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YUMAN TRIBES OF THE LOWER COLORADO

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Besides the Mohave and Yuma, who are well-known tribes still living in some numbers about Needles and Yuma, five or six other tribes of Yuman lineage once occupied the banks of the lower Colorado river. Of these half dozen, only the Cocopa and Kamia retain their identity, and the latter are few. The others are extinct or merged. In order, upstream, the Yuman tribes of the river were the Cocopa, Halyikwamai, Alakwisa, Kohuana, Kamia, Yuma, Halechidhoma, and Mohave. The following discussion of this string of peoples refers chiefly to the less known ones among them and is based on information obtained from the Mohave and on statements in the older literature.

COCOPA

The Cocopa, called Kwikapa by the Mohave, held the lowest courses of the river; chiefly, it would seem, on the west bank. They have survived in some numbers, but have, and always had, their principal seats in Baja California. They are mentioned in 1605, and seem to be Kino's Hogiopa or Bagiopa in 1702.

HALYIKWAMAI AND AKWA'ALA

The Halyikwamai, as the Mohave call them, are the Quicama or Quicama of Alarcón in 1540, the Halliquamallas or Agalecquamaya of Oñate in 1605, the Quiquima of Kino in 1701-02, the Quiquima or Jalliquamay of Garcés in 1776, and therefore the first California group to have a national designation recorded and preserved. Oñate puts them next to the Cocopa on the east bank of the Colorado, Garcés on the west bank between the Cocopa and Kohuana. Garcés estimated

them to number 2000, but his figures on the population of this region are high, especially for the smaller groups. It seems impossible that three or four separate tribes should each have shrunk from 2000 or 3000 to a mere handful in less than a century, during which they lived free and without close contact with the whites.

The discrepancies between the habitat assigned on the left bank by one authority and on the right by the other, for this and other tribes, are of little moment. It is likely that every nation on the river owned on both sides, and shifted from one to the other, or divided, according to fancy, the exigencies of warfare, or as the channel and farm lands changed. The variations in position along the river, on the contrary, were the result of tribal migrations dependent on hostilities or alliances.

The Mohave, who do not seem to know the name Quigyuma or Quiquima, say that the Halyikwamai survive, but know them only as mountaineers west of the river. West of the Cocopa, that is, in the interior of northernmost Baja California, they say is Avi-aspa, "eagle mountain," visible from the vicinity of Yuma; and north of it another large peak called Avi-savet-kyela. Between the two mountains is a low hilly country. This and the region west of Avi-aspa is the home of the Akwa'ala or Ekwa'ahle, a Yuman tribe whose speech seems to the Mohave to be close to the Walapai dialect, and different from the Diegueño. They were still there in some numbers about thirty years ago, the Mohave say. They rode horses; they did not farm. They were neighbors of the Kamia-ahwe or Diegueño, and occasionally met the Mohave at Yuma or among the Cocopa.

The Halyikwamai, according to the Mohave, adjoined the Akwa'ala on the north, nearer the Yuma, and like the Akwa'ala were hill dwellers. They also did not farm, but migrated seasonally into the higher mountains to collect mescal root, *vadhilya*. They did not, in recent times, come to the river even on visits, evidently on account of old feuds between themselves and the Yuma and Kamia. In the last war expedition which the Yuma and Mohave made against the Cocopa—about 1855—the Akwa'ala and Halyikwamai were allied with the Cocopa.

It would seem therefore that the Halyikwamai or Quigyuma or Quiquima are an old river tribe that was dispossessed by its more powerful neighbors, took up an inland residence, and of necessity abandoned agriculture.

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ALAKWISA

The country of the Alakwisa is occasionally mentioned by the Mohave in traditions, but the tribe seems to have been extinct for some time, and fancy has gathered a nebulous halo about its end. Here is the story as told by an old Mohave.

“When I was young, an old Mohave told me how he had once come home-ward from the Cocopa, and after running up along the river for half a day, saw house posts, charcoal, broken pottery, and stone mortars. He thought the tract must still be inhabited, but there was no one in sight. He ran on, and in the evening reached the Kamia, who told him that he had passed through the old Alakwisa settlements. His Kamia friends said that they had never seen the Alakwisa, the tribe having become extinct before their day, but that they had heard the story of their end. It is as follows.

“There was a small pond from which the Alakwisa used to draw their drinking water, and which had never contained fish. Suddenly it swarmed with fish. Some dug wells to drink from, but these too were full of fish. They took them, and, although a few predicted disaster, ate the catch. Soon women began to fall over dead at the metate or while stirring fish mush, and men at their occupations. They were playing at hoop and darts, when eagles fought in the air, killed each other, and fell down. The Alakwisa clapped their hands, ran up, and gleefully divided the feathers, not knowing that deaths had already occurred in their homes. As they wrapped the eagle feathers, some of them fell down dead; others lived only long enough to put the feathers on.

“Another settlement discovered a jar under a mesquite tree, opened it, and found four or five scalps. They carried the trophies home, mounted them on poles, but before they reached the singer, some dropped lifeless, and others fell dead in the dance. So one strange happening crowded on another, and each time the Alakwisa died swiftly and without warning. Whole villages perished, no one being left to burn the dead or the houses, until the posts remained standing or lay rotting on the ground, as if recently abandoned. So the Kamia told my old Mohave friend about the end of the Alakwisa.”

Fabulous as is this tale, it is likely to refer to an actual tribe, although the name Alakwisa may be only a synonym of story for Halyikwamai or some other familiar term of history.

KOHUANA

The Kohuana or Kahuene of the Mohave are Alarcón's Coana and the Cohuana or Coguana of Oñate, who found them in nine villages above the Halyikwamai. Kino seems to mean them by his “Cutgana.” Garcés in 1776 called them Cajuenche, placed them above the Halyikwamai and below the Yuma, and estimated that there were 3000 of them. Their fortunes ran parallel with those of the Halehidhoma, and the career of the two tribes is best considered together.

KAMIA

Next above were the Kamia, also recorded as the Comeya, Quemaya, Comoyatz, or Camilya. There is much confusion concerning them, owing to the fact that besides the farming tribe on the river, who alone are the true Kamia of the Mohave, the Southern Diegueño call themselves Kamiai, and the Mohave call all the Diegueño "foreign Kamia." It is however well established that a group of this name was settled on the Colorado adjacent to the Yuma.

YUMA

Above the Kamia were the Yuma, who call themselves Kwichyana or Kuchiana and are known to the other Yumans by dialectic variants of the same name. They are the Hukwats of the Chemehuevi, the Hatilshé of the Apache (this term however includes other Yuman tribes also), the Garroteros of some Spanish authors. Garcés estimated their population at 3000. Kino seems to have been the first author to call them Yumas. He puts them at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado, with settlements reaching up the affluent to the vicinity of $114^{\circ} 15'$ or perhaps twenty miles in an air line, and down the main stream about the same distance, say to the Mexican boundary. The Cutgana whom he mentions as a separate nation, west of the Halyikwamai and associated with them, are more likely the Kohuana than the Kuchiana-Yuma.

HALCHIDHOMA AND KOHUANA

The Halchidhoma or Halchadhoma, as the Mohave know them, were unquestionably at one time an important nation, suffered reverses, and at last lost their identity among the Maricopa, although there are almost certainly survivors today with that tribe. Oñate found them the first tribe on the Colorado below the Gila. Kino brings them above the Gila. They had no doubt taken refuge here from the Yuma or other adjacent enemies, but can have profited little by the change, since it brought them nearer the Mohave, who rejoiced in harrying them. Garcés makes them extend fifteen leagues northward along the river to a point an equal distance south of Bill Williams fork. He was among them in person and succeeded in patching up a temporary peace between them and the Mohave. He calls them Alehedum or

usually Jalchedun, but they can scarcely still have numbered 2500 in 1776, as he states.

The Mohave report that the Kohuana and Halchidhoma once lived along the river at Parker, about halfway between the Mohave and Yuma territories. The period must have been subsequent to 1776, since the location corresponds with that in which Garcés found the Halchidhoma, whereas in his day the Kohuana were still below the Yuma. Evidently they too found living too uncomfortable in the turmoil of tribes below the confluence of the Gila—the Mohave say that they lived at Aramsi on the east side of the stream below the Yuma and were troubled by the latter—and followed the Halchidhoma to the fertile but unoccupied bottom lands farther up. If they had been free of a quarrel with the Mohave, their union with the Halchidhoma brought them all the effects of one.

It must have been about this period of joint residence that the Halchidhoma, attempting reprisals, circled eastward and came down on the Mohave from the Walapai mountains. In this raid they captured a Mohave girl at Ahakwa'-a'i whom they drove to their home at Parker and then sold to the Maricopa. Subsequently in an attack on the latter tribe, the Mohave found a woman who, instead of fleeing, stood still with her baby, and when they approached, called to them that she was the captive. They took her back, she married again, and had another son, Cherahota, who was still living in 1904. Her half-Maricopa son grew up among the Mohave, and, becoming a shaman, was killed near Fort Mohave. This indicates that he reached a tolerable age.

But the preponderance of numbers and aggressions must have been on the side of the Mohave, because they finally crowded both Halchidhoma and Kohuana south from Parker, back toward the Yuma. The Halchidhoma settled at Aha-kw-atho'ilya, a long salty "lake" or slough, that stretched for a day's walk west of the river at the foot of the mountains. The Kohuana moved less far, to Avi-nya-kutapaiva and Hapuvesa, but remained only a year, and then settled farther south, although still north of the Halchidhoma.

After a time, the Mohave appeared in a large party, with their women and children. They would scarcely have done this if their foes had retained any considerable strength. It was a five days' journey from Mohave valley to the Kohuana. The northerners claimed the Kohuana as kinsmen but kept them under guard while the majority of their warriors went on by night. They reached the settlements of

the Halchidhoma in the morning, the latter came out, and an open fight ensued, in which a few Halchidhoma were killed, while of the Mohave a number were wounded but none fell. In the afternoon, the Mohave returned—pitched battles rarely ended decisively among any of these tribes—and announced to the Kohuana that they had come to live with them. They also invited the Halchidhoma to drive them out; this the latter were probably too few to attempt. For four days the Mohave remained quietly at the Kohuana settlements, doctoring their wounded. They had probably failed to take any Halchidhoma scalps, since they made no dance. The four days over, they marched downstream again, arrived in the morning, and fought until noon, when they paused to retire to the river to drink. The Halchidhoma used this breathing space to flee. They ran downstream, swam the river to the eastern bank, and went on to Avachuhaya. The Mohave took six captives and spoiled the abandoned houses.

After about two days, the Mohave account proceeds, they went against the foe once more, but when they reached Avachuhaya found no one. The Halchidhoma had cut east across the desert to take refuge with the Hatpa-'inya, the "east Pima" or Maricopa. Here ends their career; and it is because of this merging of their remnant with the Maricopa, that, when the Mohave are asked about the latter tribe, they usually declare them to have lived formerly on the river between themselves and the Yuma; the Halchidhoma are meant. There can be little doubt that the Maricopa too were once driven from the river to seek an asylum among the alien and powerful Pima; but the Spanish historical notices place them with the latter people on the Gila for so long a time back, to at least the beginning of the eighteenth century, that their migration probably far antedates the period which native tradition traverses.

The Mohave decided to stay on in the land above Aha-kw-atho'ilya which the Halchidhoma had possessed, expecting that the latter would return. They remained all winter. There is said to have been no one left in the Mohave country. In spring, when the mesquite was nearly ripe, and the river was soon to rise, thus opening the planting season, the Mohave went home, traveling three days. The Kohuana went with them under compulsion, but without use of violence.

For five years the Kohuana lived in Mohave valley. Then they alleged an equally close kinship with the Yuma and a wish to live among them. The Mohave allowed them to go. Ten days' journey brought them to their ancient foes. After four years of residence

there, one of their number was killed by the Yuma and his body hidden. His kinsmen found it and resolved to leave as soon as their going would not be construed as due to a desire for revenge—an interpretation that might bring an immediate Yuma attack upon them. They waited a year; and then their chief Tinyam-kwacha-kwaeha, "Night-traveler," a man of powerful frame, so tall that a blanket reached only to his hips, led them eastward between the mountains Kara'epa and Avi-hachora up the Gila. They found the Maricopa at Maricopa Wells, recounted the many places at which they had lived, and asked for residence among their hosts. Aha-kurrauva, the Maricopa chief, told them to remain forever.

So runs the Mohave story, the date of which may be referred to the period about 1820 to 1840. In 1851 Bartlett reported 10 Cawina surviving among the Maricopa. But this was an underestimation, as a further Mohave account reveals.

About 1883, the same Mohave who is authority for the foregoing, having been told by certain Kohuana who had remained among the Mohave, or by their half-Mohave descendants, that there were kinsmen of theirs with the Maricopa, went to Tempe and there found not only Kohuana but Halehidhoma, although the Americans regarded them both as Maricopa. The Kohuana chief was Hatpa'-ammay-ime, "Papago-foot," an old man, whom Ahwanchevari, the Maricopa chief, had appointed to be head over his own people. Hatpa'-ammay-ime had been born in the Maricopa country, but his father, and his father's sister, who was still living, were born while the Kohuana spent their five years among the Mohave. He enumerated 6 old Kohuana men as still living and 10 young men—36 souls in all besides a few children in school.

These statements, if accurate, would place the Kohuana abandonment of the river at least as early as 1820; and this date agrees with the remark of an old Mohave, about 1904, that the final migration of the tribe occurred in his grandfather's time. It does not reconcile with the fact that a son of the Mohave woman taken captive by the Halehidhoma—who are said to have fled to the Maricopa ten years earlier than the Kohuana—was still living in 1904. In any event, in 1776 both tribes were still on the Colorado and sufficiently numerous to be reckoned substantially on a par with the Yuma and Mohave; in 1850, when the Americans came, they were merged among the Maricopa, and of the seven or eight related but warring Yuman nations that once lined the banks of the stream, there remained only three—

the Cocopa, Yuma, and Mohave—and a fragment of a fourth, the Kamia. The drift has quite clearly been toward the suppression of the smaller units and the increase of the larger—a tendency probably of influence on the civilization of the region, and perhaps stimulative in its effects.

MOHAVE

The Mohave, Garcés' Jamajab, call themselves Hamakhava. Their territory was Mohave valley, which extends from the canyon through which the river flows at Needles peaks to somewhat above Fort Mohave. Most of the lowlands are on the eastern side of the river, but a glance at a topographic map suggests that the course of the stream through the valley has been shifting. At present part of the tribe has been settled on a reservation downstream about Parker. Being a historically well-known people, the Mohave need not be considered here.

WALAPAI

Between Mohave valley and the Grand canyon, the Walapai may have owned or claimed land down to the eastern or southern bank of the Colorado. But they are a mountain, not a river people. In fact the shores of the stream are uninhabitable in this forbidding stretch of raw furrowed rock. The Walapai therefore fall outside the scope of this review.

HISTORICAL IDENTIFICATIONS

The native information now accumulated allows the valuable findings of the Oñate expedition of 1605, as related by Escobar and by Zárate-Salmerón, to be profitably summarized, reinterpreted, and compared with the later data.

In Mohave valley, a ten days' journey from the mouth of the river as the natives then reckoned—and still count—Oñate found the Amacavas or Amacabos. This tribe has therefore occupied the same tract for at least three centuries. Their "Curraca," or "Lord" is only *kwora'aka*, "old man." Oñate went downstream five leagues through a rocky defile—the canyon at the foot of the Needles peaks—and emerged in Chemehuevi valley, where other members of the same nation were living. This is the only reference, historical or from native sources, which puts the Mohave actually in Chemehuevi valley. So far as their present memory goes, they used to gather mesquite in Chemehuevi valley, but maintained no settlements there.

Below the Mohave, evidently in the region about Parker or beyond, Oñate encountered an allied nation of the same speech, the Bahacechas. This name seems unidentifiable. Their head, Cohota, was so named for his office: he was the *kohota* or entertainment chief of the Mohave.

On the River of the Name of Jesus, the Gila, Oñate found a less affable people of different appearance and manners and of difficult speech, who claimed twenty villages all the way up the stream. These he calls Ozaras, or Osera, a name that also cannot be identified. The Relation gives the impression that this tribe stood apart from all those on the Colorado. They do not seem to be the Maricopa, whose speech even today is close to that of the river tribes. The most convincing explanation is that they were the Pima or Papago, or at least some Piman division, who then lived farther down the Gila than subsequently. This agrees with the statement that they extended to the shores of the sea; and with Escobar's suspicion, based on the recollection of two or three words, that they were Tepeguanes: that is, of the Piman group.

Along the Colorado from the Gila to the ocean, all the Colorado nations were like the Bahacechas in dress and speech, that is Yumans.

The first were the Hahledoma, or Alebdoma, in 8 pueblos; the northernmost alone was estimated to contain 160 houses and 2000 people; the nation to number four or five thousand.

Next came the Cohuana in 9 villages, of 5000 inhabitants, of whom 600 followed the expedition.

Below were the Agalle, Haglli, or Haelli, a "settlement" of 5 rancherías, and near-by the Halliquamallas or Agalecquamaya, of four or five thousand souls, of whom more than 2000 assembled from their 6 villages. The former cannot be recognized in any modern tribe and may have been part of the Halyikwamai.

Finally, in 9 pueblos, reaching down to where the river became brackish five leagues above its mouth, were the Coeopa.

The mythical island Ziñogaba in the sea sounds as if it might be named from "woman," *thenya'aka* in Mohave, and *ava*, "house." Its chieftainess Ciñaca Cohota is certainly "woman-*kohota*." "Acilla," the ocean, is Mohave *hatho'ilya*. Other modern dialects have "s" where Mohave speaks "th." The name Esmalecatatanaaha applied by the Bahacecha chief Otata to a fabulous large-eared race, analyzes in modern Mohave into *asmalyka*, "ear," and a reduplication of *tahana*, "very," "indeed," "large." It is clear that the languages of the Colorado have changed comparatively little in three centuries.

The same permanency applies to the speech of the Chumash of the Santa Barbara archipelago: the discoverer Cabrillo's forms tally rather closely with the data obtained in recent decades.

Apart from the Ozara on the Gila, Oñate thus found six or seven Yuman nations on the left bank of the Colorado. Five of these are familiar, one or two appear under unknown designations, and the Yuma and Kamia are not mentioned. Possibly they remained on the California side of the river and thus failed of enumeration. But if the foreign Ozara held the Gila to its mouth, there would have been no place for the Yuma in their historic seats.

Kino, who visited the river only from the mouth of the Gila down, in 1701-02, reports these tribes: above the Gila, the Alchedoma; from the Gila confluence down, as well as up that stream, the Yuma; next below, the Quiquima—the Halyikwamai; not definitely located, but near the last and apparently intimately associated with them, the Cutgana—probably the Kohuana. At the mouth of the Colorado were the Hogiopa or Bagiopa. When on the lowest reaches of the river, he speaks of “Quiquimas, Cutganas, and Hogiopas who had come from the west and from the southwest.” Elsewhere he mentions them as the people next south from the Quiquima and speaking a different language. He appears to have encountered no Hogiopa villages on the east bank. The Hogiopa are evidently the Cocopa. North and north-west from the Quiquima, apparently off the river, he puts the Coanopa or Hoabonoma (?), who are unidentified. Five tribes thus appear under more or less recognizable names.¹

The chief changes in the century between Oñate and Kino are the following. The non-Yuman Ozara have disappeared from the Colorado. Their place at the mouth of the Gila has been taken by the Yuma. The Halehidhoma have moved from below to above the Gila.

Alareón's data, the earliest of all for the region, are unusually valuable in their picture of customs, but give few names of tribes and scarcely allow of their exact geographical placing. The Quicama, Coana, and Cumana are mentioned. The Cumana (Kamia?) are not positively identifiable. The Quicama and Coana are of course the Halyikwamai and Kohuana. As the Quicama were the farther downstream of the two, but had other tribes—possibly the Cocopa and Akwa'ala—between them and the sea, it seems as if they may already have been occupying their precise historic tracts at this early period.

¹ Bolton, editor and translator of Kino, suggests that the Coanopa be construed as the Kohuana, and the Cutgana as the Kuchiana or Yuma. This puts on Kino the onus of having divided the Yuma into two differently named tribes.

As regards life, many well-known elements of the later culture are mentioned by Alarcón: maize, beans, squashes or gourds, pottery, clubs, dress, coiffure, berdaches, cremation, intertribal warfare, attitude toward strangers, relations with the mountain tribes; as well as characteristic temperamental traits, such as enthusiasm; stubbornness under fatigue or provocation; and a generally ebullient emotionality whether of anger, alarm, or friendship.

Alarcón and Melchior Díaz in 1540, Oñate in 1605, Kino in 1702, Garcés in 1776, accordingly found conditions on the river much as they were when the Americans came. The tribes battled, shifted, and now and then disappeared. The uppermost and lowest were the same for three hundred years: Mohave and Cocopa. Among the conflicts, customs remained stable. If civilization developed, it was inwardly; the basis and manner of life were conservative.

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