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Pima-Maricopa Indians

ABORIGINAL LAND USE
AND OCCUPANCY OF THE
PIMA-MARICOPA INDIANS

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in two volumes

Volume II

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II. A Summary of the Evidence

The purpose of this chapter is to present an outline of the conclusions reached on each of the points specified as an objective of the report in the introduction. While the major sources employed to document these conclusions will be indicated, exact references, excerpts, and interpretation of source materials will be found only in the subsequent chapters.

Aboriginal Ancestors of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.

The aboriginal ancestors of the Pima-Maricopa Indian community have been investigated to determine the character of their sociological identity at the time they came under the jurisdiction of the United States. For this purpose, it was postulated that the ancestors of the present community would be considered a tribal society if the following criteria were met:

1. Economic self-sufficiency.
2. Socio-political autonomy.
3. Territorial distinctness.
4. Group-wide social interdependence.

On the first point, no evidence was encountered indicating Pima-Maricopa economic dependence upon any other group as a source of subsistence during the aboriginal period. On the contrary, it was frequently asserted as early as the Spanish period in the Rudo Ensayo and by Garces (Hayden 1924: 11,13) that Pima crop production was abundant. This statement was more than confirmed for the period of early American contact by J. Ross Browne's estimate of wheat surpluses ranging from 100,000 lbs. to 400,000

lbs. between the years 1858 and 1860 (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, November, 1864, pp. 704-706).

On the matter of socio-political autonomy, neither Spanish, nor Mexicans, nor other Indian tribes were successful in subjugating the Pima-Maricopa villages (Ezell 1957: 182; Goodwin 1942: 86-87). Charles D. Poston stated:

> "The Pimas and Maricopas are a confederated tribe...They hold one of the strongest positions on the continent, accessible only after crossing deserts in every direction, and have here defended their homes and fields against the barbarous Apaches since time immemorial....It would have been impossible for Government troops in the Territory to have subsisted there but for the supplies furnished by these Indians." ("Speech of Hon. Charles D. Poston of Arizona on Indian Affairs", delivered in the House of Representatives, March 2, 1865. N.Y., Edmund Jones and Co., 19 pp.)

The territorial distinctness of the Pima-Maricopa villages in mid-Nineteenth Century can be demonstrated by residual definition. The distinct territory occupied by these villages in mid-Nineteenth Century was delimited by the presence of hostile groups which surrounded them on three sides: the Yavapai on the northwest (Gifford 1936: 249-251); to the east and northeast were the Yavapai (Gifford 1932: 180-182) and Western Apache (Goodwin 1942: 86-87); to the west were the Yumas and Mohaves (Cremony 1951: 110-111, 130-131). 45

Specific territories occupied exclusively by these groups are delimited as follows:

1. The Western Yavapai occupied territory north of the Gila River and west of a point midway between the Hassayampa and Agua Fria Rivers (Gifford 1936).

2. To the north, a no mans' land existed as far as Cave Creek and Castle Hot Springs (Gifford 1936).

3. To the northeast, the land of the Southeastern Yavapai began at the Superstition Mountains (Gifford 1932).

4. To the east, the San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups of Western Apache, occupying the Pinal and Mazatzal Mountains, formed the boundary (Goodwin 1942).

5. On the west, Mohave and Yuma territory began between Gila Bend and the Picture Rocks (Cremony 1951; Reid 1935).

Pima-Maricopa territory did not include all space intervening between these boundaries, since substantial areas were considered neutral, or no-mans' land, between the groups. Other parts of the intervening zones were used alternately for hunting and gathering, though never jointly. Pima hunting and gathering parties ranged east as far as Globe and Ray (Southworth's Ms. "Pima Calendar Sticks", 1914), north to fishing camps on the Salt River (Bartlett 1854) in the vicinity of Phoenix, and west as far as Gila Bend (Cremony 1951).

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To the south, land bordering the Pima-Maricopa domain was occupied by the Papagos, a group whose northern boundary closely adheres to that of the present Sells Papago Reservation. The Pimas and Papagos were allies and relatives, practising joint use of non-agricultural lands for hunting and gathering over a radius extending from the Santa Cruz drainage in the vicinity of Red Rock (Castetter and Bell Field Notes 1942: 91) to the Papago Kohatk villages in the upper Santa Rosa Valley.

The interdependence of the Pima and Maricopa elements of the ancestors of the present Gila River Pima-Maricopa Community is based primarily on their alliance for common defense and mutual protection from the same enemies (Bartlett 1854; Russell 1908). The Maricopas were also included in the intervillage games of the Pimas (Spier 1933: 334-335).

Within the Pima element of the ancestral Pima-Maricopa Community of the mid-Nineteenth Century, villages were even more closely related both for purposes of defense and for joint economic pursuits (Ezell 1955; Underhill Ms. nd). In addition to participating in group-wide warning and mobilization structures for repelling Apache and Yuma attacks, individual villages cooperated in the excavation and maintenance of ditches and in the construction of dams.

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The concentrated character of the Pima-Maricopa population and the closely adjacent position of their villages facilitated these forms of cooperation. On all criteria pertaining to the nature of a tribal society, the ancestors of the present Gila River Pima-Maricopa Community have been shown to meet the requirements.

It may be further argued that the self-sufficiency, autonomy, distinctness and interdependence of the Pima-Maricopa villages in mid-Nineteenth Century is a by-product of processes at work largely during the Spanish period. Spanish sources demonstrate that the range of the Pima villages contracted considerably

between 1700 and 1850 (Hayden 1924), from nearly fifty miles to less than twenty miles along the Gila. This contraction was responsible for increased population density (Ezell 1955). The relationship between this contraction and the growing socio-political strength of the Pima-Maricopa alliance has been described by Philip Drucker (1941: 194-195).

Through abandonment of a large part of the territory which they occupied in the 18th Century, the Pima-Maricopa villagers were able to present a united front to the Apaches and other enemies confronting them. Their gift for self-preservation through creating a new cooperative and defensive socio-political structure saved them from the extinction visited upon their eastern relatives, the Sobaipuris (DiPeso 1953), who formerly occupied
48 the upper San Pedro River Valley.

Location of Villages Occupied by the Aboriginal Ancestors of the Petitioner.

During the years spanning the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase (1848-1854), the processes described during the years of Spanish contact with Indians on the Gila River continued to assert themselves. There was further reduction in the range of territories occupied, increase in population density, agricultural productivity, and socio-political interdependence.

The range of Pima-Maricopa village settlement in 1846, the year of the Kearney-Cooke expeditions through the Gila country,

was generally placed at 23 to 25 miles (Emory 1848; Bieber 1938a). By 1852, however, further consolidation had reduced the total range to approximately 15 miles (Bartlett 1854).

The major contraction of settlement took place at the western end of the settled area of Pima-Maricopa villages. At no time during the period was either a Pima or a Maricopa village located further west than the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers (Chamberlin 1945: 170-176). But, between 1846-1849, Maricopas were living below Maricopa Wells (Emory 1848; Bieber 1938a) and north of the Gila (Durivage 1937; Eccleston 1950).

By 1852-1854, Maricopas were living no further west than Pima Butte (Cremony 1951; Bartlett 1854), and all villages were located south of the Gila River (Whipple 1852). Withdrawal of the Maricopas eastward was attributed to raiding by the Yumas. 49

The eastern limit of settlement by the Pimas and Maricopas during the period remained more constant. It has been fixed at a point midway between Casa Blanca Ruin and the Sweetwater station, on the basis of the many estimates of the distance between the "Sacaton camp" of the Kearney, Cooke, and subsequent expeditions between 1846-1849, and the first Indian village encountered in their travel west from this camp. There is no evidence available for the entire period indicating that a Pima village was ever located north of the Gila River.

With the relaxation of Apache pressure, competition of non-Indian settlers on the river above them, and increased opportunity

to dispose of surplus wheat after the Civil War, Pimas and Maricopas were stimulated to extend their settlements upstream. This extension eastward was noted by Lord (1866). Even prior to this, Hutton (1859) had noted westward extension of cultivation to the vicinity of Maricopa Wells.

Location of Fields Cultivated by the Aboriginal Ancestors of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.

To a large extent, the location of Pima and Maricopa villages also serves the purpose of identifying and delimiting the areas which they cultivated, since fields and villages were adjacent. Observations such as those of Couts (1848) indicate that the villages formed a southern perimeter around the fields, with the Gila itself forming the northern boundary.

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The primary method used to determine both location and size of fields aboriginally cultivated by the Pima and Maricopa villagers has been a survey of evidence of previous irrigation, made by C. H. Southworth (1919). Southworth considers eight, and possibly nine canals to have been established prior to "the coming of the whites" (Anglo-Americans). These, with the estimated acreages cultivated under them are as follows:

1.	Old Maricopa.	250 acres
2.	Stotonic.	3,000
3.	Old Mount Top.	720
4.	Bapchil.	3,600
5.	Sratuka-Snaketown (north side).	2,100
6.	Bridlestood (north side).	1,200
7.	Sranuka-Alkali Camp.	1,050
8.	Ancient Maricopa (north side).	750
	TOTAL	12,670

Therefore, an upward limit, for aboriginal cultivation, of between 3,000 and 4,000 acres would seem to be indicated. The figure of 15,000 acres given by Bailey for 1859 refers to a period following the distribution of farm implements by the United States.

The total recorded from 1858, 15,000 acres, is the highest recorded for any year prior to the opening of the San Carlos Project. It should be noted that all points at which aboriginal cultivation took place, and the sites of all aboriginal villages which existed between 1852-1858, were included in the reservation established for the Pimas and Maricopas in 1859.

Location of Territories Used for Hunting and Gathering by the Aboriginal Ancestors of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Community.

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A general indication of the dimensions of the territory covered by the Pimas and Maricopas in their quest for plant and animal foods has already been entered in this summary (see pp. 2-3 above). The specific places visited by the Pimas and Maricopas, and the items sought, do not lend themselves to further summary.

Hunting and gathering activities must have occupied an important role in the minds of the Indians, since references to expeditions for these purposes appear so frequently in the calendar sticks. Castetter and Bell (1942) indicate that these activities may have supplied 50 to 60 percent of the total annual food supply "before white contact radically disturbed the subsistence pattern."

This statement refers to pre-Spanish times however, rather than to the mid-Nineteenth Century. Statements of Russell (1908) and Froebel (1861), among others, confirm the importance of such items as mesquite beans to the recent Pima-Maricopa diet.

Since Spier (1933) maintains that the Maricopas did not commence canal irrigation until their recent movement to a position adjacent to the Pima villages, it is reasonable to assume that their proportionate dependence on wild plants, fish and game animals was higher than that of the Pimas.

None of the lands employed by either the Pimas or Maricopas for hunting and gathering, except those immediately adjacent to their villages, seem to have been theirs exclusively. The calendar stick accounts of mescal gathering expeditions also
54 contain details of warfare with the Apaches, who were constantly present in regions as widespread as Picacho, Superstition Mountains, and the Santan and Estrella Mountains. Spier observes that ventures by the Maricopa north of the Salt River to gather sahuaro fruit always contained the danger of encounters with the Yavapai who "descended from the mountains to gather it in the same area." (Spier (1933: 56).

Only mesquite trees which grew in their fields, and immediately adjacent to the river, and cactus stands located in the foothills between the villages could be considered the exclusive possessions of the Pimas and Maricopas. Even here, they were subject to Apache raids within shouting distance of the villages.

Hostilities were much more frequent, however, when the Pima-Maricopa traveled further in search of sahuaro, mescal and pitahaya.

Territories Used for Grazing by the Aboriginal Ancestors of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Community.

All accounts for the years 1846-1854 indicate that very few domestic animals were possessed by these Indians. There is reason to believe (Whittemore 1893) that the Pimas did not possess livestock until the 1830's, or perhaps a decade earlier. At that time, they were reputedly "afraid" of cattle.

There is little specific information concerning territory employed for grazing of animals. It is almost certain, however, that neither cattle nor horses were permitted to stray very far from the vicinity of the village, since Apaches were constantly in wait to capture them.

These Indians would have had little reason to take their cattle far afield to graze. Grass was plentiful along the river, and the mesquite bean harvest provided additional animal food. Animals could also graze upon corn stubble, making pasturage available practically within the village itself.

Every bit of evidence (Emory 1848; Russell 1908) leads to the conclusion that, aboriginally, the Pimas and Maricopas possessed few horses, and virtually no cattle. The avidity with which naturally dead animals were consumed indicates the scarcity of meat.

"Raids against the enemy were regular occurrences. Not only did the Yavapai fight the Pima, but also their own linguistic relatives, the Maricopa, the Walapai, and the Havasupai...

The map below, showing the distribution of the various Yavapai bands as taken from informant testimony, is taken from Gifford (1936: Map 1).

The Apache Indians. - The most outstanding authority concerning the Western Apache Indians, those Apaches whose lands bordered on Pima territory, is Grenville Goodwin (1942). He worked with no less than thirty-six informants intensively for twenty-two months, actually having been personally acquainted with Western Apache culture for ten years.

The Apache Indians generally are separated into two main divisions, an eastern and western, the first consisting of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache tribes, and the western of Navajo, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apache. The differentiations are largely linguistic.

Goodwin (1942: 2) further subdivides the Western Apache into five groups, fourteen bands, and six semibands as follows:

1. White Mountain group, divided into two bands:
   a) Eastern White Mountain b) Western White Mountain

2. Cibecue group, divided into three bands:
   a) Carrizo b) Cibecue proper c) Canyon Creek

3. San Carlos group, divided into four bands:
   a) Pinal c) San Carlos proper
   b) Arivaipa d) Apache Peaks

4. Southern Tonto group, divided into one band and six semibands:
   a) Mazatzal band e) Fourth semiband
   b) First semiband f) Fifth semiband
   c) Second semiband g) Sixth semiband
   d) Third semiband

5. Northern Tonto group, divided into four bands:
   a) Mormon Lake c) Bald Mountain
   b) Fossil Creek d) Oak Creek

Goodwin points out that many of the terms applied to various Apache groups have been misleading and confusing. "Coyotero," for example, has been used to designate all the peoples of the Western Apache division, and sometimes for
70 Chiricahua as well; similarly, Pinaleno for the San Carlos and/or White Mountain groups. His classification should end future confusion, but it comes too late for the 1846 to 1883 period with which we are concerned.

Nonetheless, by whatever name, Goodwin has succeeded in delineating Western Apache territory on the basis of informant testimony and using historical documents, and excerpts from his material on boundaries are as follows (1942: 12-88):

"The White Mountain group. - ...They occupied that country mainly on the west slope of the White Mountains, Blue Range, and Morenci Mountains, south across the Gila River to the Graham Mountains, and as far as the Winchester Mountains. Their principal farm sites were located on the East Fork of the White River; head farm sites were located on the East Fork of the White River; head of Bonito Creek; head of Turkey Creek; at a place near the head of Black River; on Eagle Creek at the present site of the Double Circle Ranch; at Point of Pine west of Eagle Creek; on the head of Cienega Creek running into Eagle Creek, with minor sites at other places. According to tradition, the Eastern White Mountain farms north of Black River were occupied before those to the south...

"South of the Gila River they camped about the Graham Mountains, and even as far as the Winchester Mountains, the southern slopes of the Grahams being a favorite place to gather and prepare mescal in springtime. It was here also that they made hidden camps from which raiding parties could be sent to Mexico, not very far south, to bring back horses, cattle, and other booty. Turnbill Mountain was also used for mescal and as a base for raiding parties. Favorite wintering places were sheltered spots near springs along the foot of the Natanes Rim on Ash Flat, as the face of the rim had a continuous southern exposure (pp. 12-13)..."

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"The Cibecue group. - The Carrizo were a small band living on Carrizo Creek above the present crossing of the Cibecue road. Their farms began six miles or so up and were scattered along the creek bottom for some four miles...

"Much of the year was spent at their farms. They ranged south to the Black River Canyon, where there was some mescal; westward to the Cibecue Mountain, which bounded their territory; northward up over the Mogollon Rim, hunting in that high-timbered country; beyond there to the region of Showlow, and toward Snowflake for juniper berries and pinons, but not farther because of the Navajo. Eastward, they were bordered by the Western White Mountain band, the line running roughly along the divide between Carrizo Creek and Cedar Creek. The lower part of the

Carrizo Creek, near Black River, was shared with the Western White Mountain Band, though not always amicably. The canyon of the Carrizo affords a sheltered place in winter with southern exposures, its walls deep enough to guard from heavy winds, and a delightful spot in summer, with its heavy shade of cottonwood groves and, farther above, the thick growth of alders.

"Because of a clan dispute, probably in 1845-55, between two of the four clans on the Carrizo - clans 57 and 46 - the latter was forced to make permanent new settlements and farms elsewhere. One of these, with permission of Diablo, was on North Fork of White River at an unoccupied part of the river bottom about eight miles above the present town of White River. The other was on the head of the Forestdale Creek. The first settlement was on White Mountain lands...

"Farms of the (Cibecue proper) band were on Cibecue Creek, or its tributaries, and were scattered along both sides of the creek from approximately four miles below the present trading store up to the mouth of Salt Creek. There were occasional farming patches on Salt Creek for nearly five miles and along Upper Cibecue Creek to White Springs. On Spring Creek, west of Cibecue, was a smaller settlement with farms. Although much time was spent in
72 the valley of the Cibecue, frequent hunting trips were made along the Mogollon Rim in the Pinedale and Heber region, and sometimes in the fall the people journeyed farther north than this for juniper berries. They ranged southward to the Black River. The boundary to the west roughly followed the divide between Cibecue Valley and Canyon Creek...

"(The farms of the Canyon Creek band), more widely scattered than those of the Cibecue band, were located on Oak Creek, in Gentry Canyon running into Canyon Creek, on Canyon Creek, just below the mouth of Lost Fork Canyon, and at a place on Cherry Creek at the east foot of the Sierra Ancha. The sites were not extensive, but enough corn was raised to augment greatly the food supply.

"The people traveled just beyond the Mogollon Rim as far as the head of Chevelon Fork on Chevelon Butte, which

was as far as they dared without being in danger of the Navajo. On the west they claimed to the east end of Pleasant Valley and to the crest of the Sierra Ancha, where they often hunted and made summer camps. West of them in Pleasant Valley, and along the west slope of the Sierra Ancha, lived the Southern Tonto. On the south their territory was bounded by the Upper Salt River...(pp. 17-19, 21-23)."

"The San Carlos group. - ...Besides (the main farming land of the Pinal band) (six miles or so of scattered farms along Pinal Creek in the Wheat Fields area) there were farming sites at the juncture of Pinal Creek and Upper Salt River, and on Salt River from the mouth of Pinal Creek to that of Tonto Creek. The people using these farms were some distance from Wheat Fields...In Coon Creek Canyon, running into Salt River, were farms shared by this band with some of the Apache Peaks band and a few of the Canyon Creek band. Certain of the Pinal shared a farm site with Arivaipa people...on the north bank of the Gila River, in the mouth of Dick Springs Canyon...

"When not at their farms, they ranged the country between them. Most of the summer was spent on the Pinal Mountain, where game abounded, and the country was cool, high, and safe from enemies. The south and southwest slopes were used for camp sites during the cold months of the year and as a base for raids on the Pima villages westward, Mexican settlements to the south, and the Papago country to the southwest. South of Pinal Mountain was Dripping Springs Valley, territory of southeastern Yavapai. The band claimed as their western boundary the west end of Pinal Mountain, and a line running north from there along the east-west divides of the mountains to the present site of Roosevelt Dam, Iron Mountain being the most westerly point. Beyond was Yavapai country...

"The mountains included in their territory on the west afforded a good place for game and certain wild plant foods. To the north they were bounded by the Southern Tonto, whose territory began some distance across the Salt River. On the east their land ran almost to the Apache Peaks, around which the friendly Apache Peaks band lived. To the southeast they were bounded by the Gila River, and

beyond it lived their most closely related band, the Arivaipa. Just northwest of the Gila River were the Mescal Mountains, a favorable region for mescal plants...

"As the Arivaipa and Pinal consider themselves closely related to each other, it is quite probable that the Arivaipa were merely a part of the Pinal band which moved south...It is difficult to say when the Arivaipa occupied their historic territory, but we know that the Sobaipuri, a Piman tribe who inhabited the San Pedro River Valley, were forced to give up their settlements along that river in the middle of the eighteenth century because of Apache pressure.

"The Arivaipa farming sites which were their main places of abode were three: at the mouth of Dick Springs Canyon, their largest one in the head of the Arivaipa Canyon..., and the third nearly at the mouth of the same canyon. Their territory extended east to Turnbill Mountain and the Santa Teresa Mountains. South, they ranged to the head of the Arivaipa Valley and the southern end of the Galliuro Mountains, beyond which was Chiricahua territory. The southern end of the Galliuro Mountains and the southwest spur of the Santa Teresa Mountains, where the country was very rough and where women, children, and old people
74 could be left hidden securely, were favorite locations for winter camps from which raiding parties could go to Mexico. Across the San Pedro to the southwest the Arivaipa ranged along the northeast slope of the Santa Catalina and Tanque Verde Mountains. The vicinity of Oracle was a favorite place for gathering acorns. During the summer time they lived in these mountains, almost overlooking Tucson and the Santa Cruz Valley. Here was good hunting and safety, as long as a sharp watch was kept for Mexicans, Americans, and Papago. Along the San Pedro Valley the fruit of the saguaro was gathered in July.

"From near the mouth of the San Pedro River up the Gila River to the mouth of Dripping Spring Wash, they were bordered by the Yavapai, whose territory began west of these rivers. Between the Mescal Mountains and the region about the mouth of the San Carlos River, the San Carlos band were their neighbors...

"The almost negligible number of farms of the San Carlos band were at all places on the San Carlos River, from Victor's Bluff to just above the mouth of Seven Mile Wash. With no ditches or dams for irrigation of the little patches of corn, wheat, and pumpkins, they depended on planting in the damp soil along the river bottom, which they say at that time grew thick with brush and groves of cottonwood trees...The people spent most of their time between the region of Cassador Springs and the Gila River. They went south of the Gila River only on raids to Mexico. On the north they ranged as far as the vicinity of Hill Top and from there on to Salt River Canyon, touching the river only opposite the mouth of Salt River Draw,..., where deposits from brackish water coming into Salt River from the north were used for salt. Those deposits were a common salt ground to all the people of the region, and no band or group claimed them. On the east their territory ran to the Triplets, which they say was their mountain. To the west they claimed the country as far as the east foot of the Apache Peaks, the land of the friendly and related Apache Peaks band, who permitted them to gather and roast the mescal which grew on their mountains. To the south the Hayes Mountains offered good hunting and varieties of wild plant foods. Their land went as far as the Mescal Mountains near the foot of Dripping Springs Wash...

"Within their (Apache Peaks band) own territory there were no farms, but some of the band had little farm patches on the San Carlos River at the mouth of Seven Mile Wash and at one or two sites about a mile below. Others farmed in the territory of the Pinal band where the Roosevelt-Globe Highway crosses Pinal Creek. Below, at Wheat Fields, they farmed with the Pinal, but all the Apache Peaks farms are said to have been on the east side of the creek, whereas the Pinal farmed on both sides. This was because the Apache Peaks people were outsiders and belonged to the east. A few had farms at the site in Coon Creek Canyon already mentioned. For their own territory the band claimed all the Apache Peaks, on which they spent most of the year when not at the farms. Northward, they ranged over the Seven Mile Mountains and along the south side of Upper Salt River from the mouth of Coon Creek to the mouth of Salt River Draw, where they obtained salt...(pp. 24-25, 27-28, 30-31, 33)." 75

"The Southern Tonto group. - The Southern Tonto are divided into the Mazatzal band and six more amorphous divisions called semibands...

"The crest of the Mazatzal Range forms a rough line running north from Four Peaks. It was a fine place for the (Mazatzal band) people to camp in the heat of summer, with good hunting and plentiful plant foods. On the south they were bounded again by the Yavapai, north of Salt River. On the east they ranged to Tonto Creek and across it in the region of the present village of Tonto, one of their main camp sites, and where the most influential chief,..., lived much of the time...

"While many of the band spent most of their time in the Mazatzal Mountains and had no farms, others planted at various places along Tonto Creek, from its mouth up to the box canyon above the entrance of Gem Creek. At the juncture of Salt River and Tonto Creek they, and members of the Pinal band, had adjacent farms but always retained their group identities...

"The first semiband inhabited the west slope of the Sierra Ancha from the head of Gem Creek south to Salt River, just above the mouth of Tonto Creek. On the southwest it was bounded by Tonto Creek and on the west extended almost
76 to the same water course...

"The second semiband was composed mainly of people belonging to three related clans and one unrelated clan who still occupied their legendary origin places: clan 15 on Spring Creek, along which their farms were located; clan 16 near Turkey Creek between Spring Creek and Gisela, their favorite camp site; clan 17 at...Gisela, their farm site; and clan 51..., the juncture of Rye and Tonto Creeks, where they farmed...

"The third semiband was composed mainly of people belonging to clans who claimed origin at places within its lands: clan 35 from...Payson and clan 33 from...Round Valley, closely related to each other. The people farmed at the above two sites as well as at Green Valley...and Star Valley...

"The fourth semiband consisted mainly of two unrelated clans...They ranged north toward the East Verde to the bordering fifth semiband with whom they felt closely affiliated...

"The fifth semiband was composed of two unrelated clans: clan 60, claiming origin...in the open grassy country sloping toward the East Verde in the vicinity of White Rock Mesa, north of the East Verde, and clan 34, who claim to have originated...a little north of the East Verde in Weber Canyon. Its members were fairly numerous, farming not only at (the above places), but also on the East Verde just below the Payson to Pine Road, about two miles up the East Verde at a site called...'on a hilltop, at Pine itself, on Pine Creek near Natural Bridge, at Strawberry, and on the south fork of Strawberry Creek...

"The people within this area seldom went south of the East Verde. Northward, they ranged up to the top of the Mogollon Rim, where they had one farm at Strawberry. North and east of the Mogollon Rim they extended through the Long Valley country and as far as the region of Hay Lake; but this high, pine-timbered country was utilized only for hunting and gathering certain wild seeds in the summer. In winter the people were to be found south of the Mogollon Rim, a lower and milder climate...Their old territory is completely taken over by Americans.

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"The sixth semiband consisted of four related clans and a clan or clan division. Clan 47 lived mainly between the head of the East Verde and east along the foot of the Mogollon Rim to Promontory Butte, and at (a point) just east of Promontory Butte, with farms on the East Verde near the mouth of Pyeatt Gulch, and at (another point) just east of Promontory Butte. Clan 48 farmed in a canyon about six miles north of Young's Post Office at Pleasant Valley. Clan 50 farmed a quarter of a mile below (another point) in the same canyon. Clan 49 farmed in the same canyon..., and clan 62 farmed...near Christopher Mountain and Horse Mountain, south of Promontory Butte. They extended up over the Mogollon Rim and toward the country southeast of Hay Lake. This northern area was visited only on hunting trips or in summer to get certain seeds and berries, most of the year being spent south of the Mogollon Rim...(pp. 35-40)."

"The Northern Tonto group. - The people of the Mormon Lake band,..., had their main camp site at a big park in the pine timber east of Mormon Lake and near the head of Anderson's Canyon, where a spring with blue sand bubbled up...They claim to have had no farms, lacking water or suitable ground, and because of their exposed position to hostile Navajo, Havasupai, and Walapai. They depended entirely on hunting and wild plant foods.

Besides (the above), favorite summer camps were in the vicinity of Mormon Lake, Mary's Lake, and elsewhere. In summer the people ranged up to the southern foot of the San Francisco Mountains and Elden Mountain at Flagstaff. They hunted here but never went far up on the mountains... Southward they extended as far as Stoneman's Lake and Hay Lake...In the cold months the people moved eastward into the sheltered draws along the edge of the great level desert country sloping toward the Little Colorado River...They were the only Western Apache who lived entirely north of the Mogollon Rim...

"(The farms of the members of the Fossil Creek band), none of them more than tiny patches, were on Fossil Creek, Clear Creek, and at a site on the Verde River below the mouth of Deer Creek. The people were well scattered over their territory, most of them having no farms. Westward,
78 they extended to the west side of the Verde River, beyond which was the friendly and related Bald Mountain band. Northwestward their land ran across Clear Creek to Oak Creek band territory. Northeastward, Apache Maid Mountain was approximately their limit. To the southeast there were the Southern Tonto people, always distinct from them. Southwest, a band of Yavapai...lived about the big timbered mountain composing Turret Peak and Pine Mountain, from which they took the name...

"(The members of the Bald Mountain band) lived almost entirely about the big mountain from which they took their name. The band, if it really can be called such, was very small and made its living entirely by hunting and wild plant foods, as no farm land existed. To north, west, and south were Yavapai related to the band through its own Yavapai people...

"(The members of the Oak Creek band) lived along Oak Creek on Dry Beaver Creek and Wet Beaver Creek. Southward, their territory ran to the west side of the Verde River, between Altman and West Clear Creek. Eastward, they ranged up on the Mogollon Rim, as far as Stoneman's Lake and almost to Mary's Lake. Northward, their territory extended to the region of Roger's Lake and Flagstaff. Westward, they did not range much beyond the divide between Oak Creek and Sycamore Creek, where Yavapai people of other bands lived... (pp. 43-46)."

"To the southwest (of Apache territory) were the Papago...Western Apache and Papago relations were continually warlike, the former sending many raiding parties against the latter, who retaliated in like manner. The San Carlos group, being the closest, bore the brunt of this strife...

"West, were the Pima and Maricopa, both enemies. The Apache say of the Pima that they could never see them without getting into a fight, apparently quite true... Usually no distinction was made between Pima, Maricopa, and Papago...All other (but White Mountain) Western Apache raided them. One raid followed another, particularly in wintertime, when there was little else to do. From Pima attacks the exposed San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups, particularly the Pinal and Mazatzal bands, suffered the most. Success on both sides seems to have been about equal... (pp. 86-87)." 79

The map, with its key, shown below, are from Goodwin 1942: 4-5:

See Ex. 17

this term to include all five groups of Gila River Yuman speakers), nor Papago.

From Cremony (1951: 110, 130-132), who was along the Gila River between the Pima and Maricopa villages and the Colorado River in both 1852 and 1853, we learn about the Gila Bend desert that, "This space of fifty miles is entirely without water, and is the highway for the Coyoteros and some of the Sierra Blanca Apaches making raids upon Sonora. The probabilities were very much in favor of meeting one or more war parties of those tribes..., but failed to see any..." We also learn that moving from west to east up the Gila River from the Colorado, that once reaching Antelope Peak Cremony's party felt safe from the Yumas, "although exposed to visits from the Tonto Apaches, who inhabit the northern side
82 of the Gila from Antelope Peak to the Pimo villages." Just below Grinnell's Station, Cremony's party indeed encountered a band of hostile Indians identified by him as "Apache," but a group which might just as easily have been Yavapai.

It is John R. Bartlett who offers some of the most lucid observations for 1852 (Bartlett 1854: 179, 215-216, 233, 260):

> "On the Gila, no tribes have any fixed habitation, nor are any lands irrigated and cultivated, until the district occupied by the Coco-Maricopas and Pimos is reached, two hundred miles to the east (from the Colorado River). The Yumas occasionally range up and down the Gila, but only on predatory excursions. They strictly belong to the Colorado near the junction with the Gila...

"(June 30, 1852): A party of the Coco-Maricopas remained with us today, who were to set off in the morning on an expedition against their enemies, the Apaches, north of the Salinas...

"On the northern side of the (Gila) River there is less bottomland, and the irrigation is more difficult. There are a few cultivated spots here; but it is too much exposed to the attacks of their enemies for either tribe to reside upon it...

"But few Indians came in today, as we were between six and eight miles above their most easterly village. Those who ventured to follow us, said that it was unsafe to go so far from home unless in large numbers, as bands of Apaches were constantly hanging about near their villages, watching every opportunity to send an arrow through them, or rob them of their animals..."

The ethnographer of the Pima Indians, Frank Russell, has published an extensive narrative taken from a compilation of events recorded on five Pima calendar sticks. The narrative of events runs from 1833 to 1901-02, and the stories related therein make it eminently clear that Pimas and Apaches were in continuous warfare with one another and right at one another's door step (Russell 1908: 38-66). That the Apaches were at least using the Superstition Mountains part of the year is also made clear by this narrative, which mentions Pimas, Maricopas, and Americans going to the Superstition Mountains to contact Apaches (e.g., pp. 51-52). 83

In the winter of 1872-73, "the United States soldiers and the Pima, Maricopa, and Apache scouts surrounded the Superstition

Mountain Apaches at the 'Tanks' and rained bullets into their ranks until not a single man remained alive (Russell 1908: 54)."

Interestingly enough, the narrative of the calendar sticks also indicates that in 1876-77, "There was an Apache village called Havany Kas at the juncture of the Gila and Salt rivers while a truce existed between the Pimas and Apaches (Russell 1908: 55)."

Russell states flatly in his own writing that whenever Pimas "got a mile from their own villages they were in the land of the Apache (1908: 67)." But since Apaches raided practically right into Pima villages, and since Pimas chased Apaches into the mountains well into Apache territory, the land "a mile from their own villages" might be said to have been a kind of no-man's
84 land, land there for the use of anyone strong enough or brave enough to venture out upon it.

In another place, regarding Apache raids, Russell remarks (1908: 200-201): "Every three or four days small parties of five or ten would come to steal live stock or to kill any individual that might have gone some little distance from the villages. Larger war parties came over once or twice a month, though longer periods sometimes elapsed without a visit from the Apaches. Chief Antonio declares that the Apaches formerly lived farther away from

the Pimas, and hence their raids were less frequent than they were during the middle portion of the last century. At all events the activity of the enemy became sufficient to cause the abandonment of the outlying villages east of the present agency of Sacaton and the concentration of the tribe into seven villages upon the Gila plain..."

In short, it is perfectly clear that by the mid-1800's, and apparently as early as 1846, marauding neighbors to the east (Southeastern Yavapai, San Carlos and Tonto Apaches), to the west (Yuma, Mohave, Tonto Apaches, and Yavapai), and to the north (Yavapai, Apache) - as well as raids to the south along the Santa Cruz River and in the vicinity of Redrock and Picacho Peak by various Apache bands - had conspired to constrict whatever territory the Pimas and Maricopas may previously have controlled to that small area in which they were found by Cooke, Emory, and others in 1846. This region will be sharply delineated in the next chapter.

If the writer's views are accepted, then the community of Akchin and the Kohatk villages define the southern boundary occupied by non-Pima-Maricopas. Beyond them, to the south, were located other villages of the Papagos.

The Papago Indians. - The Papago Indians are those Piman-speaking Indians who one hundred years ago occupied the desert lands south of the Gila Pimas and the Kohatks as well as stretches of land along the Santa Cruz River from Tucson southward. Their territory is that as shown by Lumholtz (1912) on his map of "Papago Rancherias, Present and Past." The Papago Indians are those whose culture has been described by Lumholtz (1912); Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky (1949); Underhill (1939, 1946); and others. The Papago Indians were the
92 neighbors of the Pima and Kohatk as outlined by Ezell (1955: 139-141), their identity as a group distinct from the Gila Pimas having been specified in even the earliest Spanish literature on the subject.

Gila Pima Territory - A Summary from the Non-Pima Sources: The evidence from non-Pima materials, cited above, seems to make it clear that by 1846 the Pima and Maricopa Indians were living in a narrow stretch of land south of the Gila River from the vicinity of Casa Blanca, extending no farther west than the Gila-Salt confluence. Despite the fact that the Gila Pimas

gathered clay in the Superstition Mountains (Ezell 1955: 153), and despite the fact that various places in the Superstition Mountains and Casa Grande and points up the Gila River were regarded as sacred and were points which Pimas visited for supernatural reasons (Ezell 1955: 261, 264-267), these regions were in reality a kind of no man's land. As Gifford (1932: 182) has said, "To the southwest (of Southeastern Yavapai) were the hostile Maricopa and Pima, separated by intervening stretches of uninhabited country - no man's land. This might be visited by either side during a raid or in gathering desert products." Virtually all of the sources examined by this writer for the 1846-1868 period have borne out Gifford's statement. The same was doubtless true to the east, where Pimas were afraid to venture any farther than five or six miles east of Casa Blanca unless in a large party, "...as bands of Apaches were constantly hanging about near their villages, watching every opportunity to send an arrow through them, or rob them of their animals (Bartlett 1854: 260)." 93