SURVIVING CONQUEST

A History of the Yavapai Peoples

TIMOTHY BRAATZ

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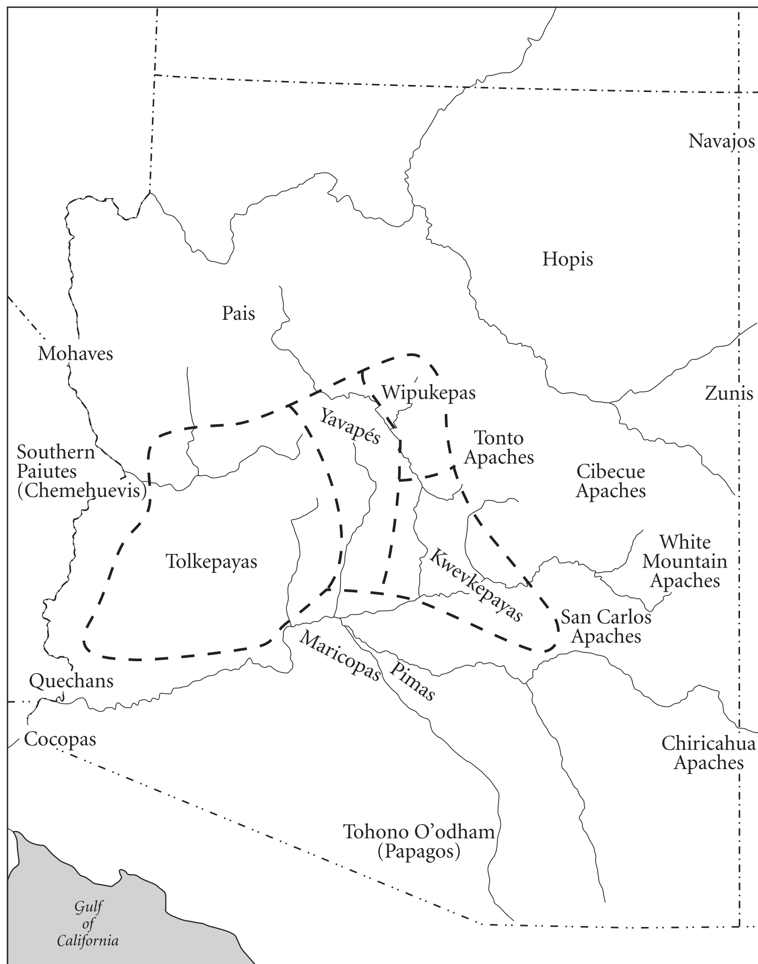
Acknowledgments

Following the wise and bold example of Howard Zinn, I begin by acknowledging my biases. I am not a Yavapai, and this book probably suffers for it. I have tried to describe the past as the historical record presents it. However, I have strong opinions about right and wrong, and they have influenced the choices I have made and the questions I have asked. Like Albert Hurtado, I pull for the underdog. Like Wilbur Jacobs, I believe a historian at work has certain moral responsibilities. The reader should know that I denounce the U.S. government's shameful tradition of expansionism, conquest, racism, militarism, and imperialism. Regarding American Indian peoples, some U.S. policies have been and continue to be genocidal. With Ward Churchill, I believe that the U.S. government's claim to most of its national territory is, by its own laws and precepts, illegal and illegitimate. This is not to say that North America before 1776 or 1492 was free of violence, cruelty, ethnocentrism, and injustice; it was not. But in this day and age, when monied interests, the owners of press and television, and the politicians who work for them bombard the American public with an ideology of American greatness, inevitability, and moral superiority, historians should resist the rewards and security of obedient conformity and attempt to set the record straight. That is what I believe, and those beliefs color the way I have interpreted in this book the history that played out in the region now called Arizona.

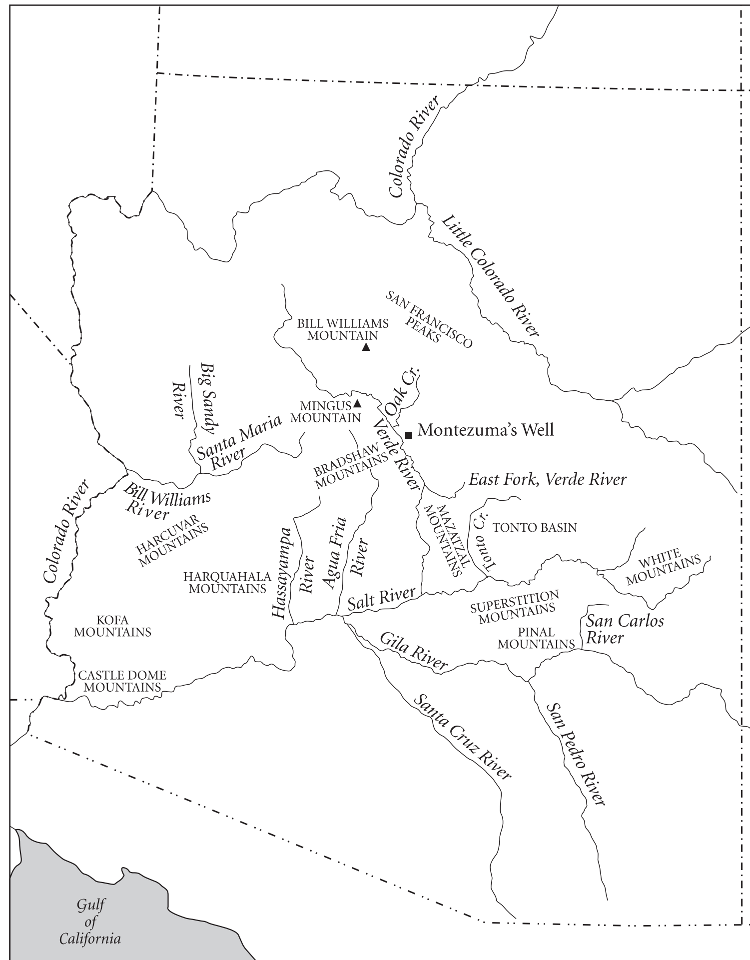
A Note on Terminology

This is a history of four Upland Yuman–speaking peoples—Tolkepayas, Yavapés, Wipukepas, Kwevkepayas—who have become known, collectively and misleadingly, as Yavapais. For simplicity, the term *Yavapai* is used here to indicate the four peoples in general and when vagueness in the historical record prevents distinguishing among the different groups. Numerous spellings, without codification, exist for the names of the four peoples. The spellings given here reflect the pronunciations of Molly Starr Fasthorse, a Tolkepaya speaker, but make no claim to orthographic authority. Similarly, the names of nineteenth-century Yavapais, such as Quashackama and Ohatchecama, take various forms in the historical record, and the choices applied here may not be the best. Regarding chronology, *early* and *preconquest* refer to Yavapais and Yavapai lifeways after the decline of the Verde Valley pueblo communities, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and before the upheaval caused in the 1860s and 1870s by the American invasion and takeover of Yavapai lands. However, as should be clear, the peoples and societies of what is now called central Arizona were neither static nor frozen in time before European contact or American conquest; the idea of aboriginal or "traditional" cultures is a dubious construct. Arizona became a United States territory in 1863 and a state in 1912, but as employed here, *Arizona* also means the same geographical region before these political developments. For lack of better terminology, and with apologies to the rest of the Western Hemisphere, *American* primarily refers in this book to the United States and its citizens. For the period after 1848, however, *American* may identify any non-Indian individuals, including European immigrants and Mexicans, who appear in Yavapai lands; and, where used, *Mexican* denotes Spanish-speakers who may be Mexican citizens or U.S. citizens of Mexican descent. Sorting out these individual ethnic and national identities with regard to late nineteenth-century Arizona is difficult, at times impossible, and would probably contribute little to a broader understanding of the Yavapai past.

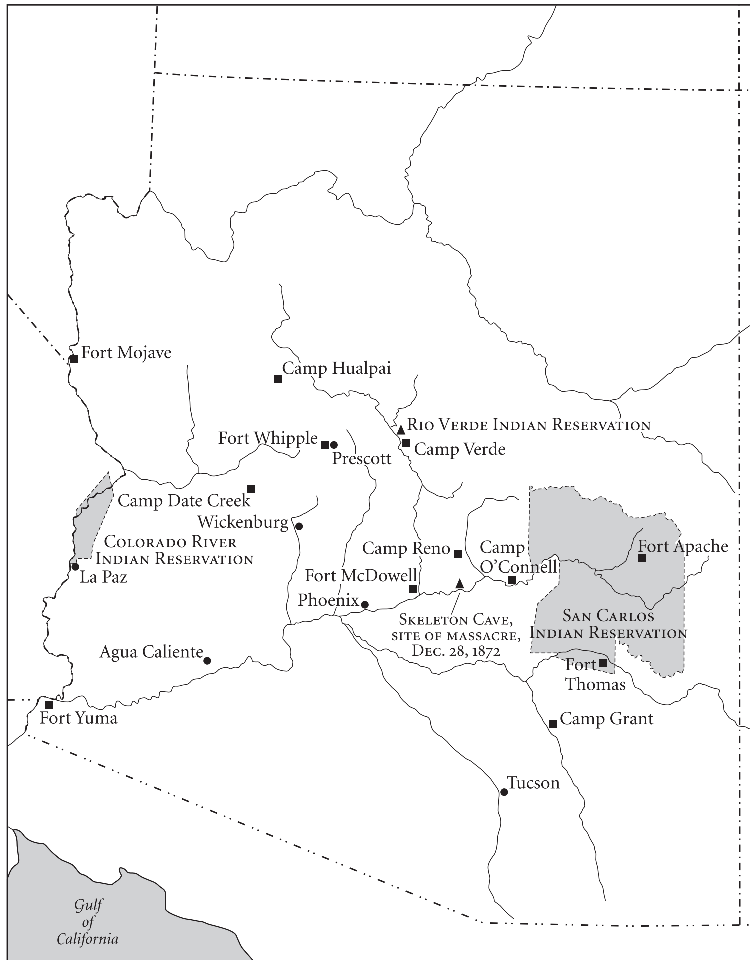
SURVIVING CONQUEST



Map1. Yavapai territory and neighboring peoples, ca. 1850



Map 2. Arizona waterways and mountains



Map 3. American towns, military posts, and Indian reservations, 1860s and 1870s

Introduction

Hoomothya and Wassaja

The telling of this story begins in the early 1870s. Those were perilous years for Yavapai families, as the U.S. Army conducted ruthless campaigns across central Arizona. With the help of allies from the Pima and Maricopa peoples, U.S. soldiers attacked Yavapai camps, usually without warning, and shot down the fleeing inhabitants. For almost two hundred years, Pimas and Maricopas had kidnapped Yavapai children to sell into slavery in the Spanish-speaking communities of New Spain and Mexico, and the U.S. war on Yavapai families perpetuated this practice. In 1871 Pimas captured a young Kwevkepaya boy named Wassaja and his two sisters; U.S. soldiers later shot the children's mother. The Pimas sold the girls south into Mexico, but an Italian immigrant named Carlos Gentile purchased Wassaja for thirty dollars and had him baptized as Carlos Montezuma. The young boy traveled east with Gentile to New York and Illinois and eventually came under the guardianship of a Baptist minister. Born a Kwevkepaya in the mountains of Arizona, Montezuma grew up a Baptist in U.S. society, graduated from the University of Illinois and the Chicago Medical School, and worked as a doctor for the U.S. Indian Office on several western reservations.[1]

The year after Wassaja was kidnapped, another young Kwevkepaya boy embarked on an equally unusual and unexpected journey. In December 1872, when Hoomothya was probably seven or eight years old, his family was part of a large band of Kwevkepayas living in a cave near the Salt River. U.S. soldiers were swarming through Kwevkepaya lands that winter, and travel was risky, but Hoomothya's uncle decided to take the boy to visit other Kwevkepaya camps near the Verde River. Thirty-nine years later, in an awkwardly written letter to Montezuma, Hoomothya (now called Mike Burns) could still vividly recall the terrifying event that followed:

> Without consent of my father, we left our camp one early morning, [and] traveled on the foothills of the Four Peaks. Night overtake us, right on the sight from [Fort] McDowell. My uncle was sound asleep at midnight, but I happen [to] awaken . . . I heard so much foot tramps on the rocks in the direction towards our coming, and heard voices, also, and it [struck] me that somebody were after us and I had hold of the old man's knee and woke him up . . . and he said it must be enemies on close to us and told me to run for life. . . . Just then, shots were fired towards our fire at camp. I had never heard a gun report before in all my life. So when I heard the shooting, I was so frightened that I fell down. . . . I hid in them rocks, staid under the rocks all the night long without a cover nor a shirt of any kind on my body.[2]

Hoomothya's uncle escaped, but the next morning, December 22, U.S. soldiers grabbed the cold, scared boy. Using Hoomothya and other Kwevkepaya and Tonto Apache captives, U.S. troops could now locate the Kwevkepaya cave encampment in Salt River Canyon.

The assault on Skeleton Cave (or Skull Cave), as it was later called, came on the morning of December 28. Led by Nantaje, a Tonto Apache scout who knew the region, some 120 U.S. soldiers and 100 Pima scouts descended the steep canyon walls. They arranged themselves below the mouth of the cave—more cliff overhang than deep cavern—and commenced firing. A one-sided slaughter ensued. At one point, after chanting their death song, twenty Kwevkepaya men charged from the cave and were quickly gunned down. The soldiers poured in volley after volley, ricocheting bullets off the cave roof; the Kwevkepayas died in bloody heaps. A few soldiers, under orders from Captain James Burns, positioned themselves above the cave and rolled large stones down the cliff, crushing Kwevkepayas who had huddled behind some boulders. When the firing ceased, the Pimas rushed in to smash the skulls of the dying. Miraculously, eighteen women and children, all with severe wounds, survived the onslaught by taking cover beneath the bodies of the dead, and a few Tonto Apache scouts led them to U.S. officers before the Pimas could finish them off.[3]

Words probably cannot capture the effect this tragic, disgusting, and traumatic event must have had on young Hoomothya. He was not present when the firing began, but the soldiers who held him nearby rushed to participate in the killing, and one grabbed him

by the arm and dragged him along. The best estimates suggest that seventy-six Kwevkepayas died in the cave, but this number is not certain. Hoomothya entered the cave afterward and, years later, wrote that it was "unreasonable for anyone to state the exact numbers . . . because [a] good many were on top [of] the others and were mashed so [one] could not tell [between] a whole or pieces of human flesh because they were crushed by large rocks from above the cave."[4] He described blood all over the rocks and ground, and "a little gulch [that] led from the cave was running down with blood as it does when raining."[5] U.S. soldiers had killed Hoomothya's mother several years earlier, but his father, two younger siblings, grandfather, and various other relatives and friends died in the cave.[6]

After the cave massacre Hoomothya went east, like Wassaja before him, and grew up under the influence of U.S. society. The Kwevkepaya women and children who survived the cave slaughter went, as prisoners, to Camp Grant and, like most Yavapai refugees and prisoners, ended up on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, in eastern Arizona, in 1875. U.S. officers, however, stole the orphaned Hoomothya from his people. Captain Burns, the officer who ordered the stoning of Kwevkepayas in the cave, kept Hoomothya and named him Mickey Burns, or Mike. In 1875, when the Fifth Cavalry transferred to the Northern Plains to conquer the Sioux and Cheyenne peoples, Mike Burns went with them. In the early 1880s Burns attended the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania and spent one summer working on a farm in New York. Unlike Montezuma, though, he did not fully integrate into this eastern world. As a Carlisle student Burns was still regarded as an "Indian," and in 1885 he was sent back to Arizona, to the San Carlos Reservation.[7]

Burns was caught between two worlds, neither of which fully accepted him. Americans considered him an "Indian," and Yavapais eyed him with suspicion. To some extent he fit into the reservation world of the Kwevkepayas and other Yavapais. He lived with a female cousin who had been out roasting agave on the morning of the cave massacre and thus had survived. Like other Yavapai men his age, he enlisted as a scout in the U.S. Army campaigns against Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches in 1886. At the same time, Burns was something of an outsider, a status that still troubled him as late as 1912: "But, no, they think I am too much like white man,

and they [are] afraid that I know too much and would do some scheme to get them in trouble . . . they are having some prejudice on me just because I am the only one having a little more educ[ation] than most of them."[8] Such suspicion was understandable, at least in the 1880s. Burns worked closely with Americans on the reservation. After his discharge from scouting he helped repair the San Carlos schoolhouse and recruited Yavapai boys for English classes with an American teacher. Later the reservation agent hired him to assist an American who was overseeing Yavapai farming efforts. And it took two years back among Kwevkepayas before Burns "could understand their language pretty well."[9]

Language skills may have distanced Burns from fellow Yavapais, but they also allowed him to help his people. The Yavapais at San Carlos were intent on returning to Yavapai lands, to the familiar mountains and canyons that they considered home. With his renewed ability to understand Yavapai dialects and his English-speaking education, Burns was able to act as an interpreter—indeed, a sympathetic one—for Yavapais who negotiated with U.S. officials for permission to leave San Carlos. In 1887 the reservation agent asked Burns to serve as agency interpreter rather than as farming assistant. This seemed a good deal: Burns received the same wages, and "there was hardly any Indian around to trouble about interpreting for them."[10] This situation changed in June with the arrival of General Nelson Miles of the U.S. Army, who met with a group of Yavapai spokesmen. The Yavapais already understood that some degree of assimilation would be necessary if they were to obtain permission to leave San Carlos, but Burns's knowledge of U.S. society may have provided keener insight. In a 1912 letter he explained what argument he told the Yavapai diplomats to make:

> We wanted to go outside door, or out into the middle of the white race of a people, and to show ourselves that we could work for our food and to earn enough to buy our own clothing; and in that way, our young people will soon learn the ways of the white people and [be] classed with the working men and in that way we will soon become self-supporting men and women; and then, not only that, our young men will learn how to work, but will soon learn to understand the English language also, and after a few years, we will not go back to ask any aid from the government. I have got only a few chiefs to have a

> talk with . . . men who were sent from Washington from time to time. But I had to speak for all the Indians, for they could not say anything in the way as I have advised them.[11]

At the 1887 meeting General Miles instructed a few Yavapai headmen to tour their old lands and then meet him in Los Angeles for further discussion. Burns went by train, via Yuma, Arizona, to interpret at this second conference. Miles did not have the authority to permit Yavapais to abandon San Carlos, but his reports and recommendations brought more sympathetic attention from federal officials. Over the next ten years, as adviser and interpreter for Yavapai headmen, Burns contributed to a remarkable Yavapai achievement: by 1902, twenty-seven years after forced removal, most Yavapais had returned to preconquest Yavapai territory.[12] The Yavapais were home, but Burns's work had only just begun.

In the early twentieth century Hoomothya and Wassaja—Mike Burns and Carlos Montezuma—the two most acculturated of Kwevkepayas, played significant roles in Kwevkepaya resistance to continued American encroachment. Montezuma's efforts are the most obvious and, thanks to his biographer, Peter Iverson, the best known. In 1901 and 1903 Montezuma traveled to Arizona and became acquainted with some of his Kwevkepaya relatives, including Burns, who called him "cousin." Montezuma also became acquainted with the Kwevkepayas' tenuous situation. By then many Kwevkepayas and other Yavapais had settled on the Fort McDowell military reserve in preconquest Kwevkepaya territory. President Theodore Roosevelt declared Fort McDowell a Yavapai reservation in 1903, but other interests still coveted the land. By 1910, in order to make McDowell acreage and water rights available to non-Indian citizens, the Office of Indian Affairs was plotting to relocate the McDowell Yavapais through an allotment scheme. Though a Chicago resident, Montezuma became the point man for the McDowell Yavapais' resistance to removal; he was the one Kwevkepaya who truly understood how to work within the U.S. political and legal system. Montezuma wrote to U.S. officials arguing against the proposed move and to McDowell residents encouraging them to stand firm. In 1911 he arranged for a Yavapai delegation to testify before a congressional committee in Washington, and he hired a lawyer to help him plead the Yavapai case.

These efforts proved critical, and the Yavapais were able to remain at Fort McDowell. In 1920 the Indian Office tried a new approach to relocating the McDowell Yavapais, and again Montezuma's lobbying of federal officials blocked such action.[13]

Even as he reestablished ties to his Kwevkepaya relatives and homeland, Montezuma became something of a national figure. He helped found the Society of American Indians in 1911, and from 1916 to 1922 he published a newsletter, *Wassaja*, in which he called for the abolition of the Indian Office. In December 1922, with his health failing from tuberculosis, Montezuma left Chicago and returned, one last time, to the Fort McDowell Reservation. He had decided, as Iverson put it, "to complete his life's circle." He died on January 31, 1923, in a brush shelter in Kwevkepaya lands—the same setting in which he had been born more than fifty-five years earlier.[14]

Burns, too, sought a fitting closure to his life. He had traveled from New York to California and had accompanied U.S. forces on the Northern Plains and along the Mexican border, yet the dominant events in his memory, it seems, remained his capture and the Skeleton Cave massacre. After Burns and Montezuma met at Fort McDowell in 1901, they began corresponding. In his letters Burns returned again and again to the awful events of December 1872; clearly, they weighed on his mind. By 1912 he believed he was "the only living soul who was one belonging to that band [which] was massacred in that cave." As Burns explained to Montezuma, "Most of our old relatives [have been] dying off fast since I have come back among them in 1885, at San Carlos."[15] This was no trivial matter, as "none living could now tell a thing about that massacre."[16] The exception, of course, was Burns, who now represented a crucial link to the Kwevkepaya past. Again, his language skills proved useful. Both he and Montezuma could read and write English, but unlike the Chicago physician, Burns had spent most of his life among Kwevkepayas, and through conversations with older Yavapais he had learned much Yavapai history dating back long before his birth in the 1860s. He had become a literate repository of nineteenth-century Yavapai knowledge—a singular individual in the early twentieth century. By putting pen to paper, Burns could make sure his relatives, killed in the cave, were not forgotten; their story, and the larger story of the Yavapai past, of all four Yavapai peoples, could be preserved. In July 1913 Burns wrote to Montezuma, "I want

to find time to write something about how [our] people were treated, including my capture also, but I want to make it [in] book form." Burns had already written 125 pages regarding Yavapai "traditions," and he hoped Montezuma would send him a camera so he could also make photographic records. "I would like to take pictures of all kinds of plants that [we] used to pick the berries and nuts and beans off them, and others smaller growth of things such as sunflowers, cactus and its uses, and also when I come to some of the ruins of our old camp in older times I would describe them as [they] are more fully than I could by merely tell[ing] it in writing."[17]

Burns had helped the Yavapais negotiate their return to Yavapai lands, and in the twentieth century he worked to protect their history. Yavapai families, of course, had maintained oral traditions across the decades—indeed, such retellings were a major source of Burns's knowledge. However, as later generations grew up speaking English and moved away from reservations, these stories could easily be lost. It is not clear if Burns anticipated or feared such an eventuality, but his intent was not simply to record Yavapai tales in writing. Burns wanted to correct the misconceptions and misunderstandings held by many Arizona citizens, and Americans in general, regarding Yavapais and the Yavapai past. In the 1860s and 1870s American settlers and soldiers had invaded Yavapai lands and violently driven out Yavapai families. The Americans justified their bloody operations by blaming the conflict on the "hostility" of Yavapais and their Western Apache neighbors. Even with the Yavapais conquered and removed from their lands, their characterization as "uncivilized" and "savage" persisted; the conquerors had written the history. In the 1910s Arizona state historian Thomas Farish identified this warped perspective: "So much has been written of the Indian by the white man, so many reports have been made by the military, and other authorities, of the raids and massacres by the red man, and so little is known of the Indian's side of the story."[18] The perpetuation of an imperialist history, like the ongoing attempts to separate Yavapai families from their reservation acreage, was a form of encroachment intended to eliminate Yavapai peoples, cultures, and identities. So while Montezuma fought to sustain Yavapai land rights, Burns defended the Yavapais' historical heritage. In January 1913 Burns explained his intent to Montezuma: "I am going to tell the white people that they

have heard only one side[d] stories about how bad the Apaches were to the whites, but the Apaches were forced to do so and they tried to protect themselves, their families, their homes and their land, and who would not do the same thing? [Burns sometimes referred to Yavapais, often called "Mohave Apaches," as "Apaches."]"[19]

To reach this audience, Burns needed to move beyond a simple recitation of Yavapai oral histories. Working as a historian, albeit without professional training, he amassed and cited evidence to reconstruct events from the Yavapai past. For example, while sorting out stories regarding several Tolkepayas who went to Washington DC in 1872, Burns learned that they had traveled with Carlos Gentile and young Carlos Montezuma when Montezuma had first left Arizona and moved to Chicago. Searching for further details, Burns wrote to Montezuma and asked if he "remembered the parties of Indians who were selected to go to Washington to have a conference with U.S. Grant."[20] Citing an account of an American attack in 1864 on Kwevkepayas, Burns wrote, "This great treachery to the Mohave-Apaches was told me by an Indian by the name of Kwanga-cuma-ma, meaning 'Hitting Head,' or 'Chicken Neck.' "[21] Thus collected and documented, these stories became part of an extensive manuscript that Burns compiled: Yavapai history, written on paper, in English, so Americans could understand. By November 1916, after working more than five years, Burns had written some three hundred pages, and he believed the manuscript was about half completed.[22] The work included descriptions of preconquest Yavapai life, but Burns was primarily concerned with retelling the American conquest of Yavapai lands as experienced by Yavapais. Farish, the first professional historian to read the manuscript, believed that it "cast a new light upon the question" of frontier relations in Arizona: "It is a pathetic narrative, elegant in its simplicity, and shows the deep feeling of an Indian brooding over the wrongs which he has received at the hand of the whites. It is an eloquent appeal for justice at the hands of those who took from him his lands, and robbed him of friends and relatives."[23]

Burns was probably still working on the manuscript in 1934, the year he died. When his relatives burned his belongings, as was Kwevkepaya practice, they may have included his extensive writings.[24] However, Burns had already found ways to pass on much

of his historical knowledge. Serving as an interpreter in the federal courts in Arizona, he had befriended various state officials and made it known that he had a story to tell. Burns gave a copy of his manuscript to Farish, who included lengthy excerpts in his multivolume history of Arizona, which was published in the late 1910s.[25] Burns believed his account would "show that an Indian can speak for himself and the wrong [that] has been done by the white people and others."[26] In 1927 Phoenix publisher A. Truman Helm printed *The Legend of Superstition Mountain*, by Mike Burns. In this brief pamphlet Burns told the story of a Pima and Maricopa raid into Kwevkepaya lands and the devastating Kwevkepaya counterraid—a story, he explained, "I have been told by my ancestors." Starting in late December 1929, Burns spent fifteen days describing the preconquest Kwevkepaya world to University of California ethnographer Edward Gifford, who was visiting Fort McDowell. On one occasion they drove into the Superstition Mountains so that Burns could point out old Kwevkepaya campsites and resource areas. Using Burns's descriptions, Gifford published an ethnographic study titled "The Southeastern Yavapai."

Most significant, a copy of Burns's manuscript survived beyond his death. With the help of Dr. William Corbusier, a retired U.S. Army surgeon who had participated in the conquest of the Yavapais, Burns had tried to acquire a New York or Boston publisher for the manuscript. When easterners showed little interest in Yavapai history, he turned to a more local outlet. In 1910 Burns had written to Sharlot Hall, who was serving as territorial historian for Arizona.[27] In March 1923 Burns wrote again, asking her to "please advise me how . . . to publish my manuscripts."[28] By then he had typed 247 pages of his written work. In a third letter, the following month, Burns thanked Hall for her kind response and expressed his intent to visit her in the Prescott area that summer and to show her the manuscript.[29] The result of their correspondence was that Burns gave his typewritten pages to Hall, and they are still held in the archives of the Sharlot Hall Museum in Prescott.[30]

Although Burns's manuscript is by far the most thorough, there are other valuable printed sources of Yavapai history. Oral traditions have survived among the Yavapai peoples, and in the twentieth century many Yavapais told their stories to historians and anthropol-

ogists. In 1932 Gifford interviewed thirteen Yavapais, including Burns, most of them elderly, as the basis for a second Yavapai ethnography, "Northeastern and Western Yavapai." In 1966 Viola Jimulla, the tribal chairperson of the Prescott Yavapais, told her life story to biographer Franklin Barnett. With the assistance of Jimulla's daughters, Grace Mitchell and Lucy Miller, and granddaughter, Patricia McGee, Barnett wrote *Viola Jimulla: The Indian Chieftess*. Viola was born at San Carlos in 1878, and her story is an important account of how Yavapai families forged new lives on return to their homelands. In the 1970s the political battle over the proposed Orme Dam, which would have submerged Fort McDowell, brought new attention to the McDowell residents and their history. John Williams, a Kwevkepaya born at McDowell in 1904, emerged as a spokesman of a sort. He wrote to the U.S. Congress, sat for interviews with journalists and CBS television, and served as an ethnographical informant. In 1975 Sigrid Khera, an Arizona State University anthropologist, compiled several typescripts of Yavapai oral history, as told by Williams and a few other McDowell residents.[31] A variety of other Yavapai accounts have been published, but as of 2002 the accounts of Burns, Williams, and Jimulla, along with Gifford's ethnographies, are the most extensive. Combined, these sources tell a rich and consistent story of the Yavapai past.[32]

Burns had one other task. When Williams spoke with Khera in 1975, he described his visit to Skeleton Cave:

> In 1923 we went with Carl Montezuma to get the bones from the cave. In that cave, on the wall, it looked like oil sprayed on. Down on the floor it looked like oil. There is that "oil" all over. It is the blood. When the bullets hit the bodies, the blood got scattered all around. Looks awful. We found many bones. Lots of little bones also. When we bring the bones, Montezuma is standing there crying. And we all start crying right there. We see that blood on the wall. It is too bad for us. It is here that all our people died. For nothing. And when I got back to Prescott and told my grandmother, my grandmother sure cried.[33]

Montezuma made his final return to Arizona in December 1922 and died on January 31, 1923. If, more than fifty years later, Williams recalled correctly the date of this cave visit, Montezuma must have

made the difficult trek to the cave shortly before his death, while he was very sick and weak; it was part of completing his life's circle. Montezuma may have been to the cave at an earlier date. On visits to Fort McDowell he liked to take hikes into the desert; in a letter in 1912 Burns asked Montezuma, "Did you really come to that cave at last?"[34] Montezuma's reply is unknown. It is possible that, in recalling his own trip to the cave, Williams confused Montezuma with Burns and erred on the date. In 1925 Burns arranged for the burial of his long-deceased relatives. With a Maricopa County sheriff and several other McDowell Yavapais—probably including Williams—he gathered the bones from the cave and interred them next to Montezuma's grave in the Fort McDowell cemetery.[35] Fifty-three years after their tragic deaths, Burns was able finally to lay his family to rest, even as his efforts as a historian kept their memory, and memories, alive. Much of the story that follows this introduction is his—and theirs.

Yavapais and American Historians

Unfortunately, most researchers interested in early Arizona history have ignored Burns's manuscript and Yavapai perspectives. In fact, for all the popular and scholarly interest in pre-twentieth-century southwestern Indians, few thorough historical studies exist regarding the preconquest Native peoples of Arizona. Broad surveys of southwestern Indian history tend to focus on the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico, their Athapaskan (Navajo and Apache) neighbors, and the Comanches and other groups on the Southern Plains—in other words, the eastern Southwest, where the early Spanish and French presence generated numerous historical documents.[36] This emphasis excludes the many Native peoples of the western Southwest, the region stretching from eastern Arizona into the southern California desert. (One might argue that coastal southern California is also part of the western Southwest.) Among the groups neglected by historians are Yavapais, Pais (Hualapais and Havasupais), Western Apaches, Mohaves, Quechans (Yumas), Cocopas, Akimel O'odham (Pimas), Tohono O'odham (Papagos), Maricopas, Southern Paiutes, and Tipais. *Warriors of the Colorado*, a review of Quechan history by Jack Forbes, is a rare exception. Only Edward Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest* attempts a synthesis of this region, but Spicer's approach was more along anthropological lines.

Collectively, historians of nineteenth-century Arizona have attended far more to the U.S. conquest of Native peoples than to the Native peoples themselves. As written, the first quarter century of Arizona territorial history, 1863 to 1888, is American military history, the story of the imposition of American sovereignty by U.S. Army and territorial forces. Military historians have been particularly fascinated with U.S. campaigns against Apaches and Yavapais and have given us such titles as Ralph Ogle's *Federal Control of the Western Apaches* and Dan Thrapp's *Conquest of Apacheria*. Their tendency is to rely uncritically on U.S. Army and Indian Office records while generally dismissing Apache and Yavapai oral histories and ethnographical evidence. For Yavapais, as historical participants, the result has been twofold. First, like the nineteenth-century U.S. Army officers they so admire, historians concerned with the conquest of central Arizona have regularly misidentified and mischaracterized the Yavapai peoples—usually labeling them "Apaches"—or have omitted them altogether. Second, their uncritical reading of military and civilian records has led, predictably, to an uninformed, distorted, and racist retelling of history that eagerly accepts as fact the fictions used by American settlers, soldiers, and politicians to justify the slaughter and removal of Indian peoples.

When Americans moved into Arizona in the 1850s and 1860s, they had trouble understanding the social and political structures of the Native peoples. Like Spaniards and Mexicans before them, American soldiers and settlers quickly became acquainted with the riverine village dwellers of southern Arizona: Pimas, Tohono O'odham, Maricopas, and Quechans. The more nomadic and scattered mountain dwellers remained, to the invaders, something of a mystery. Americans had difficulty or little interest in distinguishing the Athapaskan-speaking (Chiricahua and Western Apache) bands from the Yuman-speaking (Yavapai and Pai) bands and concluded that all were "Apaches." Many Americans believed the mountain dwellers constituted a single, monolithic "Apache" tribe when in fact individual bands were usually independent entities.[37] (This ignorant generalizing was useful for justifying extermination policies and shoot-on-sight attitudes.) As Americans gained some sense of the distinctions between the Yavapai peoples and their Western Apache neighbors, they labeled the Yavapais, variously, "Apache-Mojaves,"

"Mojave-Apaches," "Apache-Yumas," and "Yuma-Apaches"; just as often, though, they simply used "Apaches." When the U.S. Army concentrated the four Yavapai peoples at Camp Verde in 1873, the prisoners became "the Verdes." Regarding Yavapai history, most nineteenth-century military dispatches, reservation reports, soldier's memoirs, and newspaper articles used such misnomers to identify Kwevkepayas, Tolkepayas, Yavapés, and Wipukepas.[38]

Historians have perpetuated these errors. Because they have relied on documents produced by Americans and ignored Yavapai and Apache sources and other ethnographical material, most chroniclers of the American conquest have failed to sort out the various Yavapai and Western Apache groups. True, this is no easy task—Kwevkepayas and Wipukepas often lived with and married Tonto Apaches—but most historians have not bothered to try; they have simply accepted the narrow view of their sources. In 1959 anthropologist Albert Schroeder presented a thick ethnohistorical survey, documenting preconquest Yavapai social and political organization and land use, as evidence for an Indian Claims Commission case. Although far from perfect, Schroeder's work, which was published in 1974 and complements Burns's manuscript and Gifford's ethnographies, clearly identifies the Yavapai peoples as the occupants before 1875 of a vast stretch of Arizona lands.[39] Despite this readily available evidence, Yavapais are largely absent from the historiography. Numerous books detail American efforts to remove Chiricahua and Western Apaches from their homelands.[40] A few add biographical information regarding Cochise and Geronimo, the legendary Chiricahua leaders, and tell a slightly less slanted story.[41] Very few are concerned with Apache perspectives, and none focuses on the Yavapai peoples, though Yavapais appear, misidentified, throughout these works. For example, the Kwevkepayas who died in Skeleton Cave are usually "Apaches," just as U.S. Army officers reported.[42] The Tolkepayas who gathered at Camp Date Creek, far from Apache lands, are "Yuma-Apaches" or "Mojave-Apaches," straight from the military record.[43] Even historians who correctly identify "Yavapais" on one page will call them "Tonto Apaches" on the next.[44] In addition, the fallacy of a united "tribe" of mountain-dwelling bands survives. In explaining the response to an American attack, Donald Worcester wrote, in ridiculous but not unusual fashion, "Overnight all of the Tonto and Yavapai bands