10. Yumans

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Yumans

Although the Spaniards made some contact with all the Yuman-speaking Indians of the Colorado River Valley and those who ranged east of the Colorado, these contacts had relatively small influence on either Indians or Europeans. The Yumans, with two exceptions, remained outside the pale of direct Spanish influences.

The first Spanish contacts with the Yumans coincided with a period of marked migration and shifting of territorial base among these small tribes. There were movements taking place, apparently during the 1500’s and the 1600’s, which brought tribes from the west down into the Colorado River Valley (such as part of the Cocopas), which resulted in migration up the Colorado (as for instance the Mohaves), and which led to eastward migration toward the Pimans out of the Colorado River Valley (the Kavelchadom and Coco-Maricopa). The Spanish records are so spotty with reference to the Yumans that we have no way of knowing just how many tribes there were at first Spanish contact or where they lived. Alarcón as the marine arm of Coronado’s expedition made the first contacts with Yumans; however, he mentioned only two of the several groups who were probably at that time in the vicinity of the mouth of the Colorado River. In 1540 Alarcón sailed up into the lower Colorado River, how far is uncertain, but probably not past the mouth of the Gila River. He encountered quite a few Indians and mentioned two names which may have been tribal — Quicama and Coana. His relations with the Indians were very friendly and he in some way without interpreters obtained stories of bearded white men and other marvels — very probably much influenced by his own preconceptions. He built a chapel somewhere near the mouth of the Colorado River and left a cross there.

No other Spanish expedition reached the Colorado River Yuman tribes until 1605 when Oñate’s party in search of the South Sea came to the river and visited tribes on it in the vicinity of the delta and for some distance above the mouth of the Gila River. Oñate’s party spoke of five tribes, two of which were mentioned in slightly different form by Alarcón. These were the Kohuana and Halyikwamai, corresponding to Alarcón’s Coana and Quicama. The other three identified by Oñate’s party were the Cocopa, near the mouth of the river, the Halchidoma farther north, and the Amacavas still farther north in the present Parker Valley.
The Halchidomas have since become extinct, while Amacava was the term applied to themselves by the group that came later to be known as the Mohaves. Oñate's relations with all of these were friendly.

For nearly a century there was no direct contact with Yumans on the Colorado River, although Kino in the 1690's made some acquaintance with "Opas and Coco-Maricopas" living among Pimas on the Gila River. It was Kino who was responsible for the first intensive contacts with Yumans of the Colorado in 1698. In that year his party, in an effort to determine the nature of California as island or peninsula, crossed the great desert of what is now southwestern Arizona and reached the Gila River not far from where it empties into the Colorado. Here they encountered Yuma Indians, and an interpreter who knew Pima and Yuma enabled Kino to converse with them. The Yumas were friendly, bringing food, and Captain Manje distributed canes of office among the headmen. As had other Yumans, they told remarkable stories to Oñate's party, including accounts of white men in buckskin to the east, and the Woman in Blue. The latter was a white woman dressed in blue who had preached in an unknown tongue some years before. She was veiled and carried a cross. She was shot twice and left for dead by the Indians, but came to life and eventually flew away. Manje connected this story, versions of which he had heard from Upper Pimas, with the Spanish woman María de Jesús de Agreda who believed herself miraculously transported to North America in 1630 where she claimed to have preached among the Indians. On the way back from this visit Kino's party traveled through villages on the Gila River — west of the Gila Pimas — which were inhabited by Opas and Coco-Maricopas. They were friendly and allowed Kino to preach and urge peace between them and the Yumas on the Colorado River.

In 1700 Kino made another trip to the mouth of the Gila and again encountered Yuma Indians in considerable numbers. They were anxious to see him again and at least fifteen hundred assembled for mutual speechmaking. The Yumas asked Kino to stay for a while, and announced that other Yuman-speaking peoples were planning to come and listen to him and to talk. They mentioned the Halchidomas who lived up the river, and the Kikimas, Hagiopas, and Hoabonomos from downriver. Kino did not stay, however. He baptized two sick adults by request, gave out more canes of office, and then returned to the Pimería. But he went back later in the year, in a final effort to determine the nature of California's relation to the mainland of North America.

This time, as before, he came first to the Yumas at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, and then went south to enter the Kikima country. As he traveled, he had a retinue of three hundred Yuma and Pima Indians from the villages on the Gila, one of which he named San Dionysio. Kino had promised to barter for food with the Kikimas and turn over what he received to the Yumas, whose crops were short. There was no military escort with him on this trip and he was received with the greatest hospitality and interest. In the Kikima villages Kino gave out canes of office and stayed for two days talking and listening. Some of Kino's cowboys from Dolores gave a demonstration of horseback racing which greatly impressed the Indians, who apparently had never seen horses before.
Kikimas joined his party as he proceeded in his explorations, so that some five hundred Indians now accompanied him. Kino crossed the Colorado River with his Kikima escort and encountered representatives of the "Cutgan" tribe on the west side, who brought him blue shells from the Pacific Ocean. Kino was also introduced to a Hagiopa (Cocopa?) from the south to give him further information. His whole visit was marked by the most friendly relations.

In 1702 Kino again went west for final confirmation of his discovery that California was a peninsula. He visited the Yumas again in their chief village at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers and then went downstream to reach the point where the Colorado River emptied into the Gulf of California. He was accompanied by Kikimas, Cutgans, and Cocopas. He preached and gave out canes of office as he gathered information about the delta country. After seeing the sun rise on the far side of the gulf, proving that he was in California without having crossed a sea, Kino returned again to his work in Pimería.

But the Kikima Indians kept petitioning him to come or send other missionaries to them. They were especially insistent in 1706, sending messengers as far as the Papago village of Sonoita. Although Kino decided to visit them again himself, he never did, and no missionaries reached the Colorado River peoples again until 1748. In that year Father Sedelmayr went to the Colorado and made some contact with the Yumas — who behaved, however, very differently from what they had with Kino’s parties. The Yumas at the mouth of the Gila threatened Sedelmayr with hostilities and stole some of his horses. There was no further contact until after the Jesuit expulsion.

In the 1770’s the Franciscan Garcés and General de Anza made several expeditions which acquainted them especially with the Yumas and, to a lesser extent, with other Yuman-speaking peoples. Garcés was vigorously exploring the possibilities of expansion of the mission field and attempting to find a feasible passage to the Hopi country for work there. Anza was opening the westward land route to Upper California. In 1771, 1774, 1775, and 1776 these expeditions went through the Yuma country. Garcés went up the Colorado River as well, making some contact with Mohaves and Havasupais. The Spaniards came to know two headmen of the Yumas, whom they named Palma and Pablo, and received hospitality in the two principal Yuma villages. Relations were generally friendly for both the missionary and the Anza expeditions.

In 1779 the Franciscans decided that the Yumas were ripe for mission work and Garcés who had visited them so frequently was selected as the man for the job. A new policy, in which the missionaries did not concur, was to be tried. This was to have a small garrison of soldiers resident with the missionary, rather than to have a large presidio in the general vicinity of the mission. With misgivings, Garcés and another Franciscan took up residence on the west side of the Colorado River just downstream from the Gila junction. They began the building of two mission churches. In 1781, less than two years after the beginning, the Yumas rose up against the little group of Spaniards — soldiers and missionaries — killed all of them and destroyed the mission churches. The mission effort was never revived during the Spanish period. A punitive expedition under Fages in 1781-82 killed a
number of Yumas. In 1799 Cortez reported that there were three thousand Yumas. There were no other Spanish contacts with the Colorado River tribes.

Meanwhile, movements and fighting continued among them much as it had in pre-Spanish times. During the 1700's the Coco-Maricopas moved eastward to join the Opas already on the middle Gila River. In the process of this shift of residence they probably absorbed Halchidomas, Kavelchadom, and other Yumans who had formerly been resident along the lower Colorado River and the lower Gila. There remained on the lower Colorado River the Cocopa and Kikima around the mouth of the river, the Yuma above them around the mouth of the Gila, and the Mohave above the Yumas in the Parker Valley and farther north. The Coco-Maricopas, Yumas, Cocopas, and Mohaves were all hostile to one another. Their intertribal warfare and the accompanying tribal migrations were at least indirectly affected by Spanish activities in the Colorado River region and farther east.

The upland Yumans were even less well known to the Spaniards than were the river Yumans. Spaniards had begun by the end of the 1700's to make distinction among the “Yabipais” and “Coninas” and Walapais. But contacts remained very fleeting and before the middle of the 1700's they were so little known that they were classed as “wanderers” or “mountain people” under the vague Spanish terms for nomads in general, such as Nixeras (applied to the southeastern Yavapai bordering on the Gila Pima country in southern Arizona), or Querechos (applied to the northeastern or middle Verde Yavapais), or Serranos (also applied to the middle Verde Yavapais), or Jumanas (applied to the Havasupais).

Espejo’s expedition in search of mines into central Arizona first brought the Yavapais into Spanish ken. He called them Querechos and noted that those he saw near the site of modern Jerome in the upper Verde Valley wore small crosses dangling over their foreheads suspended from their hair. He saw this in 1582 and it was noted as a characteristic for more than a hundred years after, giving rise to the names “Cruzados” and “Cruciferos” applied by Spaniards of the Farfan mine-hunting expedition in 1598 and members of the Oñate South Sea expedition of 1604–1605, both of which passed through Yavapai territory. After the 1690’s the Yavapais were increasingly confused with Apaches on maps and records, but actual Spanish contact with them was negligible, and no contacts even as intimate as Espejo’s in 1682 developed. Father Garcés seems to have been the first Spaniard to hear and apply more or less properly the name they used for themselves. Coming through their country in 1776 he recorded their name as “Yabipai.”

Although there was probably a greater consciousness of the Havasupais among the Spaniards, relationships can hardly be said to have been any more intimate than with the Yavapais. Cárdenas of the Coronado expedition heard of Indians downstream who were possibly Havasupais, when he discovered the Grand Canyon in 1540. Again, the Hopis who prepared to fight when they heard of the coming of the Espejo expedition in 1583 asked aid from mountain dwellers to the west, possibly the Havasupais. The Hopis finally decided not to fight Espejo and their allies were told to go away, with Espejo’s party only having heard them mentioned. Farfan, looking for mines for Oñate in 1598, also heard of wandering tribes, whom he called Jumanas, in the vicinity of the Havasupai territory. In the 1660’s Governor
Peñalosa of New Mexico claimed that he had reduced to missions both the Coninas and the Cruzados. The Hopi term for the Havasupai is Cohonino; evidently Peñalosa was referring to the Havasupai and the Yavapai respectively. However, there is no record whatever that either group was missionized by this time; the presumption therefore is that Peñalosa, in an effort to present himself in a good light at his trial for malfeasance in office, was exaggerating greatly his encouragement of missionary activity.

In 1672 two Franciscan missionaries were assigned to the field of the Coconinos, but they seem to have remained in the Hopi country and never reached them. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 until the late 1700's no missionary effort on the part of the Franciscans extended that far west, or even as far as the Hopis. Father Garcés in 1776 was guided by Walapais to Havasupai Canyon where he became acquainted with the Indians and noted thirty-four families. Although the Spaniards thus knew something about, and had begun to use the Hopi term or some variation of it for the Havasupais, such as Cosnina, Conina, Cohonino, etc., no missionary or administrative contact of other than passing nature was ever established. Relations, so far as is known, were all friendly.

There had been friendly relations between the Hopis and the Havasupais before the Spaniards arrived, and Havasupai-Hopi trade relations, and possibly a military alliance, continued during the Spanish period. Thus the Havasupais came to know something of the Spaniards at least indirectly. But it is also true that the Havasupais were interested in establishing direct contact with the Spaniards in the 1700's. Once, at the height of the Hopi efforts to keep the Spaniards out of their country in 1754, the Havasupais were reported to have sent ambassadors to the Spaniards to ask for missionaries. The Havasupais went through Hopi country and the Hopis, hearing of their intention, killed all the Havasupais, in order to prevent their making contact with the Spaniards. If this event actually occurred it is clear that it did not cause lasting hostility between Havasupais and Hopis. At the time of the great drought in the Hopi country, about 1780, it was reported to Governor Anza that hundreds of Hopis had taken refuge with the Havasupais, where they were received kindly and given food. There is no record of other contacts of the Havasupais during the Spanish period.

In general, the attitudes of the Yumans towards the Spaniards were favorable and friendly. The treatment dealt Garcés' mission was hardly to be expected. The explanation probably lies in the fact that the soldier garrison lived in such close proximity with the priests and also in the very great distance separating the Yuma country from the nearest presidio.

In the interval between the destruction of the Franciscan mission by the Yumas and the finding of gold in California the Yuman-speaking peoples of western Arizona and the Colorado River Valley had almost no contacts, and none of any more than passing effect, with white men of either Hispanic or Anglo background. They had become differentiated into some seven or eight groups by the early 1800's—three upland tribes, the Yavapai, Walapai, and Havasupai; and four or five river-valley tribes, the Mohave, the Maricopa, the Halchidoma, the Yuma and the Cocopa. There were in addition other tribes of the same linguistic family living west
of the Colorado River, such as the Kamia, the Paipai, and others; these were rather small in numbers and never came to be clearly distinguished from one another by the invading Whites.

During the seventy-five years following the killing of Father Garcés by the Yumas, the aboriginal ways of life along the Colorado River continued with little change. All the groups had for long been hostile to one another and carried on periodic warfare for the purpose of acquiring "scalps" or farm land. The scalps were an important source of supernatural power among the river tribes and constituted a strong impetus for intertribal warfare. Warfare was a major interest. It was carried out not only for different purposes from the warfare of the Navajos and Apaches, but also in totally different ways. The river Yuman tribes, in fact, despised the Apache mode of ambush, strike, and run. Their battles were announced, formal lines of warriors were drawn up, and direct hand-to-hand combat continued until one side was all dead or completely routed. This sort of warfare was common among them during the first half of the 1800's. There were no Mexican troops to interfere and intertribal hostilities continued in the traditional manner. It was not until the California gold rush that Yumans began to experience any contact with Anglos.

During the first half of the 1800's hostilities were recurrent between the Yumas and other Yumans both to the north and to the south. Halchidomas, Kohuanas, and Kavelchadom who had lived along the Colorado River north of the Yumas moved sometime during the late 1700's and early 1800's eastward along the Gila River. They were driven steadily eastward both by the Mohaves who were attacking them from the north and by the Yumas from the south. Battles occurred in 1842 and again in 1857 or 1858. But by the latter date the three tribes had merged with the group called Maricopas by the Anglo-Americans and had been given land along the Gila by the Pimas. The Pimas fought as allies of the Maricopas in the battle of 1857 and inflicted a severe defeat on the combined forces of the Yumas and Mohaves. Nevertheless, the retreat of the Maricopa group from the Colorado River left a large area of river bottom land vacant south of the present town of Parker, Arizona. Into this territory the Mohaves had expanded from the north, and a tribe of non-Yuman-speaking people, the Uto-Aztecan-speaking Chemehuevis, also moved into the area. This large area, which later became the Colorado River Reservation, remained in a state of disputed Indian ownership during the early days of Anglo contacts.

Meanwhile, beginning in the late 1840's, the Anglo-Americans moved into this region of intertribal hostility and shifting groups. Some parties of gold-seekers headed for California traveled the southern route, crossing the Colorado River in the Yuma country. Exploration parties sponsored by the United States Army and seeking a route for proposed railroads made brief contacts with Yavapais, Havasupais, and Walapais, as well as Mohaves. The Yuman country from the mouth of the Colorado to the Grand Canyon suddenly assumed importance in the westward expansion of the United States as transportation routes pushed westward to California. In 1852 a steamboat was brought and assembled in the Colorado River delta. Although it sank, further efforts to develop transportation on the Colorado
17. YUMAN COUNTRY

Legend

- Places mentioned in Chapter II
- Indian Reservations

Map Coverage

Scale in Miles

0 75 150 miles

Pacific Ocean

Salton Sea

Colorado River

Yuma Indian Res.

LEGEND

- Places mentioned in Chapter II
- Indian Reservations

MAP COVERAGE
River continued, so that during the 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's steamboats plied from the delta northward to Hardyville. It was apparent to the Anglo-Americans that the country of the Yumas must be controlled if the southern route to California was to be kept open. In 1853 some wagon trains were molested, and an Army detachment under Colonel Heintzelman was sent to establish a fort at the site of the destroyed Franciscan mission. The Yuma Indians offered some resistance, but were defeated by the troops, and the Army post was established. There were at this time between fifteen hundred and two thousand Yumas under the leadership of a man called Old Fascaul by the Anglos.

In the north, immigrant trains had begun to travel the Beale Trail, crossing the Colorado in the territory of the Mohaves, near the present town of Needles, California, after passing through Walapai territory to the east. During the 1850's there were some small raids on such trains by the Walapais but no extensive fighting. A few Mohaves attacked a company of cavalry en route to Fort Yuma, but otherwise relations with Indians were friendly. The Mormons especially had made friends with the Mohaves, as part of their effort to win the Indians of the west, whom they called Lamanites, to their fold. By 1858 a few Mohaves had been baptized by Mormon missionaries, and some had listened to Mormon statements that the Army explorations and the railroad route through the Mohave territory would result in the Mohaves losing their land.

In 1858 a large number of Mohave warriors joined with the Yumas in an attack on the Maricopas. Badly defeated, the Mohaves fled back northward and found themselves taunted by Walapais who had learned of the defeat and who were not friendly with the Mohaves. Egged on by the Walapai jeers and anxious to win back their name as warriors, the Mohaves, according to their version of the incident, attacked a wagon train from Iowa which had crossed the Colorado River on the Beale Trail. The Mohaves killed eighteen Anglos and drove off six hundred head of cattle forcing the train to turn around and go back to Albuquerque.

An Army attempt to punish the Mohaves and to gain control of the area, as they had at Yuma, was immediate. A detachment of cavalry was dispatched promptly to the Mohave Valley to seek a site for a fort. Opposing the entrance of the soldiers into their territory, the Mohaves gave battle - with arrows and war clubs in their traditional manner of head-on combat. More than half the Mohave warriors were mowed down by the soldiers' guns before they retreated and let the Anglos have their way. In the following year, 1859, five hundred soldiers came to the surveyed site and set up Fort Mohave in the heart of what had been the Mohave river bottom lands. The post commander immediately called a meeting and told the Indians what the conditions of peace would be. They would have to give up leaders as hostages to be held in custody until it was clear that the rest of the Mohaves intended to live in peace. Probably without full understanding of what the hostage part of the bargain involved, the Mohave leaders agreed. The principal Mohave leader at the time, Cairook, himself, agreed to be a hostage and he with six other leaders was taken to Fort Yuma, along with three men given up as prisoners to atone for the raid. Here the hostages were kept under soldier guard.
but not in jail. According to a Mohave account, soldiers one day attacked the jailed men. According to the Anglo account, the prisoners and hostages tried to escape one hot day when they could no longer stand the confinement. The result was the killing of Cairook and four other Mohave leaders.

Yarateva, or Irataba as the Anglos called him, now became the most important leader among the Mohaves and from that time until his death was called the "head chief" of the Mohaves by the Anglos. He accompanied Anglos to Los Angeles and took the view that the Anglos were too strong to oppose and that the Mohaves must settle down and be peaceful.

The early 1860's saw a sudden influx of Anglos into the territory of the various Yuman tribes. In 1862 some gold-seekers discovered placers at La Paz on the Gila, which was in the country vacated by the Halchidoma and which Yarateva was interested in settling the Mohaves. In the following year, gold was discovered near Prescott, and brought a flood of prospectors into the country occupied by the Yavapais. In Cataract Canyon, where the Havasupais lived, lead was discovered in 1863 and a mine immediately opened. Cattlemen moved into the Walapai country and began to appropriate water holes at gunpoint.

War broke out first with the Yavapais. Two Indians accused by the Anglos of stealing were killed at the newly opened mine of Weaver. This happened almost at the time of first contacts after the Prescott gold discoveries in 1863. It opened a period of feuding and small massacres which lasted for eleven years and took a toll of four hundred Anglos and one thousand Yavapais.

With trouble brewing all through the Yuman country, Charles D. Poston, who had been appointed Indian agent for the Territory of Arizona, called a council meeting at La Paz in 1864. It was attended by representatives of the Yumas, Yavapais, Chemehuevis, and Mohaves. Other than a recommendation for a reservation, there were no results, but the meeting did establish Irataba in Anglo eyes as the major leader of the Mohaves and the most influential Yuman. The recurrent killings of and by Yavapais continued as the Anglos took control of their water holes, and drove mine shafts here and there in the hills. In the north, where Anglo cattlemen had moved into Walapai territory, some serious fighting broke out. The eight hundred or more Walapais had begun to resist. In 1865 Irataba tried to make peace between the Walapais and the Anglos, but the latter proceeded to kill an important Walapai leader, Wauba Yuma, and the peace efforts failed. The only peace negotiations that worked were an agreement made at Oraibi under Hopi auspices between Havasupais and Yavapais who agreed to remain at peace with each other.

In 1865 Poston decided to send Irataba to Washington in order to make sure that he would be impressed with the strength of the Anglos and influence his followers accordingly. Traveling by way of San Francisco, Irataba was received in Washington by President Lincoln, and was greatly lionized. He helped Poston present the needs of the Mohaves for a reservation and, so the story goes, came back with a promise, many medals and decorations, and a general's uniform. In the same year, in accordance with general Anglo policy for Indians, a large reservation, called the Colorado River Reservation, was set aside for the Mohaves. This included land in the river bottom around modern Parker—and presumably also
included some seventy-five thousand acres surrounding Fort Mohave. The Colorado River Reservation was not only for the Mohaves but for all tribes of the Colorado River drainage.

Meanwhile, the resistance of the Walapais to the encroachments on their land had continued. The Army carried out a campaign against them in 1866–1867 and forced the surrender of the most hostile leader, Sherum, who was influential among the more northerly bands. Lleva Lleva, another leader in the south, also ceased fighting. By 1871 most of the Walapais were living on a military reservation in the vicinity of what is now Peach Springs, under the control of the Army.

In 1867 government funds were appropriated for the construction of a large irrigation canal in the northern part of the Colorado River Reservation. Work was begun and Irataba persuaded many of the Mohaves to move away from Fort Mohave and settle in the vicinity of the new canal. It was not ready for operation until 1870 and when it was opened was badly damaged by river flood waters. Nevertheless the Mohaves began to farm, making what use they could of the canal. Sporadic fighting continued between them and other Indians, but not with Anglos. There was fighting with Chemehuevis and also with Paiutes. In a battle with the latter, Irataba was captured and disgraced by being disrobed. From then until his death in 1874, he steadily lost prestige with Mohaves. The Army had also stimulated hostility between Paiutes and Walapais and occasional fights developed between them. In 1874 the agent for the Mohaves conceived the plan of bringing the Walapais to the Colorado River Reservation. They were brought to the river but were unhappy and ran away almost immediately. In 1875 they were rounded up and brought back to the southern part of the reservation near La Paz, whence they again escaped and went back to Peach Springs. They were allowed to remain and a reservation was created for them there eight years later, after some years of continuing border warfare with Anglo miners and cattlemen.

The Yavapais ranging the central part of Arizona from the Verde to the Colorado and from the Gila to the Plateau had been engaged in constant small-scale conflict with the Anglos. In 1872 some of them raided the Gila Pima villages. Army posts were set up near Prescott and on the Verde River, and southward to the borders of the Apache country. There was some mixture of northeastern Yavapais with Tonto Apaches; the Yavapais and mixed-bloods came to be called Mohave-Apaches, or sometimes Yuma-Apaches by the Anglos. By 1875 all had been rounded up and placed on a piece of land near the Army post at Camp Verde. After constructing a large irrigation ditch there, they were forced to move again — to the newly-created San Carlos Apache Reservation, where an attempt was being made to concentrate the Western Apaches.

In 1880 a reservation was created for the less than three hundred Havasupais at their summer territory in Cataract Canyon. Three years later some of the territory in which the Walapais had been living, bordering the Colorado River, was established by executive order as the Hualapai Reservation.

Thus, all the Yuman tribes were placed on reservations embracing parts of the land which they had occupied, with the exception of the Yavapais who were moved into Apache territory. The thirty years of settlement of the area by the Anglos had
been characterized by sporadic fighting, but no concerted campaigns by the Indians. The Southern Pacific Railroad was completed through Yuma in 1877, and ten years later the Santa Fe Railroad was completed through Kingman in Walapai and Mohave territory. Anglo settlement was on the increase, particularly in the areas suitable for cattle raising, although the gold and other mines which had stimulated early settlement slowly ceased to produce. The brunt of the contact was now in the Walapai country. All Indians had been forced out of the Yavapai country; the Havasupais in their small canyon off the travel routes remained isolated; the Mohaves, Yumas, and Cocopas were in areas either not yet attractive to Anglos, or were effectively isolated by their reservations.

The Indian Bureau continued trying to build up the Mohave land into usable irrigated acres. Troubles continued with the irrigation system, but slowly Mohaves moved down from their land around Fort Mohave and worked at farming. A boarding school was established at Fort Mohave where Anglo children as well as children from various Yuman tribes attended. The Indian Bureau officials made efforts to stop the Yuman customs of cremating the dead and burning property at the death of an individual. They also made efforts to encourage the making of baskets as a means of income. Most of the Yumans in the period from about 1880 to after 1900 presented a sorry picture in the eyes of the Whites. The Anglo towns were growing, and on the outskirts of all those in Yuman territory groups of Indians established themselves, seeking odd-jobs and begging for food and clothing. Needles and Kingman on the Santa Fe Railroad developed little poverty-stricken colonies of Mohaves and Walapais respectively. Several bands of Walapais, driven out of their homes by the steady disappearance of game and food plants, camped habitually near Kingman. Much of the land on the Mohave reservation around Fort Mohave had become the property of the Santa Fe Railroad and although some dispossessed Mohaves moved south to Parker, many became hangers-on around Needles, living in ways that led the Anglos to despise them. At Yuma the Indians also became in part casual wage-workers and sellers of knickknacks to railroad passengers. The Yumas and Mohaves became well known to Indian Bureau employees and others living near them as a “depraved” group because of certain of their sexual customs. Epidemics of measles and other diseases struck the Walapais in 1886 and 1887 and killed some Indians.

In 1889 there was a revival among the Paiute Indians to the northwest in Nevada of a religious movement called the Ghost Dance. This spread widely among reservation Indians of the western United States. Paiute practitioners came among the Walapais in 1889 and explained the movement to them. The performance of a modified form of the traditional circle dance and the following of certain ritual rules, it was believed, would result in the disappearance of the white men, the return of game animals, and the repossession by the Indians of all their land. The Walapais immediately took up the new religion. At Grass Springs, seventy-five miles northeast of Kingman, some five hundred of the eight hundred Walapais prepared to dance and stay until the world should change. The immediate acceptance of the messianic ideas by the Walapais was based undoubtedly on recent events in their relations with Whites. They had been forced off land in
dozens of places and excluded from the use of long-used springs, including sacred ones. Anglos had cohabited forcibly with Walapai women. Settlers around Kingman seriously considered poisoning the Indians by various means in order to rid the country of people they regarded merely as a nuisance. Immediately after the creation of the reservation in 1883, there had been conflict with Anglo squatters in the area, and with others who persisted in moving onto the reservation after its creation. Although the Indian agent attempted to protect the Indians, the latter found themselves up against men with pistols who were ready to use them without regard to any land or other rights, no such rights, of course, being recognized for the Indians. The disputes over the reservation had resulted in 1884 in the killing of both Anglos and Indians. The Walapais had reached such a state of poverty that rations had to be issued. It was in this atmosphere that the Paiute Ghost Dance was introduced.

For two years the Walapais participated in the cult. At least two bands of Walapais never joined — those of the southern Walapai country under the leader Lleva Lleva, and the followers of Walapai Charlie, both of which groups habitually camped around Kingman. But most of the tribe joined in. After the millennium failed to appear during 1889, they settled down to periodic five-night ceremonies. The first appearance of the Ghost Dance ritual brought fear to the Anglos around Kingman, as it did to Anglos elsewhere in the western United States where Indians embraced the cult. It was proposed to call troops, but when investigation revealed that the Walapais expected an end of the Whites through supernatural rather than military means, they were permitted to proceed. By 1891 various promised miracles had failed to take place, and the Indians gradually lost interest in the dance and ceased to perform it. But the Ghost Dance spread from the Walapais to the Havasupais. In 1891 Chief Navajo, the most influential leader among the Havasupais, visited a Walapai Ghost Dance and went home greatly interested in it. The Havasupais adopted the dance as a unit and danced it for a year, when it also died out among them as suddenly as it had been taken up.

During the 1890's the Havasupais received special attention from the Indian Bureau, in an effort to develop their farming. They had been excluded from land on the plateau from which they habitually derived part of their subsistence. A government farmer established himself in Cataract Canyon and built an irrigation system which brought more land under cultivation, but this was destroyed by flood in 1909 along with the agency buildings. In 1894 a school was set up in the canyon. Although there was resistance to any attendance at first, gradually all the children began to attend either there or at the boarding schools at Fort Mohave and Truxton Canyon. For some years after 1895 Agent Bauer carried on a campaign to eliminate cremation and the associated destruction of houses and property at death. The Havasupai population had dwindled since 1850 from about 300 to half that number, 166, in 1906. But a slow increase began at that time and by 1941 there were 250 living on the reservation and an unknown number off the reservation. An Episcopal missionary began to work among the Havasupais in the 1920's, but had made only a few converts by 1950. In 1941 the Havasupais organized a tribal council in accordance with the Indian Reorganization Act, and
a shift in leadership from older to younger men began. For a generation or more before, the native office of headman had disintegrated as the government agency took over all the functions of leadership, such as irrigation, care of the aged, trail maintenance, education of the young, law enforcement, and the regulation of agricultural activities. The Indian Bureau in 1942 instituted a tribal herd of cattle with Indians in management positions.

After 1900 some Yavapais began to drift off the San Carlos Reservation where they had been placed with Western Apaches, many finding their way back to their old territory. As more settled around Camp Verde in central Arizona some land was set aside for them there in 1914 to be shared with Tonto Apaches, both being called Yavapai-Apache. Land had previously been set aside for “Mohave-Apaches” on the lower Verde River in 1903 at Fort McDowell. On both of these Yavapais gathered and remained under Indian Bureau jurisdiction. Several hundred Yavapais, however, remained on the San Carlos Reservation and participated in the cattle raising industry which developed there among the Western Apaches.

After 1884 the Mohaves remained divided into two groups, the smaller staying on the land around Fort Mohave and numbering around three hundred, while the larger took up residence on the reservation at Parker, where they numbered around eight hundred and shared the Colorado River Reservation with some two hundred Chemehuevis. There was far more than enough land for the one thousand Indians on the Parker reservation and the Indian Bureau steadily developed a large irrigation system. Anglo settlers moved onto the Fort Mohave Reservation and large ranches grew up, the Big Bend Ranch in 1910 and the Sota Ranch in 1915. In 1935 Hoover Dam was completed and the threat of flood from the Colorado River was removed, making the land more desirable to Anglos. As a result of Anglo pressure the reservation was opened in 1940 to White settlement and more Anglos moved in. Meanwhile, the irrigation developments of the Indian Bureau proceeded on the Colorado River Reservation. These were given impetus by the placing of twenty-five thousand Japanese-Americans on the reservation during World War II. When the latter were moved out the Indian Bureau asked the Mohaves and Chemehuevis to open the reservation to colonization by other Indians of the Colorado River drainage, principally Hopis and Navajos. In 1945 families of these tribes began to move in and establish themselves as farmers, raising alfalfa. The Colorado River tribes organized a tribal council in 1937 under the Indian Reorganization Act. It was this council which gave permission for the colonization and which set up a land code in 1940 to regulate the use of the new land brought under irrigation by the Indian Bureau. As the Hopi and Navajo colonists increased in numbers, it began to appear to the Mohaves that they would be outnumbered in the Colorado River Tribal Council and they began to oppose the colonization, contending that the Indian Bureau program had been forced on them. In 1957 further colonization by Hopis and Navajos was stopped.

There were four religious denominations working on the Colorado River Reservation by 1950—the Church of the Nazarene, the Assembly of God, the Presbyterians USA, and the independent Mojave Mission. After conversion to one or another Protestant sect, the Mohaves, together with some Yavapais, Walapais,
Chemehuevis, Gila Pimas, and Western Apaches organized an independent group of churches, in which the ministers were all Indians of one tribe or the other. They held joint camp meetings in the summer months and carried on religious work quite independently of any Anglo religious group.

Military force was required to bring all of the Yuman groups under United States political control with the exception of the Havasupais, who never carried on hostilities with the Anglos. Once brought under control and assigned to portions of their old lands or, like the Yavapais, transferred elsewhere, all the tribes submitted peacefully to the programs of the Indian Bureau. Only the Walapais continued in conflict for a considerable period as they struggled against encroaching Anglos to retain a hold on their land. The small numbers and the relative isolation of all the groups rendered them of no special concern to the Indian Bureau. All except the Mohaves escaped allotment of their lands, but all experienced, at least in mild forms, the religious suppression of the Indian Bureau. The Mohaves were unique among Southwestern Indians in having a large surplus of arable land on their reservation beyond their immediate needs.