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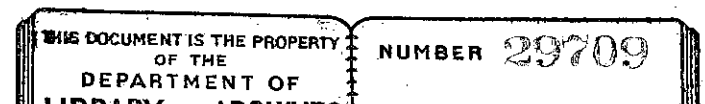
The SOCIAL
ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN
APACHE

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With a Preface by
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To
THE WESTERN APACHE

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los group, being the closest, bore the brunt of this strife. The more remote White Mountain group did not raid the Papago, though, on occasions, Papago raiding parties surprised White Mountain camps in the southern part of their territory. There is little or no modern Papago contact.

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. They called them *sáikiné*, the same name used for the Papago. The Southern Tonto called the Maricopa *kéllá'tsǐhé* ("wood under the feet people"), again because of their sandals. Usually no distinction was made between Papago, Pima, and Maricopa. The White Mountain group, being too far east, did not war against the Pima or Maricopa. But all other 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 equal. Apache took Pima captives, usually children, and raised them. Descendants of these captives who married Apache are still living among the Cibecue and San Carlos. Probably more outside Indian blood was added to the Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto groups from the Pima and Papago than from any other source, excepting Yavapai.

Descriptions of Papago and Pima raids into Western Apache territory vary little. The following is typical:

I have heard that these people were like coyotes and that they wouldn't fight like men, but always came at night and hit us on the head with their clubs. They used no bow or gun, just a club to hit you on the head with. When they heard a gun go off, it made them sort of back up. They were scared of guns. They used to attack mostly in the summertime right in the middle of the night when everyone would be asleep. You would wake up and hear someone cry out, and that would be the warning.

Modern contact with Pima is almost nonexistent except in the Indian schools such as at Phoenix and Riverside. However, the strong feeling of hostility which the Apache bore them remains.

The Apache often remark with much feeling that their farming lands on the San Carlos were sacrificed so that their traditional enemies, the Pima, might have water from Coolidge Dam to irrigate crops. Some two years ago during an intertribal meeting at the Phoenix Indian school, a San Carlos man said with emotion, "The Pima are our enemies" and was not pacified by the assertion of a government employee from Washington that the Pima had been their friends since the establishment of the reservations.

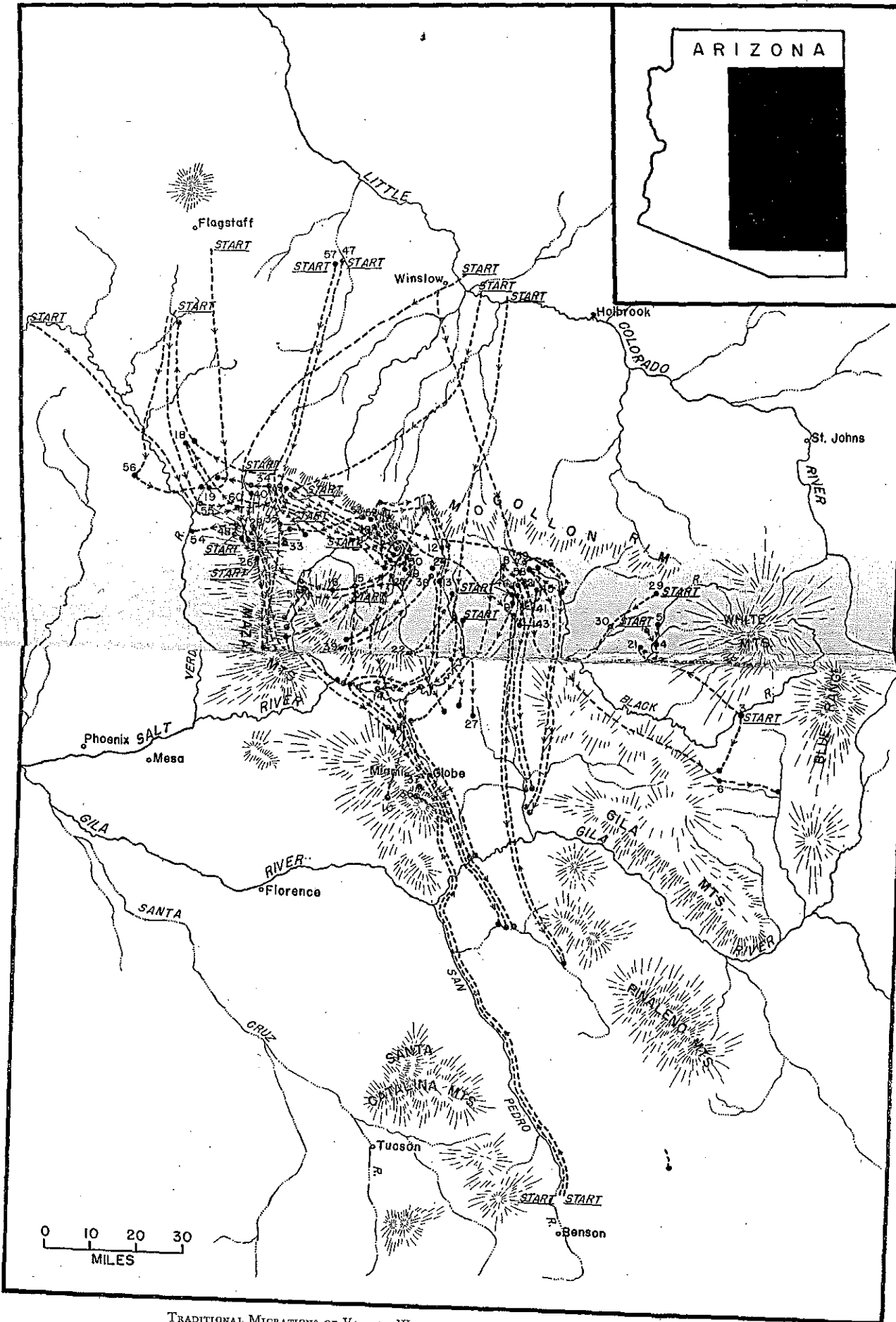
Apparently there was no contact between Western Apache and Yuma and Mohave until some of the Yuma were placed on the San Carlos Reservation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After a few years' residence, they were sent back to their homes on the Colorado River and since that time have remained far removed. John Rope says of them: "They were tall men with long hair and always went barefoot. The soles of their feet were seamed like those of a bear. They talked differently from the Yavapai. The only name we have for them is *mbàtci-yú'ma* [corruption of Apache-Yuma]."

The Western Apache name for the Yavapai is commonly *gó'há*, sometimes *gó'he*, the latter apparently being an old White Mountain term. They are also called *mbàtci-yú'mà*, a corruption of the term "Apache-Yuma," an old white term for them. The first two terms are said to be derived from the word *dígò*, signifying a rough, rocky country, because the Yavapai inhabited such a land. The Northern Tonto specific name for the band of Yavapai living about the present site of Fort Macdowell was *yutsinudé* ("desert people"). The Western Apache groups having most contact with the Yavapai were the San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto. The Cibecue also knew them. Though the White Mountain Apache knew them well through the intermediate Western Apache groups, they had little actual contact with them except on occasional visits to the Yavapai country. The Pinal band was on most friendly terms with the Southeastern Yavapai, and sometimes the two peoples camped together, even joining in raids against the Pima. The Arivaipa band, being slightly more remote, knew less of them.

from the present data. Southwestern tribes unknown to the Western Apache and not mentioned already are: Cocopa, Mohave, Kamia, Diegueño, Chemehuevi, Paiute, Ute, Jicarilla, Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, Comanche.

The influence of the Spanish and later Mexican people, called *nà'k'àyà* ("people who travel from place to place"), was definite. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, being farthest removed from Spanish settlements, probably felt it less than the more southerly groups. Most of the White Mountain raids and war parties were directed against Sonora, south of the present international boundary, whereas the Cibecue and San Carlos groups divided their attentions between Mexican settlements and the Pima, Maricopa, and Papago. The main route to Mexico for the White Mountain Apache was through the Arivaipa Valley to its head, over to the San Pedro Valley, and up this into the settled area of Sonora. On reaching Mexican country, raiding parties might choose to go southwest, south, or southeast against the towns or ranches which offered the best advantages. Thus they missed the settlements of the Santa Cruz Valley from Tucson on south, these falling to the lot of the San Carlos and Cibecue groups who followed the valley up on their way to the south.

The size of the territory in Sonora over which the Western Apache raided is extraordinary. The Apache knew it like their own country, and every mountain, town, or spring of consequence had its Apache name. Raiding parties sometimes reached the Gulf of California, probably between the mouth of the Rio de la Concepción and Tiburon Island. They operated almost as far south as Hermosillo and Suaqui, Sonora, but eastward they did not go beyond the Bavispe and San Bernardino rivers. Chihuahua was unknown to them. It was not unusual for a party to be gone seventy or eighty days. Raids brought the Apache horses, mules, burros, cattle, cloth, clothing, blankets, metal to be made into spearheads, arrowpoints or knives, occasionally firearms, saddles, bridles, leather, cowhide for moccasins soles, and anything else light and useful which could be brought home. Animals obtained were commonly killed and



TRADITIONAL MIGRATIONS OF VARIOUS WESTERN APACHE CLANS (FOR DETAILS SEE APPEN. G)