overcome grief and urges the people to do the same by taking comfort in their solidarity and in the passage of time.

THE KERUK OR MOURNING CEREMONY²³⁵

The mourning ceremony of the Yuma is intended to perpetuate a ritual taught to the first men after the death of the creator, Kukumat. It is however admitted that several omissions and changes have occurred with the passage of time and the meanings and original character of some elements are disputed; but for the greater part the differences between the original ritual and the present ceremony are believed to be known. This, however, does not result in clear distinction in narration and informants tend constantly to refer to the activities of the existing rite in terms of the original. The Yuma, in other words, does not clearly distinguish between the mythological foundation and the existing ceremonial and it was at first a matter of some difficulty to analyze and compare the two. In order to demonstrate the essentially mimetic character of the ceremonial, the mythological and actual rituals will be separately discussed so that both the simplifications and accretions of the present ceremony may be clearly understood. It is impossible to say how far the mythological account has been modified or colored by external accretions or by alterations in ceremonial usage in course of time, i.e., the myth basis cannot be assumed to have remained entirely unaltered and to that extent it is not justifiable to assume that all ritual elements that coincide with the mythological account are for that reason "original" or even old. The historically verifiable example of the introduction of death images does, however, confirm the belief that the mythology has tended to remain more stable than the ritual.

THE MYTH OF THE FIRST KERUK

The Yuma were originally created together with the Cocopa, Maricopa, Kanya, and Mohave on the sacred mountain Avikwame by the god Kukumat.²³⁶ After the death of Kukumat, occasioned by the theft and swallowing of his excrement by his offended daughter Frog, his body was cremated and his house burned. Kumastamxo, the divine son of the creator, sat silently by while the people talked sadly of their loss. There were among these early people many who were spirits, pipa'tuats (lit. "people who have come to an end").

²³⁵ Joe Homer, Manuel Thomas, and Patrick Miguel.

²³⁶ See p. 176.

These spirits were agents of the creator. They had animal forms and gave their names to the animals so that all later peoples should keep them in mind. They live now in the various mountains and appear to men in visions to give them power. The spirits spoke among one another and to Kumastamxo suggesting that they should mourn for the death of Kukumat. But Kumastamxo lay silently by for many days. Finally the spirits asked Kumastamxo to aid them in holding a ceremony in which they would remember Kukumat and recover their strength. Kumastamxo at last arose and spoke: "I knew that you would have to sing and pray after the death of my father, the creator, for he has entrusted me to continue his work and I know all things. Unless you do this thing you will sicken with the illness of Kukumat. But I have waited until you received the power to have the ceremony." Kumastamxo was really the creator of the ceremony but he did not tell anyone what to do; the spirits now knew how it was to be conducted without instructions, for this knowledge flowed into them.

For a whole day the people mourned in a shelter while certain spirits went away to gather the things to be used in the ceremony. On the second day many bonnets and feathered staves and headdresses were made. All this was done without any explanations for Kumastamxo had given the people his power. The earth was still muddy and soft so máxwa' (Badger) came forward and chose a place for the ceremony which he made level and hard. Then xartsumpu'k (Ant) brought up sand from below the surface and spread it over the ground. On this heltō't (Spider) drew plans with his web, for he was the architect of the house in which the ceremony was to be held. Now four men who were Snake people (pamavi'ts) came forward to erect four posts. They placed across them two cross beams and four rafters. To the Snake people Kumastamxo said: "Your people (descendants) will have the power to build memorial houses. You must build them aright always and look after the ceremony; so will the people recover their strength after there has been death and they have lost a leader." Now Kumastamxo brought down a cloud from the north to make the roof of the house; but when he stood back to look at it he saw that it was white and represented life and the memorial house was to be the house of death and this cloud would not do. So he made it vanish, and drew down a cloud from the east but this was blue and represented power; this again he did not want and made it disappear. He next tried a cloud from the west but

it was yellow and represented sickness and this too he caused to vanish. Lastly he called down a southern cloud; this was dark and meant death. This, he said, was right for the ceremony. (Further questioning of Miguel and Manuel indicated that this directional and color symbolism is generally recognized: north, white (light); life; east, blue, power; west, yellow, sickness; south, black (dark); death. This differs from the Diegueño scheme as given by Waterman: north, red; east, white; west, black; south, blue-green.²³⁷)

Kumastamxó now called all the people together and spoke to them.

I am giving you my power that you may have this ceremony. What happens now you will do for all time. You are to think of me always when you have a ceremony and call on my name. When something comes into your mind that you will know it is my spirit. When you have lost your relatives, as I have lost my father, I too will be sad and will be mourning with you. You must fast for four days at these times or you will die off.

Kumastamxó now told ets'o'hr (Hawk), who was strong in war, to gather together the people with their weapons and command them to run from the house to the east back and forth four times. This they did and Kumastamxó spoke again: "You are fine people but you cannot get along without me. This is my speech. I can bring any kind of cloud, any kind of storm. You cannot learn without me and I will show you my power." He commanded the people to run east again, but suddenly as they ran they were weak and tired and fell in their tracks. "I will wake you up, you fallen people," said Kumastamxó, and he made hail fall and sprinkle on them. Immediately they were strong again and ran back happily to the house. Again Kumastamxó said to them, "I have shown you my power, I can make you strong or weak. You people will never be tired when you go to war if you call on me and I am with you." Next he called forward yalák (Goose), who was to speak for the people. He was not so great as ets'o'hr but ets'o'hr was silent and did not make speeches to hearten the people. yalák said: "I have great power. I can bring storm and darkness to beat the enemy. I can bring sleep and blindness to beat the enemy. We are strong and can beat everybody."

Now máxwa' (Badger) came to yalák and said:

I will give you my help. I burrow holes in the ground. I will tell you where my holes are but they will be concealed from your enemies. And when you are fighting against your enemies you will move safely over the ground for you will know where to avoid my holes. But your enemies will not know them. They will catch their feet in them as they run. They will fall and break their bones.

²³⁷ Waterman, 2, 333.

Then heltō't came up to yalāk and said: "I will lend help to the people. I will fly up into the air and find the enemies." Spider had four legs which stretched out over the four directions. He pulled down the four directions and said: "I am ready whenever the enemy comes. I shall know and will tell you."

akwa'keme nikūsi't (a flying insect) next promised his aid.

When you are out in the desert I will find water. I will be the scout of the war party and tell the position of the enemy. I will bring a windstorm and a rainstorm to hide your tracks so that the enemy may not find you and when it is dark I will tell you where lie the four directions. (J. H.)

Lastly avē' (Mouse) promised to cause paralysis among the enemies, by nibbling at their food and spreading poison about their camps.

During the night the oldest man was placed in the house by a fire which was lit in the center. He was to keep all the insects and animals out, especially avē' (Mouse), who caused sickness with his poisonous breath, and in the morning all the people moved into the ceremony house.

And during all these preparations a host of strangers had come up to Avikwame'.²³⁸ In the morning they came up to the house and were given regalia, bows and arrows, and clubs, from among the things that had been made. With these they now went away to the east. But soon they sent back a small party which halted outside the house. Their leader made a long speech to the people, telling of his homeland and how his people lived, saying that many of the younger ones had long been restless and wished to see distant places, until at last he had consented and brought them on a long journey.

The leader of the people in the house replied, telling of his people, saying that they too were restless, that he was glad of this visit of strangers. But when he spoke again the visiting leader began to talk of the bravery of his people; he told how warlike they were, named all their weapons, and described their use.

The leader in the house replied that he too had people who talked of war and had many powerful warriors and described the prowess of his people; and after the visitors had departed he warned his people that these strangers were only pretending to be friendly and that later they would attempt to destroy them.

²³⁸ Joe believes this party to have been present throughout and now for the first time separated from the others, as in the present keruk.

The strangers who had camped a long distance from the house now sent out two spies (avakwiō'm or mētro'í'a) over the trail which they had traveled. When they returned one reported to the leader saying:

I was at my house when my partner came and said that for a long time we had not been out, that there might be an enemy band somewhere close. He thought it was a good time but I refused. The next day he came again and this time I agreed to go with him and we traveled all day and far into the night but saw no footprints. Towards morning we came to a lake where we stopped and rested. Knowing we were safe we ran all the way back.

The leader thereupon ordered his people to move forward and they went as far as the lake where they camped.

And again spies were sent out. This time two went on each side of the route to the east and although they were separated, each pair knew always what the other was doing. After traveling continuously for a day and a night they met at a spring where they rested and bathed. They had seen neither enemies nor their tracks and they now returned with all haste and reported to the leader, whereupon the whole band moved forward to the spring at which the spies had rested.

The four spies again set out as before but now for the first time they found traces of other men. They came upon a much traveled track and a recently abandoned camp. Their report was repeated to the band by the leader, who led them all to this abandoned camp.

For the fourth time the spies set out and after traveling as before for a day and a night without food or rest they came upon a great settlement. They were the people gathered together with Kumastamxo on avikwame'. The house was quiet, no weapons could be seen, and no watchers were posted. The spies returned to their leader with this news, saying that the village was easy to attack. So the party put on all their ornaments and paint, gathered their weapons, and approached cautiously until they were within a short distance of the camp. And so it was that on the fourth morning when all about the house were still sleeping, the enemy party fell upon them and killed great numbers. Kumastamxo watched all this, knowing exactly how all things were going to happen.

The survivors, who were the youngest and strongest, united together to defend themselves. Their leader went forward with a small party and called to the enemy: "You are cowards and mean men to attack us when we sleep. But we see you now and when the time comes that we have our strength we shall invade your country and revenge ourselves." When he retired he was followed by a small

party of the enemy who wished to drive them back to their camp and cried, "Run back to safety, for you dare not attack us, we have crushed you and you are powerless." But when the enemy party drew off the defenders again sallied out after them in greater numbers, and their leader cried after the enemy that he too had great power in war, that he would train his people well, so that soon they would crush the enemy cowards.

As they approached the enemy camp a party of these, larger than before, advanced to drive them back and threats were again exchanged as the defenders once more retreated. And this was done four times in all as everything must be. Each time greater numbers took part on each side and the threats were longer and more cruel and arrows were shot from side to side. The contest lasted throughout the day until sundown. Kumastamxo was glad that the people now knew of war, how to use their weapons, and fight against the enemy.

When it was dark the spirits knew it was time for them to sing for Kukumat. Coyote hătəlwe) claimed that he should lead the singing. Ignoring the many protests he rose to sing but such foolish wails came from his open mouth that he was driven out and námē' (Wildcat), who had the true power, led the singing, arranging the performers into groups just as they are at the present day. In the house were three rows of singers. Two rows were placed at the back of the house looking east and a third stood facing these. námē took his place in the center of the middle row while yalák, the speaker, stood behind all the singers leaning on his staff. Holding a deerhoof rattle in his right hand, jerking it up and down vertically, the leader directed the singing. Another row of singers was stationed outside the house along the east side looking into the house. These were strangers.

The western group first sang a sad song, like the keruk songs today, a song to remember the death of the god Kukumat. yalák, the speaker, now spoke. He told of Kukumat and his deeds and the same words are used today, "He is about to do; he is about to say" (i.e., Kukumat is creating the world and man), was how he began. yalák also told that his staff was of great strength for Kukumat had plunged his hand into the ground and brought up the pole all ready made.

Then followed the singers on the east side of the ceremony house. Their song was entirely different; they told of long journeys like the awaxō'm singers today. With both parties each song was always

repeated a second time and the keruk songs, speeches, and awaxōm songs continued in that order through the night, each party singing four times in all.

As the singing began a party of men went out to the east. Presently they returned with willows, grass (kōpō), and vines from the tepary bean plant. With these they began to make the circle (akwē) which was to be used later.

The singing in the ceremony house was heard by the Heavenly Snake (kūmai avēta or unai avēta) and he approached this place where the people were gathered and stuck his head into the house, attempting to coil himself within. But it was too small and he asked that it be made larger at the west end. This was done by erecting five more posts, three at the back and one at each side and covering them as before. kūmai avēta curled into this space and stayed quiet some time; but he was not comfortable and at about midnight he asked that the house be made still larger by adding to the house on the north side.²³⁹ The people knew that the snake was an evil spirit but they knew also that if they could keep it in the house it would be destroyed. So they did as they were asked, erecting more poles. Early in the morning kūmai avēta asked that the south side be enlarged and towards dawn he asked that the east side be roofed over and this was done each time.

After each addition to the house two women came out and walking around (clockwise) from the north side stood at the corner of the part being built and then strewed unground corn over that part of the roof.

Other things were being done during the night. In the camp arrows were being made and each time an addition was made to the house, spies came across from the camp to report what was being done.

As the sun rose all the singers and people moved out of the house towards the east, making four halts. The first halt was at the eastern edge of the house and the succeeding ones each about fifteen yards farther east. At each halt songs were sung (by both parties). When the people were at the second halt the old man, who had camped all the time in the house, lit a torch from the fire and set fire to the building, which flared up. The Heavenly Snake coiled closer for it could not escape and avoid the heat. By the time the people had reached the fourth halt the heat of the fire was so great that the snake

²³⁹ Joe thought the north addition came first and west second.

burst open and was destroyed. The powers with which it was filled, the power to cause evil and death, to cure, to give songs, and many others, all these were scattered over the country and settled in the mountains, whence men obtain such powers to the present day.

While the people as a body were moving from the house, two men took down the two akwel from the eastern end of the roof and from their position behind the awaxo'm singers moved to the northeast corner of the house, holding the akwel aloft. Four spies from the camp approached them and as the bearers stood facing west the spies each shot an arrow into the akwel, whereupon they immediately threw down their bows and ran off to the east. The bearers then carried the pierced rings across to the camp of the spies and burned them in an arrowweed pile.

The sun had now risen into the sky and it was full day. The ceremony was ended. The people were protected against evil, had received great power, and now began to scatter themselves over the earth.

KERUK RITUAL

Although the re-enactment of the Avikwame' ceremony is the primary object of the present keruk ritual, the occasion is also individualized as a memorial to persons recently dead. The relatives of these people are in general the prime movers in stimulating the ceremony leaders to forward the preparations and frequently bear a great part of the cost. This specific mourning function is closely associated with an innovation which occurred towards the end of last century. In about the year 1890 two Yuma, Jose Castro and Chappo Jackson, persuaded their fellows to adopt the Southern Diegueño (Mountain Kamyá) practice of making death images.²⁴⁰ The Diegueño ceremony was well known to the Yuma for many of them traveled west to be present as guests when a Diegueño mourning was held. The innovators were good singers who had many times visited the Diegueño and greatly admired their dramatic image processions.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Joe suppressed this information and, until questioned later on, spoke as though the use of images was original to the ceremony; he afterwards claimed that the images were used in the original ceremony, but by the Diegueño and not the Yuma. Miguel, however, was quite definite in his account of the avikwame' myth, that although the Kamyá were present at that time and were spiritually closer to the Yuma than all the other people, yet the ancestral spirits of the Yuma knew nothing of image-making. A ritual was, indeed, given to the Kamyá for their strengthening and preservation but it was hidden from the Yuma.

²⁴¹ Cf. Davies, who mentions that Yuma had come across the desert to be present at the Northern Diegueño keruk, which he describes.

A rudimentary image cult existed among the Yuma previous to their borrowing from the Diegueño, for it was formerly the custom to paint the faces of dead leaders and singers on the front center posts of the keruk house. These faces were, as are those of the Diegueño and the present Yuma images, identifiable by means of tattoo and face paint designs used by the dead man. As a rule two, and never more than four, such faces were painted on the posts but only the most eminent were eligible for this honor. The face of such a man was painted on one of the posts at each of four successive keruks, unless the number of other deaths crowded it out before the full obsequies had been completed. Bundles of clothes suitable for the deceased were tied to the post beneath the face and were later burned in position during the general conflagration, so that they might be carried in the flames to the departed for his use in the spirit world. The ceremonial feather war bonnets, when not in use, were also tied to the post behind these painted faces.

This practice, whether it be a rudimentary or degraded image cult, doubtless facilitated the introduction of the Diegueño custom with its elaborate images carried in dance processions. In appearance, function, and usage the present Yuma images closely parallel those of the Diegueño and it will be seen that the element of personal mourning is associated with the images. My informants were all agreed, however, that the use of images had not fundamentally changed the character or purpose of the ceremony, and that mourning by relatives for their deceased was always a dominant element.²⁴²

Joe claimed that a mourning ceremony was held whenever the people felt that they should "get feeling better" and more particularly when the bereaved wished to mourn their lost relatives. For the past twenty years it has been the practice to have the keruk ceremony in the early fall, generally in the middle of September. Miguel claimed that this was always considered the best time because

²⁴² Trippel, in what appears to be an eyewitness account of a keruk some time previous to 1889, refers to a use of images, which are however distinct from those made at present and are said to have been carried in procession during the daytime: "An imposing feature is the formation of opposite lines of Indians who in the daytime march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . fixed upon poles and carried in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 8.) No mention of the manufacture of clay images for this or other purposes was obtained from my informants. The Mohave, however, formerly made rough images about two feet long—oval slabs of baked clay in which crude incisions indicated the parts of the body. These are frequently attached to a miniature cradle and are described as dolls (San Diego Museum). Kroeber (Mohave Field Notes, MS) does not, however, mention any use of images in the Mohave mourning ceremony.

food and particularly corn was abundant. Others believed that agency pressure and the needs of modern farming were responsible for limiting the mourning ceremony to an annual performance at a fixed time. Joe, who had directed the keruk ritual for many years, said that in the old days when the people were more free and materials less costly, a keruk would be held within a few months of the death of an important person. The eminence of the deceased not only conditioned the ceremonial in so far as high social position was likely to be accompanied by a large number of prosperous relatives and friends willing and able to supply the labor and goods necessary for the ritual, but also in the greater sense of spiritual loss experienced after such a death. The keruk was not formerly an annual ceremony, nor was it associated with any time of year. Sometimes it might be held twice in a year, or again not for several years. When one family had proposed a keruk for its deceased member, others which had recently suffered similar loss would offer to cooperate in labor and supplies, and those who were learned in ceremonial lore or skilled in the manufacture of the ceremonial objects were pricked into activity by flattery and hospitality.²⁴³

How far this description by Joe Homer, which assigns an important rôle to the bereaved as instigators of the ceremony, relates to the period since the introduction of images, could not be determined. Manuel and Miguel agreed that the recently bereaved would be the most active, since they were in greatest need of the strength obtained by the ceremony.

These opinions have been reported at length in order to establish the fact that despite its present fixed date, the Yuma do not consider the keruk as a ceremonial which must be performed at a particular season in each year. A lack of conscious formulation of procedure and a curious absence of defined functions for the various leaders and groups is characteristic of the culture as a whole, so that this vagueness as to the time and preparation for the keruk is in harmony with the general anarchy of Yuma organization.

I observed and participated in the keruk in September, 1929. Lack of money and personnel have led to the curtailment and modification of several minor features, but the Yuma are very conscious

²⁴³ The keruk was being held "during full moon and in the autumn" but was conditional on adequate supplies. "If it happens that scarcity of provisions prevents them from holding the 'grand cry' to which surrounding tribes are invited, they defer until a more prosperous season when supplies are ample. Though delayed for months after the proper time, it is never neglected." (Trippel, 8.)

of any such imperfections and my informants were careful to call attention to any departure from traditional practices.

The preparatory labor and ceremonial activities of the keruk are shared among a large number of the older men who are accustomed to perform these tasks and play the same rôles each year. It was noticed that mourning families, images of whose relatives were

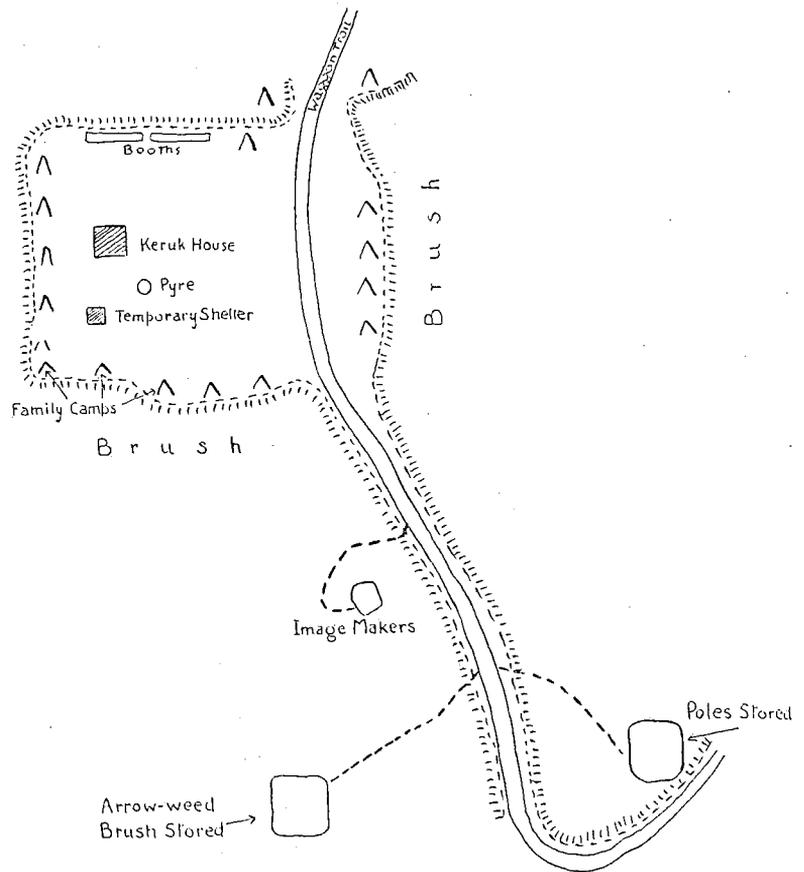


Fig. 10. The keruk ground.

appear in the ceremony, took no active part in the work or ceremonial other than the preparation of the clothes for the images. It was explained that such persons were so affected by their grief and would be so completely occupied in mourning over the images that they would be unable to participate in the ritual.

The keruk is held in a large clearing in the dense brush that flanks the Colorado river. This clearing, about 250 yards square, is sur-

ounded on all sides by temporary shelters of cottonwood boughs in which the active participants make temporary camp during the time of the keruk (fig. 10).

These participants and the relatives of the mourned are expected to fast during the period of the ceremony and for four days preceding.²⁴⁴ This fast is actually interpreted only as a restriction to a light diet of corn mush. Meat and salt are especially to be avoided.

The keruk is a four-day ceremony, but the activities of the first three days are largely preparatory, while the collection of material for the ceremonial objects begins still earlier before the ceremony proper.

Two old men, regarded as speakers or leaders of the keruk, make speeches at frequent intervals throughout the entire period. Before any work is undertaken, such as the building of the shelters or preparation of the ceremonial objects, a speech is made by one or both of these leaders and by any other man who wishes. These speeches are characteristic Yuma exhortations delivered in the labored, staccato style typical of the Lower Colorado peoples. They are mixed in content, referring to the event next to follow and the parallel incident in the avikwame' myth, and to the spiritual benefits to be expected from the keruk, in which supplications to Kumastamxo are introduced.²⁴⁵ The speakers did not actually initiate or control any of the procedure and are regarded as leaders, not in virtue of any organizing capacity, but because they have dream power and can obtain the benefits of Kumastamxo by their intercessions.

In the morning of the first day a temporary shelter—ava'ađōta—is erected in the southwest corner of the ground. This is intended to house the mourners and ceremony leaders during the preliminary mourning and the preparation of clothes and ceremonial objects. A square roofing of arrowweed thatch is supported by cottonwood poles. There are three poles on each side with one center post. Each side measures about ten paces. The east side is considered the front of the shelter. In front, the supporting poles are six feet tall, but those at the rear are barely three feet high so that the roofing slopes back to the rear (pl. 56b).

The afternoon is spent in singing and dancing. No mourning songs are sung, for this occasion is rather one for jollification. The relatives of the mourned may dance for the last time. Mohave, Cocopa, and

²⁴⁴ This was formerly expected of the entire people (P. M.).

²⁴⁵ The speakers in 1929 were Joe Homer and John Cachora.

other singers are often called upon to perform. This singing may be regarded as either a gladsome overture or as a leave-taking of happy times. Joe described it as a "little good time." Gourd rattles, characteristic of feast songs, are used. The psychological effect is clearly that of deepening by contrast the gloom which is to follow.

The party breaks up in the early afternoon and the serious business of preparing the ceremonial equipment and the clothes for the images does not begin until sundown. The ceremonial objects are prepared by a small group of men who have individual reputations for skill in making the various objects. Some of this equipment is completed as soon as possible, but other objects, such as the feather sticks and ceremonial shields, may not be assembled until the fourth day. For these all the materials are prepared, wrapped up in bundles and stored in the temporary shelter until the appropriate time. The equipment for the ritual combat is made first and occupies the workers until dawn throughout the first night. Feather headdresses, hoods, black and red warriors' shirts, bows and arrows, and war clubs all have to be made.²⁴⁶

The feather headdress or war bonnet, *helkwī*, is constructed on a netting foundation which fits close to the head and is tied under the chin. For this netting willow bark twine was formerly used. A tall dense tuft of short turkey and chaparral cock feathers is attached to the crown. Surrounding these and arranged to radiate horizontally, four layers of long plumes are attached. These layers are alternately of eagle and hawk plumes.

Both before and throughout this work speeches are made by the two *keruk* leaders, asking *Kumastamxo* to send his power from the north and relating parts of the *avikwame'* myth. These speeches cause loud wailing among the bereaved families who are preparing clothes for the images at the same time.

When toward dawn the first night's work is complete, two women bearing small sacks (formerly shallow basketry trays) of unground corn move forward and scatter the ceremonial objects with corn. This scattering of corn confers power and is performed systematically by the same two women throughout the ceremony.

The bereaved families, who are preparing clothes for the images, return to the shelter early in the morning and continue their work;

²⁴⁶ This applies most strictly to the headdresses; the other materials are usually prepared some time before and held in readiness, only the finishing touches, i.e., beadwork on the shirts, feathering of arrows, etc., being done at this time.

others wander in and words or gestures of condolence lead to renewed wailing which recurs at intervals during the morning.

Toward noon, on this occasion, an elaborate welcome was given to visitors from other tribes. A group of Mohave had arrived that morning. They were relatives of a Mohave who lived for many years among the Yuma and falling sick returned north a few months ago to die shortly after. His relatives had been particularly invited and brought clothes that an image might be made for him. The keruk speaker and the Mohave men exchanged speeches which referred to the stage of preparation, the close affection of the two peoples for each other, and the loss of so many people in recent days. One woman overcome with grief interrupted the speeches with a shrill cry of grief, others joined her in wailing and the shelter was soon filled with mourners standing close together, or moving from one to another, placing their hands on each others' heads and shoulders as a sign of sympathy, all crying loudly or moaning.

The wailing subsided after about half an hour and speeches were resumed. Cocopa and Kamyá visitors were next welcomed and made lengthy replies. Later in the afternoon one of the Mohave men took down a gourd rattle from the crossbeams and started a Mohave song, in which others joined standing in a close circle and stamping the feet. A group of Yuma, stimulated by the Mohave, began to sing the new lightning song (*hura'v*). Such procedure is entirely unorthodox and would not have been tolerated in former times, but "secular" songs are now sung by small groups intermittently throughout the keruk.

The preparation of clothes and ceremonial material is resumed in the evening and proceeds as before, punctuated with outbursts of wailing and speeches by the keruk leaders and others.

The morning of the third day is occupied in bringing in the poles and brush with which the keruk house is to be constructed. The house is called *keru'ũ'kva* (keruk shelter) or *ava'lāxān* (good shelter). Formerly two parties of warriors, each led by a speaker, set out at dawn from the temporary shelter. One band going south secured the poles, the other going north collected the brushwood. Both groups were expected to return and meet at midday at a selected spot some little distance from the temporary shelter. They would then return in procession, carrying their burdens to the site of the keruk house, amid the greetings and wailings of the people.

This procedure is now curtailed and schematized. The necessary poles and brushwood are cut before the ceremony and deposited at two sites a few hundred yards from the keruk ground (fig. 10).

In the morning, after long speeches by the leaders which are followed by prolonged wailing, a procession is formed which crosses the keruk ground in the direction of the poles and stacks of brush. This procession is headed by the two leaders. Behind them follow four men in ceremonial warriors' costumes. Two wear feather head-dresses, black shirts, and black face-paint, the others have red shirts and hoods.²⁴⁷ All four carry bows and quivers and gourd water bottles. A group of some thirty men form the main body who are to carry in the poles and brush. All these should wear the red hoods and jackets, but lacking them they merely stick a few feathers in their hair. Four women, each carrying a sack of corn, bring up the rear. These throw corn forward, scattering it over the procession as it advances.

Going a few hundred yards to the east, the procession divides. One speaker, with half the party, turns north to the clearing in which the poles are collected. While the leader makes a speech the poles are cut down to the correct lengths required for the keruk house and two of the women scatter corn over the workers and the poles. The other party, moving south, reaches the dried brushwood which is tied in great bundles. It is similarly sprinkled with corn by the other two women, during speeches by the leader.

Before noon the two groups return, joining in a single procession, carrying their loads over to the site selected for the keruk house on the northwest side of the ground.

The building of the house begins in the early afternoon. The roof beams are first laid on the ground in the positions they will occupy in the finished structure. This affords a plan of the structure and indicates the position for the post holes. These post holes are dug with knives and sticks (pl. 56c). Picks or shovels may not be used. Before the insertion of each pole corn is sprinkled in the hole by the two corn women. The center posts are erected first but the house is built complete, i.e., the successive additions of the mythological account are all erected at one time. The front center section of the roof is flat and about six feet high, but the back portion tilts sharply down the rear where the upright posts are only three feet high. With the dried brushwood a dense thatch about one and a half feet thick

²⁴⁷ Trippel, 8, refers to "red cowl-like caps elaborately feathered and beaded."

is laid over further light poles on the roof frame and this completes the structure (pl. 57a).

In the evening, when the keruk house is finished, the leaders make long speeches recalling the solemnity of the occasion and the great benefits to be derived.

We shall all be better people, stronger to whip the enemy, living long in good health. We shall have everything new for our keruk. The house is now ready and all is well. Tomorrow we shall sing the songs and strengthen ourselves.²⁴⁸

A small fire is now built between the two eastern center posts at which an old man is seated. He tends the fire and must not leave the shelter until the ceremony is ended. When the singing begins on the fourth evening, the fire is moved back to the far western end of the shelter, where the old man remains guarding it throughout the night. In the morning, during the last procession, his fire is moved forward to the east and from it the torches are ignited with which to burn the shelter and the images. All informants insisted that this was very important and that the man must be very old. Unfortunately the old man who had performed this function in recent years, died a short while ago and no one suitable could be persuaded to undertake the task, so the practice was not observed on this occasion.

During the same day the image makers begin their work. They have a shelter in the brush a short distance from the keruk ground. Here the frames of the images are prepared in readiness for the clothes that will be brought in the evening.

When the Yuma first adopted the Diegueño practice, they constructed their images of reed in the Diegueño manner, but since an adequate supply cannot always be obtained, they now make them entirely of wood. The head and trunk are roughly carved from a length of cottonwood pole from four to six inches in diameter.²⁴⁹ Crosspieces are attached to give breadth at the shoulders and thighs and long thin poles are fixed in position to form the legs (fig. 11). A small wedge-shaped piece of wood is tacked to the face to form the nose and a piece of white cloth is drawn tightly around the head. On this the face is painted. The relatives give precise instructions as to the face paintings to be used. Tattoo marks are shown in black; women's face paints are in red; men's should be black, but a variety

²⁴⁸ A paraphrase given by J. H. He would give only the gist of the speeches and refused to repeat the Yuma versions.

²⁴⁹ Store-bought timber is also used.

of dark colors, black, brown, and purple were used, according to the whim of the image maker, the black of whose crayon box was soon exhausted (fig. 12). Horsehair was used for the wigs which are formed by suspending the horsehair from a string which encircles the crown of the head, while the crown itself is covered by a thick coil of hair, a technique identical with the Diegueño.

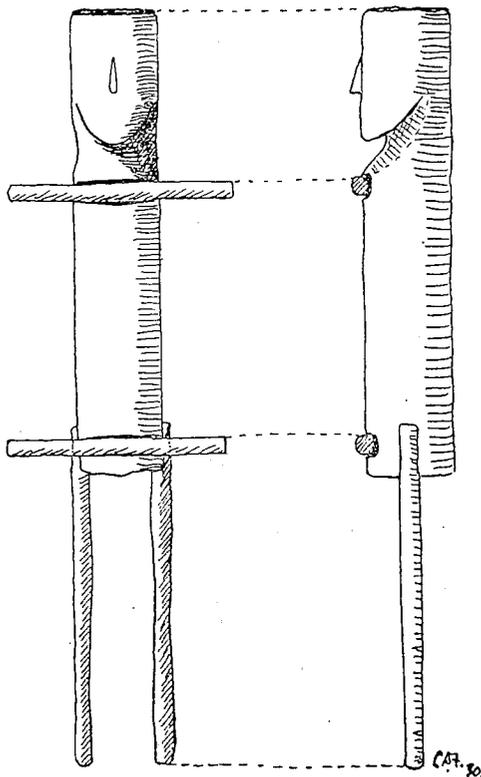


Fig. 11. Image frame

The frames are completed in the afternoon and clothes are fetched from the temporary shelter as needed during the night. The task of dressing the images and of painting the faces occupies the greater part of the night, for everything is done with the greatest care. The greater part of the clothing is bought from the stores and is complete to the last details of garters and armbands. The images are indeed far better dressed than a living Yuma. In addition to the store clothes the male images are all decorated with numerous strings of blue and white beads and have one or two hawk and chaparral cock feathers in the hair and a headband of colored cloth. The female

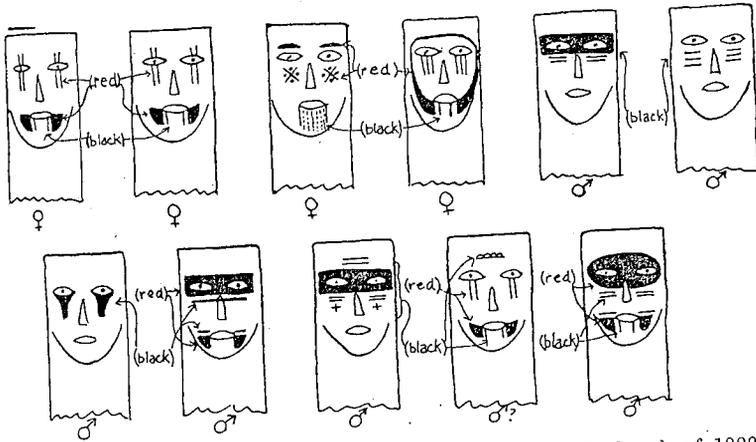


Fig. 12. Face paints and tattoo markings on image heads, keruk of 1929.

images all have elaborate bead collars, which are worn by Yuma and Mohave women on festive occasions. These collars are very elaborate and are valued from ten to twenty dollars apiece, for their making occupies several weeks (fig. 13).

The fourth and last day is the period of the ceremony proper. The activities continue for twenty-four hours—from dawn to dawn with very little intermission. Before leaving the temporary shelter in the morning the female mourners daub their hair with close, horizontal streaks of white paint.

A ceremonial entry into the keruk house takes place early in the morning. The speakers, followed closely by warriors in headdresses and hoods lead the people from the temporary shelter. The corn women follow at the rear scattering corn forwards over the procession. The party halts four times on the way, while a speech is made by one of the speakers. These are followed by loud wailing. When the party, which consists mainly of mourners, has moved into the house the ceremonial gear is collected and carried over. Red calico is draped around the front and sides of the roof and a



Fig. 13. Female image.

Stars and Stripes, presented to the tribe some time ago, is hoisted on a mast fixed to the center front housepost. The mourners crowd into the front of the house awaiting the arrival of the images. The rear is kept clear and here a small group sets to work preparing the feathered staves (a'okwil) and feather bunches (kū'ū'l).

Two a'okwil are made. The feathers are first bound in pairs to a cotton streamer of the same color. The streamers are then closely bound to a light staff, four feet long, pointed at both ends, so that the feathers and streamers hang down in a dense fringe which ends six inches from either tip of the staff. For one feather stave, black crow feathers and crepe are used; for the other, white crane feathers and strips of white calico (fig. 14). The two kū'ū'l are made with hawk feathers. These are also tied in pairs but each to a short separate arrowweed stick about nine inches long. A dozen or so of these light twigs are tied together in a bunch to form each kū'ū'l.

When the preparations are complete, word is sent to the image makers who now emerge from the brush, walking slowly in single file, each bearing an image before him. They form a line facing the keruk house at the far eastern end of the ground. The warriors go out and stand with them, the hooded men in the middle of the row, those with feather bonnets at either end. Loud wailing and cries come from the shelter and the image-bearers themselves cry bitterly, but there are no speeches. After a long pause the image-bearers advance toward the keruk house and halt again, a few yards in front of it. The keruk singers²⁵⁰ have in the meantime taken up their position in the front of the house. The keruk leader makes four long rattles with his deer-hoof rattle and they begin a keruk song. The images are jerked upwards and swung to the left in time with the slow beats of the deer-hoof rattle. As the song continues the image-bearers back away from the shelter and slowly wheel round towards the north. The keruk singers follow closely, behind them crowd the mourners, and at the rear follow the corn women. In this way a complete circuit of the shelter is made, the image-bearers moving backward and the singers advancing with them. At the northwest and southwest corners of the house and on the return to the point of starting halts are made and a new song begun.

The images are then carried into the house and leaned against a horizontal bar placed waist-high against the front pair of center posts.

²⁵⁰ There were, on this occasion, a leader and about a dozen keruk singers, but the number is not fixed or strictly limited. The number increased to twenty for the night singing.

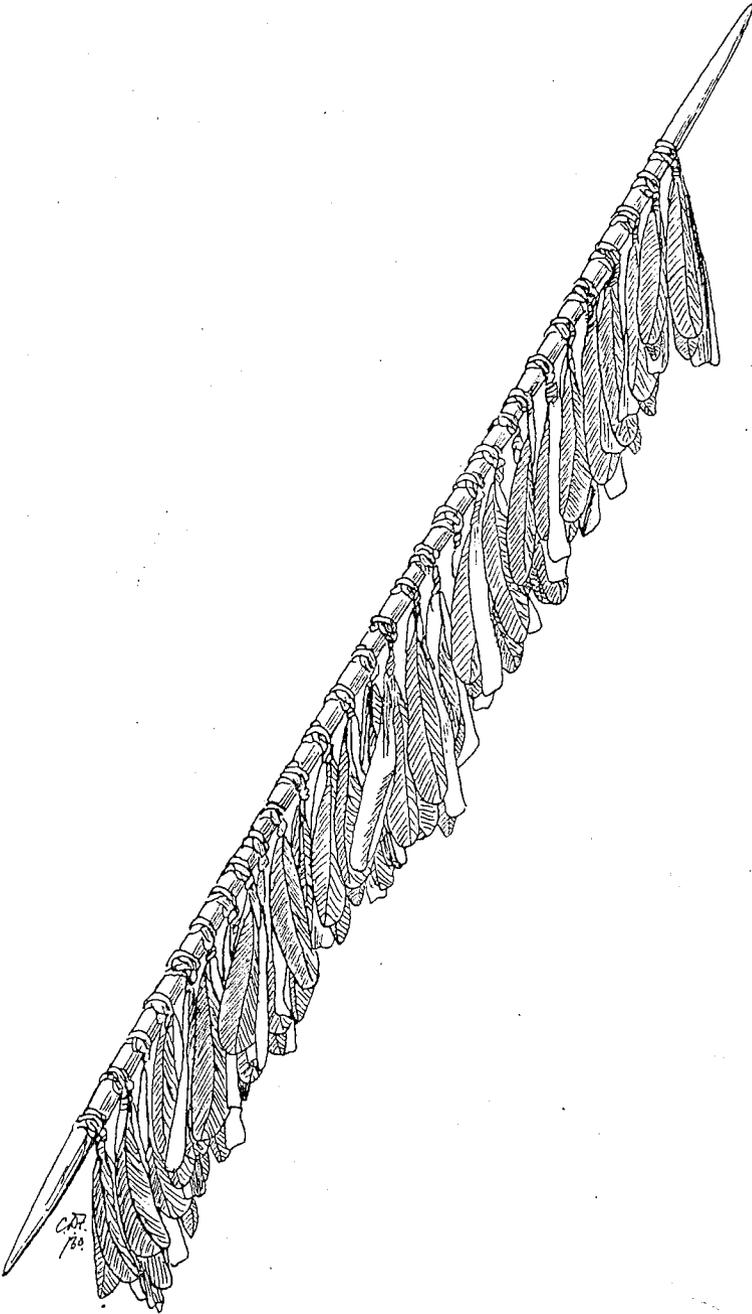


Fig. 14. Feathered staff, 4 feet long. Each pair of feathers is sheathed with a strip of similarly colored calico whose other end is bound around the staff.

The bereaved now approach the images for the first time. Each family clusters around its own image, embracing it, placing their hands on it and on each others' shoulders. The images are then draped in red cloths. Wailing continues indefinitely and the keruk leaders make further speeches. The crowd thins out after a while but the bereaved do not leave their images untended. Throughout the ceremony one at least of each family stays with its image, crying over it, and talking to it.

In the early afternoon preparations are made for the ritual battle. One of the speakers recounts the myth of the battle on avikwan. During his speech the two corn women make a circuit of the house. Starting together on the east side they proceed in opposite directions scattering corn over the roof of the shelter from each of the four cardinal points. A group of about forty men and women, headed by one of the speakers, now marches out eastward to the far end of the ground, followed by the corn women who sprinkle them as they go. They carry the feathered staves with them. Setting these up in the ground about two hundred yards from the shelter, they squat in a group facing east (pl. 57*b*).

At even distances between their "camp" and the shelter three slender arrowweed stakes are stuck in the ground. These represent the springs at which the attacking party will halt.

Immediately in front of the keruk house a bundle of meskwe reeds is placed on the ground to represent the sleeping leader of the defenders. The bundle is covered with a white cloth. At its head (the east end) a bow and arrows are stuck upright in the ground. At its south side lies a basketry tray.²⁵¹ Four horses are led onto the ground and are taken charge of by the costumed warriors. In addition to these warriors—two with feather bonnets and black costumes and two with red hoods and jackets—two others are distinctively dressed. These are the chiefs Hawk and Road-runner. They are barelegged. Road-runner wears a white shirt and his face and legs are smeared with white paint, while Hawk is similarly attired but in black with black body paint. The shirts are concessions to new found modesty, for warriors formerly went naked, smeared from head to foot with paint. Both wear red hoods and carry only short clubs as weapons. They squat immediately behind the feathered staves, which are stuck in the ground. Four scouts are also attached to the party. These wear black belts of woven yarn with red tassels. Their

²⁵¹ Now of Pima manufacture.

faces are blackened and a few hawk feathers are pinned in the hair. Each carries a bow, a quiver of arrows, and a gourd bottle. Another man assumes the function of scalper. He is dressed in white but carries no weapons save a long knife stuck in a woven belt similar to those of the scouts.

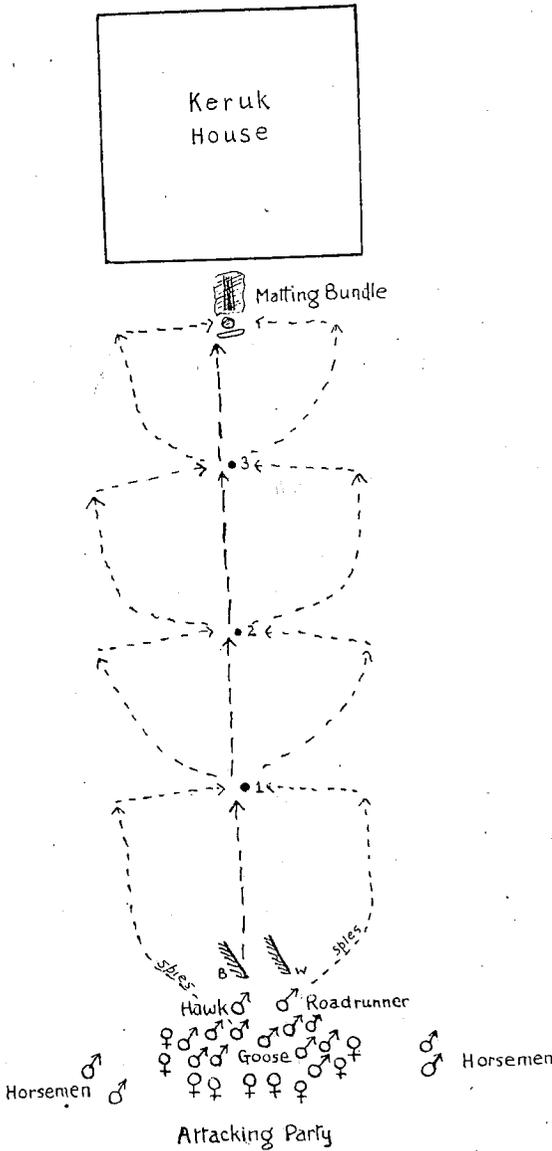


Fig. 15. The mimie attack.

The scene is now set for the battle which proceeds slowly and with many pauses throughout the afternoon (fig. 15).

Gathering his party around him, Goose (yalak), the speaker of the attackers, proceeds to tell them the story of Badger, who burrowed holes in the earth so as to trip up the enemy and injure them. During this speech two of the scouts, affecting great caution, creep out in a half-circle to the first stake. Finding no trace of the enemy they return to the "camp" where they report their journey. Goose replies to them and the entire band moves forward to the first stake. Here Goose again exhorts his people, recounting now the promise of Spider (heltō't) to help the Yuma in battle by stretching his legs out over the four cardinal points to locate the position of the enemy. Four spies then set out. They proceed in pairs by a flanking movement to the northwest and southeast to take up positions level with the second stake on the southern and northern sides of the ground. From these positions they creep in, one at a time alternately from each side, to explore the ground around the stake, then return to their stations. When all four have done this they return in pairs as they came and report that no trace of the enemy has been seen and the whole band moves up to the second stake. Here Goose again exhorts his people, telling them of the promise of the insect akwa'kamnikūsi't, that he would help them as a scout, find water holes for them in the desert, and bring storms to hide their tracks. The four scouts set out once more. They proceed in the same manner as before to reconnoitre around the third stake. They return to announce that they have found the remains of an enemy camp that has been but recently deserted. The fires are scarcely cold and the enemy can be at no great distance away to the west. At this point the horsemen on the west side, together with half the rank and file of the band, move off and take up their stand on the west side of the keruk house. They have ceased to belong to the attacking party and will shortly act as their opponents.

The remainder then advance to the third stake where Goose reminds them of the promise of Mouse (avē'), who would paralyze their enemies with poison. The spies are sent out as before and investigate the bundle which lies in front of the house. The bundle at first represents the entire enemy band. They return to report that the enemy are sleeping, that no guards are posted, and the time is ripe for an attack. Hawk and Road-runner, bearing their a'okwil and brandishing clubs, now lead an advance to the bundle. As they

approach it, a man and a woman rush out from the keruk house. The man snatches up the bow and arrows, the woman the basket; with these they run back into the house with loud cries. The attacking party crowds around the bundle, trampling the ground as they move in a slow circle. They point their drawn bows at it while Hawk strikes it with his club. Returning to Goose and the rest of the party they announce their victory, that the enemy leader is killed, and that a remnant of the defeated have run off to the south. Road-runner claims the feat of slaying the enemy war chief. Hawk interrupts angrily that it was he who slew the enemy leader and an altercation follows. The dispute is settled by Goose in a mocking reference to Road-runner's qualities. He is bold in camp but hides behind others in a fight. Goose himself now advances to the bundle accompanied by the scalper and a few warriors. He superintends the scalping. The scalper kicks and feels the body of the dead chief, drags it around by the feet in a small circle, turns it over, and pretends to scalp it. He then takes off the covering sheet which is treated as though it were a scalp; it is held up while the others gather around in a close circle. He then throws the "scalp" four times in the air. At each throw the party utters a growling cry which, growing louder, at the fourth time becomes a loud roar.

The defeated now become active. The group which moved over to the south side of the keruk house represent this remnant. These move out to the reed bundle and one of their number calls to the attackers. Hawk and a small party advance within a few feet of them and an altercation follows:

We did not know you people were coming against us. We were asleep in peace. You are great cowards to creep up on us and kill our leader as we sleep.

Hawk. Well, my friend, we called you to fight but you sleep always as lazy ones do. Now you had best keep quiet and hide yourselves in the brush, for we have great power and could whip you all with no trouble. We do not wish to slay you all but take care lest you enrage us.

Reply. We should never need to hide from such feeble people as you. I am the most powerful of leaders, my dreams are stronger than those of all other men.

This dialogue has no set form and is in essence a series of extempore speeches embodying all the characteristic phrases, arrogant and vituperative, of Yuma war challenges. These challenges pass to and fro four times. After each declamation the speaker steps forward a few paces closely followed by his supporters, ululates loudly, and at the same time scuffs dirt in the face of his adversaries. Hawk finally declares: "Very well, my poor creatures, we must teach you

our strength. We will whip you hard and scalp your chief men. Whereupon the attackers advance and the combat begins.

The two parties now line up in front of the keruk house. Two archers form the vanguard of each party, behind them stand two warriors armed only with clubs, those of the attacking party (Hawk and Road-runner) carrying the feathered staves. The rest of each party, who should bring the total number up to sixteen, forms a relatively unorganized group in the rear while the horsemen, one with feather bonnet and one in a red hood and jacket, flank each party on either side.

The defenders retreat slowly in a body as the attackers advance and are "chased" as a group clockwise around the shelter, i.e., south, west, and north, while battle cries are raised on both sides. After returning to the east side, the parties re-form facing each other, the attackers facing east. A series of four movements from east to west and back now follows, indicating successive advances and retreats of the defenders. Light arrows are thrown into the air and staccato yells give some semblance of struggle but no actual combat takes place. It might have been expected that the participants would, in their excitement, have launched into a more realistic struggle. This, however, must not occur; the ritualism of the movement is very consciously realized and it would be improper to indulge in any playful tussling.

After the fourth movement both parties collect in a single group in front of the shelter and mingle with the mourners and onlookers. Two of the archers and the two warriors, Hawk and Road-runner, now step forward. The two archers, closely pursued by the warriors with their clubs, run rapidly eastward to the far end of the ground. As they run they look back over their shoulders at their pursuers and with a rapid twist of the body swing their bows around pretending to shoot their pursuers. At the far end the archers double back without pause and return to the shelter, pursued in the same manner. This movement is repeated a second time, completing the four movements necessary for every ceremonial act.

The four horsemen next ride forward and perform the same movements in which the red jacketed carry bows, while those with feather bonnets pursue them. These pursuits end the combat. The contestants disband, remove their costumes, and a period of rest and rearrangement follows.

By sundown the next stage of the drama is prepared, the performers being now grouped into opposing parties of keruk and awaxōm singers. The keruk singers, about twenty in number, stand or squat in three rows in the western half of the shelter. One row extends between the center posts, the other two face them squatting under the low pitched roof at the rear of the shelter. The leader occupies the central position in the middle row. He uses a deerhoof rattle to mark the time of the songs and ends each one with the flourish of the rattle. To announce a song he rattles the deerhoofs sharply and utters a high pitched cry. The others have no rattles and wear no costume. When standing, the singers bend their knees at each beat of the rattle. The keruk songs are all very slow and dirge-like, with three beats of the rattle per minute. The individual songs last from five to eight minutes after which there is a short two-minute pause. Four songs are sung in this manner. A longer rest follows during which the awaxom singers should perform.

The keruk savada²⁵² is a long cycle devoted entirely to the avikwame' myth, to the death of Kukumat, and to the sufferings of mankind. The songs are in archaic language which is said to be unintelligible without previous explanation, so that the singers are prepared by the keruk leader and other older men for the performance, in rehearsals which take place in some secluded spot before the ceremony.

The awaxōm singers, eight in number, stand in a single line in front of the shelter, facing it. Each singer has a short willow wand with a short strip of white cloth about a foot long tied at one end. This wand is held horizontally against the body in both hands, the arms hanging straight down in front of the body. The awaxōm songs have a much faster tempo and are accompanied by a shuffling movement by which the singers slowly move laterally, to and fro, across the front of the house.

The songs of the two parties should alternate, but there was little attempt to secure this and, indeed, the crowd of mourners and on-lookers which thronged wailing around the images and throughout the shelter and the unorthodox singing of the Mohave visitors, made the singing of either group indistinguishable at a few feet, so that both parties could and did sing independently, inaudible to each other (fig. 17a).

In the northeast and southeast corners of the shelter two groups of three men began to make the two ceremonial shields (akwē'l)

²⁵² Texts are given on p. 245.

(fig. 16). These are large cloth-covered discs, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, bordered by an encircling bundle of grasses from 4 to 6 inches in diameter and decorated by long strips of white cloth which hang in a fringe. The materials have already been prepared during

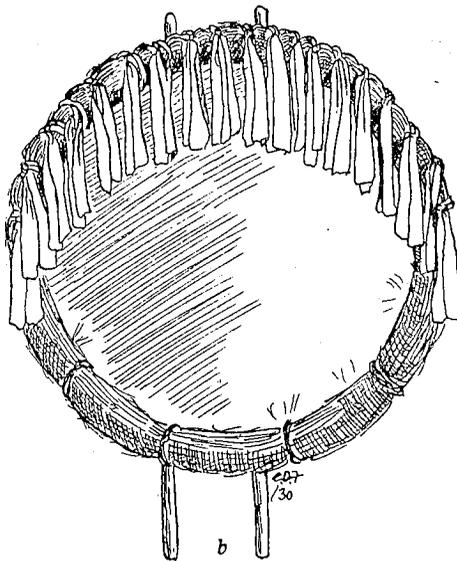
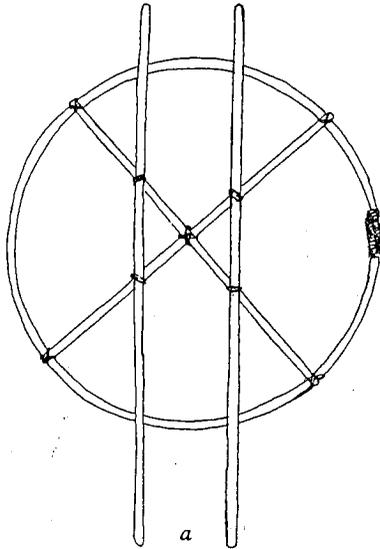


Fig. 16. Ceremonial shield. a, frame;
b, completed.

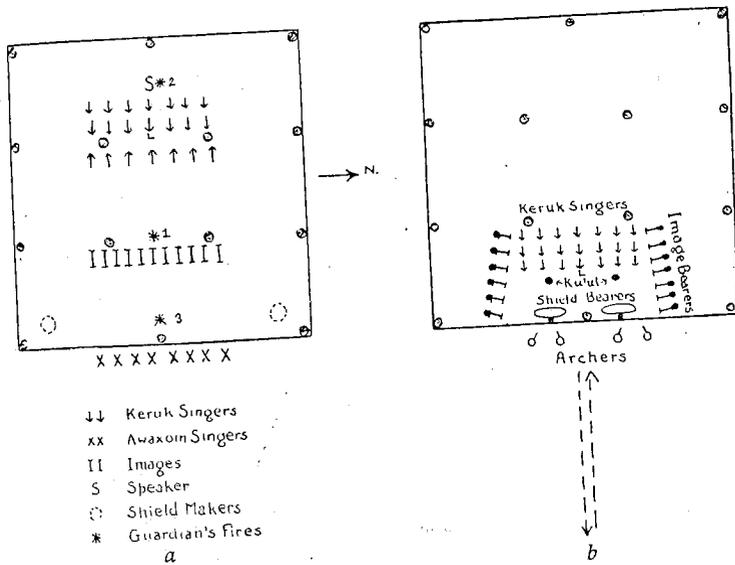
the earlier nights. Two slender willow rods are now bent and bound into a ring which is strengthened with cross-pieces of arrowweed. Two staves, 4 feet in length, are bound parallel across each ring. These project only a few inches on one side, while on the other they form a pair of handles over a foot long which serve to manipulate the shield. Two pieces of white sheeting, cut to size, are bound on either face of each ring. Bundles of Bermuda(?) grass (kopo) are arranged to fit around the circumference and are tied in position and ornamented along the upper half with streamers of white calico. Joe said that formerly the shield was covered with buckskin, the grass bundle was tied in position with cord of shredded bean vines, and feathers were used for the fringe.

During the preparation of the shields a small fire is made some fifty yards to the south-east of the shelter. This represents an enemy camp which is spying on the proceedings in the keruk house. Here four men attire themselves; two

wear
paint,
a bow
night,

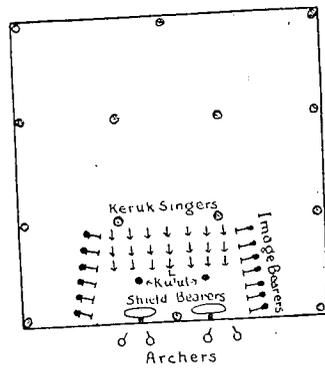


wear white shirts and smear their faces and bare legs with white paint, the other two are correspondingly costumed in black. Each has a bow and quiver of arrows. They remain at this fire throughout the night, leaving it only during dance processions.



- ↓ Keruk Singers
- ↑ Awaxoin Singers
- || Images
- S Speaker
- Shield Makers
- * Guardian's fires

→ N.



↑
↓
b

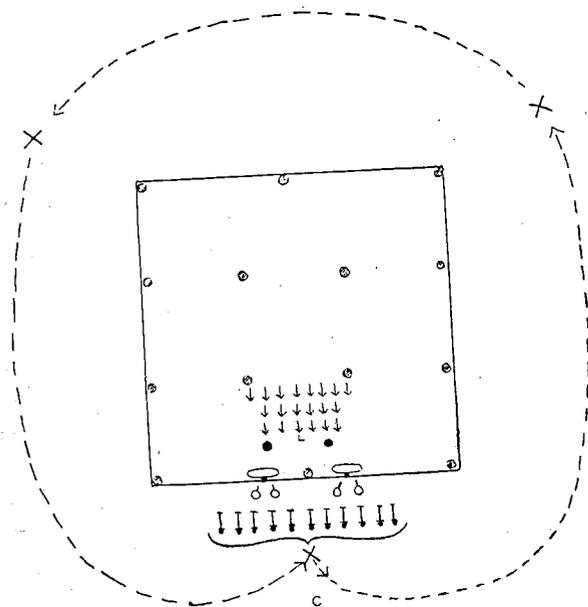


Fig. 17. Keruk house ceremonial. a, images and singers in the house; b, first dance procession; c, circuit procession.

When the shields are completed, the images are taken up by bearers, and arranged in two flanking lines, facing inward along the front portions of the southern and northern walls of the shelter. The keruk singers take up the positions vacated by the images. Two men take down the feather bunches (kū'ūl) and each, holding a bunch in his hand, stands a few paces in front of the singers. A few paces in front of these, two of the shield makers kneel facing the singers, holding the shields before them.

The four archers from the campfire steal in, affecting great caution, and with drawn bows kneel in pairs behind the shield bearers, just outside the shelter. When all are in position the keruk leader gives the sharp cry which announces the beginning of a song. For the first song there is little movement. The singers sway slowly and bend their knees. The two dancers with feather bunches shift their weight from one foot to the other and swing the feather bunches from side to side, holding them down at arm's length. The image and shield bearers sway slowly from side to side (fig. 17b).

With the second song movement is more vigorous; the singers bend their knees jerkily, raising and lowering their bodies. The dancers swing their feather bunches over the left shoulder with the right hand, rapidly transfer the feathers to the left hand and swing them over the right shoulder, repeating this movement in time with the slow rhythm of the song. The shield bearers, supporting themselves on one knee and twisting their bodies, swing the shields around to the left and the right in time with the dancers. The images are jerked into the air and swung through half a turn to the right and back again to the left in the same manner. After a few beats of the rattle the whole party moves slowly out to the east, maintaining the movements of the dance.

The archers retreat crouching, the shield-bearers raise themselves and swing their shields as they step back slowly and the keruk singers follow them. When the group has moved about fifty yards out of the hut the advance ends and the song ceases; but the dance movements are continued to the beat of the rattle. After a brief pause the song leader begins a new song at which the whole party retreats into the shelter. Here a fourth song is sung accompanied by the same movements of shields and images. At the end of this song the keruk party retires to the rear, the images are replaced, and covered, and the mourners crowd round them wailing. The awaxōm singers take no part in this or later processions.

When the keruk singers have returned to their former positions and have begun another song, the mourners leave the images and file around in two lines, one from either side, winding in among the singers, touching them on the shoulders as they pass, crying bitterly throughout. This movement symbolizes the entry of the Heavenly Snake into the keruk house.

Singing by the keruk and awaxōm singers continues as before until about midnight when another dance procession is arranged. On this occasion a circuit of the house is made. For this dance the images are aligned in front of the house, facing inward. The shield bearers crouch in front of them under the edge of the roof and the archers creep up close behind them. The keruk singers stand as before facing the shields and images. As the singing begins the image bearers step back and swing around to the north, holding their images high before them. They retreat in line around the keruk house. The shield bearers, archers, and keruk singers follow them, the formation being the same as for the previous procession. Halts are made at each of the rear corners of the house and again at the front. After each halt a new song is started. Speeches should be made at each halt but were omitted, presumably because Joe Homer had left the ground sick (fig. 17c).

The images and singers return to their places in the shelter and the mourners file in among the singers as before.

Singing and wailing in the shelter continues for several hours. Between two and three in the morning the processional circuit of the house is repeated in exactly the same manner.

The ceremony ends a little before dawn with a further dance procession which is started when the morning star is first seen. The image bearers, shield bearers, and singers line up in front of the house as for the previous dances. They first advance very slowly a few yards out from the house, accompanied by a slow song. Before the end of this song the whole group retreats back into the shelter. A second song, with a faster tempo, follows. Vigorously swinging the images and shields, the dancers move far down the ground. As they leave the shelter, two men light arrowweed torches at the campfire and run across with them to the keruk house, igniting the roof at each corner and at the four center posts. The brush thatching immediately bursts into flames and the dancers are soon brightly illuminated thereby. About a hundred yards from the shelter they stop and the singing ends. The image bearers move off in a file to the south and

deposit the images on a brushwood pyre which has been prepared at the side of the campfire. The singers disband. The shield bearers, however, march slowly back to the burning house. The archers creep behind them with drawn bows. Reaching the shelter the shield bearers turn suddenly. The archers cower and run, and are chased down the ground by the shield bearers who then return to the house and again chase the following archers. On their second return to the keruk house the bearers hold their shields high above their heads, facing the house. The archers creep close and each pair shoots an arrow into the shield before them. The bearers turn to face them and again arrows are shot into the shields. Immediately after discharging the arrows the archers drop their bows and run east into the brush. They may not return until their costumes and paint have been removed and they should first bathe in the river.

Meanwhile the smaller temporary shelter has been fired and all the paraphernalia of the ceremony carried to the image pyre to be consumed. The shields are carried over and placed on top of the heap on which mourners and onlookers throw blankets and clothes. Two men light torches at the campfire and set fire to the pyre.

As the images burn the wailing is intense, mourners rush up as if to throw themselves into the fire, scarves and shirts are torn off the back and thrown into the flames. The keruk leaders and others make speeches, shouting loudly above the crying.

As dawn approaches the flames begin to sink. One by one people drift off to their camps, light fires, and prepare food. Within a few hours the wagons and automobiles have driven off and the ground is deserted, but in former days it was considered proper to move in a body to the river, where everyone bathed and removed their paints.

KERUK SONGS²⁵³*Songs for the Making of the Ceremonial Shield*

1

- a. apa'n^y (willow) ayi' kamo' (bending). 'wa'li gē·gē· eña' yem eñ eñ
 b. apa'n^y ayi' kũ xwi'm (rubbing down) añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·a':
 c. apa'n^y ayikũsu'r (tearing off bark): añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ· a':
 Scheme: (aaaabaaaa) × 2.
 Refers to the preparation of a willow stick for the making of the ceremonial shield.

2

- a. ha'ikũpa'm hayai i'mya mũyau (taking up?) gēgē eñe' em a'yem
 eñe
 b. kwixyamá't (heaven place) ka'wĩ (west) 'wañ añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·añ·
 a'
 ika' pũsũr (circle) kwanya' (doing) mũyau wege
 c. like b, substituting anya' (east) for ka'wĩ
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaaabc) × 2.
 "Over in the western heavens they are making the circle to remind
 the people for all time. Over in the eastern heavens they are
 making the circle to remind the people for all time."

3

- a. yũma'nyiñ eñem kwĩ'sam anyeñ eñ em
 b. ayũm añam eñem ikũpa'm ura'ñ (fire?) añã:
 kwixyamá't ka'wĩ epõ'ty (long) a'ikya kuma'ñ a'kya yũnkwi ki'au
 ayi'm eñe:
 c. ikũpa'm urañ añã:
 d. kwixyamá't kanya' (east) epõ'ty a-peikya
 kũ'mañ a'ikya yumkwĩkyan ayem eñe: 'ikũpa'm mũrañ añã.
 Scheme: (aabbed) × 4.
 Describes the completion of the willow rings in the western and
 eastern skies.

²⁵³ Patrick Miguel.

4

- a. mōrēñ (deer hide) ēñ ēñ añ i'sī
 mōrēñ ēñ ēñ i'm. aixyau
 eñe:' mai ya-wi'
 mōrē gēge:'
- b. nya pū'reñ (they pull) ēñ
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaabbbbbbb) × 2.
 "They are pulling on the deerhide, which is being stretched over
 the ring. It is giving great power."

5

- a. kēñ ēñ ēñ ekerē' (trembles) maña.' (heaven) kerē'mō (rumbling)
- b. máñ (for amát, earth) ūyau' im-añ (swaying) akerē'mō
- c. máñ'uyau ā'muñ ūyau'ima akerē'mō
 Scheme: (aaaabbc) × 4.
 "The heavens and the earth tremble as the hide is beaten knowing
 that man is preparing to fight." The akwē'l makers beat on
 their "hide" four times at two-second intervals, followed by a
 ten-second pause, throughout this song.

6

- a. ūwa'mī wayūgū:' owayūgō:'
- b. ūwa'mī wayūgū:' ūwayū anu ū:' mūtyū' amai ma'kīna agañga:'
- c. kwixyamát (heaven place) kanya.' (east) añ-añ-añ-añ a:'
 awi'iny (stone) axwata.' (red) añ-añ-añ-añ a:'
- d. like c, substituting kawí'wa (west) for kanya', and akwaca'
 (yellow) for axwata.'
- Scheme: (aabcaabd) × 4.

"To trim the hide the man on the east reaches up to the eastern
 heaven for a (flint) knife. It was red with blood. This is
 unclean and cannot be used. The man on the west then reaches
 to the western heaven and pulls down a clean yellow flint knife
 which may be used."

7

- a. keñ iyá'ñ (going after) ana:' anyuñ u'm kawaca' (greasewood?)
 kawaca'ñ an-a:'
 anyuñ u'm keñi-ya.'
 keñi-ya'ñ añ-a a:' anyuñ u'm kawa'ca

- b. keñ iyáñ aña: 'kwixyamátañ (heaven place) anya' enapci'n (grease-wood) a'msuñ
 xu wa'i aña: 'anuñ umkeñiya: '
 c. like b, substituting a-wi' (west) for anya'.
 Scheme: (abc) × 4.
 "They send out two men first to the east, then to the west to get greasewood to lace the hide onto the ring."

8

- a. yemiñ (the legs) aipa'ña: (hide ring) yemiñ aipa: '
 Scheme: (a) × 8, (a) × 2 in a higher key.
 The legs (handles) are being made and attached to the circle (eme, legs).

9

- a. mūyū'r (sewing round) aipa'ña: (hide ring) mūyū'r aipa'
 b. mūyū'ra: añ-an: a:
 mūyūri'xa manákí'xa (tying)
 c. mūyū'r aipa'ña:
 mūyū'r aipa'ña:
 mūyū'r aipa'ñam ūyu'r aipa'ña: añañ a'm ūyūraipa: '
 Scheme: (aaaaaaabbbbbbbbe) (a) × 2 in a higher key.
 The hide is sewn onto the ring.

10

- a. mūya'u (taking up) aipa'ñ (the hide ring) am uai aipaña: '
 muyau aipa: '
 Scheme: (a) × 8, (a) × 2 in a higher key.
 The makers are lifting up the akwēl. (?)

11

- a. apōqō' (kopo grass) mōnyitka: '
 manyuyao (put on) kwini'm mitkya'
 apōgō: ' apōgō-gō-gō
 b. ĩpa: 'mat (human) kwicáp (shadow)
 any'uyatky panyūmixya (give) hapōgō mōnyitka: ' hañama: '
 mat kwica' (shadow) panxyuyatky panumixa
 apōgō' monyitka: '
 manyuyao kwingū mitkya' hapō-gō-gō-gō: '
 Scheme: (aaaaaaabb) × 4.
 Kopo grass is bound onto the ring.

12

- a. kwixyama't (heaven place) xapaiya'ra (around?) 'aw'iñi'
moñ'ōrēya' (pulling, for vorē)
- b. aw iñet moñ'ōrēya moñorēya moñorēya

Scheme: (ab) × 4.

"The fringe is put on and the makers swing the shield from one side to the other (?)."

13

- a. xañañama' enya'miñickwañ amiñickwañaña:'
- b. xaña aña:' mē'ckwa (meskwe reed) pamyañ (short) anya' (west)
huñuñ. omūya mīnya' vogogogo:'
- c. like b, substituting epōty kawi' (long west) for pamyañ anya:'

Scheme: (aaaabbaaaacc) × 4.

"Meskwe reed is sought in the east but is short, then in the west and it is long. It is bound to the hands of the shield." (This was not actually done in the ceremony nor had the informant ever seen it done.)

14

- a. kwixya'mat (heaven place) xāpā (sticks) marañaña:' añañañ a'
amatkyūgūgūgū:'
kwiyakyūñūm iya
kyuñōgōgōgō:'
amiya kyo uñōgōgōgō:' iya:'

Scheme: (a) × 4.

The makers stand the shields up on the ground resting on the sticks which serve as handles.

15

- a. anya' cū'ē-nē-nyē-m hixiyaña-wa'
- b. anya' cū'ē-nē-nyē-m miyañawa-ña.ñi
aña'cū omēñēñē'm
ixyaña-wa. aña'cū
hēñēñgēm ixyaña-wa'

Scheme: (aab) × 8.

Sung on completion of the shield.

16

- a. okwixya'm acūgū· kwixya añ·añ·añ·añ·kwixyam acūgū·
 ipa'nyara· (burn) ñañañai anga' okwixya'm acugū·
 Scheme: (a) × 8.

"It is decided that the akwel must be burned after the ceremony."

Songs of the Building of the Keruk House
 (First Procession)

17

- a. acume (badger?) egē:' awiya
 b. kwicai uwí'm añaña:' añaña:'
 c. kwica'n na·p na·p (flat) kwina'm (head, mouth?) akwaca'
 (yellowish)
 d. kwica'n na·p na·p kwina'm (hair) a'cápa (white)
 Scheme: (abbed) × 4 or 8.

"Badger makes ready the ground for building the house, his head is flat and yellow, his hair flat and white." Sung when all are in order for the procession.

18

- a. kū k'uūū· (bird?) ma·nyiñe· paixyaña· (taken up) nyawa'
 b. ikai kwixyam ikai kwiya'
 ipa'nyaruixyí' (arrow drawn on bow) ipa'nyaruixyí
 c. ko k'oñō· m·nyiñe· paixyaña·
 Scheme: (aaaaaaabc).

"The archers draw their bows aiming at the shields." Sung during the first march out.

19

- a. kwisa'manyī okwisa'manyī
 b. namea'p (white dawn) mīkwañ (streaming) añ ai sawai a'wi
 kwinamūcap (white dawn) ikwañ añ'ai cakī'r (noise) a'wi
 Scheme: (aaaaaaaba).

"The house will have to be burnt at dawn and light will stream from it." Sung at southeast corner.

20

- a. kwilya.'p (midnight star in east) aiyau (comes up) aminyai ūkwa'
 b. uruxwa (night hawk wailing) meñeñeñe.'
 xetpawa (coyote wailing) meñeñeñe.'

Scheme: (aaaaaaaabb) × 2.

"Midnight star is rising in the east and gives its light. Night-hawk and coyote wail." ("When the ceremony was first held a strange noise was heard in the air when the midnight star appeared. It was night-hawk who knew the time and began to sing. Coyote heard the noise and tried to imitate it. The mourners caught the melody and have sung it ever since.") Sung at southwest corner.

21

- a. anya.' (east) maiyū witkyīxa. (moving) añaña:.' maiyu wikya.'
 b. ica'ñ añ ai mawatixa (badger)
 mawatkam kvinyau mixya icalkwanu (hands bent) witkya
 icālxama (hands round) yēliha (flat) añaña:.' maiyu witkya
 Scheme: (aaaab) × 2.

"Badger sets to work leveling the site for the house. He moves his crooked forepaws. He moves his round flat paws." Sung before the house is reentered.

22

- a. awañ (house) awañ añaña:.'
 ipuxauxa (custom) yēgēm ūa'yūwīma (made with hands) añaña.'
 b. ĩ'pam (people) kwa'xāpa (go in) maiwaña mayīpuxañaña:.'
 Scheme: (aaaab) × 4.

23

- a. awa (house) amitya (of crying) wañ amana (lift) aña awi.
 (poles) awigege':
 b. ami (cry) inyawa.' (our house) akūman (lift up) amīkau (crying)
 waña.' mana.' awigī.' awigege
 Scheme: (aab) × 2.

The poles of the house of crying are lifted up.

a. sañ añ
 b. sañ añ
 c. icam ya
 maxwiñ
 Scheme
 "The h
 can

a. ĩ'ekiwiñ
 wanawa
 Scheme
 "The w
 the

a. mawēñ
 b. miññiñ
 kwaxap
 c. anacu'u
 Scheme
 "Mous

a. mōmē'
 (sv
 mōmēñ
 Scheme
 "The r
 (T
 ken

a. akīyan
 waga:
 anyī m
 ika.' w
 Schem
 "Nigh
 tov

24

- a. sañ añ a'r ma'wañañañ aipū'
 b. sañ añ ar ma'iñ iñe:' icam yañ añaimai iñinye:'
 c. icam yañañai mai yiñiñe:' icam xwiñir memũñũñum sani yañ anai'
 maxwiñ i-r me:'

Scheme: (aaaabac) × 2.

"The house is completed. Its soul is pure. It is good and nothing can enter it to make it evil."

25

- a. i'çkiwiñ (wood) i'çkiwiñ a'rañ awi'iñir wiañērwi
 wanawañ mayiñērwi añērwi

Scheme: (a) × 8.

"The wood chips left over are collected in a heap to be burned with the house."

26

- a. mawēñ (mouse) awēñēñēña' cū.
 b. miñiñir (trailing) ma-wa' cakali (house shelter)
 kwaxapa nyū aneū
 c. anacu'uñ ōmiñ inir mawēñ awēñ ēñēñ a-cū

Scheme: (aabccb) × 2.

"Mouse comes into the house trailing his tail across the ground."

27

- a. mōmē' (deerhoof rattle) inyawai' (center house) ankanaya'
 (swaying)

mōmēñēñēñēñ ūmēñēñēñē'

Scheme: (a) × 16.

"The rattle is in the center of the house swaying from side to side."

(The shield and ku'ul bearers sway from side to side as the keruk singers stamp slowly and bend at the knees.)

28

- a. akīyam (night bird) umī kīyam u'mi tyika' wayūmūm aka-wa-yau'
 waga:' waga:' añañaña:'
 anyī maxa'tyuñ uruuru (night hawk) tyika' wayumum
 ika' wayau waña:' añañaña:'

Scheme: (a) × 4.

"Night bird (çakwamax) and then night-hawk sing. It is getting toward dawn and a feeling like death comes over the house."

THE MOURNING CEREMONIES OF NEIGHBORING
PEOPLES

The relation of the Yuma mourning ceremonial to that of neighboring peoples is of considerable interest and significance. A brief account of those that are recorded will be given and the salient traits tabulated.

MOHAVE²⁵⁴

The Mohave perform a mourning ceremony after the death of an important person. Visitors from neighboring tribes are invited and welcomed. It follows within a few days of the death (five days on the occasion witnessed by Kroeber) and lasts only one day. An open shelter supported by nine poles (three on each side and one in the center) is built beforehand.²⁵⁵ Colored calico, dresses, blankets, and so forth are hung up around the sides; bunches of feathers are suspended from the rafters near the middle.

Mourners weep and are harangued by speakers during the mourning. In the afternoon ceremonial races are run by young men who carry "feathered sticks," apparently identical with the Yuma *aokwi*; these have been made in the shelter during the morning. The clearing is about fifty or sixty yards long and extends south of the shelter. Eight such feathered sticks and two bows bound in red cloth are carried by the young men who line up in front of the shelter, the bow carriers standing at either end. A speaker receives the feathered sticks in pairs and "prays" over them. The stick bearers have red head scarves, which hang down at the back, the bowmen have similar scarves to which feather headdresses are attached.

After four slow circuits of the ground the runners gather at the far end. Three arrowweeds are stuck in the ground at intervals between them and the shade. These represent water holes. The two bowmen and two feathered stick carriers run out to the first arrowweed. The bowmen are spies, the feathered stick bearers are war leaders. They creep up, one by one, and examine the "water hole" in the manner described for the Yuma. They repeat this with each water

²⁵⁴ Kroeber, 4. (From an account of a Mohave mourning observed in 1902, which Dr. Kroeber has kindly put at my disposal.)

²⁵⁵ It would seem possible that the preceding days in which the shelter is built included mourning and ceremonial speeches as among the Yuma, but there is no statement to that effect.

sole till they reach the shelter, around which they run in pairs, crossing at the back and retiring on the run to the feathered stick bearers waiting at the south end of the ground. The runners all approach the house and squat in line with bowmen in front. They rise after a few minutes and run slowly down the field with long strides, bowmen again in front. People in the shelter ululate as they run. At the far end they turn and run back. The double run was continued sixteen times, running more strenuously every fourth time. After this there is a short rest while a speaker harangues them. This running should be repeated, with short intervals, eight times in all. The speaker in addressing them during these intervals tells the runners that they are repeating the original ceremony that was made when Matevilye (Kukumat, Yuma) died.

Immediately after the last run the shade is set on fire, the feathered sticks and bows and arrows are thrown onto it by their bearers as they circle the shade in two parties. They then run off to the river. Mourners throw clothing and beads into the fire. The runners must fast and bathe in the morning for four days.

HALCHIDHOMA²⁵⁶

The Halchidhoma mourning ceremony (kěru'kám) is held only for men, and at about the time of the anniversary of the death. Word is sent around to all the villages fixing the date of the ceremony. The director is not a member of the mourning family. A temporary shelter of domed willows (varáu'ká) is first built and four days later work is begun on the mourning shade, a rectangular structure, whose erection occupies four days. Before this four other men make the image which should closely resemble the dead in clothes, hair, and face paints. When the shade is completed the mourners enter and await parties from other villages. These approach ceremonially. From the outskirts of the ground they move slowly towards the shade in separate columns from each of the four directions, halting four times while their leaders make speeches. The image is now taken out and set on a post to the east of the shade. A little to the south of this is a woodpile on which clothing is heaped. While carried, the image is swung from side to side in time to the words of the speaker. There is no singing in the shade.

Some of the tribe's designated enemies are put into the domed willow hut. These would run out pretending to escape, and guards,

²⁵⁶ From field data by Dr. L. Spier.

stationed at a little distance, would chase them back and a sham battle would follow. Both sides carry weapons. A feathered stave (hul wilie) is carried by one on the "friendly" side.

A man goes around making a rattling yell in his throat; he is followed by women who could run fast, carrying baskets of food. After each yell they scatter a handful of food. They run around the image pole and the woodpile at which the mourners gather. The baskets and weapons of the sham battle and finally the image are put on the woodpile, which is set on fire. Speeches are made amid much weeping. When all is consumed, the fire tender divides the ashes into four parts and buries them in four holes. The burning occurs at the time of day on which the mourned man died.

MARICOPA²⁵⁷

The Maricopa mourning (hīepask) was held three days after the death of a prominent man. It was apparently given only for leaders, warriors, orators, and singers. A pyre was made as if to cremate, on this clothing, worn or brought by all those present, was heaped up. No shade or images were made. A man yelled and women chased him back and forth. The activities of the dead man were re-enacted. If a singer, his repertoire was given by one who knew his songs and his rattles consigned to the pyre; if a warrior, a battle in which he had taken prominent part was staged, one man dressing to represent the deceased and, if he had borne it, carrying the feathered stick. Many speeches were made and late in the evening the pyre was burned.

COCOPA

The Cocopa karauk is a tribal ritual which is initiated by the families who have recently been bereaved. It has, unfortunately, not been observed or recorded in detail. Brief notes by Gifford²⁵⁸ and Loeb²⁵⁹ indicate the general character of the ceremony. The mourning families are the instigators and most active participants in the ceremony which was formerly held almost every year in December and lasted six days. It was last held in December, 1927. They appeal to the karauk director, asking him to arrange it. This director can do so only four times, after which he must cede his office to another.

²⁵⁷ Field data from Dr. Spier. ²⁵⁸ Gifford, 7.

²⁵⁹ Dr. Loeb recently obtained a somewhat more detailed account from Frank Tehana, Gifford's chief informant, and has kindly put his notes at my disposal.

The director has assistants, namely, a builder, speaker, singer, and doctor. The bereaved families gather on the site to mourn throughout the night preceding the opening of the ceremony. The house is built during the morning of the first day. The house is a rectangular shade supported by twelve poles, four in each row from back to front, is about twenty-seven feet wide and approximately half that depth. The rear section of the roof slopes down steeply. The rear and sides are walled in by leaning brush against the roof in the Diegueño fashion. In front of the house an enclosure is walled in by erecting two fences of poles and arrowweed which extend, splaying outward, from the front corner posts. In the center at the outer, open end of this forecourt, a fire is laid. The house is described as a man, its various divisions corresponding to parts of the body. On the three inner poles of the front row the faces of the dead people are painted. When it is completed the mourning families move in, carrying the clothes which have been made for the dead. These are displayed and then put away at the back of the house. Formerly these were feather headdresses for the men and bark skirts for the women. Now they are complete sets of American clothing. Mourning continues throughout the day. After sundown groups of visitors collect in the forecourt and gamble while the relatives weep inside. Throughout each night the singer chants songs and the speaker exhorts the people, comforting them in their loss, reminding them of the requirements of mourning. The director does not leave the house at all and the doctor, who is a ghost curer, should stay with him for the spirits of the dead entered the house on its completion and the mourners are constantly liable to see them and fall sick. Should this happen, the doctor makes loud noises, blows smoke over the patient and in the air, and violently strikes the patient's body. During the night people who resemble the dead, dress in the clothing prepared by the mourners and, representing the dead, dance around the fire. They are led by the singer and move clockwise, holding hands. This procedure continues for four nights. Mourners and representatives of the dead must fast, bathe each morning, and avoid sexual intercourse during the ceremony.

During the afternoons horse races, shinney, and hoop and pole games are played on the cleared ground in front of the house. The mourning families do not take part in the games.

On the fifth night there is no dancing or singing. The participants rest in preparation for the strenuous activities of the last day. They enter the house soon after dawn the next morning, painting their faces

red and black and streaking their hair with white clay. They mourn until midday when a procession is formed. The representatives of the dead gather in front of the house. They are headed by the speaker and behind them follow the mourners. They go down the field in front of the house and back. This is repeated four times. "This is done the way the people used to approach the enemy." Several of the men have bows and arrows, two are mounted on horses which are supplied by the mourners and are later killed or given away. During this procedure the mourners throw money and clothing among the visitors. The night is occupied with further mourning and singing until the house is burned. The time of the burning depends on the director. If he is holding the office for the first time he orders the burning at midnight; on the second occasion, an hour or two later; on the third, still later; finally on the fourth and last occasion when he directs the ceremony, he waits until the first sign of dawn appears in the sky. The house is empty when burned, but clothes, money, and bows and arrows are also consumed at the same time in a pit which has been dug in the middle of the field and is afterward covered over so that no trace remains.

The eagle feathers, however, are not burned each time. New ones are obtained, usually from the Diegueño, by each new director and are entrusted to the ghost doctor who keeps them until used on the fourth occasion, when they too are burned. These feathers are hung from the crossbeams of the house. There are as a rule four or five sets with two or three feathers in a set. Each of the men who represent the dead wears a set while dancing.

After the ceremony is over, the director builds a small shelter where the north post of the house stood. He sleeps there four nights to dream, using a burned pole stump as a pillow. In this way he makes certain that the dead have received their presents and are pleased with them.

DIEGUEÑO

The Diegueño mourning has been recorded by DuBois²⁶⁰ and Davis.²⁶¹ It is a sib ritual and is held about every five years, when the deaths in the sib have reached ten to fifteen in number. The sib, or the active family in the sib, pays all expenses. Preparation of the ceremonial material may begin as much as two years before. The ceremony lasts six days. Food and money are lavishly distributed

²⁶⁰ DuBois, 620 ff.

²⁶¹ Davis, 1 and 2.

by the sib to its guests. During the first night the mourners wail in a temporary shelter and speeches are made. The ceremonial house is built on the second day. An expedition sets off in single file to collect the materials which are stored at some distance. It is a large structure, forty feet square, surrounded by an earthen bank on three sides. The supporting poles are arranged in four rows of four each, of which the four center poles must be erected first. The construction follows a prescribed procedure, each step of which is named and accompanied by a song. The eastern face is open, the sides and rear are enclosed by leaning brush against the earth bank and the edges of the roof which slopes steeply down at the rear. During the construction, two old women throw large quantities of corn, piñon nuts, and acorns over the material used. Bundles and boxes of ceremonial gear are carried into the house after its completion. That night boys and girls, according to the number and sex of the deceased, are dressed in the clothes later to be used for dressing the images of the dead. A log fire is built in front of the house around which the children, representing the dead, dance under the leadership of the old song leader who has a deerhoof rattle. This is repeated for four nights while wailing continues in the house and speeches are made.

On the sixth day the images are made by the families of the deceased in the keruk house. The images are made from sections of a large matting of meskwa'h reed (*Juncus textilis*), features are represented with shells and paint, feathers attached to the shoulders, and human hair used for the wigs. The wig is made in the same manner as observed among the Yuma. An image procession around the house and fire follows at about midday. The images are carried by non-relatives who are members of other sibs. At night the images are again brought out and are carried clockwise around the fire by their bearers in a slow dance while the song leader and a group of singers chant the image songs. During each song the dancers complete three circuits of the fire. The song is then repeated while a group of women, singing the song again, retreat before the dancers. Dancing and singing continues for four hours without intermission and begins again after a brief rest for a further four hours until the approach of dawn, which is gauged from the position of the morning star. The images are then carried in a final procession, making two circuits of the house and ground and are finally placed in a pit to the east of the house and fire. The house is set on fire and a brand is carried over to ignite the images.

SOUTHERN SHOSHONEANS

Image burning ceremonies were also performed by the neighboring southern groups of South Californian Shoshoneans, i.e., Cahuilla, Luiseño, Cupeño, Serrano, etc.²⁶² Like the Diegueño, these people interpose further rites between the cremation and the image ceremony which take the form of a feast to invited groups (sibs and lineages) at which the house (Desert Cahuilla), clothes (Diegueño),²⁶³ or selected possessions (Serrano)²⁶⁴ of the dead are burned, ceremonial gifts bestowed by the bereaved,²⁶⁵ and the ceremonial obliterating of tracks of the deceased in the dance house (Western Pass Cahuilla).²⁶⁶

As among the Diegueño, the image burning mourning ceremony is a sib function, to which other sibs are invited and receive food supplies and gifts. Among the Shoshoneans there is a permanent ceremonial house which is the scene of the ritual and is not burned. Brief accounts of the Serrano and Pass Cahuilla rituals are given in order to show the relation of the Shoshonean system to the Diegueño and Yuma rituals.

SERRANO²⁶⁷

The ritual is performed annually and lasts six days. Among the Southeastern Serrano one of the sibs undertakes it each alternate year and is assisted by sibs of the opposite moiety. It is held in the permanent ceremonial dance house. The first three days are spent in preparing food and apparatus, while the ceremonial leader of the clan retreats to the back of the house to confer with the sacred sib bundle. On the fourth day, children are ceremonially named by the sib leader, with dancing and singing. On the fifth day images are made in the morning by the families of the deceased or a paid outsider. They are of reed matting similar to the Diegueño and of the same material of which the sacred bundle is made. In the evening the eagle killing ceremony is performed and the feathers used to decorate the images. On the sixth day the whirling dance takes place during the day,²⁶⁸ and at night there is singing until an hour before dawn; girls are given to the invited guests; the images are then brought out

²⁶² The material is summarized in Strong's detailed study. Cf. also Benedict, 1, 368-369, for the Serrano.

²⁶³ Waterman, 2, 306-7.

²⁶⁴ Benedict, 1, 374; Strong, 32.

²⁶⁷ Benedict, 1, 374-9; Strong, 32-34.

²⁶⁸ Known also to the Diegueño but not part of the mourning ritual.

²⁶⁵ Strong, 302.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

by the kinswomen of the deceased who dance with them for half an hour. They are then taken by male relatives of the dead who dance toward a fire kindled outside the house. The ceremonial leader shoots, or pretends to shoot, at them with a bow and arrow. They dodge. The successful arrival of the spirit of the dead man in the land of the departed depends on their success. As the images are placed on the fire the bereaved throw away gifts for the guests to catch. Finally, strings of shell money are distributed to the leaders of the invited groups before they depart.

PASS CAHUILLA (PALM SPRINGS)²⁶⁹

The ceremony occupies six to seven days; it may (as is also the case of the Serrano) include parts of old ceremonies formerly separate, since "this grouping of ceremonies [appears] to be rather a characteristic of all mountain Shoshoneans in southern California,"²⁷⁰ which has increased in recent years. It is usually held in February and was formerly annual like that of the Desert Cahuilla, but later biennial as among the western Pass Cahuilla who held it when Orion was in the zenith. It is expected to occur about a year after the death of any important person (*sic*), but includes all recent deaths, for each of which an image is made. The ceremonial dance house is used—a round structure, forty feet in diameter, with palm leaf roof and walled, in recent times, by boards—in which there is a small back room where the ceremonial bundle (*ma'iswut*—a matting bundle of *Juncus textilis*) is kept. In front is a fenced-off enclosure with a small hut containing foodstuffs stored for presentation to guests. All cooking and eating is done in the enclosure, all ritual within the house. The ceremonial leader retreats beforehand to confer with the sacred bundle while a communal rabbit hunt is held to collect sufficient food. On the first evening members of the mourning sib gather in the house to mourn, one singer dances around the fire with a bunch of owl feathers in each hand to decide whether the time is right for a mourning. The mourners then sing the creation song which describes the burning of Munkat, the creator, after he died from the sickness caused by Blue Frog, who swallowed his faeces.

It appears from Strong's description that the songs are quite distinct in manner, melody, and specific content from the Yuma keruk songs. These songs continue for four nights during which the visitors

²⁶⁹ Strong, 120-130.

²⁷⁰ Strong, 120.

MOURNING CEREMONIES IN THE LOWER COLORADO REGION

	Maricopa	Mohave	Hatchidhoma	Yuma	Cocopa	Diegueño	Serrano	Cahuilla
Name.....	Hicpask	Keru'uk	Keru'kam	Keru'k	Karauk	Kury'k	Wakat?	Nakil
Time.....	3 days after death	few days after death	anniversary of death	few months after death	December	?	?	February
Recurrence.....	irregular	irregular	irregular	irregular (September)	annual?	quin-	annual	annual anniversary of death
Duration (days).....	1	1	4 (8)	4	6	6	6	6-7
Structure								
Temporary rectangular shelter		x, 9	x	x, 14	x, 12	x, 16	o	o
number of supporting poles.....	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
Walled.....	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x
Permanent circular.....	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	x
Forecourt.....	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Facing.....	o	E	o	E	o	E	o	o
Second structure.....	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o
Social unit.....	tribe	tribe	village (?)	tribe	tribe	sib	sib	sib
Givers.....	tribe	tribe	?	tribe, bereaved families	bereaved families	sib	sib	sib
Mourned.....	individual, not-able male only	individual, not-able male only	individual, male only	collective (formerly eminent individual males)	collective	collective	collective	collective
Visitors invited.....		other tribes	other villages	other tribes	other tribes	other sibs and tribes	other sibs	other sibs
Gifts to visitors (food and money).....	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
Speeches.....	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x
Special song series.....	o	o	o	x	x	x	?	x
Ceremony referred to creation.....		x				?	x	x

o—absent

blank—no specific data

x—presence

	Maricopa	Mohave	Halchidhoma	Yuma	Cocopa	Diegueño	Serrano	Cahuilla
Dance processions.....	o	o	o	x, images, around shelter	x, impersonators round fire	x, impersonators round fire, images around house	x, images, out to fire	x, images around house
Deerhoof rattle.....	o	o	o	x				
Representation of dead:								
Living impersonators.....	x?	o	o	o	x	x		
Images.....	o	o	x (rags)	x (reed matting wood)	o	x (reed matting)	x (reed matting)	x (reed matting)
Post faces.....	o	o	x (food)	x (formerly)	x	x (corn, piñon acorns)		
Scattering of food.....	o	o		x (corn)				
Ritual warfare								
Feathered staves.....	x If	x	x	x			o	o
Feathered beaddresses and hoods.....	dead	x		x			o	o
Mimic attack.....	man	x	x	x	x		o	o
Running.....	were	x	x	x	?		o	o
Sham battle between rival parties.....	warrior	o	o	x	o		o	o
Ceremonial shields.....	o	o		x			o	o
Fasting.....		x		x				
Purification by bathing.....		x		x				
Burning:								
Shelter.....	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
Images.....	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
Clothes, beads, etc.....	x (worn by those present on pyre)	x (worn by mourners) in shelter	x	x (worn by mourners) in fire pit	x (prepared for dead) in fire pit		x (worn by mourners) in fire	
Where.....			on pyre			in fire pit		in fire

blank—no specific data

o—absence

x—presence

arrive. Visitors sing on the fourth and fifth nights. On the morning of the sixth day images are made, recently of wood, but in old times of rolled maïswut, i.e., the sacred matting. They are made by men of the visiting groups. The visitors sing through the night until dawn. In the early morning food is given to the visitors, the ceremonial leader prays over the images, singing in an unknown tongue, said to be that of the songs in the original mourning for Markat. The images are then carried around the house, followed by women who wipe out the tracks with lengths of calico. The images are then taken out to be burned while the paha attempts to shoot them as among the Serrano. Shell money is finally distributed to the visitors. The house is not burned.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

From the table it is clear that many of the traits in the Yuma keruk are shared by the Diegueño and the Shoshoneans to the west; others are, however, special to the river tribes and are absent west of the Colorado. In other words, the type of ceremony widespread in southern California and characterized by representations of the dead, the burning of images, and mourning songs is here combined with an entirely distinct concept, the enactment of ritual warfare for the benefit of the people.

The construction and burning of a mourning shelter is found among all the Yuman groups considered except the Maricopa. This structure is, however, distinct in both form and function from the Southern Shoshonean ceremonial house which is a permanent building, designed to house the ceremonial bundle possessed by the sibs of these groups; but the walling of the structure among the Diegueño and Cocopa and the use of a forecourt by the latter suggest that the Yuman shelter has been influenced by the Shoshonean ceremonial house. Among the Diegueño and Cocopa the duration of the ceremony corresponds to Shoshonean usage, but the ceremonial number, four, appears to control it among the Yuma.

Among the Diegueño where sib function, despite the lack of the fetish bundle, approximates to the Shoshonean type, the mourning ceremony is primarily a sib ritual; while on the river, where tribal unity dominates the social organization the keruk is a tribal ceremonial. Impersonation of the dead by other persons or by images is shared by the Yuma, Cocopa, and Halchidhoma. Among the Yuma

it appears probable that the image in its present form is of relatively recent introduction. Among the Mohave and Maricopa images are not made.

The wide distribution of a matting foundation, made from a particular reed and used in the construction of the images, is of particular interest. Since this matting is also used by the Shoshoneans in the wrapping of their fetish bundles and is native to their country, there can be little doubt that the image cult is earlier among them and reached the river through the intermediacy of Diegueño groups.

The ceremonies of the Mohave, Maricopa, and Halchidhoma are further differentiated from those of the Yuma and the groups to the west by the individual character of the mourning. Just as the Shoshoneans and the Diegueño mourn every recently deceased member of the sib, so the Yuma and Cocopa in their tribal ceremony mourn all the recent dead. To the east and north, however, only a prominent male individual was honored in the mourning. Several other traits such as the deerhoof rattle, the use of special song cycles, and dance processions couple the Yuma ceremony with those to the west and distinguish it from those of the Mohave and Gila groups.

The ritual warfare, which distinguishes the Yuma ceremonial so clearly from the Diegueño, becomes among the Mohave the essential feature of the ceremony. Images and songs are lacking and the rite ends when the activities of the warrior runners are completed. The Mohave war ritual is, however, distinct from that of the Yuma which, like that of the Halchidhoma and perhaps the Cocopa, consists in a less conventionalized contest between rival parties. But many elements in the Mohave "racing," such as the surreptitious advance and the marking of water holes with arrowweed stakes indicate its close relation to the Yuma practice. The Halchidhoma ceremony, although held only for a single eminent man, corresponds closely to the Yuma in the use of two shelters, the ritual combat, and the image. Since they were southern and later northern neighbors of the Yuma, until the nineteenth century the parallelism is understandable. The shooting of arrows into shields at the end of the ceremony is reported only for the Yuma.

Among the Maricopa, the mourning ceremony apparently has none of the elaboration found on the Colorado. They lack a mourning shelter and the rite appears to consist essentially of a ceremonial re-cremation of the dead accompanied by a mimetic presentation of his qualities. The absence among the Maricopa of an elaborate mourn-

ing ritual of either the Diegueño, Southern Shoshonean, or the Mohave type, suggests that they left the Colorado before the influence of the former was felt among the river tribes, and prior also to the elaboration of the ritual warfare. It is, of course, possible that a mourning ritual of the Mohave type, formerly existing among the Maricopa, has been abandoned in relatively recent times as a result of their separation or under Pima influence. The different name used by the Maricopa, in any case, confirms the distinctness of their rite from the *keruk* ceremonies of the more western Yumans. The restriction of the ritual to eminent men, such as singers and warriors, as was formerly the case among the Yuma, suggests that this is a differentiation of long standing between the Yuman and Southern Shoshonean type of mourning ceremony.

We may tentatively conclude, therefore, that to an early type of mourning ritual, itself related to the widespread mourning rites of California, the Yuman tribes of the Lower Colorado have added a distinctive element which reflects the militarism of their culture. Among the Mohave, apparently, this special element supersedes almost everything else. Among the Yuma, Cocopa, and probably the Halchidhoma a blend of the more widespread and the specifically river traits is apparent. Among the two former there has been a relatively recent influence from the Southern Shoshonean peoples to the east. The Diegueño, whose ritual is almost completely assimilated from that of their Shoshonean neighbors, are indicated as the intermediaries and it appears probable that it is under their influence that the mourning for an eminent individual has become a collective ritual for all the recent dead. This Diegueño influence has, according to informants, continued until very recent times when the reed matting images were first introduced.

The rudimentary character of the Maricopa ceremony suggests that the developments on the Colorado and the influence of the Shoshoneans among the groups living at and below the Gila confluence have occurred since the Maricopa moved east at some time prior to the middle of the sixteenth century.

THE FEATHERED STAVES

Feathered staves were carried in warfare by all the Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado river, but were not used by their linguistic relatives to the west and east, the Diegueño, Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai.

Among the Cocopa, a differently named staff, to which feathers do not appear to have been attached, was wrapped with strips of coyote skin.

The staff is everywhere associated with warfare; it was carried by the finest fighters, involved some handicap to the bearer, and implied a certain bravery and a no flight obligation.

The number used by a war party may have varied with the different tribes. Among the Mohave no less than eight were used in the military ritual of the mourning ceremony; among the Yuma two of contrasting color, black and white, were carried both in ritual and warfare. The Maricopa data suggests that only one was carried by the party; the conditions among the Cocopa are uncertain, but it appears that one feathered and one coyote-skin wrapped staff were carried.

Among the Yuma proper, and probably among all the river Yumans, the staves were essential to a war party; only small raids could be fought without them. In planned expeditions and pitched battles they were always carried.

These traits very definitely link the Colorado warriors' staves with the insignia carried by the officials of the military societies of the Plains, which appear to have developed from war parties.²⁷¹ These "staves" or "lances" were carried by the bravest men and involved a no-flight obligation. They consisted of straight and hooked, crozier-like lances bound with otter skin and frequently decorated with feathers.²⁷² Among the Crow

. . . the officers of the Foxes included two leaders; two men bearing hooked staves wrapped with otter skin; two men bearing straight staves similarly wrapped. . . . The four staff-bearing officers, when in battle, were expected to plant their

²⁷¹ Cf. Wissler, 875.

²⁷² Staves from the Kiowa (6 feet long) and the Sioux (8 feet 6 inches long; no. 50, 3067), in the possession of the American Museum of Natural History, are decorated throughout their length with feather fringes attached to bands of red flannel. Bows decorated after a similar fashion (cf. Lowie, 3, 263, fig. 7) and short sticks (cf. Lumpwood Stick, Lowie, 3, 261, fig. 5) were also used as insignia but were far fewer and less widely distributed than the lances.

staffs in the ground and to stay by their standards at the risk of their lives. If, however, some friend plucked out the staff an officer was permitted to flee, though he might never tear out the stick himself. Gray-bull says that the hooked staff bearers were allowed to run a short distance before making a stand, while the straight-staff men might not run at all. It was also more disgraceful for the latter to shirk their duty than for the hook staffed men. Others deny any difference in duty or prestige between these two kinds of officers.²⁷³

The details of the ornamentation vary considerably, in some cases one or two feathers are attached at intervals along the length of a lance, e.g., Crow Hammer Society staff.²⁷⁴ Among the Pawnee, however, both straight and hooked lances of the Two Lance Society were covered with red cloth to one side of which white (goose) and black (crow) feathers were attached in alternating series down the entire length of the 2.3 meter lance.²⁷⁵ Three straight lances of the Mandan Half-Shaved Head Society were similarly decorated on one side with a fringe of black and white feathers extending down to within a few inches of the pointed base. These lances were grasped in the middle and tilted back over the shoulder, a posture similar to that of the Yuma. The other insignia consisted of four 7 to 8 foot lances wrapped with otter skin, two hooked and two straight, a war club with an iron point, and an ornamental bow and quiver.²⁷⁶

The fringe of feathers on the Yuma *aokwil* is obviously similar to the fringes found on the lances of the Pawnee, Mandan, and other Plains tribes, while the skin-wrapped staff of the Cocopa, which may formerly have been used by other Lower Colorado groups, clearly parallels the otter and wolf skin wrapping found on so many of the Plains "lances." A complete analysis of the distribution, frequency, and relative age of the various forms of lance standards in the Plains has not been made, and their earliest users are not traceable. Since, however, they are common to both the graded and ungraded societies and are found among tribes so remote from one another as Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and Comanche²⁷⁷ and were also used by the Plains Ojibway and Plains Cree where there are no rival or coordinated societies but merely a group of "strong-hearted men" who direct the hunt and lead in battle,²⁷⁸ there can be little doubt that they have existed for a long period in the Plains area.

On the Colorado, although direct historical evidence is lacking, the feathered staff appears to be an ancient element of Yuman culture.

²⁷³ Lowie, 2, 159.

²⁷⁴ Lowie, 2, fig. 1, A.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Murie, 562, fig. 3.

²⁷⁶ Lowie, 3, 310, and fig. 11, after Maximilian.

²⁷⁷ Lowie, 4, 811; Thomas, 294.

²⁷⁸ Wissler, 875; Skinner, 487.

It is used by all the tribes and its presence among the Maricopa, who left the river before 1540, suggests that it was in use earlier than the sixteenth century, for recent accretions to Maricopa culture have been Piman rather than Yuman.

The problem of historical connection between the Yuman staves and the lances of the Plains, both ancient traits in their respective areas and both correlated with a somewhat arbitrary type of decoration and a bravery no-flight obligation, obviously compels our attention. That the relatively isolated and immobile Yuman should have introduced the trait among the Plains tribes is hardly conceivable. We are, therefore, left with the alternative views that the feathered staff has been diffused westward to the Colorado or that it is an ancient trait of aboriginal warfare in North America, transmitted independently to the two areas. Ignorance and lack of comparative data unfortunately delay any complete solution of the problem. It can, however, be rendered somewhat more precise.

Assuming Plains influence on the Lower Colorado, the staff might be expected to have first entered the Yuman territory from the north by the shortest route through the Basin area.²⁷⁹ The Mohave appear to have been the most active and enterprising of the Yuman peoples and one might well imagine that they had acquired the trait through the intermediacy of some Basin tribe. The Cheyenne lance emblems consisting of two pairs, one with eagle feathers down the entire length, the other wrapped with otter skins,²⁸⁰ might be adduced as prototypes.

Although the influence of the Plains military societies can be traced westward among some of the Basin tribes, the lance only is found, and there not in characteristic use, among the Wind River Shoshone far to the north. These Shoshone had two groups of "police" who formed the van and rear guard of the tribe when on the march. They also supervised the hunt. But although they performed a dance and one party used inverted speech, there is no trace of the feathered lance.²⁸¹ The hooked lance may have been used, for Lowie elsewhere

²⁷⁹ Gifford, 7. In the American Museum of Natural History are two fur-wrapped staves from the Pueblo of Taos. One (50.1, 3837), 4 feet 6 inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, is wrapped with fur along the upper half; two bunches of dark feathers are attached at the upper and lower ends of the wrapping. A section a foot long near the base is similarly wrapped with red flannel. The body of the staff is painted red. The other, 4 feet in length, is wrapped throughout its length and for 6 inches at either end. Single feathers are attached near the extremities of the wrapping. Plains influence is, of course, notoriously stronger at Taos on the northeastern fringe than in the other Pueblos, and the existence of these staves cannot be regarded as evidence of a Puebloan proximate source for the Lower Colorado staves.

²⁸⁰ Lowie, 5, 901.

²⁸¹ Lowie, 4, 813.

quotes a native statement that “. . . the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy, and pull him from his horse.”²⁸² But among the more southern Basin tribes there is no lance and reflections of Plains societies are very faint. The Ute Dog companies may have some relation to the Plains “police” but had neither insignia nor lances.²⁸³

It is further to be noted that the Havasupai and Walapai, the Yuman groups who lie closest to the Basin area and share much of its culture, lack warriors' staves and afford no evidence of Plains influence. There is, therefore, little reason to believe that the feathered and skin-wrapped staves have reached the Lower Colorado from the northeast.

Similarly there is no evidence that military lances of the Plains type were used by any of the Pueblo or Apache peoples who intervene between the Lower Colorado and the Kiowa, Comanche and other tribes of the southern plains. In our present ignorance of the Apache, it is impossible to speak with certainty on this matter. Goddard speaks of ceremonial races run between the two bands of the Jicarilla Apache. The runners carry cottonwood branches in their hand and are led by a man carrying a standard from which flies a cotton cloth and on top of which are two ears of corn.²⁸⁴ The standard and branches may conceivably have some ultimate connection with the lances and staves under discussion but they do not forge a link between them.

Finally, the staves of the Lower Colorado although resembling the straight lances of the Plains at several points in both appearance and use, are not to be regarded as direct copies. They are considerably smaller, four as compared with six to eight feet in length, are pointed at both ends, and are insignia not of societies but of the tribe. Thus, although their fundamental and arbitrary parallelism as staves decorated with feathers and hide, used as war standards, and compelling especial bravery on the part of their bearers links them together in a manner which is inexplicable apart from genetic cultural relationship, yet, nevertheless, the one does not appear to be a recent

²⁸² Lowie, 6, 283. This utilitarian function is almost certainly of later date, for the Plains insignia were too fragile for this purpose, frequently made in two pieces and finally the crook was often tied across with a hide thong to hold it in shape, which would render it useless as an instrument for hooking an enemy from his horse. The ceremonial use appears to have been lost.

²⁸³ Lowie, 4, 823.

²⁸⁴ Goddard, 175.

shoot from the other; so that in the absence of any continuity of distribution between the Plains and the Colorado, we are inclined to regard both as reaching their present distribution by diffusion from an earlier source. The wide diffusion of the lance insignia in the Plains suggests that they are relatively ancient in that area where their forms and function have been elaborated with the development of military societies. The absence of the hooked lance on the Colorado further suggests that the latter was elaborated at a later date than the straight stave, a development occurring in the Plains during the elaboration of the military societies.

Despite the impossibility of immediate demonstration, the most satisfactory provisional hypothesis lies in the assumption that feathered and skin-wrapped staves are military emblems of considerable antiquity; that they were in use in the south in early times and have been diffused northward from earlier centers into both the Lower Colorado and Plains areas.

THE FRINGED SHIELDS

Like the feathered staves the fringed shields used in the *keruk* recall those of the Plains. But since the ceremonial use of the shield occurs only among the Yuma, and with them the fringed type was not used in warfare, it would seem improbable that the shield and stave were transmitted in association as elements in a complex.

The decoration of shields or shield covers with a fringe of feathers is found widely in the Plains. It also occurs in the Pueblos, where the shield forms and types of decoration suggest direct Plains influence. In both the Plains and the Pueblos the fringe is frequently carried only halfway around the shield. An Osage specimen has a fringe of feathers which are fastened by short thongs to the rim.²⁸⁵ A Comanche specimen has feathers similarly attached at two-inch intervals around two-thirds of the disc. Two feathers are also affixed to the center. This shield is also painted in four quarters, blue, yellow, blue, white; a type of shield decoration found among the Cocopa.²⁸⁶ In a Shoshone specimen the feathers are attached to a separate band of red cloth. This style is especially widespread in the Pueblos where the feathered fringe, attached in this manner to a separate edging of

²⁸⁵ American Museum of Natural History, 50.1/970. I am indebted to Dr. Ronald Olson of the American Museum for these data.

²⁸⁶ A.M.N.H., 50.1/1423.

cloth or buckskin, usually hangs down vertically from the shield on either side.²⁸⁷ The distribution of the half-fringe appears to be Southern Plains²⁸⁸ and Pueblo. In the Northern Plains, feathers are usually attached around the entire rim or in bunches at intervals. Among several Southern Plains tribes braids of grass were sometimes fastened to the rim of shields. This grass was used as incense for smoking the shields before going into battle and was part of the medicine of the shields.²⁸⁹ Although the practice of smoking military paraphernalia is quite foreign to the Yuma, it is possible that the grass rim of their ceremonial shields is to be explained as an indirect borrowing from the Plains, in which the significance and use of the grass has been forgotten.

A fringed shield was carried by the Bow priests of Zuñi. On one such shield figured by Cushing²⁹⁰ is a representation of the "Knife-feathered Monster,"

the tutelary deity of several of the societies in Zuñi. He is represented as possessing human form, and [feather] tail. His dress consists of the conventional terraced cap (representative of his dwelling among the clouds), and the ornaments, badge and garments of the Ká'ká. His weapons are the Great-Flint Knife of War, the Bow of the skies (the Rain-bow), and the arrow of lightning, and his guardian or warriors are the Great Mountain Lion of the North and that of the Upper Regions.²⁹¹

These shields are fringed on the upper half of the circumference with a band of red cloth which hangs down freely below the shield on either side. Black and white feathers are attached to the fringe throughout its length.

At Zuñi the shield appears prominently as a ceremonial element in the myth of creation and emergence. The two children created by Sun-father to lead mankind are furnished by him

with immortal youth, with power even as his own power . . . [with] a bow (Rainbow) and an arrow (Lightning). For them he made also a shield like unto his own of magic power, and a knife of flint. . . . The shield (Pi'-al-tan-ne) was a mere network of sacred cords (Pi-tsan-pi-wi, cotton) on a hoop of wood; and to the centre of this net-shield was attached the magic knife.²⁹²

When they had conducted mankind to the surface of the earth they were instructed by their father, the Sun, to place their magic shield upon the wet earth to dry and harden it.

²⁸⁷ A.M.N.H., Taos 50.1/2450; Tesuque 50.1/2656, 50.1/2657; Jemez 50.1/3092, 50.1/3093; Rio Grande 50.1/2448; Zuñi 50.1/3093, and also Comanche 50.1/850.

²⁸⁸ Osage, Pawnee, Kiowa, and Comanche specimens occur in the Field Museum collections; data from Dr. R. Linton.

²⁸⁹ Information from Dr. Ralph Linton.

²⁹¹ Cushing, 40.

²⁹⁰ Cushing, pl. 10, fig. 1.

²⁹² Cushing, 13.

And when they had laid upon the magic shield the rainbow and across it the arrows of lightning, towards all the quarters of the world, the younger brother took his station facing towards the right. The older brother took his station facing towards the left. When all was ready both braced themselves to run. The older brother drew his arrow to the head, let fly, and struck the rainbow and the lightning arrows midway where they crossed [i.e., in the centre of the shield]. Instantly, *thlu-tchu!* shot the arrows of lightning in every direction, fire rolled over the face of the earth, and the two gods followed the courses of their arrows of lightning.

Although many elements of the setting are different, there is a striking analogy between this Zuñi incident and the shooting of the ceremonial shields in the Yuma re-enactment of their creation. In the latter there is also a close association with fire, the shelter bursts into flames at the moment of the shooting, the archers are crouched ready to run as they shoot, and flee from the ground when their arrows have found their mark.

The ceremonial shields of the Yuma may well have been derived from the Plains, probably through the intermediacy of Pueblo groups. The pertinent data from the Apache which would go far to confirm this derivation are, unfortunately, lacking.

But as with the feathered staves, the possibility of a common derivation from the south cannot be excluded, more especially since it is known that "feathered shields" occur in Sinaloa.²⁹³

CONCLUSION

The culture of the Yuma and, so far as it is known, that of the other tribes of the Lower Colorado is remarkable in its divergence from those of neighboring areas. Although geographically intermediate between the Pueblos and Californians, the river tribes cannot be dismissed as transitional groups, for in many instances the traits whereby they distinguish themselves from the one area are not characteristic of the other.

That there does exist among them a fusion of Southwestern and Californian features cannot be denied, but there are other elements which are strikingly individual. Like the Southwestern peoples they have a strong tribal sense, divide themselves into totemic exogamous groups, and their warfare has ritualistic aspects associated with definite esoteric beliefs. But their exogamous system is patrilineal, and apart from certain of the totemic references is divergent from

²⁹³ Recorded for the Cinaro in the foothills of Sinaloa on the Fuerte and Alamo (cf. de Obregon, B., 17, 85). Unfortunately no descriptions of comparative value are available.

the Puebloan clan and moiety systems, while their military practices do not appear to have been dominantly affected by those of the Pueblo or Apache groups. The agriculture of the Lower Colorado, although part of the American Maize-Squash complex, did not necessarily develop under Pueblo influence and the existence of a small variety of corn among the river tribes, which was also grown by the Hava-supai before the recent introduction of Hopi varieties, suggests that a divergence may again be indicated.

Finally the religious customs of the river tribes force a wedge between the Pueblos on the east and the Southern Shoshoneans of California, who show remarkable and ancient relations with the Southwest in the use of sand paintings, permanent ceremonial structures, the possession of priest-like leaders, and ceremonial bundles associated with the sib.²⁹⁴ As in the Pueblos, the sweat-house and initiation societies appear among the Luiseño, Gabrielino, and others, but these are absent on the river.

The mourning ceremony and the patrilineal reckoning which controls their exogamy may be regarded as Californian characteristics. But the Yuma sibs are remote from Californian lineages, and diverge remarkably from the localized sib-lineages of their western congeners, the Diegueño. The mourning ceremony, as we have shown in some detail, has fused with other elements, which among the Mohave and Gila tribes now dominate the ritual. Similar fusion and suppression appear to have operated in the mythology.

When one considers the positive aspects of religion and magical practices one realizes most clearly the quality of distinctiveness. The dream-vision conditions the authority of everyone, from "chief" and doctor to funeral orator and singer. Concepts of wealth, hereditary right, and mere ability are subordinated to the acquisition of supernatural power. Concrete paraphernalia are, except in the mourning ceremony, reduced to the vanishing point. With this dream religion is associated a military tradition, and the one has interpenetrated the other. One dreams to secure victory; one is victorious in order to acquire spiritual strength and further spiritual power.

Kroeber has summarized the situation:

It is clear that there is substantially no less and no more reason for reckoning the river tribes in the Southwest than in the California culture area. . . . It seems likely that when the culture of the Sonoran tribes shall be better known, it may link at least as closely as that of the Pueblos with that of the Lower Colorado tribes and explain much of the genesis of the latter.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Strong, 2.

²⁹⁵ Kroeber, 2, 795.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 49. The Colorado river. *a*, the Colorado river at low water from Fort Yuma; *b*, the Colorado above Laguna Dam. Note the cottonwood groves along the river bank. *c*, a shallow slough near Fort Yuma.

Plate 50. Fort Yuma and Pilot Knob. *a*, Fort Yuma seen from the north, *b*, view west from the east bank near Fort Yuma. Pilot Knob is seen in the distance.

Plate 51. Yuma types. *a*, Manuel Thomas; *b*, Patrick Miguel; *c*, profiles.

Plate 52. Olla and storage basket. *a*, pottery olla, height 11¼ inches; *b*, arrowweed storage basket (model).

Plate 53. Bark twine weaving. Model (9½ by 6½ inches) of loom used in weaving with bark twine. Contrary to aboriginal practice the weft elements are also twined.

Plate 54. Yuma flutes. The fourth from the right is 15½ inches long.

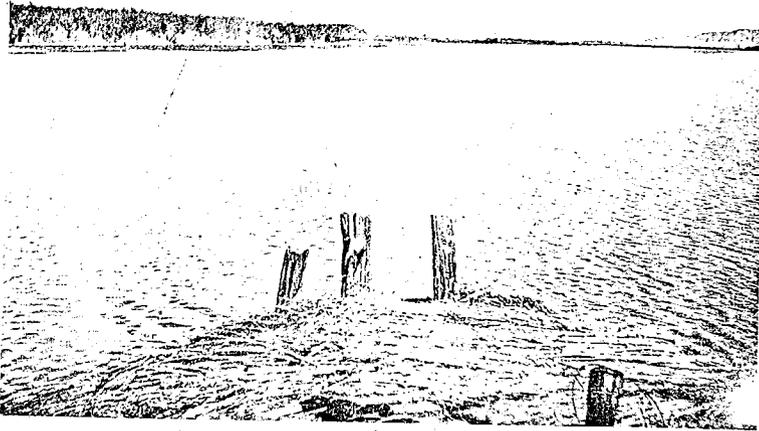
Plate 55. Bow, cloth quiver, and two feathered arrows of arrowweed used in the keruk. The bow, 4 feet 6 inches long, is somewhat shorter than those formerly used.

Plate 56. Funeral ground and keruk shelter. *a*, funeral ground and mourning shade. *b*, temporary shelter used during the first days of the keruk. *c*, building the keruk house. The poles are laid out on the ground to guide the digging of post holes. Dried arrowweed for the roof is stacked on the left.

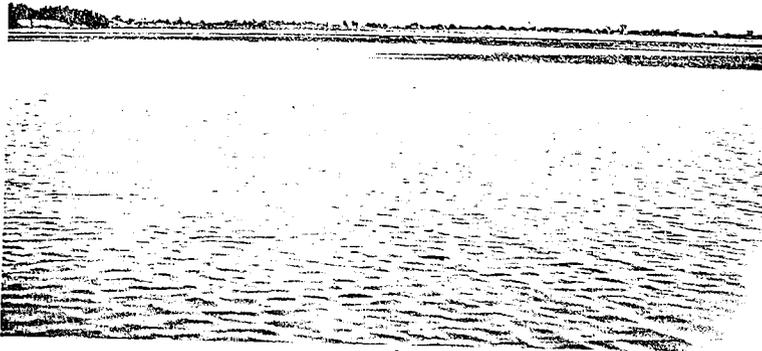
Plate 57. Keruk house and attackers. *a*, keruk house after completion; *b*, the attacking party. The feathered staves are seen in front. On them warriors' hoods have been hung.



a



b



c

THE COLORADO RIVER

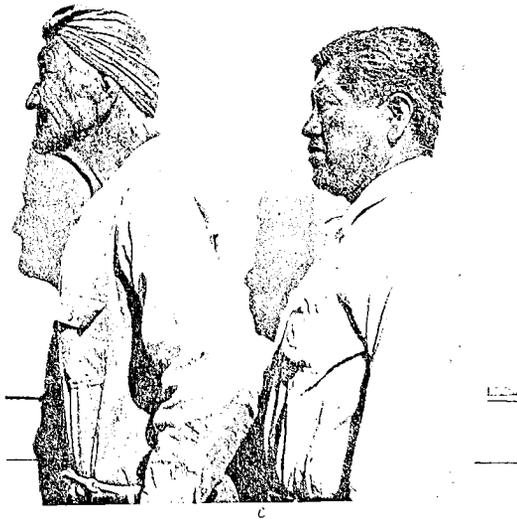


a

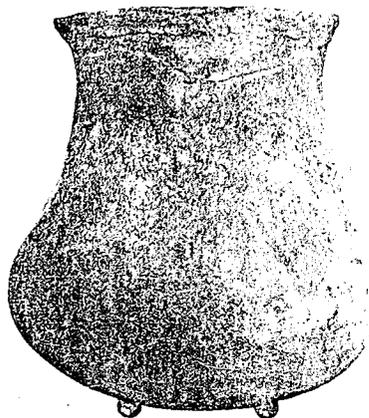


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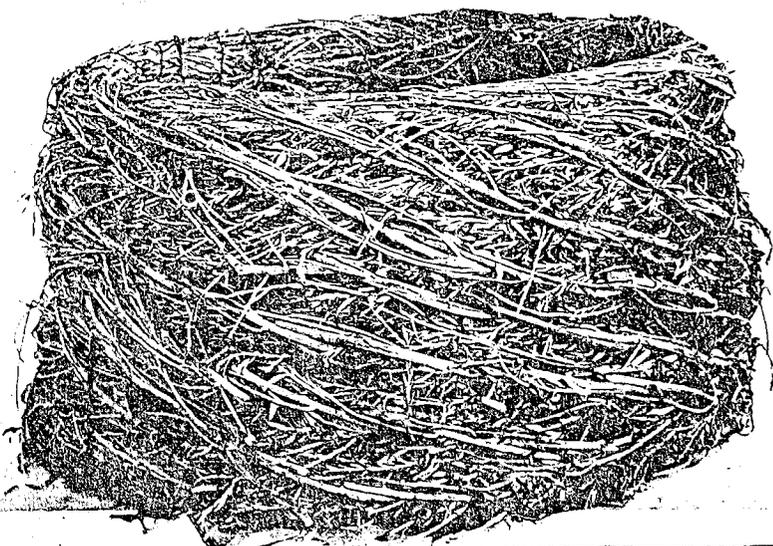
FORT YUMA AND PILOT KNOB



YUNA TYPES

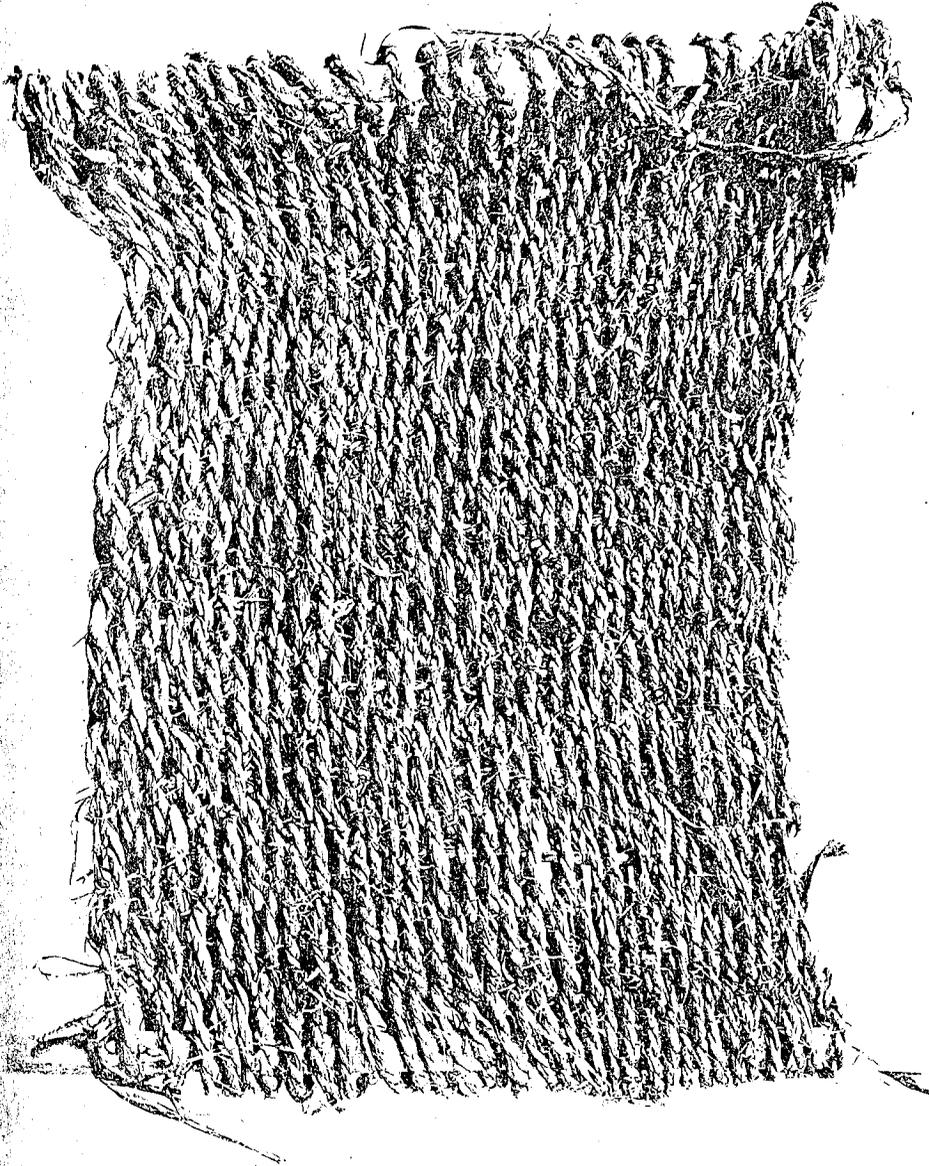


a

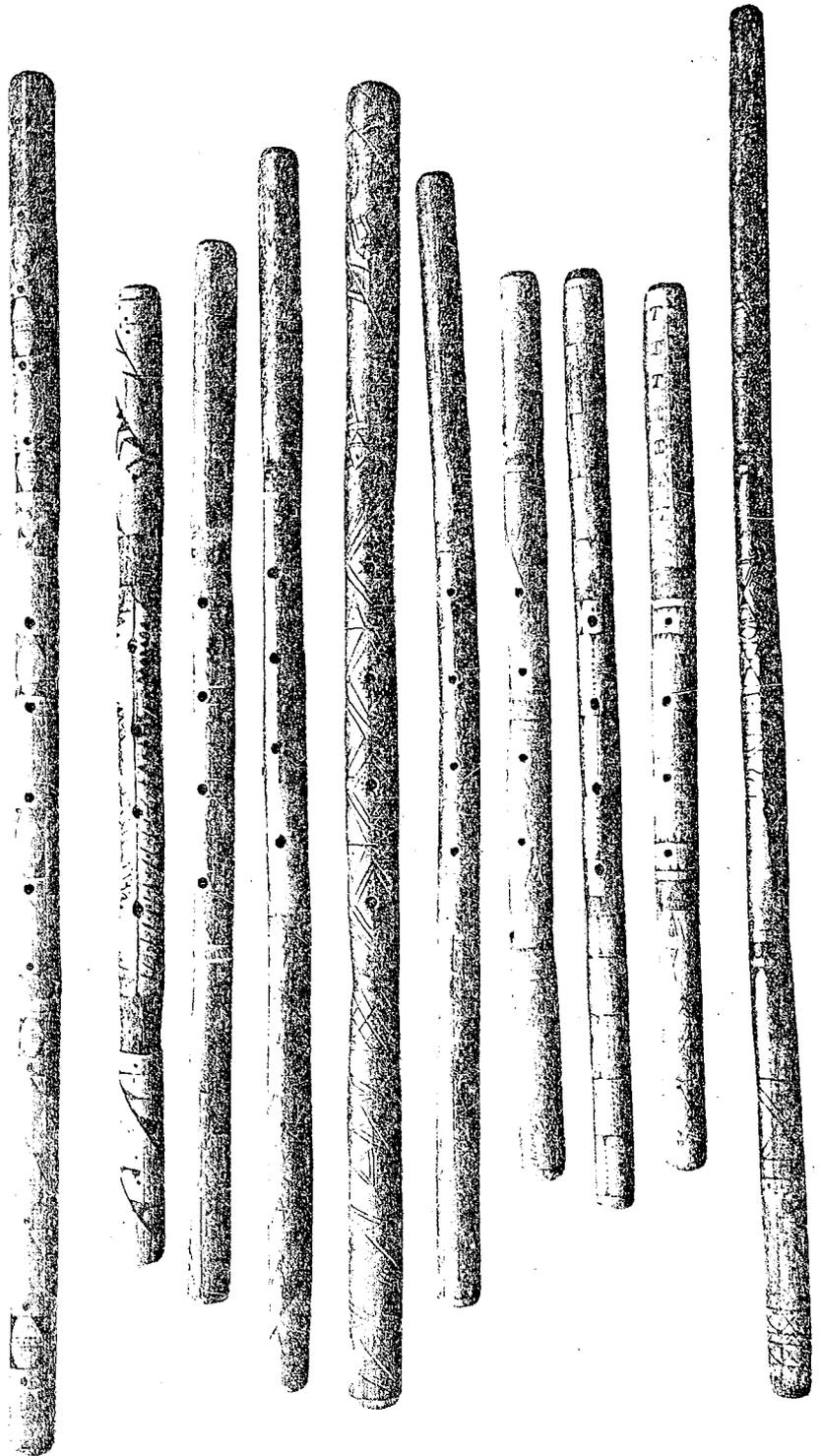


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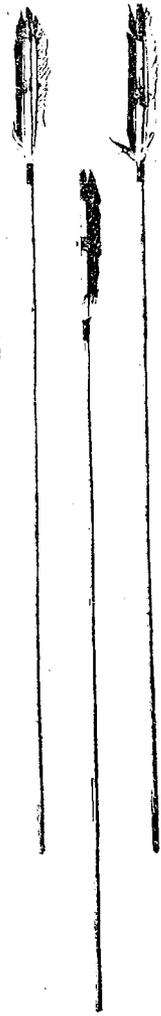
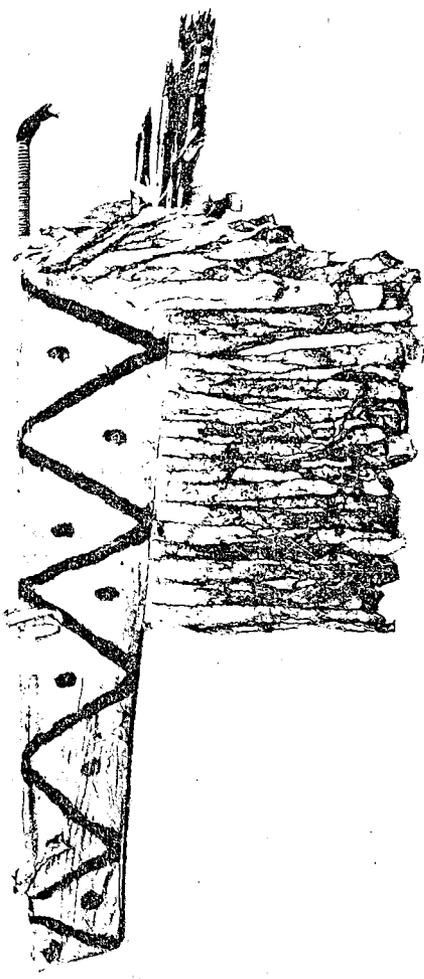
OLLA AND STORAGE BASKET



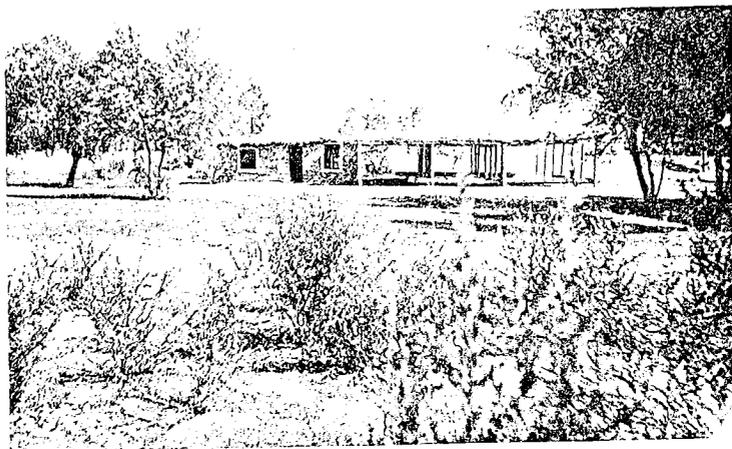
BARK TWINE WEAVING



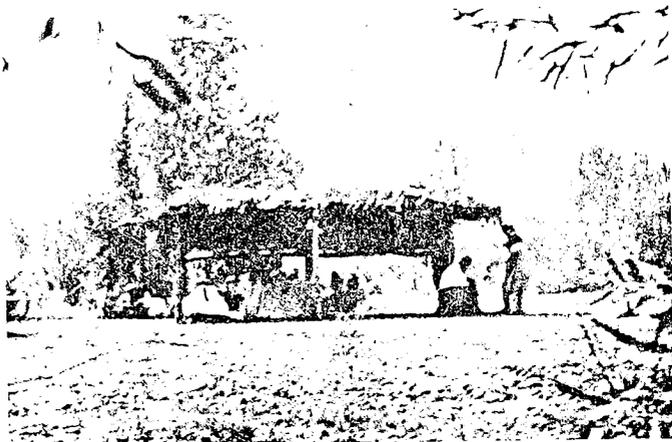
FLUTES



BOW AND QUIVER.



a

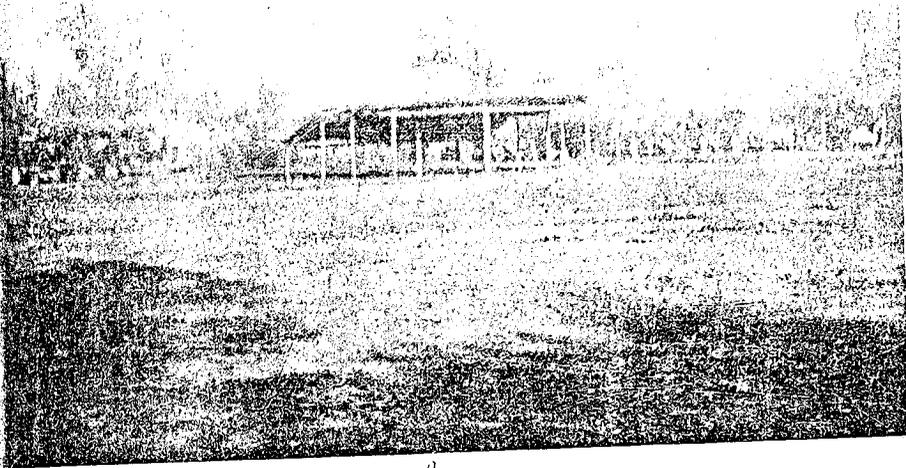


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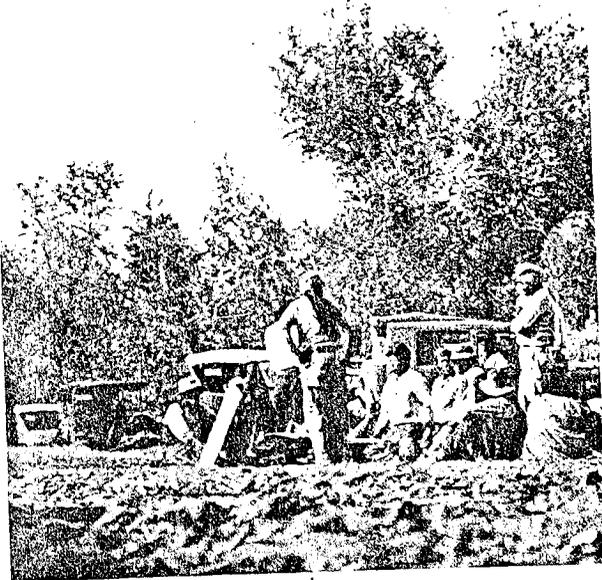


c

FUNERAL GROUND AND KERUK SHELTER

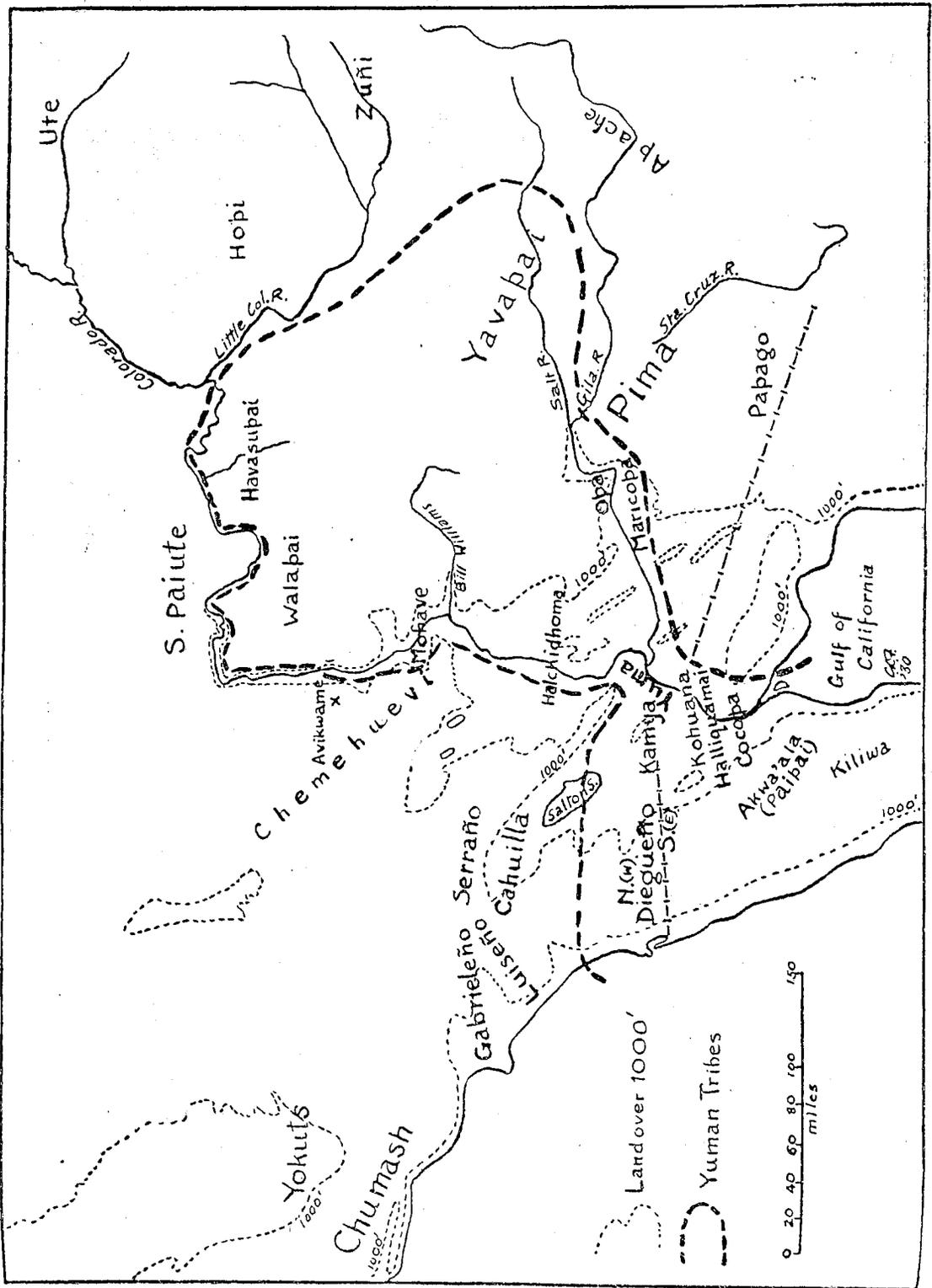


a



b

KERUK HOUSE AND ATTACKERS



Map 1. Tribal distributions in the Colorado region.

