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Lorraine Sherer, Education: Los Angeles

1888-1985

Professor Emerita

It was on March 16, 1985 that Lorraine Sherer passed away due to heart failure at the age of 87. She came to UCLA in 1949 after having served Los Angeles County for 15 years and specialized in early childhood development. Dr. Sherer made a great contribution to the UCLA community until her retirement on July 1, 1964.

Sherer was a former director of elementary education for Los Angeles County. For several years she and one colleague shared the distinction of being the only women superintendents of education in California. Her many talents and achievements at UCLA were respected by her colleagues.

Prior to her death, Lorraine dedicated her retirement to the completion of the first history ever to be prepared on the Fort Mohave Indians of Arizona. Lorraine's death has been a great loss to those who knew her well and to the field that no longer possesses her talent. She shall be missed immensely by those she has touched with her knowledge and wisdom.

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The Clan System of the Fort Mojave Indians

*The Clan System of the Fort
Mojave Indians*

by LORRAINE M. SHERER

The Historical Society of Southern California

LOS ANGELES: 1965

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*To the
Fort Mojave Indian Tribe with appreciation*

Introduction

The study of the clans or old family system of the Fort Mojave Indians has been a memorable and deeply rewarding experience. Although Fort Mojave Indians have been part of my life since childhood and they have provided generous help since 1952 in preparing a history of their tribe, this is the first time we have embarked on a team research project together. Our aims in making the study were to obtain an authentic description of their ancestral clan system as Mojaves "look at it from the inside" and to prepare a roster of the tribe by clan names to parallel the roster of English names under which they are registered with the Department of the Interior. The clan system has been placed in its historical setting to tell what the Fort Mojaves call "The Story of Our Old Family Names!"

The study was conducted through official tribal channels- the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, whose Chairman, Mrs. Frances Malika Stillman, served as the local coordinator and as my chief consultant. Our principal advisor and helper was Oach (Mrs. Lizzie Kimball Hood). These two women assisted with a preliminary study of their clans in 1957-1959, and were instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of other Fort Mojave Indians in this expanded study "to get a record of our old family system!" The material contained in this study is based on interviews with Fort Mojave Indians who live in Mojave Village and in Needles, California, and on Fort Mojave Tribal records housed in the office of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council in Mojave Village, as well as extensive information supplied by Mrs. Stillman and Mrs. Hood.

Mrs. Frances Stillman is a full blood Mojave of the *Malika*

clan, married to a full blood Mojave of the *Maha* clan. She was born on the Fort Mojave Reservation in 1910. Her father was a *Malika*, the clan of the hereditary great chieftain of the Mojaves. Her mother, *Oach*, died when she was an infant so she was reared by her old-fashioned grandparents, who grounded her in the tribal ways. Her grandfather was *Thumpah* of the *Oach* clan, her grandmother was *Norge*. She is a graduate of the Fort Mojave School, the Sherman Institute, and the Needles High School. She speaks and writes English fluently in dealing with white people, and speaks Mojave fluently when talking with Mojaves. She served as vice chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council from 1951 to 1956 when the Fort Mojaves set up a new local government after the death of the Great Chieftain. In 1957 the Fort Mojave Tribe adopted a constitution approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Mrs. Stillman was elected chairman of the new Fort Mojave Tribal Council, an office to which she was re-elected in 1963. She was also honored in 1963 by the Business and Professional Women of Needles as "The Woman of the Year!"

Oach (Mrs. Hood), her aunt, was born in 1880. She is the oldest *Oach* and the second oldest Fort Mojave woman. She grew up on a farm near the Fort, attended the Fort Mojave School from 1896 to 1904, served as an "outing student" in Los Angeles for nine years, returned to Needles and married a Fort Mojave School graduate. She is bilingual. When she entered the Fort Mojave School in 1896, she was given an English first name and was called "Lizzie *Oach*!" She smiled cryptically when asked about her registered name, "Mrs. Lizzie Kimball Hood!" "I was about nineteen" she said, "working for an American family in Los Angeles, as the school used to have us do. I received a letter from the superintendent. It said, 'Your name is Lizzie Kimball! Later, I married Robin Hood!' She calls herself Lizzie *Oach* Hood. "I always use my Indian name" she said. There are several *Oach*, but this venerable woman, who died on April 14, 1963, is entitled to be known and remembered simply as *Oach*.

Malika and *Oach* consulted other Mojaves to obtain and verify information. When asked to whom credit should be given

for contributions to the study, the Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council replied, "Almost everybody had a hand in it, some more than others. You have the names of the main ones!" The main contributors were: *Atalk hear* (Harry Lewis, b. 1880), the oldest of the *Neolge* clan and the Tribal Orator; *Auva halyevatch* (Charles Hamilton, b. 1881), the oldest of the *Maha* clan and for fifty years a tribal witness and adviser; *Gottah* (Mrs. Kate Wellman Bryan, b. 1867, d. 1965), the oldest *Gottah* and a Tribal Singer; *Oneyuravarya* (Hal O. Davidson, b. 1892, d. 1959), the oldest man of the *Whalia* clan, the Chief's representative, 1922-1947, head of the interim tribal government, 1947-1951, member of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, 1951-1957, and Tribal Recorder, 1922-1957; *Achee hemack* (Robert Jenkins, b. 1897, d. 1964), of the *Oach* clan, a Tribal Singer and Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, 1951-1957; and *Boudha Whev* (Mrs. Henrietta Graves Peterson, b. 1898), the only woman of the *Boudha* clan and a Tribal Singer.

Other sources of information used in the study were the Fort Mojave Tribal Records, records and photographs provided by old time residents in the Mojave Valley, documents from the National Archives, and publications by writers who obtained their data first hand from Mojave Indians in Mojave country. The policy has been to incorporate such sources of information in the text where they contribute to the content without burdening the narrative. All other documentation and explanations appear in notes which accompany each chapter.

In organizing the contents, care has been taken to deal with the clan system and old Mojave family names as a possession of the Mojaves as one people, or tribe—the *Aha macave*, regardless of their registration with the Department of the Interior as two tribes on two reservations, the Mojaves on the Colorado River Reservation and the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe. This arbitrary division was made for purposes of allocating lands and has no bearing on the Mojave clan system per se.

A word on terminology. The term "informant" is acceptable in academic research, but unpalatable to Fort Mojaves. There-

fore, it is eschewed in this study. Fort Mojaves are consultants, advisors, contributors, acquaintances, friends, whichever word is appropriate. "Friend" is a word not to be used promiscuously. The term "clan" is used rather than "gens" to keep the wording in line with Professor A. L. Kroeber's precedent and with Mojave usage. The term "religion" is used rather than the term "myth". To Fort Mojaves the faith of their fathers and the commandments they live by are their old Mojave religion in the same sense that Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism are religions. The name Mojave is used as the tribal name throughout the text because, as my Mojave consultants say, "it comes close to our real name [*Aha macave*] and people are used to it!" Except in quoted passages throughout this study, the tribal name is spelled with a 'j', Mojave, and not with an 'h', Mohave. Both forms appear in general usage but the Fort Mojaves have adopted the / form as their official spelling.

My greatest pleasure in presenting this report comes from the Fort Mojaves pronouncement *ahota* (good). My one regret is that the study came too late for Professor A. L. Kroeber's review and appreciation.

CHAPTER I

Old Families or Clans of the Mojave Indians

In April, 1859, United States troops—the Expedition of the Colorado—moved up the Colorado River into Mojave Indian country with the announced intention of establishing a military post on the river to protect east-west emigrants from attack by Mojave Indians. The commander of the expedition, Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman, publicized his objective by sending couriers among the Indian tribes, letting it be known that the objective would be gained by force if Mojaves and their allies chose to fight. He had visible evidence that opposition would be disastrous. Whatever plans the big Mojave warriors had entertained about battle were dissipated as they watched the steady approach of Hoffman's formidable armada. They withdrew.

The Expedition of the Colorado posted camp near the spot later to be known as Fort Mojave, and Colonel Hoffman prepared for a showdown. On the second day after the bloodless occupation, Mojave men assembled, as ordered, in an armed stockade adjacent to the commander's headquarters to hear his terms of peace. The alternatives were submission or extermination. The Mojaves chose peace. They gave hostages as demanded, agreed that land for a fort would be given, and that henceforth travelers would be unmolested.¹

The tall, long-haired Mojave men, attired in breechclouts and paint, who were present in Colonel Hoffman's camp on April 23, 1859, represented old *Aha macave* (Mojave) families or clans whose names dated back through the ages.² One of these men, *Gwegwi nuor* described the scene and in doing so named the

Aha macave clans who were represented there. His narration is preserved in Fort Mojave Tribal Records in the "Big Book!"³ Twenty-two totemic clans existed then among a Mojave population estimated to be about four thousand in number. In the one hundred four years since the Mojaves came under the jurisdiction of the United States, their number has diminished to approximately one thousand.⁴ Eighteen old clans still survive.

At the time of their capitulation to the United States Army in 1859, the Mojave Indians had an old Indian culture that had been passed down the centuries unadulterated by the few parties of white men who had traveled through their country.⁵ They believed in their creator *Mutavilya* who gave them their names and their commandments, and in his son *Mastamho* who gave them the river and taught them how to plant. They were mainly farmers who planted in the overflow of the untamed river, following the age-old customs of the *Aha macave*. Their river holdings stretched from Black Canyon, where the tall pillars of First House of *Mutavilya* loomed above the river, past *Avi kwame* or Spirit Mountain, the center of spiritual things, to the Quechan Valley, where the lands of other Indians began. Translated into present landmarks, their lands began in the north at Hoover Dam and ended about one hundred miles below Parker Dam. Their tribal name was *Aha macave*, meaning the people who lived along the water (the river) .⁶

Here in their geographically secluded homeland they had escaped the conquistadores and missionaries of Spain and weathered a short plague of illicit beaver trappers from the United States during the Mexican period in the Southwest.⁷ But when the United States acquired the lands of the Southwest and began reconnaissances and surveys for a route along the 35th parallel, they discovered the Mojaves and their strategic river crossing. Between 1851 and March, 1858, four expeditions came into Mojave country and went their way, each on its own mission— Sitgreaves, Whipple, Beale, Ives.⁸ But when the first long wagon trains of emigrants with five hundred head of livestock attempted to cross their homelands in August, 1858, and loitered near

this river crossing, the Mojaves attacked and sent them scuttling back whence they came.⁹ The Expedition of the Colorado was the reply of the United States War Department. The end result: Fort Mojave was established on a high mesa which provided a broad view of Mojave Valley and the winding Colorado River— a guard over a river crossing for westward-bound emigrants, a symbol of power to the Mojaves, and a prelude to the beginning of the end of the Mojave nation.¹⁰

Today the Mojave Indians are registered with the Department of the Interior as two tribes with two reservations: the Mojaves who share with other Indian tribes the Colorado River Reservation below Parker Dam, Arizona, and the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe who own in severalty the Fort Mojave Reservation.¹¹ This reservation lies in three states—Arizona, California, and Nevada. It is visible from Needles, California, and consists of the military, the hay and wood reserves of old Fort Mojave, plus additional acreage. Today the Mojaves on the Colorado River Reservation, like their ancestors, are farmers. The Fort Mojaves are urban Indians. Mojaves say, "We are all one people. We have the same family names and the same customs. We are all Mojaves. We do not see eye to eye about the land, that is all!"

It is precisely because they did not, and do not "see eye to eye about the land" that Mojave history after 1859 breaks into two separate courses. The rift can be pinpointed as of 1865 when the Congress of the United States created the Colorado River Reservation for Mojaves and other Colorado River tribes. Those Mojaves who favored appeasement went down to this new reservation at the southern extreme of their river holdings. And others joined them during the century. Those Mojaves who refused adamantly to leave their ancestral homes in the Mojave Valley and who clung tenaciously to their lands in the vicinity of the fort were dubbed the "Fort Mojave" Indians. In the eyes of the United States Department of the Interior they were legally "trespassers" who belonged on the new Colorado River Reservation under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent there. In the eyes

of the Fort Mojaves they were the original inhabitants who should not be evicted from their home-place, so, the Fort Mojaves stayed in the Mojave Valley maintaining peaceful coexistence with the troops at Fort Mojave and with whites who filtered into the Valley.¹²

Fort Mojave, with its military and hay and wood reserves, occupied the best farming land in the long, narrow valley. It was garrisoned by the War Department for thirty years.¹³ Then in 1890, the post was transferred to the Department of the Interior to be converted into an industrial boarding school for the Fort Mojaves and other "non-reservation" Indians.¹⁴ For forty-one years the Fort Mojave School was operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the policy enunciated in 1890 of educating Indians for citizenship by wiping out Indian cultures and substituting white man's culture.¹⁵

American methods of farming were taught to the children, but "legally" without lands of their own, the Fort Mojaves gradually gave up farming to earn a living in Needles, where in earlier days laborers were needed by the railroad and in the community, and where Indian artifacts were marketable to railway tourists and to local townspeople.¹⁶ In 1911, by Executive Order, the old military reservation with its hay and wood reserve plus adjacent "checkerboard land" on the Arizona side of the river, became the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation.¹⁷ By this time the majority of the Fort Mojaves had become town Indians.

The Fort Mojave boarding school terminated in 1931 and with it the drastic regimen of enforced cultural change. School facilities were not provided for the few Mojaves who still farmed on the fort side of the reservation. Those who could moved across the river to put their children in public schools in Needles. Those who remained evacuated the Arizona side of the river after the catastrophic flood of 1940 washed away their homes.¹⁸

All that remains of the old fort or the school are broken pieces of walls and studding and the old burial ground, whose wooden fence still stands. The old military reservation is deserted. The mesas around the old fort site are spotted with scraggly grease-

wood. The fertile farmland is rank with tall thickets of arrow-weed. These Fort Mojave Indians, who one hundred years ago were farmers, are urban Indians today. There are only two farmers left among them.¹⁹

Gone are the native rancherias that dotted both sides of the silt-filled wayward river. The river itself flows tamely in a confined course regulated by a great system of dams—Hoover Dam, Davis Dam, and Parker Dam. The Fort Mojaves own a reservation of some thirty-nine thousand acres, checkerboarded with non-Indian sections.²⁰ Seventy-three per cent of the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe still live in the Mojave Valley. The majority of them live in Mojave Village, which fronts the Colorado River and gives them a full view of the reservation, whose land they hope to "lease to white men with money when the government gets around to approving the papers!"²¹ Mojave Village is comprised of fifty small, white stuccoed cottages, and three community buildings—a Tribal Office, a community hall, and a community laundry. It was built in 1947 to house the families whose homes were destroyed by the calamitous flood caused by the unfinished system of dams on the Colorado River. The land was not reservation land, but acreage (about sixteen acres) at the edge of the river, and outside the city limits of Needles. It was purchased from non-Indians. The Fort Mojave Tribal Council, by proclamation, and with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, made the Mojave Village a legal part of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation. Mojave Village resembles any of a number of housing projects developed for low income residents—little houses duplicating each other, spaced on fifty by one hundred foot lots.²²

Four hundred thirty-eight Mojaves are registered as the "Fort Mojave Indian Tribe"—two hundred twenty men and boys, two hundred eighteen women and girls. All are United States citizens, and all are yet wards of the United States.²³ They are governed locally by the Fort Mojave Tribal Council of seven members elected by the tribe under a constitution approved in 1957 by the Secretary of the Interior. All but a few of the aged of the tribe have had at least an elementary education and can speak,

read, and write English.²⁴ Occupationally the residents in Mojave Village at Needles are skilled and unskilled laborers. Those who reside elsewhere are skilled laborers, white collar workers, and a small number of professional men and women, such as teachers and ministers.

The names on the register are English surnames, given to Fort Mojaves in 1905. For over fifty years these Mojave Indians have adhered scrupulously to their alien pseudonyms in order not to jeopardize allotments of land that might be made to them or to their heirs by the Department of the Interior. This conformity does not mean that they have accepted these English names as belonging to them. "We use the English names for legal purposes, and when dealing with outsiders" the Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council told me. "When we are by ourselves we call each other by our real names—our old Indian names!"

The names referred to are their ancient clan names. They are part of their ancient clanship system which dates so long ago that the old family or clan names are archaic words.

The existence of this ancient clan system was first mentioned in an 1889 article written by Captain John Bourke, U. S. Army.²⁵ In 1902, A. L. Kroeber, who was just beginning his anthropological studies among the Mojaves, issued a *Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians* in which he reported evidence that the Mojaves had "something akin" to a clanship system.²⁶ Six years later Edward S. Curtis published a handsome volume on the nine tribes of the North American Indians belonging to the Piman and Yuman linguistic families, *The North American Indian*. Among these tribes were the Mojaves. Curtis reported that no clanship system existed among the Mojaves although there did exist about twenty names of totemic origin, said to have been given the Mojaves by *Mutavilya*. These names, borne by the women, seemed to indicate a decadent clanship system. Curtis listed fifteen of the names with their meanings.²⁷

However, during his field research between 1902 and 1917, A. L. Kroeber found that a totemic clan system actually did exist among the Mojaves, identified its chief characteristics, and

listed the names of twenty-two clans with their totemic meanings. His is the only published research on the subject. It appears in his monumental study, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, published in 1925 by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and reissued in a photolith facsimile in 1953.²⁸

Kroeber's report on the Mojave clan system is brief. The gist of it is contained in the following paragraph:

The Mohave share with the other Yuman tribes of the Colorado a peculiar clan system. This comprises patrilinear, exogamous, nameless groups of totemic reference. All the women born in a clan bear an identical name, although they may in addition be known by nicknames or other epithets. These clan names are of totemic import, although they are not the word which is in common use to denote the totemic object. . . . But in general the names appear to be archaic stems, disguised descriptions or allusions, or equivalents from other dialects. Many of the younger men and women seem to be ignorant of the totemic import of the names, and totem taboos are either lacking or slight. . . . The clans do not enter into religious activities, so far as is known.²⁹

Kroeber's enigmatic and provocative report served as guidelines for this re-exploration of the clans. Almost forty years have passed since he published his classic studies of California Indians. During this period many changes have occurred in Mojave culture: in language, customs of marriage and burial, in occupations, housing, and dress. Today's Mojaves are bilingual, thus eliminating the necessity of an interpreter. They keep vital statistics of births and deaths, and the majority speak the names of their dead without trepidation.³⁰ They have accustomed themselves to white men's ways and have adapted themselves to the externals of white culture. Externally they look and act like other American citizens. Internally they retain certain deep-seated values to which they cling—and among these are their old family names, the clan names of antiquity.

CHAPTER II

The Origin and Characteristics of the Mojave Clan System

Mojaves say that their family or clan names are very old, that they have been handed down to them by their ancestors from time immemorial, or from so long ago that no one knows when, or since First Time when they were given their names by their god *Mutavilya*. Whipple, who made the first published study of the Mojaves, learned nothing about their clans but he did discover that they believed in *Mutavilya* (*Mat-e-vil*). In his Mojave vocabulary "*mat-e-vil*" means God. Curtis reported that the totemic names borne by Mojave women were said by Mojaves to have been given them by *Mutavilya*. Bourke quotes Merriman as saying that the Mojaves were named by *Mastamho*, *Mutavil-ya's* son.¹ "It was *Mutavilya* who gave us our names" Oach said flatly. "*Eachawhat hoomay* (Merriman) was well informed but he was not an authority on religious matters. *Quaskette howa* was!" The *Quaskette howa* to whom she referred was the chief medicine man of the Fort Mojaves until his death around 1917. The old medicine man named *Mutavilya* as the Creator who gave the Mojaves their names and their rules for living, and *Mastamho* as his son who provided for the Mojaves and taught them how to live. In 1905, when the Mojaves were renamed, it was commonly accepted among them that *Mutavilya* gave them their Mojave names.

This is the way *Mutavilya* named the Mojave families, told to me by Malika, as she heard it from her grandfather when she was a child.

"The god *Mutavilya*, in First Time, gave the Mojaves their

family names, to use and to pass on to their children. When *Mutavilya* named the families he began with the above-things— the sky or heavens, *Neolge*, the sun; *Oach*, the clouds, rain, and winds; *Whalia*, the moon; *Maha*, the small singing birds.

"Then he named for the earth-things—the desert and mountain animals and plants. The families named for the animals of the earth were *Moha*, the mountain sheep and the deer; *Hipa*, the coyote; *Masipa*, the quail; *Necah*, the caterpillar and the worms. The families named for the plants and growing bushes were *Vemacka*, the bean mesquite and certain other desert plants; *Mus*, the screw mesquite; *Chacha*, the corn; *Gottah*, the tobacco; *Kumathee*, the ocotilla cactus; *Quinetha*, the prickly-pear cactus.

"And then he named for the water and the below-earth things: *Shulia*, the beaver; *Boudha*, the frog; *Malika*, the ground squirrel or the wood rat, and other desert rodents. But *Mutavilya* said, 'Do not despise these below-earth things, for they are wise ones.'" ²

The names recited by *Malika* all appear on the lists of *Curtis* and of *Kroeber*.³ This version of the names and of the manner of naming the Mojave clans, however, puts the names into a framework or design which gives depth and significance not apparent otherwise. These clan names, derived from the ancient Mojave religion, belong to an organized schema of three groups, representative of the natural phenomena of sky and air, of the natural products of the earth and of the water, and the below-earth. The totems are all from the natural environment of the Mojave's homeland: the desert, the mountains, and the river. All are useful and beneficent; at least, none are malevolent. The classification is not hierarchical, ascribing higher attributes to one group than to another.

The clans and clan names seem not "to enter into religious activities so far as is known" as *Kroeber* reported,⁴ but the family names are of Mojave religious origin and are venerated as such by the Mojaves.

The clan names are archaic words of totemic import, as *Kroe-*

ber stated,⁵ not the common words that designate the totems in the Mojave language today. For example: the totemic clan name *Oach*, meaning clouds, rain, and wind, is unlike the common words *eqe* (cloud), *cuvawa* (rain), *matha* (wind); *Shulia*, meaning beaver, is unlike *aben* (beaver); *Mus*, meaning screw mesquite, is unlike the common word *ahieza*. (See Table I.)

The Mojave clan system operates according to rules laid down by the Mojaves' ancient deities. Exogamy is a tribal rule.⁶ Men and women of the same clan may not marry. Monogamy is also a tribal rule. According to ancient custom, a Mojave may have but one spouse at a time.⁷ However, if the couple are incompatible, they may separate, or divorce and remarry. Endogamy is not, and apparently never has been, a tribal rule.⁸

The Mojave clan system is patrilinear.⁹ Kroeber termed it "a peculiar clan system!"¹⁰ One outstanding peculiarity is that, although the children take the father's clan name, the men and boys are never called by their clan names; they are silent carriers. The girls and women are called by their clan names; they use or bear the names overtly. Malika explained:

"*Mutavilya* gave the names to the men, not to use, but to carry to their daughters to use. Everyone knows the name the man carries if he has daughters, and everyone uses that name in addressing his daughters or in speaking about his daughters. The daughter's name is *Neolge*, *Oach*, *Whalia*, *Mus*, *Shulia*, *Masipa* -whatever name her father gives her. When she marries she keeps her family name to use with her other name. It is hers for life and in the next world, but she cannot pass it on to her children. If a man of the *Oach* marries a woman of the *Neolge*, the wife remains *Neolge*; the daughters are called *Oach*; the sons carry the man's family name *Oach* to their daughters and through their sons to their granddaughters. A family name never dies out as long as it has sons to carry the family name to their daughters. If a man has sons only, or if he has no children and no sisters, it is not easy to remember what family he belongs to!"

My Mojave friends, when asked a particular man's family

name, either replied at once or used one of the following lines of figuring it: "His daughter is *Whalia*, so he is of the *Whalia*" "His sister is *Mus*, so he is of the *Mus*.' Or, "He has no clan name; his mother married a non-Indian!'

"The men, then, are never called by their family names?" I asked.

"The men may be spoken of by the family name, as: he is *of* the *Neolge*, or he is a *Neolge*. It is not proper to say, he is *Neolge*, or to address him *Neolge*.'

A Mojave man may introduce himself by his clan name in social gatherings or tribal meetings by saying "I am a *Masipa*" or "I am *of* the *Masipa*" or whatever his clan name is. Men are referred to by clan names in ceremonials.

"The men are spoken of by family name in the ceremony of departure. My grandfather was named *Thumpah*, but he was of the *Oach*. In my grandfather's obituary, the orator said:

Here lies an *Oach*. He was one of you. Let all
the *Oach* sing Or listen.

All the *Oach* sang, and any who could not sing was expected to listen!'

A man's clan name not only identifies him during his lifetime, but it also has perpetuity. It links him to his ancestors, is passed on through him to his progeny, and he takes it with him to the next world. Whatever name he may be called as a boy, or as a man, is ephemeral and relatively inconsequential. Only his clan name matters.

A second peculiarity of the Mojave clan system mentioned by Kroeber is that "All the women born in a clan bear an identical name, although they may in addition be known by nicknames or other epithets!"¹¹ In exploring this matter I found that these "epithets or nicknames" were descriptive of the totems, although the women may be called also by pet names or nicknames. Unlike

the archaic clan names, the descriptive names are words commonly used today.

The clan name is the equivalent of our surname; the descriptive name is "given" by the parents.

The Mojave place the surname first. For example, take *Kumathee Hipah*: *Kumathee* is the clan name, whose totemic import is ocotilla cactus; *Hipah* is the vernacular, meaning "in blossom!"

Because the Mojaves' method of naming the woman seemed difficult to understand without illustrations, I asked Malika to describe it, giving illustrations.¹² She said:

"Each daughter in a family, no matter how many there may be, is called by her family name—*Neolge*, *Oach*, *Whalia*, *Shulia*, *Masipa*, whatever family name her father gives her. Because a man may have more than one daughter and the men who are his relatives may have daughters, who are all called by the same family name, each family gives to each of its daughters a descriptive name. In that way, everyone knows which *Neolge*, *Oach*, *Whalia*, *Moha* is which'."

I asked Malika to explain further taking as an example her own family beginning with her grandfather and her own mother, *Oach*.

"My grandfather as previously stated, was called *Thumpah*, but he was of the *Oach* family. He had two daughters, named *Oach*. Neither sister would know which one her mother called to, or which should answer, so my mother was called *Oach Choim*, meaning 'left over, dying away, distant thunder, as when you hear the thunderclap and then it dies away'; my aunt was *Oach Hajaav*, meaning 'clouds gathering or clustering into a bank!'

"Each family gives its daughters descriptive names. *Oach* signifies above-things, such as clouds, rain, and wind. The descriptive names describe the different ways these look or what they do, such as clouds gathering, thunder clouds, light floating clouds, noise of thunder, and flash of lightning. There are many ways to describe the different *Oach*, to tell what they look like, what they do.

"Hugh Hammond's daughter, Elda Hammond Butler, is *Oach Horath*, meaning the crashing sound of thunder, when you see

lightning crack the sky. You know Mr. Hammond is of the *Oach* because his daughter is named *Oach*. The late Lina Wagner McDowell was *Oach Hotheeka*, meaning the wind has blown the clouds in different directions, gusty. You know Mr. Wagner carries the *Oach* name because his daughter used the *Oach* name. Harriet Wilson is *Oach Shekashek*, meaning a rain or windstorm that frightens or terrifies!'

Other names of *Oach* women and girls are: *Oach Ami sakohav*, clouds covering a large surface or area of the sky (Mrs. Marce-line Morgan Sharp, b. 1931, d. 1963); *Oach Quireeckma*, ever moving clouds (Mrs. Glorianna Cameron Davidson, b. 1932); *Oach Hildunuym*, "clouds appearing or coming over and over until it's darkening. If they keep coming, for sure you'll have rain" (Ethelyn Fitzgerald Cachora, b. 1929); *Oach Quethum*, feathery, light floating clouds (Annabel Thomas, b. 1944); *Oach Ahanecut*, rain clouds that cause floods (Mrs. Shirley Harper Eddy, b. 1930); *Oach Jamonamon*, rolling clouds (Kathleen Hammond, b. 1958); *Oach Anyieh*, light from a flash of lightning (Mrs. Dorothy Jenkins Patch, b. 1927); *Oach Eque waepai*, colorful, brilliant clouds (Ophelia Jenkins, b. 1947); *Oach Wilawil*, falling raindrops (Mrs. Thelma Carter Hammond, b. 1897); *Oach Aha heelyu*, reflection of clouds in the water, "the clouds are looking down into the water" (Mrs. Gertrude Van Fleet Short, Colorado River Reservation, b. 1924); *Oach Ahum goyuva*, mirrored clouds, or clouds mirrored in water (Mrs. Rosita Fitzgerald Welsh, b. 1933); *Oach Ami guquiv*, a design or pattern in the sky (Mrs. Norma Hammond Stanley, b. 1929); *Oach Heelta portma*, "clouds that look like they had been dumped from the sky" (Lorna Cameron, b. 1940); *Oach Hilyod-paka*, many clouds appearing over the horizon (Christine Cameron, b. 1934); *Oach Haep*, gathering clouds (Marlene Hammond, b. 1957). *Oach Ami halaguy*, vanity or admiration of oneself (Wanda La Rose Jenkins, b. 1944); *Oach Qualehseh*, a rainbow among the clouds (Kimberly Sue Cameron, b. 1961).

A few examples from other clans illuminate the Mojaves' mode of naming daughters. The clan name *Neolge* stands for sun or fire. The oldest Fort Mojave *Neolge* is Mrs. Annie McCord

Fields (b. 1884). Her descriptive name is *Thonathon*, meaning heat from the sun that wilts things. A two-year-old *Neolge* (Denise Williams, b. 1961) is *Neolge Sahagav*, which means the shooting light rays from the sun. Marsha Williams (b. 1957) is called *Neolge Ami chucare*, descriptive of the sun making bands or streaks of color in the sky. *Neolge Dalack*, meaning the sun radiating warmth and brightness, was the Mojave name of the late Mrs. Minta Armstrong (d. 1962).

The clan name *Whalia* (moon) may be accompanied by a name descriptive of the clear bright moon, the quarter moon shaped like a rocking boat, the moon hidden by clouds and so on. *Whalia Quarai*, clear moon, was Whalia Wilson's name (d. 1930). *Whalia Shukashuk*, a moving, sailing moon, was Mrs. Angie Hamilton's name (d. 1933). The only known descriptive name of a living *Whalia* is *Whalia Davov*, whose name describes "the moon at certain seasons, balanced with the sun—when you see the moon just coming up, the sun just going down!" It belongs to Mrs. Lusina Whalia Carter, the oldest Fort Mojave *Whalia* (b. 1888).

Girls and women of the *Maha* clan, or the order of flying-birds, bear such names as *Maha Soovar*, a singing bird (Mrs. Grace Stillman Lewis, b. 1906); *Maha Iyava*, a bird in flight, slanting or banking (Mrs. Lucy Morrison Morgan, b. 1891). Mrs. Trilby Wilson McCord who died in the 1920's was called *Maha Alova*, descriptive of the clutching or grasping of a bird's feet. *Maha Menvah* was the name of Leo Kormes' mother. She had no English name. Her Mojave name described "the sound that birds make when a flock of them takes off at once!"

The oldest *Motheha* or nightbird (Lelia Montgomery McCord, b. 1900) is called simply *Motheha* now. In her younger days she was called *Motheha Hilyameech*, which means the cry or the call of a nightbird. (The two teenage *Motheha*'s do not have descriptive names as far as is known.)

Three *Hipa* (coyote) sisters have the following names: *Hipa Chaleel*, descriptive of a coyote hauling something away by mouth (Mrs. Mildred Joann Bryan Fisher, b. 1934); *Hipa Chooj-*

kwahj, descriptive of a coyote uncovering something, that is, like removing the straw from melons (Mrs. Leona Judy Bryan Throssell, b. 1936); and *Hipa Ahtrahkoy*, meaning sly fox (Mrs. Winona Bryan Loera, b. 1940). Their aunt (Mrs. Rena Bryan Sands, who died in the 1940's) was called *Hipa Lutabma*. *Lutab-ma* means something like rejected, left, discarded.

The last Fort Mojave *Shulia* (beaver) was Mrs. Shulia Dick-erman Dean (b. 1879, d. 1961). Her Mojave name was *Shulia Chupai*, meaning the leaning works of a beaver piled up on the banks, or logs leaning over. Other known *Shulia* names are *Shulia Ahalyam*, swimming beaver, and *Shulia Chuckgonum*, gnawing beaver.

Only one Fort Mojave *Moha* is living yet (Mrs. Rebecca Dean Knox, b. 1919). Her name is *Moha Dalom*, which signifies mountain sheep or deer refreshing themselves with water; watering deer.

The *Vemacka* (bean mesquite) are extinct now among the Fort Mojaves. The only name that could be recalled belonged to a woman who had no English name. Her Mojave name was *Vemacka Kugoth*, descriptive of the sound of the pounding of mesquite beans into meal.

The *Mus* clan (screw mesquite) use or used such names as *Mus Analya bok*, blossoming mesquite (Mrs. Caroline Gates, b. 1908); *Mus Gwawava*, mesquite branch laden with ripened screw beans (Mrs. Hilda Kormes Twist, d. 1937) and *Mus Ham-aote*, meaning a clump of mesquite. *Mus Hamaote* was *Auva halyevatch's* wife (d. 1950). She had no English name.

The *Quinetha*, or prickly pear women, bear such names as *Quinetha Heelyasum*, glowing, alive from the sun (Mrs. Arlene Armstrong Rodriguez, b. 1921); *Quinetha Hipak*, blossoming prickly pear (Mrs. Mary Bricker Miller, b. 1908); *Quinetha Navapalye*, prickly pear blossoms or fruit or leaves growing close together (Mrs. Imogene Bricker Lewis, b. 1924); *Quinetha Dunyum*, prickly pear blossoms, or fruit or leaves, growing so close together as to look stacked or piled on each other (Mrs.

Isadora Bricker Bernal, b. 1927); *Quinetha Waipai*, alive, vibrant (Miss Letitia Armstrong, b. November 17, 1942).

The *Kumathee* or ocotilla cactus clan called their daughters such names as *Kumathee Atat*, a thorny ocotilla cactus (Mrs. Ruby Newford Twist, d. 1944); *Kumathee Hilyarbymk*, an ocotilla "leaning over to look at something, or bending over to see" (Mrs. Clara Durand Amador, d. 1963) and *Kumathee Matqui-sah*, which means "shadow of the self, or my shadow" (Mrs. Ida Kempton Manakoja of the Colorado River Reservation).

The four Fort Mojave *Gottah* (tobacco) have descriptive names. The oldest *Gottah* (Mrs. Kate Wellman Bryan, b. 1867) is called by her tribesmen *Queaque Gottah*, the aged *Gottah*. In her girlhood, she bore the name *Gottah Mashsha*, which meant "the light that shines in your eyes when you are lighting your smoke!" The next oldest *Gottah* (Vina Dean Hayes, b. 1895) is *Gottah Neya mathbaum*, which means "smoldering fire—when you are smoking and the light is going out'." Mrs. Clara Prosser Harper (b. 1906) bears the Indian name *Gottah Chaump*, which means "putting aside tobacco to smoke later!" The youngest *Gottah* is called simply *Gottah*, or *Got* for short, "because she is the only one in Mojave Village; and everyone knows who you mean!" *Gottah Hoova*, whose name means "drawing the string of a tobacco pouch" lives on the Colorado River Reservation (Mrs. Myrtle Little). Oach remembered two *Gottah* who had no English names, *Gottah Suchinya*, "sifting tobacco in the hands to get the coarse tobacco fine" and *Gottah Thaulya*, meaning "when you smoke you kind of swing your arm—that's what it means— swinging light!"

Two *Malika* sisters (Mrs. Frances Wilbur Stillman, b. 1910, and Mrs. Mary Wilbur Gutierrez, b. 1905) are called *Malika Chopek* and *Malika Choquesay*. They are the ground squirrel people. *Chopek* means gathering things, carrying things back and forth. *Choquesay* means bushy, descriptive of the nest of ground squirrels.

The only living *Boudha* (frog people) is *Boudha Whev* whose

name means stretching, unwinding, elastic, as a frog stretching in swimming and jumping. Her English name is Mrs. Henrietta Graves Peterson (b. 1898).

Chacha Hoda was the name of a Mojave woman who died in the 1930's. It means beautiful ear of corn. The woman called "Georgia" (d. 1938), who worked for my mother when I was growing up, was *Chacha Wakavar*, which means treasured corn. This name alludes to the precious seed corn put aside for the next year's planting. *Masipa Ahota*, good or beautiful quail, is the name borne by Mrs. Helen Evanston Swick of the Colorado River Reservation. If there is only one woman in a clan, no descriptive name is necessary.

These descriptive names given to the women reveal a people responsive to nature; impressed by the immensity of the sky; observant of the passing aspects of the sun and the moon, the changing forms and portents of the clouds, the direction and force of the winds, the appearance and ways of birds, animals and plants.

As emphasized earlier, one distinctive feature of the Mojave clan system is that Mojave boys and men are never addressed or called by their clan names. Obviously, there must be some appellation which identifies each, and to which he answers. The Mojaves have worked this out ingeniously.¹³

Boys and men are called by vernacular names which are given to them by their parents, relatives, friends, acquaintances and medicine men. Or, they may choose their names. Moreover, they may change their names, and last but not least, they may have more than one name. This leeway seems consistent with the Mojave viewpoint that only the clan name matters.

Masculine names are descriptive names, but never descriptive of the clan name as is the case with the opposite sex. These vernacular names seem to fall into several categories, such as observations of nature—including human nature—references to geographic landmarks and historical events, allusions to status, roles and occupations, and comical, ludicrous or whimsical nom-de-plumes. Many names are metaphors.

The vernacular Mojave names are difficult to translate into English. Not only does the structure of the two languages differ, but the meaning of the words often elude foreign understanding, because they are inlaid in Mojave culture. For example, the name *Mutheel munagh*, translated literally, is *mutheel*, bread, and *munagh*, trail, e.g., Bread-trail. To Mojaves it means a trail of bread used to lure animals into traps. The name *Chaquar ear*, translated literally, is "Message-tail!" To Mojaves it means an afterthought. "You talk and talk and haven't made yourself clear, so you add a E S.—the tail of a message'.'

The name of the famed scout Charlie Merriman, *Eachawhat thoomay*, signified a red feather or feather headdress worn by men of distinction in the old days. Chief Jack Harrison's name *Quichagoy hunak* meant an old lady's necklace. It refers to the intricately carved shell necklaces that women prized in the old days. Such necklaces became very rare and were possessed usually by old ladies who had cherished them since girlhood.

One boy born in the thirties was called *Amat kuquiev*, which means weaving a net, or throwing a net over the land. His name refers to a troublesome incident which caused great excitement among the Fort Mojaves. "Some tempers rose. The Government was putting up fences to say where Indian's cattle could range. The Mojaves didn't like all these fences up. They had their own understanding among themselves. They called weaving fences in and out over the land *Amat kuquiev*. A boy was named this!'

Two old Mojaves who had no English names used their Indian names on a tribal petition in 1923:" *Emeechoman*, which means the rising cry of an animal—a warning; and *Mavarr cawump-pa*, meaning "ground grain you hate to part with, or treasured ground grain!" This latter connotes the frugal use of grain during lean years or years of drought when the river did not overflow its banks to permit planting. Pete *Sulayha*, or Pete of the Sand Dunes, is Clarence Anderson's name (b. 1889). *Sulayha* is a geographic designation of "where he came from!" The sand dunes were located just north of Topock, but now lie under the backwaters of Lake Havasu. Warren Mulford of the *Kumathee* (b.

1897) is called *Homar huwhen*, which means shaving or cutting a child's hair close to his (or her) head. This name implies punishment. Mojaves wore their hair long. Employees at the Fort Mojave School sometimes cut hair close, or shaved a child's head.

Names purporting to be comical or ludicrous are particularly hard for outsiders to understand, but to Mojaves who see the incongruities in the metaphor, the names are uproariously funny. For example, one young Mojave, tired of the conventional high-sounding names that his austere father called his sons, announced that his new name was *Hanava muttukuhav*. "It caused a sensation" and inevitably evoked laughter. Its meaning "the overcoat or jacket of a cicada" is too Mojave for a non-Mojave to find hilarious. The name *Atchkayoak nyamanyo*, meaning sandal of a crane, was also mirth provoking. One man who lived near Needles in the first quarter of the century used the English translation of his Indian name—"Chicken-eye!" It seemed apropos if one knew that he had one characteristic of a chicken, namely non-blinking eyes. One of his contemporaries was called *Cawpellaahmala*, which means a paper bag; another was called *Hookthar itchhamava*, meaning a place where the coyote feasted. These "shockers" however, are few in number and are not typical of masculine names.

Mojave men and boys have been called by the several foregoing types of names for a long time—at least for more than a century. The Great Chieftain of the Mojaves at the time of their surrender, 1859, was of the *Malika* clan. He was called *Homoseh quahote* (spelled various ways), meaning orator of the star. The literal translation is *homoseh*, star; *quahote*, orator. His son was called *Empote quatacheech*, which means obscured in a cloud of dust, or hidden behind a cloud of dust. The literal translation is *empote*, cloud of dust, and *quatacheech*, hidden behind. A cloud of dust symbolizes war or trouble. The last hereditary and elected Great Chieftain of the Fort Mojaves was *Homoseh quahote's* grandson Pete Lambert (d. 1947). He was called *Sukulai homar* or *Saqueli homar*, which means young plant. His guardian after

his father's death was the Mojave War Chieftain *Asukit* (sometimes spelled *Asakeet*) of the *Neolge*. He was called by two first names, John, given to him by soldiers at Fort Mojave, and his Mojave name, *Asukit*, which means picked cactus or cactus fruit.

Jo Courtwright, chief of the Middle Section, was of the *Neolge*. He was called *Hachur tupuva*, frostbitten plant. Chief Sherman Ross of the *Oach*, the nominal great chieftain after the tribe punished *Sukulai homar* by curtailing his authority, was "looked up to by the people." He was called *Avi chavar*, meaning next to the highest mountain. Shiny Mike of the *Chacha*, a subchief, and father of the well known Mojave, William McKinley, was called *Ambat chaque*, which means moving, going, or traveling with the breeze. George Armstrong of the *Quinetha* was called *Kohee atavaha*, to set free. Frank Stillman of the *Maha* was called *Huyatch humar*, young life. Teddy Roosevelt's father was called *Thou cumahon*, beautiful dawn. One old Mojave scout, who at the age of 102 was featured at the dedication ceremonies opening Parker Dam, was called *Hera anyai*, light of lightning, or flash of lightning. *Gwegwi nuor's* name stood for a gift of livestock, usually beef. *Thumpah's* name meant wasp. Jack Jones Sr. of the *Vemacka*, Kroeber's interpreter, was called *Quichnyailk*, a racer snake.

Among the men who were deceased during the last twenty years was Steve Smith of the *Oach*, the elected chief of the south Mojaves after the death of *Waporecohavaca*, or smokestack. He was a close friend of Chief Lambert and leader of the Fort Mojave Indian Band. His name, *Chaquar ear*, meant tail of the message. Dio Lewis of the *Mus* (b. 1884, d. 1962) bore the name *Eachchoyear sipasip*, which means "something piercing the air, as an arrow or a bird. Today it might mean a rocket!" Arthur Geonowein of the *Neolge* (d. 1959) was called *Havasu galep*, wilted green leaves. Richard Scott Sr. of the *Neolge* (d. 1959) was called *Avas canum*, running toward something. John Carter of the *Whalia* (d. 1960) had the name *Coona manev*, anxious to bear a message, or anxious to receive a message. The late Jason Peck of the *Oach* was called *Ami nyahott*, which means a pet of the sky or heavens.

Mojave men who are living today are called various descriptive names or metaphors. Harry Lewis of the *Neolge* (b. 1880) is called *Atalk hear*, which means the root of a water plant, said to be edible, but now extinct. Charles Hamilton of the *Maha* (b. 1881) is called *Auva halyevatch*, which literally translated is *auva*, tobacco, and *halyevatch*, sitting in. It means a form seen in tobacco smoke, or a form among tobacco plants. Dewey Hayes of the *Maha* (b. 1881) bears the name *Quechan manuov*, an historical reference meaning Yuman combat. His brother, Webster Hayes (b. 1883), is *A-ah lovalov*, fluttering cottonwood leaves. Clyde Peterson of the *Oach* (b. 1880) is called *Oonya homar*, a newly finished path or road, or literally "young path or young road!" Bert Kempton of the *Kumathee* (b. 1880) is called *Sukum munagh*, on the trail of the trader. Maurice Boucher of the *Chacha* (b. 1892) is *Herow heilhevow*, someone traveling fast, fast traveler. Robert Jenkins of the *Oach* (b. 1897), who comes from a line of fishermen, is called *Achee muk*, a fisher, or of fisherman's lineage. Charles Evanston of the *Masipa* (b. 1890) is called *Mutaquesa manyieh*, a pleasant or good spirit. Clifford Johnson of the *Neolge* (b. 1890) is called *Messahi dunyum*. The literal translation is *messa*, daughter, and *dunyum*, repetition or over and over. The name means "having one daughter after another without having a son!"

Mojave men may have several names. For example, the chief medicine man my mother knew well when we lived in Needles in 1905-1914 had several names. He was of the *Oach*, but he was called *Kopit kipiton*, meaning Captain or Chief of the Owls; *Quaskette howa*, meaning broken vessel or shattered pottery; Chief Rheumatism Medicine Man, his professional title, and Van Fleet, his United States Army name.

The late Hal Davidson of the *Whalia* had at least three vernacular names: *Oneyuravarya*, unreached destination, his boyhood name; *Aha homee*, high water, his manhood name, which refers to the floodwaters of the Colorado River in the springtime, and *Quachnuor*, writer or recorder, an occupational name.

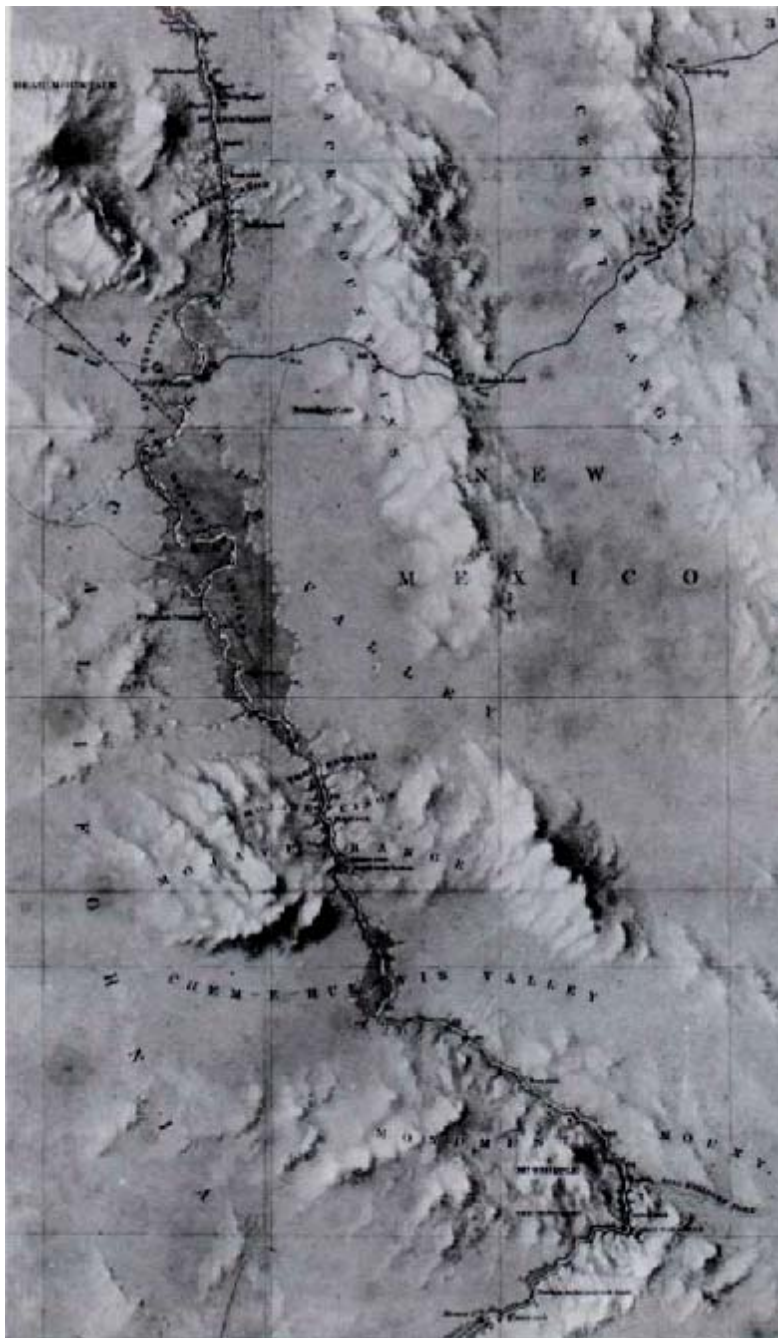
A Mojave boy or man may change his name for any number of reasons. For example, after motorcars came into use, one little

boy was given the name *Cooack anyieh*, by a close friend of the family, who was an enthusiast for the new automobiles. The name means "lights from pressure or push, or lights caused by turning or pushing something!" A few years later, the boy objected to his modern name. He wanted an old-fashioned Mojave name. He took the one suggested by his grandmother—*Chuim manyieh*. The meaning of this name is complicated to explain. *Chuim* means "saving for a later time"; *manyieh* means "pleasant!" To his parents and grandparents the name had hidden meanings. It embodies the idea of saving pleasure one derives from the pleasant taste of eating something to a later time when it may be appreciated more. His grandmother explained, "In just mixing and straining mesquite meal with water, do not drink it all. Put it away and it will taste better when you are really hungry!" As a youth, the boy's name was shortened to *Manyieh*, pleasant.

One middle-aged man asked his friends and acquaintances to help him pick a new name. Of his name he said, "My mother and father called me by that name. It makes me sad. I want to be called by something else!" His folks were dead.

The Mojaves' point of view, according to my Fort Mojave consultants, "is just the opposite of Americans who like old things and want to keep them to remember their parents by, for sentimental reasons." A Mojave may say, "That was my name when I was young (e.g., when his parents were living). I would like to be called something else." One Mojave said, "I called a man by his name once, and my aunt said, 'No. That is his old name. It hurts him. Call him by his new name! "

Mojaves' consideration of feelings is exemplified in the case of Hal Davidson who had served his tribe from young manhood. He had three names before he grew old, lost almost all of his relatives, lost his eyesight, lost his hearing, and could no longer function as the Tribal Recorder. In his old age, the Mojaves called him by none of his earlier names, because these hurt. They called him by the name given to him in appreciation by the Walapais—*Eque tekecuma*, meaning something like "where the clouds bank together!"



Map of the "Rio Colorado of the West" prepared by the exploring expedition under the command of Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, 1858.

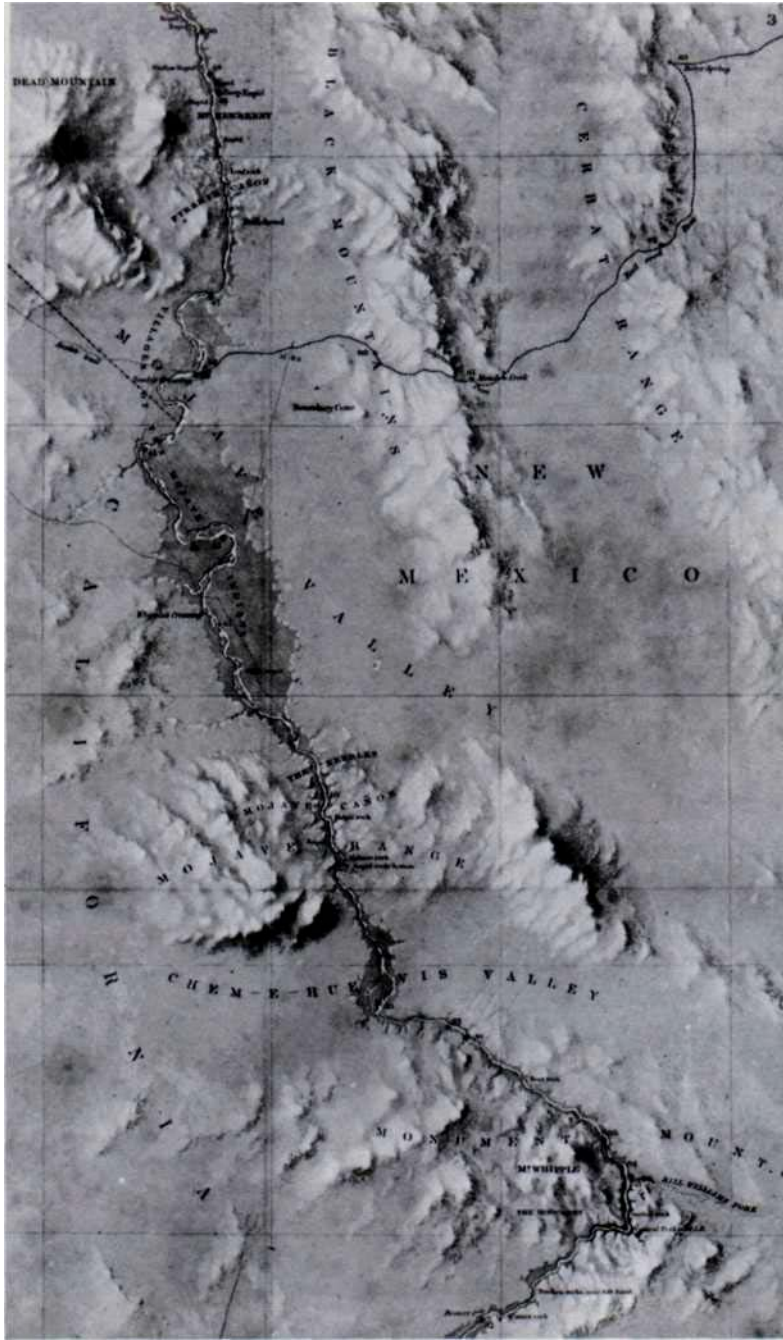


The picturesque peaks below Topock named "The Needles" by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple in 1854. Their Mojave name is *Huqueamp avi*, "where the battle took place"—the battle in which the god Mastamho slew the sea serpent. The peaks of *Huqueamp avi* mark the passageway through which, after cremation of the body, the spirit departs to the Shadow Land. Sketched by B. H. Mollhausen in 1858. Reproduced from Ives' *Geological Report*,

opposite p. 30.



A camp scene in the Mojave Valley drawn by J. C. Tiball, 1857. Reproduced from Whipple's *Report*, Pt. I, opposite p. 120.



Map of the "Rio Colorado of the West" prepared by the exploring expedition under the command of Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, 1858.



A sketch by Baldwin Mollhausen, who was a member of the Whipple Expedition, 1853-54, of the dwellings of the Mojave as seen in 1853-54. Reproduced from Mollhausen's *Diary of a Journey . . .* (London, 1858), II, opposite p. 262.



Mojave Indians in 1853 when the first United States expedition reconnoitered Mojave country. The artist is Richard H. Kern. Reproduced from Sitgreaves' *Report*, Plate 21.



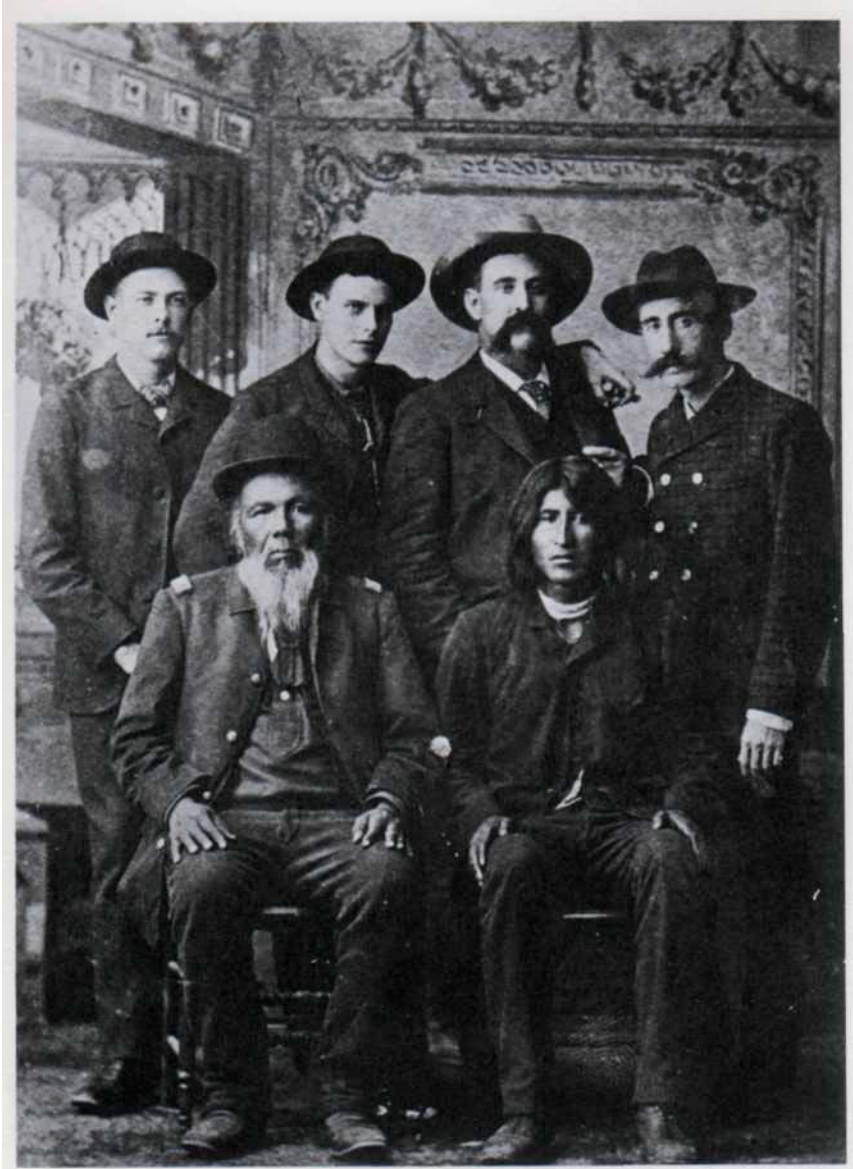
Courtesy, National Archives

The guard and storehouse of Fort Mojave in 1871. The walls were made Mojave-fashion of cottonwood poles and adobe, characteristic of buildings constructed at this post.



Photograph by Minnie Braithwaite

The Fort Mojave Indian School in 1905 viewed from the south side. The two storied frame buildings are the Girls Dormitory (left) built in 1899 and the Small Boys Dormitory (right) built in 1904. The Girls Dormitory fronts the Colorado River. Most of the low structured buildings that are visible above the white fence are the legacy of old Fort Mojave.



Charles Battye Collection

Captain John Asukit or Asakeet and Charlie Merriman (seated) were photographed in San Bernardino in 1887 with four prominent Needles men at the trial of two Mojaves for killing a white man. The men standing, left to right, were Dan Bunnell, a locomotive engineer, W. S. Hancock, master mechanic, Dan Murphy, merchant and deputy sheriff, J. H. West, Justice of the Peace.



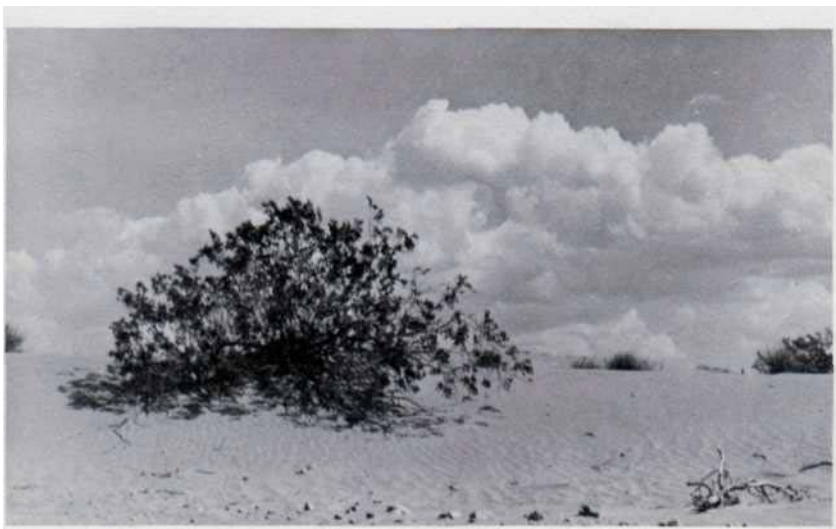
Photograph by A. P. Miller, Needles, 1932

Gwegwi nuor of the Oach in 1932 when he was over one-hundred years old. The feather piece on his head is a non-Mojave decoration supplied by the photographer. The gourd rattle however is an authentic Mojave instrument which Gwegwi nuor always used when he sang the short *Tomampa*, the clan song of the Oach. He was a scout in 1859 and was present when the Mojaves surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman. His account, "Mojave History" in the Fort Mojave Tribal Records, provides the names of the clans who were represented in Hoffman's camp.



Photograph by A. P. Miller, 1939

Oach Quireechma is the Mojave name of one Oach (Mrs. Glorianna Cameron Davidson, b. 1932). Her clan or family name, *Oach*, signifies clouds, rain, and possibly wind. Her descriptive name *Quireechma* means ever moving. The two words together are translated "ever moving clouds!"



Photograph by A. P. Miller, 1939

Oach Hilyadpaka, meaning "many clouds appearing over the horizon" is the name of *Oach Quireechma's* younger sister (Miss Christine Cameron, b. 1934).



Photograph by Helen Simone, 1963

Mrs. Frances Malika Stillman, Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, and chief consultant in this study of Fort Mojave clans.

The names by which men and boys are called epitomize Mojave feelings that a man's true name is his clan name—his heritage from the past, his bequest to his children, and his identification in life and in the Shadow Land. This view is capsuled in the statement, "Only the clan name matters!" It is illustrated by the freedom accorded males to be called whatever name or names each takes or accepts.

To make sure that the ideas of the transmission of clan names, and of the names borne by both women and men were clear, I asked Malika for another concrete example, this time from her own immediate family. "This is an important subject, Malika" I told her, "and one that is difficult for outsiders to understand. Your explanation will help to clarify your totemic clan system and the patrilinear descent of your people!" She laughed and said, "The big words mean that I will explain how our family names work!"

"My husband is of the *Maha*, of the order of birds and flying things; they are the representatives of *soocomah*, are orators, and advisers in very difficult problems. I am *Malika*, of the things below the earth, the 'understanding people! Our son will carry his father's name, *Maha*, to our granddaughters. We have five daughters, named *Maha*, the name their father passed to them. We call them *Maha*. The oldest is *Maha Quechneoch*, meaning the repetition of the singing or calling of birds, over and over. The second *Maha* is called *Maha Heilhochav*, descriptive of the birds that come picking the seeds when you plant, so you have to plant over again. The third *Maha Munsaaw*, a little red bird that sings sweetly in the valley. The fourth and fifth daughters have no descriptive clan names.

"My husband is not called by the name *Maha*. His name is *Suoppaub*, meaning ripened. My son's name is *Manyieh*, meaning pleasant. I am called by my family name, *Malika*, and a descriptive name, *Chopeck*, a gatherer. Each of us has an English name. Mojaves all have English names. We use these for legal purposes, and with outsiders. When we are among ourselves we call each other by our Indian names!"

CHAPTER III

Mojave Clans, 1859-1959

We have no way of knowing the names of the Mojave clans nor their number prior to 1859. We do have five sources of information which together authenticate the number of clans, and the names of the clans during the century 1859-1959: *Gwegwi nuor* (1859), Bourke (1889), Curtis (1908), Kroeber (1925), and Sherer (1959). We also know the number and names of the clans at this writing (1964).

The clans of 1859 were named by *Gwegwi nuor*, who witnessed the peace treaty between the Mojaves and Colonel William Hoffman. *Gwegwi nuor's* account of the peace treaty, recorded in "The Big Book" of the Fort Mojave Tribal Records in 1935, included the names of the clans, or "the individual land owners" in 1859. This portion of his recital reads, "the individual land owners: *Oach, Chagge, Got, Neolge, Moose, Te ella, Hipah, Sullah, Whallia, Coomathea, Ve mock, Malika, (quet Kellah) Queneatha Motheha, Ni ka, Hall-po-to, Norge, Susuella, Missiboh, Maha, Motheha, Matavacha*. The present generation still have their names but would not locate the properties I am sure. The names I give here are tribal or clans and each family have from 500 and up but today 1 to 20 in each clan and one clan extinct!"¹

Gwegwi nuor, or Deacon Brown, was well known and well respected by the Fort Mojaves. He was of the *Oach*, an uncle of *Oach Hood*, a great uncle of *Malika*. "When he was young enough to farm he lived on the Arizona side of the river" *Malika* told me. "He lived to be very old and helpless. He came to my house and

we took him in. I took care of him until his departure. He died in my home. It was in 1940. You have a photograph of him in your collection!' This photograph of *Gwegwi nuor*, taken by A. P. Miller in 1932, shows him to be old, but rugged.

In relating the names of the clans the old man named three clans twice: *Motheha*, *Shulia* (*Sullah*, *Susuella*) and *Neolge* (*Neolge*, *Norge*). *Motheha* is an obvious duplication. *Sullah*, or *Shulia*, is a clan name; *Susuella*, or *Kusavilya*, is the modification of this clan name used by women who have lost a child. Two forms of the *Neolge* name were given: *Neolge*, the clan name, and *Norge*, the name used by women who have lost children. Two clans were not present at the peace meeting or must have escaped *Gwegwi nuor's* memory: the *Vahath* or *Vahadha*, and the *Moha*, both of which existed, according to other sources (Kroeber, Bourke). Brief as his narration was, and with its minor deficiencies, *Gwegwi nuor* supplied basic information in establishing the names and number of clans among the Mojaves at the time the United States "took over!"

The first published information about the Mojave clan system was supplied to Captain John G. Bourke by a Fort Mojave Indian, Charlie Merriman, or *Eachawhat thoomay*, in 1886.² The name Merriman is known by all Fort Mojaves. He is a "Who's Who" among the Fort Mojave Indians, honored with the Feather Ceremony which is awarded only to those who have given outstanding service or lost their lives for the benefit of the tribe, and memorialized in 1948 in the name of a prominent street in the newly-built Mojave Village.

Merriman was known personally by my older Mojave helpers. "*Eachawhat thoomay!* Charlie Merriman! How young he looks!" Oach exclaimed when she recognized him in a photograph of a group of men taken in 1887.

Merriman's information is contained in an article by Captain John G. Bourke, published in *American Folklore* in 1889. The Mojave and the Captain had become well acquainted during the 1872 Apache campaign when Captain Bourke was General George Crook's aide, and Merriman (spelled Merryman by

Bourke) was a scout in his command. In 1886, Captain Bourke visited Fort Mojave. There to their mutual delight, Merriman was assigned to guide him. During a two-day reunion Merriman guided his old army friend (and the post commander Lieutenant Nat Phister) down the river and about Mojave country, answering questions and talking freely. Bourke's article is as rambling as the trip and his data were catch-as-catch-can, without benefit of recheck, but one can find in Merriman's words a goodly amount of information about the old clan system by piecing it together.

Among the items was his enumeration of the names of fourteen clans, the meanings of thirteen names, and the bearers of three names: the Great Chieftain *Humoseh quahote* (spelled "*Sicky-hut*" by Bourke), War Chief *Asukit* (spelled "*Osy-kit*" by Bourke), and himself. Merriman was of the *Vahath* or *Vahadha*, one of the clans omitted by *Gwegwi nuor*.

A third source of information about the clan names was Edward S. Curtis' *The North American Indian*, published in 1908.³ Although he misconstrued his data in stating definitely that no clanship system existed among the Mojaves, nevertheless his list of fifteen women's names, together with the meanings of the names, are usable data since the names turned out to be clan names.

The most important source of information was A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, which appeared in 1925.(4) In his long list of Mojave and Yuma clan names, with "corresponding data added for several cognate tribes of Arizona and Ba-ja California," he gave the names of twenty-two Mojave clans, with the meanings of each.

A fifth source of information is the list of clans, with the meanings of the clan names, prepared by this writer in 1959 with the aid of Malika, Oach and other Fort Mojave Indians. This list provides the capstone for the century, 1859-1959.^o The data from these five sources presented on Table I give a picture of Mojave clans during the first one hundred years of cultural change. The data from the five forementioned sources are shown in parallel

columns. The names listed by Bourke and by Curtis do not include the names of all of the clans extant at the time of their reports, nor did either Bourke or Curtis so claim. The lists purporting to be complete are those of *Gwegwi nuor* (1859), Kroeber (1925), and Sherer (1959). One fact stands out sharply on Table I. Kroeber's list of twenty-two clan names included all of the clans that existed during the century 1859-1959. Four clans were extinct on June 30, 1959, leaving eighteen among the Mojaves of the two reservations. Seventeen clans existed among the Fort Mojaves.⁶

Gwegwi nuor's twenty clan names agree with the twenty names on Kroeber's list. Kroeber has two names *Vahadha* and *Moha* which *Gwegwi nuor* does not give. We know, however, that the *Vahadha* existed in 1886 and that the *Moha* still exist. Merriman told Bourke that the *Vahath* (spelled *Va-had-ha* by Bourke) was his family. The last *Vahath* man among the Fort Mojaves was Captain Sam Ouree. His Indian name was *Thalnaack whoree*. He was born around 1821, died May 11, 1930, and was cremated following the Feather Ceremony on May 13. He was a scout and warrior in his youth, a bow-and-arrow maker for tourist trade in his old age. A photograph taken by A. P. Miller in 1930 shows him to be very old, his tragic face lined with the woes of a century. His daughter, Mrs. Bessie Smith (Steve Smith's widow), was the last Fort Mojave *Vahath*. She was killed in an automobile accident on October 29, 1955. The *Vahath* are now extinct. The only possible exception might be Charlie Merriman's granddaughter, who was registered at the Quechan Indian Reservation, Yuma, Arizona. "She was married to a Yuma Indian, moved away and we lost track of her a long time ago" said Oach. "Some say she died!" One *Moha* lives in Needles. She is *Moha Dalom* (Mrs. Rebecca Dean Knox, b. 1919).

Two clans named by *Gwegwi nuor* and Kroeber were extinct among the Mojaves in 1959: the *Mathachva* and *Kutkilya*. Both were apparently extant in 1907-1908 since they appear also in Curtis' list. Oach and Malika had not heard of either clan. They insisted that *Mathachva* meant "Is there a wind?" and that *Kutkilya* was the name of a species of owl. The aged *Auva halyevatch*

stated that both were clans once, but he could not remember who carried the names. Malika and Oach agreed that he "ought to know!" When *Gwegwi nuor's* account was found to include both names the matter was settled. The two clans must have become extinct after Kroeber's research. The *Kutkilya* may have become extinct before the *Mathachva*. *Gwegwi nuor* named one clan as extinct, the *Kutkilya*, spelled *quet Kellah* and enclosed in parentheses by the Tribal Recorder. *Mathachva* seems to have been extant until after *Gwegwi nuor's* account in 1935.

The *Necah* clan became extinct with the death of Mrs. *Necah Ahreemetava*. My Mojave friends remembered her but did not remember the year of her death. It was after October 6, 1923, however, for her name (spelled *Necaw*) appears on a copy of a tribal petition of that date addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.⁷ The *Necah* clan (spelled *Ni ki*) appears among *Gwegwi nuor's* list in 1935. Since vital statistics were not kept systematically until 1940, the demise of the *Necah* remains conjectural.

The *Teelya* clan was extant among the Mojaves in 1959. Its survivors were (and are) the Burton family on the Colorado River Reservation. There may be others. The *Teelya* was extinct among the Fort Mojaves. The last members of the Fort Mojaves *Teelya* was Jim Twist (d. 1944), and his sister Delia Twist Carter (d. 1940). Both were well known by my Fort Mojave helpers.

The meanings of the names have changed very little from 1886, the year of Bourke's interview with Merriman, to 1959; the meanings in 1959 correspond closely with those on Kroeber's list. There are a few differences, however.

Neolge today pertains only to sun and possibly to fire. Kroeber reported several meanings: sun, fire, eagle, and beetle. Curtis gave only "deer!" Bourke gave only "sun."

The name *Oach* today means clouds, rain, and wind. Kroeber gave the meaning as "cloud"; Curtis, as "white cloud"; Bourke as "rain-cloud!" I am inclined to believe that the hyphen is a typographical error, and that the meaning of *Oach* has included clouds and rain for a long time. *Oach* and her relatives are very

positive that their clan name means "clouds" and "rain!" They are less positive about "wind" except as the wind affects the clouds.

Moha today means both "mountain sheep" and "deer"; at the time of Kroeber's report it apparently pertained only to mountain sheep.

The meanings of *Boudha* and *Halpote* seem to be reversed in recent years, *Boudha* being the clan name used today and *Halpote*, listed by both Kroeber and *Gwegwi nuor*, was probably the original clan name and *Boudha* is used now because the remembered women of this clan are those who had lost children.

With two exceptions, *Maha* and *Masipa*, the meanings of the names given by Bourke agree with, or differ but little from, those given by Kroeber and those found today. Bourke quotes Merriman as giving "caterpillar" as the meaning of the well known *Maha*, the order of flying birds and "coyote" as the meaning of *Masipa* (quail). On hearing this Oach ejaculated, "*Eachawhat thoomay* (Merriman) would have known better!" I think he did, and that the mistakes were Bourke's.

The chief differences in the clan names on the five lists are in the spelling. Only one name, *Maha*, is spelled identically on the different lists in which it appears. The differences in spelling between the current list and Kroeber's are partly due to the fact that one list was prepared by a trained linguist and anthropologist and the other represents current spelling. The spelling of the names listed by *Gwegwi nuor* is Davidson's.

The Mojave have no written language nor any dictionary of Mojave words. It is understandable that people who spell and write only English should apply the phonetics they learned in school to the spelling of Mojave names and common words.

In most instances, the spelling depends to a great extent upon the pronunciation. Certain words contain letters or syllables that sound alike when spoken. Some terminal syllables require fine discrimination between the sounds. When Mojaves attempt to translate such words into written form they spell by ear. Two Mojaves, equally proficient in English spelling, would spell the

same Mojave word differently because the pronunciation sounded different to them.

The usual mode of spelling Mojave words is to sound the words aloud by syllables. Malika sounded aloud the clan names and the common words syllable by syllable when she was writing or helping me to write. At times, both Malika and Oach repeated words slowly, by syllables, while we rechecked the spelling. When doubt existed, Malika consulted the bearers of the clan names. She felt that tracing the spelling used by the bearers of the names was worth the time spent, because a written list might help stabilize the spelling. We noted, for example, that the copyist of a tribal petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated October 6, 1923, had spelled the names of only three women uniformly, that *Moha* was written *Moha*, *Mohu*, *Motha*, and *Moa*; *Gottah* as *Gottah*, *Gotah*, and *Got*.

The fact that clan names are sometimes abbreviated may contribute to variations in spelling. For example, *Malika* may be shortened to *Mala*, *Gottah* to *Got*, *Maha* to *Mah*. It is probable that *Mus* may have been *Musa*, as on Kroeber's list.

Another factor that could affect both the spelling and the meaning is the modification of the clan names of women who have lost children; thus *Neolge* becomes *Norge* or *Norrch*, *Boudha* becomes *Halpote*, and *Shulia* becomes *Kusool*. Kroeber found that *Nyo'ilcha* was changed to *Nyocha*, and that *Siulya* was changed to *Kusuvilya*.

In conclusion, the following table presents the clan names as reported by those who have studied the matter.

TABLE I MOJAVE CLANS DURING THE CENTURY 1859-1959

SHERER 1959	KROEBER 1925	CURTIS 1908	BOURKE 1889	GWEGWI NUOR 1859	COMMON NAME-1959
The Above-things: Things of the Sky					
<i>Neolge</i> sun,	<i>Nyo'ilch</i> sun, deer, beetle	<i>Nyolch</i> deer	<i>Nol-cha</i> sun	or Heavens <i>Neolge</i>	<i>annah</i> , <i>ahow</i> ,
<i>Oach</i> clouds, rain,	<i>Owich</i> cloud	<i>Och</i> white cloud	<i>O-cha</i> rain- cloud	<i>Oach</i>	<i>eque</i> cloud <i>cuvawa</i> rain <i>matha</i>
(Extin	<i>Mat-</i> wind	<i>Matdchwa</i> wind		<i>Matavach</i>	wind
<i>Whalia</i>	<i>Hoalya</i>	<i>Hudlya</i>	<i>Hual-ga</i>	<i>Whallia</i>	<i>halya</i>
moon <i>Maha</i> small ing	<i>Maha</i> a small bird	<i>Maha</i> a kind of bird	moon <i>Maha</i> cater- pillar	<i>Maha</i>	moon <i>soocomah</i> small bird
<i>Motheh</i> night bird	<i>Motheha</i> screech bird			<i>Motheha</i>	<i>doolauk</i> night bird <i>sutheca</i> screech owl
(Extin	<i>Kutkilya</i> owl	<i>Qutkilye</i> owl		<i>que</i>	<i>nyav</i> <i>coopit</i> owl
The Earth-things: Desert and Mountain Plants and Animals					
<i>Hipa</i> coyote <i>Moha</i> mounta sheep, deer	<i>Hipa</i> coyote <i>Moha</i> mountain sheep	<i>Hipa</i> coyote	<i>Hi-pa</i> coyote	<i>Hipah</i>	<i>hookthar</i> coyote <i>ahmo</i> mountain sheep <i>akwaka</i> deer
<i>Masipa</i> quail	<i>Masipa</i> quail possibly coyote		<i>Ma-si-pa</i> coyote	<i>Missiboh</i>	<i>ahmah</i> quail
(Extin	<i>Nyikha</i> caterpil or worm		(see	<i>Ne-ka</i>	<i>hamsuquen</i> caterpill or worm

Norge is used by *Neolge* women who have lost a child.

SHERER 1939	KROEBER 1925	CURTIS 1908	BOURKE 1889	3WEGWI NUOR 1859	COMMON NAME—1959
<i>Vemacka</i> *	<i>Vimaka</i>		<i>Vi-ma-ga</i>	<i>Ve mock</i>	<i>ahnalya</i>
bean mesquite	bean mesquite		a green plant, not identified		bean mesquite
<i>Mus</i> screw mesquite	<i>Musa</i> screw mesquite	<i>Musha</i> mesquite	<i>Mus</i> mesquite	<i>Moose</i>	<i>ahieza</i> screw mesquite
<i>Chacha</i> corn	<i>Chacha</i> corn or food	<i>Chach</i> corn		<i>Chagge</i>	<i>tallicha</i> corn
(Extinct)	<i>Vahadha</i> tobacco		<i>Va-had-ha</i> tobacco		<i>auva</i> tobacco
<i>Gottah</i> or <i>Gotah</i> tobacco	<i>Kata</i> tobacco, perhaps mescal, that is agave	<i>Kata</i> tobacco	<i>Ko-ta</i> mescal or tobacco	<i>Got</i>	<i>auva</i> tobacco
<i>Kumathee</i> ocotilla cactus	<i>Kumadhiya</i> ocotilla cactus	<i>Kumathi</i> ocotilla cactus	<i>Ku-mad-ha</i> ocotilla cactus	<i>Coomathea</i>	<i>attat</i> ocotilla cactus
<i>Quinetha</i> prickly- pear cactus	<i>Kwinitha</i> prickly-pear cactus	<i>Qinitha</i> prickly- pear cactus		<i>Quneathea</i>	<i>tapah</i> prickly- pear cactus
<i>Teelya</i> ** mescal	<i>Tilya</i> mescal	<i>Tiilya</i> mescal	<i>Ti-hil-ya</i> mescal	<i>Teella</i>	<i>ahnalya</i> mescal
		Below- earth	and Water Beings		
<i>Shulia</i> *** beaver	<i>Siulya</i> beaver	<i>Shula</i> beaver	<i>Shul-ya</i> beaver	<i>Susuella</i> Sulloh (?)	<i>aben</i> beaver
<i>Boudha</i> frog	<i>Halypota</i> frog			<i>Hall-po-ta</i>	<i>hanye</i> frog
<i>Malika</i> ground squirrel wood rat. desert rodent	<i>Malyikha</i> wood rat	<i>Milika</i> wood rat	<i>Ma-li-ka</i> not identified	<i>Malike</i>	<i>amailk</i> ground squirrel, wood rat. desert rodent

Halpote is used by *Boudha* women who have lost a child.

Kusool or *Coosool* is used by *Shulia* women who have lost a child. •Extinct among the Fort Mojaves on November 22, 1959. ••Extinct among the Fort Mojaves in 1944. ••Extinct among the Fort Mojaves on March 1, 1961.

CHAPTER IV

Changes from Mojave to English Names, 1859-1959

The Mojave Indians began the century, 1859-1959, with Mojave names, and ended it with English names. They have preserved their Indian names orally and they use these names when they are talking among themselves. The English names, however, are their legal names, and these are the names they use in their dealings with outsiders.

The shift from Mojave to English names during the past century followed similar courses among the Fort Mojaves and the Colorado River Reservation Mojaves. Because my historical research has been concentrated upon the Fort Mojave Indians, this study in name changes will be confined to the latter.

Alterations in Fort Mojave names began in a small way during the period of military occupation, which began April 21, 1859 and lasted until July 2, 1890.¹ Soldiers at Fort Mojave by-passed the long Indian names of Mojave men by dubbing them Bill, Joe, Sam, Pete, and so on. The official substitution of English "first" names, and the modification of men's names, started after Mojave men joined the federal troops as scouts, and when they were employed as policemen, interpreters and laborers by the War Department.² The simplification was mainly for record-keeping and payroll purposes. For example, *Asikut* of the *Neolge*, a war chief and leader of the Mojave scouts under General George Crook, was named John Asikut. *Kopeeda* of the *Chacha* clan was called Pete Nelse. The long name of the scout *Thalnaack whoree* of the *Vahath* was shortened to *Whoree* or *Ouree*, prefaced by Sam-Sam Ouree. These names were accepted easily for they did not affect the clan names nor conflict with Mojave customs. The

only living woman known to have worked at Fort Mojave, "while the soldiers were there" was *Gottah* (Kate Wellman Bryan). She was called *Gottah*, *Got*, or *Kate*. Again, clan names were not involved.

During most of the period of military occupation the Fort Mojaves were technically under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. "Legally" they belonged on the Colorado River Reservation after it was established in 1865. They refused to leave their ancestral homes in the Mojave Valley, the War Department declined to try to force them onto the reservation, and the Indian Agent there was unable to supervise them. Whatever actual supervision or control they had came from the commanders at Fort Mojave. As long as Fort Mojave was garrisoned by the War Department, the Fort Mojaves, if peace abiding, were relatively free to follow their old tribal ways unmolested. This state of affairs came to an end in the midsummer of 1890 when the War Department withdrew its troops and transferred the post to the Department of the Interior.

Beginning in August, 1890, the Fort Mojaves began to feel the drastic cultural changes demanded by the Department of the Interior. Fort Mojave was converted into a boarding school for Fort Mojave and other "non-reservation" Indians. From 1890 until 1931, a period of forty-one years, all Fort Mojave boys and girls between the ages of six and eighteen were compelled to live at this school or attend an advanced Indian school remote from Fort Mojave. This was the era of de-Indianizing Indians, breaking up tribal ties, rooting out Indian beliefs, customs and native tongue, and civilizing them after the patterns of white men.³

Here at the school the children and youth were transformed, outside, into facsimiles of white children of their day—haircuts, clothing, habits of eating, sleeping, toiletry, manners, industry, language, and so on.⁴ Five lashes of the whip was the penalty for the first offense of speaking in their native tongue. "The whippings were awful" said Oach with a shudder, "Simply awful".⁵

Between 1890 and 1904, the clan names were not affected. The first two superintendents gave priorities to other changes. The

boys and girls who attended the Fort Mojave Indian School, and the Mojave adults employed there, were given English first names, which they used with their Indian names. They were encouraged to take English surnames, if their Indian names were difficult to pronounce and to write.⁶ Feminine use of the clan name with an English first name came into practice during this time. In old reports and commencement programs of the Fort Mojave School are found such examples as *Nell Oach*, *Alice Oach*, *Bernice Neolge*, *Delia Neolge*, *Stella Moha* (spelled *Mopa*), *Lena Hipah*. Boys and men had such names as *Fred Unyo hamara*, *John Walds Abob*, *Jason Mynahot*, *Robert Mechaken*.⁷

The Department of the Interior became more and more insistent by 1903 that all Indian families be registered under the same family name in order to provide a basis for land allotments.⁸ In 1903, the administration of the Fort Mojave School changed. The new superintendent fell heir to this problem with the Fort Mojaves. He was also given jurisdiction over the Indians within a radius of thirty miles of the Fort Mojave School, which made him the local Indian agent with increased authority.⁹

In 1905, all Fort Mojave Indians, young and old, were required to take English surnames as family names. The school authorities of the Fort Mojave School prepared a list of names and gave the oldest school children first choices of their new family names. Parents were then assigned the family name chosen by their offspring.¹⁰

This wholesale renaming of the people was a dark hour for the Fort Mojaves. "They could not believe their ears" Oach said. "The old folks shook their heads. What will they [the whites] want next?" Mojave adults were appalled and shaken. Their protests went unheard.¹¹

In his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 9, 1905, the superintendent of the Fort Mojave School wrote, "Census—During the fiscal year a great deal of work has been done in the collection and classification of data to be used as follows: In preparing a census, in the establishment of a register of families, in the formulation of annual statistics, in

the keeping of a register of births and deaths, etc. Therefore, a census of the Indians within a radius of thirty miles of Fort Mohave is furnished with this report!'¹² His report included no clues as to the furor his procedures caused.

Feelings ran high. However, much was at stake. Fort Mojave leaders, deeply concerned over the regaining of their ancestral land, and deeply worried over white settlement upon it, mollified the chief objectors and influenced the peaceful outward acceptance of "white man's law!" A few of the old Indians absolutely refused to take new names.¹³ However, the majority of them did take the English names with outer passivity. According to Oach, there was "nothing else they could do!" But the Fort Mojaves did not relinquish the old Mojave family names given to them by their Creator. These, like their religion and their native tongue, went underground, to be used only when among themselves."

The method of renaming the Fort Mojaves created numerous confusions in family names. In the first place, the new English surnames did not correspond one-to-one with the old Mojave clan or family names. According to my Fort Mojave consultants, each Mojave clan should have one English surname "to be right!" Such was not the case.

In checking the families enrolled by English names in the tribal register in order to identify each by clan name (if it had one), we found that seventeen surviving clans in 1959 had sixty-two different English family names, instead of seventeen as would have been the case had each Mojave clan been given one English family name in 1905.¹⁵ Several names known to have been given in 1905 have disappeared through death.

The number of English surnames per clan in 1959 ranged from one to eighteen. (The names of the clans with their English surnames are shown on *Table II*.) Six clans had one English surname each: *Boudha*, *Malika*, *Moha*, *Motheha*, *Shulia*, *Vemacka*. The *Boudha* were registered as Graves, the *Malika* as Wilbur, the *Moha* as Dean, the *Motheha* as Kormes, the *Shulia* as Dickerman, and the *Vemacka* as Scott. The *Malika* were given two different names in 1905—Wilbur and Hood. Hood became extinct with

the death of Robin Hood in 1945. Twelve clans had from two to eighteen English surnames per clan.

The reason for this proliferation, Oach explained, was that the superintendent and teachers at the Fort Mojave School "could not figure out our family system. It was hard to understand!" Malika and Oach both attributed the multi-English names to "mix-ups at the School when they gave us our English names!"¹⁶

TABLE II
CLAN NAMES AND ENGLISH NAMES OF THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS IN 1959

CLAN NAMES	ENGLISH SURNAMES
<i>Neolge</i>	Anderson, Arrison, Brockman, Burns, Carter, Courtwright, Gates, Geonowein, Hanna, Howard, Jackson, Johnson, Knox, Lewis, McCord, Rockefeller, Scott, Williams
<i>Oach</i>	Cameron, Fitzgerald, Hammond, Harper, Jenkins, Peck, Peterson, Thomas, Van Fleet
<i>Whalia</i>	Davidson, Harrison, Hough, Marble
<i>Maha</i>	Andrews, Hamilton, Harrison, Hayes, Morrison, Shafer, Wilson
<i>Motheha</i>	Kormes
<i>Hipa</i>	Bryan, Charles
<i>Moha</i>	Dean
<i>Shulia</i>	Dickerman
<i>Masipa</i>	Evanston, McDowell
<i>Vemacka</i>	Scott
<i>Mus</i>	Field, Kormes, McCormick aka Shed
<i>Chacha</i>	Boucher, Brown, Hills, Hogan
<i>Gottah</i>	McKenzie, Roosevelt
<i>Kumathee</i>	Kempton, Mills, Mulford
<i>Quinetha</i>	Armstrong, Bricker
<i>Boudha</i>	Graves
<i>Malika</i>	Wilbur

Oach and Malika cited a number of examples of the "mix-ups" in names. Two brothers of the *Quinetha* were given two different English surnames at the School - Armstrong (George) and Bricker (John). Both died in the 1930's but both left children. Their children and grandchildren are *Quinetha*, who go by the English family names of Armstrong and Bricker. Two schoolboys of the *Maha*, whose fathers were full brothers, were given different surnames by the school - Stillman (Lute) and Andrews (Charles). Their fathers - who did not go to school -

were given the same surnames as their sons. Later, after authorities at the school found the mistake, the elder Andrews was renamed Stillman. His two sons' names, however, remained Andrews. When the boys' sister went to school "the school tried to straighten it out. Her name was Mina Stillman."

A further mix-up among the *Mahas* was that the two brothers who were given the names Andrews and Stillman had a first cousin on the father's side. He was named Hayes (John), not Andrews nor Stillman. All three of these elder relatives (*Mahas*) had children and grandchildren. They go by three names—Andrews, Stillman, Hayes.

Several mix-ups occurred among the *Neolge*. For example: Blake Gates of the *Neolge* had seven children by the same wife. The oldest son was given the name Gates by the school; the other children were named Rockefeller. A second example among the *Neolge*: Harry Lewis, Tom Wilson, Edna Jackson were full brothers and sisters. There was another sister (the mother of Cora Jackson). The girls were given the name Jackson; their brothers' surnames remained Lewis and Wilson.

The *Masipa* were given two English surnames. Two half-brothers by the same father were named Evanston (Charles) and McDowell (Thomas). Their father had no English name. The *Kumathee* were also given two English surnames. In this case two schoolboys, who were double cousins—their fathers having married sisters — were given the surnames Kempton (Bert) and Mills (Milo).

Children of two completely unrelated clans, the *Neolge* and the *Vemacka*, were given the same English surname Scott. Time has straightened out this confusion. The *Vemacka* Scotts became extinct with the death of Calvin Coolidge Scott on November 22, 1959. There remain only the Scotts who are *Neolge*.

To complicate matters, the Mojave clans on the Colorado River Reservation were given different English names than were their Fort Mojave kin. For example, one name given to the *Malika* was Miller. Their Fort Mojave kin are Wilbur, and in 1905, Hood. Pete Homer, Chairman of the Colorado River Reservation, is of

the *Quinetha*. His Fort Mojave kin are Armstrong and Bricker – and until recently, Columbus (Chris Columbus, d. July 9, 1960).

Fort Mojave opinion on this manner of renaming them is divided. Some believed that it was a deliberate plan to break up their clanship system. Others, like Oach, are inclined to take the view she expressed, namely, that the mix-ups were due to the fact that "our family system was hard to understand!" The reticence of the Mojaves to divulge their names, their refusal to speak of the dead, and their unusual clan system contributed a share to the confusion.

Regardless of the many mix-ups in acquiring English family names, Fort Mojaves know their clan name – if they have one – and they know their relatives regardless of what English name they bear or on which reservation they are registered.

CHAPTER V

The Clan System and Clan Names Among the Fort Mojave Indians Today

Four hundred thirty-eight Mojaves are registered with the Department of the Interior as Fort Mojave Indians. All names in the official register of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are English surnames, with one exception, Kormes, an Anglicized corruption of an old Mojave word *koremes*. Analysis of the data in the columns headed "tribe" and "degree of Indian blood" shows that sixty-seven per cent of the registrants are full blood Mojave Indians, fourteen per cent are full blood Indians through intermarriage with full blood Indians of other tribes, and the remaining nineteen per cent are of mixed blood through intermarriage with Mexicans, Negroes, and whites.¹

Eighty per cent of the tribe, or three hundred nineteen men, women and children, belong to old Mojave families or clans. Fifteen such clans exist. They are: *Neolge, Oach, Whalia, Maha, Motheha, Hipa, Moha, Masipa, Mus, Chacha, Kumathee, Quinetha, Gottah, Malika* and *Boudha*.²

The archaic names of the clans with their totemic meanings are shown on the following table. The vernacular words used orally by Fort Mojaves to designate the totemic references are shown also.

TABLE III
CLANS AMONG THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS (1963)

ARCHAIC CLAN NAMES	MEANING OF	CLAN NAME	VERNACULAR
<i>Neolge</i>	fire	sun or <i>ahow</i> , fire	<i>annah</i> , sun or
<i>Oach</i>	rain, wind	clouds, <i>cuvava</i> <i>matha</i>	<i>eque</i> ,

TABLE III (con't.) CLANS AMONG THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS (1963)

ARCHAIC CLAN NAMES	MEANING OF CLAN NAME	VERNACULAR
<i>Whalia</i>	moon	<i>halya</i>
<i>Maha</i>	small bird	<i>soocama</i>
<i>Motheha</i>	night bird	<i>doolauk</i>
<i>Hipa</i>	coyote	<i>hookthar</i>
<i>Moha</i>	mountain sheep or deer	<i>ahmo</i> <i>akwaka</i>
<i>Masipa</i>	quail	<i>ahmah</i>
<i>Mus</i>	screw mesquite	<i>ahieza</i>
<i>Chacha</i>	corn	<i>tallich</i>
<i>Gottah</i>	tobacco	<i>auva</i>
<i>Kumathee</i>	ocotilla cactus	<i>attat</i>
<i>Quinetha</i>	prickly-pear cactus	<i>apah</i>
<i>Boudha</i>	frog	<i>hanve</i>
<i>Malika</i>	desert rodent	<i>amailk</i>

The fifteen surviving clans have fifty-nine different English surnames. Five of the clans have one English family name each. Three clans have two English surnames each. The remaining seven clans have from three to seven English names each. Since 1959, two clans have become extinct among the Fort Mojaves (*Shulia* and *Vemacka*) and four English names have been lost by death—Columbus (*Quinetha*), Dickerman (*Shulia*), Geneowein (*Neolge*) and Roosevelt (*Chacha*). The names of the fifteen surviving clans together with their English surnames are shown below.³

TABLE IV

CLAN NAMES AND ENGLISH NAMES OF THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS (1963)

CLAN NAMES	ENGLISH SURNAMES
<i>Neolge</i>	Anderson, Arrison, Brockman, Burns, Carter, Courtwright, Gates, Hanna, Howard, Jackson, Johnson, Knox, Lewis, McCord, Rockefeller, Scott, Williams
<i>Oach</i>	Cameron, Fitzgerald, Hammond, Harper, Jenkins, Peck, Peterson, Thomas, Van Fleet
<i>Whalia</i>	Davidson, Harrison, Hough, Marble
<i>Maha</i>	Andrews, Hamilton, Harrison, Hayes, Morrison, Shafer, Stillman, Wilson
<i>Motheha</i>	Kormes
<i>Hipa</i>	Bryan, Charles
<i>Moha</i>	Dean

TABLE IV (con't.)

CLAN NAMES AND ENGLISH NAMES OF THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS (1963)

CLAN NAMES	ENGLISH SURNAMES
<i>Masipa</i>	Evanston, McDowell
<i>Mus</i>	Field, Kormes,
<i>Chacha</i>	Boucher, Brown,
<i>Gottah</i>	McKenzie
<i>Quinetha</i>	Armstrong, Bricker
<i>Boudha</i>	Graves
<i>Malika</i>	Wilbur
<i>Kumathee</i>	Kempton, Mills,

A census of the Fort Mojave Indians was prepared from the Tribal Register on June 30, 1963, to find the size of each clan and the distribution of the population of each by age and sex.⁴ The fifteen surviving clans vary in size, in ratio of males to females, and in age-range. The three hundred nineteen clan members are almost equally divided by sex—one hundred sixty males, one hundred fifty-nine females. The ratio of males to females in the respective clans differs markedly.

The size of the clans ranges from one to one hundred one, as follows:

TABLE V

CLANS EXISTENT AMONG THE FORT MOJAVE INDIAN TRIBE (Listed in rank order of size)

NAME OF CLAN	NUMBER OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	TOTAL
<i>Neolge</i>	53	48	101
<i>Oach</i>	36	35	71
<i>Masipa</i>	20	17	37
<i>Maha</i>	13	16	29
<i>Hipa</i>	7	8	15
<i>Quinetha</i>	5	10	15
<i>Mus</i>	7	4	11
<i>Whalia</i>	6	4	10
<i>Kumathee</i>	5	3	8
<i>Motheha</i>	3	3	6
<i>Chacha</i>	2	3	5
<i>Gottah</i>	1	4	5
<i>Malika</i>	1	2	3
<i>Boudha</i>	1	1	2
<i>Moha</i>	0	1	1
Total	160	159	319

Extinct Clans: *Kutkilya*, *Mathachva*, *Necah*, *Shulia*, *Teelya*, *Vahath*, *Vemacka*.

Only four of the fifteen clans have memberships exceeding twenty: the *Neolge*, *Oach*, *Masipa*, and *Maha*. Four clans have a membership of ten to nineteen: the *Hipa*, *Quinetha*, *Mus*, and *Whalia*. The remaining seven clans have from one to eight members each. The most populous clans, the *Neolge* and *Oach*, have a combined population that is greater than all of the other clans put together.

The age-range and sex distribution of the clans differ markedly. The *Neolge* has fifty-three males and forty-eight females whose ages range from infancy to eighty-three years. Ten per cent of the clan (five men, five women) are over sixty years of age. Forty-four per cent (twenty-three boys, twenty-one girls) are under twenty-one years of age. Sixty-seven per cent of the clan (thirty-two males, thirty-three females) are under thirty-one years of age.

The *Oach* clan has a population of seventy-one, thirty-six males and thirty-five females. The age-range is from infancy through eighty-three years. Eight per cent of the *Oach* (four men, two women) are over sixty years of age. Thirty-one per cent are under twenty-one years of age. Among these are thirteen boys and nine girls. Fifty-six and a half per cent of the clan are under thirty, of which twenty-two are males.

The *Masipa* ranks third in size with thirty-seven members— about half as many as the *Oach*. The age-range of the males and females differs conspicuously. The ages of the males range from infancy through seventy-three years; the ages of the females range from infancy to forty years. Two men are over sixty. Seventy per cent of the *Masipa* are under twenty years of age; of these, twelve are boys.

The *Maha* clan ranks fourth in size with twenty-nine members, thirteen of whom are male. The ages of the *Maha* range from infancy through eighty-two years. Twenty-one per cent of the *Maha* (five men, one woman) are over sixty years of age. Over half of this clan are under thirty years of age—among them seven men and boys. Thirty-five per cent of the *Maha* are under twenty-one years of age. This group consists of five boys and five girls.

The *Hipa* and *Quinetha* clans each have fifteen members. The ratio of males to females differs markedly. The *Hipa* have seven males and eight females. The ages of the males are from infancy to sixty. One *Hipa* male is sixty, five are under thirty. The *Hipa* females are all under thirty. The *Quinetha* clan has half as many males as females—five males, ten females. This clan has no males under twenty years of age, and only two under thirty.

The *Mus* clan has eleven members, seven males and four females. The oldest of the *Mus* are a man and a woman in their fifties. The youngest is a boy under ten. The clan is not only small, but is short of youth and children.

The *Whalia* clan has ten members, six males and four females. Ages range from babyhood to seventy-five. One *Whalia* woman is over sixty. This clan has only two males under twenty, and only three under thirty years of age. It has only one girl under twenty, and none in the age bracket twenty-one to thirty.

The *Kumathee* clan consists of eight members, five males and three females. Three men are in the age bracket from sixty-six to eighty-three, one is a young man in his twenties and one is a thirteen-year-old boy. The oldest *Kumathee* woman is thirty-one. The other two are twenty and seventeen years old. The *Motheha* consists of one family of five, and the father's middle-aged aunt. The four children, two boys and two girls, are under twenty years of age.

Three clans have fewer than five members each. They are predominantly middle-aged or elderly people, and predominantly women. The *Gottah* clan consists of one childless man in his early forties, and four women, whose ages are between forty-three and ninety-three. The *Chacha* clan consists of a childless widower in his seventies, a bachelor in his early twenties, and three women whose ages are between eighteen and forty. The *Malika* are three in number, one widower and his two sisters, all in their fifties. The *Boudha* clan is reduced to two elderly members, a man and his sister. The only surviving *Moha* is a woman in the mid-forties.

Two clans have become extinct among the Fort Mojaves since

1959—the *Vemacka* and the *Shulia*. The last *Vemacka* man was Calvin Coolidge Scott, deceased on November 22, 1959. The last *Vemacka* was his sister, Miss Sylvia Scott, who died in 1939 when she was about fifteen-years-old.

The latest clan to become extinct among the Fort Mojaves was the *Shulia*. The last *Shulia* was Mrs. Shulia Dickerman Dean (b. 1879, d. March 17, 1961). She was the widow of Peter Dean, the last of the Fort Mojave medicine men. The last of the *Shulia* men was her cousin, Douglas McAllister (b. 1893, d. March 23, 1958). He was married but had no children. He was the last of the singers of the *Tomampa* songs from the Pacific coast, said *Atalk hear* (Harry Lewis), the Fort Mojave Tribal Orator.

The size of the population, of course, has a bearing on the survival of the clan system and clan names. The Fort Mojaves had a population of four hundred thirty-five in 1959. It is now four hundred thirty-eight. This tribe has gained thirty-five new members by birth since 1959, and has lost thirty-two members by death.⁵ The births among clan members were twenty-one (twelve boys and nine girls); the births among non-clan members were fourteen. The higher birth rate among clans came from seven of the eight largest clans. Five children were born to the *Neolge* and *Oach*, four to the *Maha*, three to the *Masipa*, and one child each to the *Hipa* and *Whalia*.

The deaths among clan members since 1959 numbered twenty-eight, among non-clan members, two. The heaviest losses were five each among the *Neolge*, *Oach*, and *Whalia* clans, and four among the small-sized *Malika*. This means that the size of the two largest clans remains the same now as in 1959. The *Whalia*, with three births and five deaths, now number ten; the *Malika*, with no births and four deaths, were reduced to three in 1963. Two deaths, as noted earlier, made two clans extinct. The chief losses among all of the clans were old people, both men and women, who helped to preserve the old traditions, even though accepting inevitable change.

What is left today of the clan system?⁶ The Fort Mojave Indians, of course, adhere to United States laws concerning mar-

riages and divorce. Until the death of the last great chief of the Fort Mojave Indians in 1947, they also followed a tribal custom of reporting a pending divorce to the chief, who, after consultation with the estranged parties and their relatives, might dissolve the marriage and give permission to remarry. Since the great chieftain's death, they do as other United States citizens do— settle the matter in court.

Divorce and remarriage are not censured. Examples of several remarriages can be found in Mojave society, as in ours, in one case, five, but "this looks like something was wrong" with the serial remarrier. Remarriage complicates the kinship by producing numerous half-brothers and half-sisters with their progeny. Children of remarried Mojaves may become part of the new family if the stepfather or stepmother wants them to. They retain their original clan name. Then, too, according to Mojave custom, grandparents and other relatives may rear children whose parents have remarried or have died. Any Fort Mojave household is expected to "take a child in!" This gives the child a Mojave education along with his American schooling. Fort Mojaves are vigilant where children are concerned. Their vigilance has a definite bearing upon the preservation of clan names and Mojave traditions, since no outsiders may adopt any of the children.

Exogamy is still a tribal rule. Inter-marriage of close relatives is forbidden. The degree of relationship is third cousins. "The rule is very strict" Malika told me. "When a young couple first start going together—before the affair gets serious—the parents or the guardian of the girl go right away to the parents or the guardian of the young man. They investigate the records to find out if there is any relationship between the families. If there is, they put their foot down. 'You are related,' they say, 'this love business must stop. And that's that! They mean it.'" As the size of clans diminishes, and the ratio of men to women in each clan changes, the possibility of Mojave marrying Mojave becomes less. Some Fort Mojave men who were raised in the old tradition did not find Mojave young women who appealed to them. They remained bachelors. This situation applied also to some Mojave girls. Some

Mojave women lost their husbands, and some Mojave men lost their wives. They did not want to remarry. Childless widows and widowers contribute to the decline of clans. The fact that eight of the fifteen surviving clans have ten or fewer members of course decreases possibilities of exogamous wedlock. The largest number of marriages are the *Oach-Neolge*, the two largest clans.

Endogamy has never been a Mojave tribal rule. Marrying an Indian of another tribe is not a tribal offense, "but it is a pity" said Oach. The clan name of a Mojave man can be handed down to his children by Indian or non-Indian marriages if the father has some Mojave blood. Thirty-eight Fort Mojaves are married to women of other tribes. Since a Mojave woman's clan name is hers only for life, her marriage outside of the tribe does not affect the clan name of her children. Indirectly, however, it may, because she may have deprived a Mojave man of a wife who could preserve four-fourths Mojave blood and sons who would perpetuate an old clan name. Twenty full blood Mojave women are married to full blood Indians of other tribes.

Marrying outside the tribe began years ago. My Mojave consultant explained what happened.

"At first, only Mojaves went to the Fort Mojave School. Maybe just a small number of Chemehuevi and a Paiute. The Mojaves went through school together and married. Then later more Paiute and Chemehuevi came, and two or three Mojaves married Chemehuevi and Paiutes.

"Some Mojaves went to the Phoenix Indian School and to Has-kell. These were older children, actually young men and young women. The tribes were mixed at these schools. Some few Mojave young men married other Indians: Yuma, Pima, Cherokee, Pawnee. A few Mojave girls married outside the tribe.

"Marrying non-Indians came about after we started to go to public schools (1932). The school children were Mexican, colored, and white. Five Mojave girls married Mexican families; one Mojave girl married a colored man; two Mojave girls married white men.

"The war took some young men away. One Mojave soldier

married a Papago WAC. Three others married Indian girls they met during training, a Hopi, a Pueblo, and a Creek.

"When work was scarce here young people went away to work, they met other young people, and you know how it goes.

"No one could blame them.

"In the old days, the Mojaves of the south, of the north, and of the middle held annual celebrations, in order that the young people might meet the young people of other Mojave families. We have not had these for a long time!"⁷

Marriages thus fostered helped to perpetuate a population of full blood Mojaves and to carry on the ancient family names. "It was easier then than now for Mojave to marry Mojave!" Then Malika added, "There is one other thing that might as well be put in or old Mojaves like Auva *halyevatch* will say, 'there was more! The Fort Mojave School authorities sent the older girls away to work for white people. The students were called 'outing students' but they were really domestic servants. Sometimes they were away from their people for five or six years—sometimes longer."⁸ Mojave young men married other young women—some outside the tribe. Sometimes outing students married outside the tribe—or got into trouble!" Fort Mojave opinion is divided, but the old Indians censure the school's policy as "deliberate. They knew what would happen!"

Mobility of population during recent years has affected the clanship system. Time was, in the 1890's and the first quarter of the twentieth century, that the Fort Mojaves could earn a fairly decent living in the Mojave Valley. Young men found remunerative jobs with the Santa Fe Railway, and with mercantile companies in Needles. Women and old men sold beads and arrows to tourists, and clay water ollas and wood by the sack to residents of Needles. The concentration of the Fort Mojaves was in Mojave Valley, and this concentration was the nucleus of tribal cohesion which preserved Mojave customs. Technology has changed conditions. The coming of refrigeration, gas stoves, and automobiles put an end to this fruitful economy, but the devastating blow to the Fort Mojaves was the diesel engine. Gradually the

Santa Fe Railway transferred its chief operations to Barstow and other locations fitted to the accelerated running time of both passenger and freight trains. Jobs for Mojaves became scarce. Some "stayed with the railroad" and were transferred from the Valley. For a while the Reclamation Bureau provided work, but as the dams have been completed, work has declined. Farming on their reservation with hand tools in competition with big land companies, and well-to-do non-Mojave farmers with tractors and other power tools was impossible. Younger people and family men were forced to leave the Valley to find jobs. "Some of them were away for a little while, or commuted" Malika said. "Some took good jobs elsewhere and have been away a long time. They will come back when we need them!"

At present about half of the population lives in the Valley on relief or eking out an existence, and about half are scattered in fifteen to twenty states. Their hopes lie in their unused reservation which year after year yields little if any returns, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs continues to treat them as wards, rather than as citizens capable of managing their own affairs.⁹

Fifteen Mojave clans exist among the Fort Mojave Indians today as shown earlier in this study. The archaic clan names are used by those who belong to the clans when they are among Mojave relatives and friends, otherwise their legal English surnames are used.

The totemic import of the archaic clan names seems to be understood by both younger and older members of the clans who live in the Mojave Valley. Whether or not Fort Mojave Indians who live elsewhere know the names and understand the meanings, is an open question. Malika and Oach believe they do.¹⁰ However, the Fort Mojaves do not use the term "totemic" and do not ordinarily use the term "clan!" They usually speak of "old families" "old family names" and "family emblems." This same terminology was used by Merriman in talking to Bourke over seventy-five years ago.¹¹

Today, as in the past, the girls and women of each clan bear the clan name passed to them by their fathers. As in the past, the

men and boys are the silent carriers of their clan names. This is the Mojave way, and the Mojaves see nothing peculiar about it. In spite of the fact that they were given English family names over half a century ago, and that the mix-ups threatened to destroy the ancient clanship system, the Fort Mojaves have preserved their clan names and can identify each other by clan name. They also know their relatives by whatever English name they bear.¹² Until this present study was made, the tribe had no written list or record of its members by clan names. They now have a roster of clans comparable to the register of English names.

All of the women over sixty-five use, and are called by, their clan names. All of these women also have descriptive names.¹³ The majority of Fort Mojave women between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five also use their clan names, and have descriptive names.

The custom of giving the girls and women descriptive names to use with their clan names still persists, though not in all clans.¹⁴ The custom is conspicuous among the largest clans (*Neolge*, *Oach*, *Maha*) and among the smallest, composed mainly of middle-aged and old people. It is conspicuously absent among the youthful *Masipa*. The explanation of this rests probably in the number of older people in each clan, particularly the old grandmothers and aunts, and in cases of endogamous marriages where the mother is a non-Mojave.

The women preserve the identity of their clans in two observable ways. One way is to retain their clan name as a first name, or as a middle name. Examples on social security cards are: Hattie *Oach* Bryan, Lucina *Whalia* Carter, Clara *Gottah* Harper, Frances *Malika* Stillman, Vesta *Norge* Wilson. Another way used by women to preserve clan identity is to retain their maiden name, e.g., their father's English surname when they marry. Thus one finds such names as: Mrs. Annie McCord Fields (*Neolge*), Mrs. Rebecca Dean Knox (*Moha*), Mrs. Winona Bryan Loera (*Hipa*), Mrs. Norma Hammond Stanley (*Oach*). According to my Mojave consultants, this use of the paternal English surnames, in

view of the "mix-ups" in family names, "is not very satisfactory, but it helps!'

The old custom of giving boys and men descriptive Indian names has almost died out. Not so the feeling that "only the clan name matters'.' All Fort Mojave men of sixty-five years or more have Indian names as previously discussed.¹⁵ Most of the men beyond their mid-forties have, or have had, Indian names. Such names are found among a few younger men and boys. However, the younger masculine generation figure that if their earthly nomenclatures are not important, English names are as good as any. As my Mojave helpers explained, "Mojave children and youth these days grow up with white, Mexican, and Negro children. They do not like to feel different!' Whatever old Indian names are given to young Mojaves by their families are used within the Mojave culture—and sheepishly acknowledged outside by their holders.

Time has a way of making changes. The Fort Mojaves have used English names for more than fifty years—almost half of their history since the United States began to exert its cultural influence. They have become so accustomed to their English names that they use these names almost automatically. Parents and relatives call the children alternately by Mojave and English names depending on circumstances.¹⁶

One main way in which Mojaves preserved their clan names was through their tribal literature, handed down orally by their singers, orators, and medicine men. Among this literature were the religious narrations interspersed with songs, or songs interspersed with narrations—the *Tomampas* and clan songs. These are referred to in the Fort Mojave Tribal Records as "our Old Testament!"¹⁷ They contained the story of the creation, the story of the naming of the families, the commandments, and the allegorical travels. "Grown people used to gather when it was announced that one of the old men was going to tell a story" Malika said. "They went to learn. We seldom have storytelling anymore. We have lost most of our stories and songs!' The story of the naming of the families as *Thumpah* of the *Oach* told it is known

by the older Fort Mojaves. It is known by some of the younger, but by how many is speculative.

In the old days each clan had its own songs about the clan's travels from *Avi kwami* (18) (Spirit Mountain) to the land that *Mutavilya* designated to each. The songs all began at *Avi kwami* where the people had convened at *Mutavilya's* bidding. They were given their clan names and told where each clan was to live. "They went different ways, or along different mountain ridges and valleys to their new destination" my Mojave consultant explained. "They were walking. At night they camped. They sang and told about everything they saw. In some ways the clan songs tell the same things for all the people had been at *Avi kwami*. The scenery was much the same, but different too. The songs may seem alike but if you listen they are different. Some songs are hard to learn!" In the old days each clan had its clan singers. They learned the songs by heart. They sang the songs to teach them to their clansmen, and they sang the songs on ceremonial occasions. As the clans diminished in size, they had fewer singers, and gradually through time the songs have been lost.¹⁹

Long ago the four-day and four-night ceremonies of departure were occasions for recounting, in story and songs, the history of the departed one and his ancestors; for singing the favorite songs of the clans; for celebrating his valiant acts—or those of his ancestors—in the honored Feather Ceremony.²⁰ In the old days the singing was continuous, one group of singers relieving the other. "Time is running out" Oach said. "The old songs and stories are almost gone. There are few who can sing my songs (the *Oach* songs or the short *Tomampa*). Some are too old, or sick, or far away!"²¹ Mojaves use the term "departed" rather than the word "dead!" To them it signifies departure from this world, and entrance to another world—the Shadow Land. Their views were expressed by Merriman, who told Captain Bourke, "When a Mojaves dies, he goes to another country just like his own; it is the shadow of his own country, the shadows of its rivers, mountains, valleys, and springs in which his own shadow is to stay".²²

My Mojave consultants knew the Shadow Land as Merriman

described it. "It is the same today. The opening where the river goes past *Huqueamp* ave (the Needles Peaks) is the opening or gateway to the Shadow Land.²³ The departed is placed face down on his pyre, head toward the passageway—the way his spirit will go. What goes to the Shadow Land will go in the direction of *Huqueamp* ave and enter into the Shadow Land. Whatever goes with him [the departed] in smoke will reassemble in the Shadow Land. Just before the pyre is lighted the songs of farewell are begun and continue through the giving of gifts and the burning. Each clan had its farewell song!'

Mojaves have always cremated their dead, following the pattern for departure set by *Mutavilya*. The Fort Mojaves still observe the traditional four-days rites of departure within the framework of United States statutes, and their own limited circumstances. Today a Fort Mojave may have more than one funeral service, but he always has the traditional Mojave rites. If he is a Christian, he has church services, followed by the Mojave service and cremation. If he is a veteran of United States wars, he has a military service—followed by the Mojave ceremony. If he is an orthodox Mojave, he has only one service—the old Mojave rites. Whatever the circumstances, the body of the departed one is finally taken to the Cry-House by his people. Here, they perform the last rites as prescribed by *Mutavilya*.²⁴¹

"We do not have many singers now" Malika told me. "We have a Tribal Singer, *Bulyeek* of the *Oach*, Emmett Van Fleet, who knows many of the songs. He sings and leads the singing in the ceremonies of departure, but not many people can join in. We sing songs now, like the Bird Songs, that everybody knows. The old folks think these are out of place'.'

The Fort Mojaves also have a Tribal Orator (Harry Lewis) who conducts the Feather Ceremony and delivers the obituary. The obituaries are actually part of the historical accounts of the tribe. They help to perpetuate the ancient names. The last "full ceremony" was for Great Chieftain Pete Lambert in 1947. The most recent one was "the short ceremony" given for Douglas McAllister in 1958.

The Fort Mojaves still hold a memorial service for the departed, *Nyemitch chavauk*, "a gathering to mourn, or cry!"²⁵ It takes place within a year of the departure of a Mojave and is, in essence, a second funeral service held for the benefit of those kinsmen and friends who were unable to be present at the cremation rites. The *Nyemitch chavauk* is arranged by a *Hitpokum*, who represents the family of the departed—he sets the date, sees that people are notified, and manages the details. This memorial service repeats symbolically such aspects as the cremation and duplicates such aspects as the singing, the obituary, the parting songs, and the giving of farewell gifts. The memorial, like the rites of departure, is adapted now to circumstances, but it remains one of the important ways of preserving the identity of clans and their members.

Thus, it seems, one great medium for the preservation of the clan names, the ancient stories and songs, is on the wane, and has been for over fifty years. The most significant ceremonies for the preservation of the tribal literature and songs, and for the preservation of clan names, show the signs of what loss of singers and orators and loss of population can do, through time.

The Mojaves have no written symbols for their native language. They have always depended on oral communication to transmit their history and their literature from one generation to the next. The impact of an outside culture shattered their social organization and fragmented their stories and songs. Their oral language is changing and the old wording of the stories and songs "are hard to translate into another language. Time is running out" Oach reflected. Little by little, the Fort Mojaves are garnering "what is left" from the old ones with long memories.

NOTES

Acknowledgment. This study is the result of a preliminary effort made in 1956-1959, in which significant data on the clans were obtained. On the basis of that preliminary research, the University of California provided a faculty grant for its continuance, and for this I am indeed grateful.

CHAPTER I. OLD FAMILIES OR CLANS OF THE MOJAVE INDIANS.

¹*Report of the Secretary of War, 1859.* 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1860), II, 387-394, 401-422, 454-456. The military campaign against the Mojaves is fully reported in this official correspondence.

²"Our real Indian name for our people is *Aha macave*. It comes from two Indian words, *aha*, water, and *macave*, along or beside. It means along the water. We think of it as people who live along the river. You have it this way in your old note [1952];' Malika told me as we rechecked the text of this study. Interrogated about the name *Hamock avi*, three mountains, which appeared in *Smoke Signals*, June 15, 1961, a mimeographed bulletin of the Colorado River Agency, she replied, "When our Tribal Council read the Parker paper at our meeting, they were stunned. They said, 'Where did they get this? We've always heard it *Aha macave*. Where did this *Hamock avi* come from?'" She was shown the source, Frederick W Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1917), I, 919, which reads: "*Mohave* (from *hamock*, three, *avi*, mountain)!" According to this source, the name refers to the mountains called the Needles. These picturesque peaks are located near the Colorado River a few miles south of the city of Needles. Mojaves call these peaks, *Huqueamp avi*, which means, "where the battle took place!" It refers to the battle in which the God-son, *Mastamho*, slew the sea serpent. This name and the story connected with it were also told to my mother in 1906 by Mojave Indians, one of whom was *Quasketta howa*, the aged Chief Medicine Man.

My Mojave consultants are tolerant of the misnomer "Mojave" or "Mohave" because "these come close to our real name the way white people heard the Indians call each other!" They were righteously indignant about "the way someone guessed about its meaning," however.

The tribal name has been spelled with more than fifty variations. (Hodge [ed.], *Handbook*, I, 921.) Among those which "show that people are doing their best to get the name from the way they heard the Indians talk or call each other" are *Amacava* (Zarte-Salmeron, ca. 1629), *A-mac-hd ves*, *A-moc-ha-ve* (Whipple), and *Jamajabs* (Garces).

³*Fort Mojave Tribal Records:* "The Big Book" pp. 33-37. The book is so called because of its ponderous size and weight (19" x 13 1/2" X 2 1/2" , approximately thirty pounds). It was originally an old ration book used in the 1890's by the Department of the Interior to keep track of types and amounts of food issued to different families. Its commodious, unused pages provided good substantial writing paper for Fort Mojave records—financial accounts, minutes of meetings, notes, narrative accounts. This battered, cumbersome old book was brought to the Fort Mojave Tribal Office early in 1959 by a Fort Mojave Indian, Nat Howard, who reported that it had been left with his stepfather for "safekeeping" by the Tribal Recorder, Hal Davidson. The Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council explained to me that before the Tribal Office was built, the officers of the old Council had no place to keep all of the

records. "Different ones had different things for safekeeping. After Mr. Davidson's death the Tribal Council put out a call for all tribal records to be brought in. We went from house to house. Some people brought things in!" The Chairman and I went through the "Big Book" together to find what it contained. On pages 33-37 we found "History Mojave Indians" by Deacon Brown in Mr. Davidson's handwriting. Deacon Brown was the English name of Gwegwi nuor, the Chairman's great uncle. This record was the key that helped to establish the names of the clans during the century 1859-1959. Gwegwi nuor is described in Chapter III, *post*.

⁴Garces estimated the population of the Mojaves (*Jamajabs*) to be 3000 in 1776. Elliot Coues (ed.), *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: Garces Diary, 1775-1776* (2 vols., New York, 1900), II, 443. Whipple, in 1854, estimated their number to be 4000. Lieutenant A. W Whipple, Thomas Ewbank, and William W Turner, "Report upon the Indian Tribes" in *Reports of Explorations and Survey to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railway from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Exec. Doc. 91 (Washington, D. C, 1856), III, Pt. III, 17. Hereinafter cited Whipple, *Report*.

The Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Arizona (1866-1869) reported the population of Mojaves to be 4000, or about 4000. "Report, Arizona Superintendency" dated October 2, 1866, in U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1866-1867*, p. 152; "Report, Arizona Superintendency" dated August 1, 1868, in U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1867-1868*, p. 597; "Report of Colorado River Agency, Arizona Territory" dated August 1, 1869, in U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1868-1869*, p. 655.

In 1963 the population of Fort Mojaves was 438, that of the Colorado River Reservation approximately 550.

⁵Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple of the Corps of Topographical Engineers made the first on-the-scene study of the Mojave Indians in 1854. Of them he wrote: "These Indians are probably in as wild a state of nature as any tribe now within the limits of our possessions. They have not had sufficient intercourse with any civilized people to acquire a knowledge of their language or their vices. . . !" Whipple, *Report*, Pt. I, 114.

Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives, Whipple's second in command, returned to Mojave country in 1858 as commander of an expedition to explore the navigability of the Colorado River. He reported of the Mojaves: "Very few parties of whites have visited them, and none have remained longer than a few days. They are, therefore, in their native state, as they have existed for centuries!" Lt. Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. (Washington, D. C, 1861), Pt. I, 71. Hereinafter cited as Ives, *Report*.

⁶The Mojaves' river holdings, as described, are based on Coues (ed.), *Garces Diary, 1775-1776*, I, 225-235; II, 409-427; Captain L. Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. (Washington, D. C, 1854), pp. 18-21; Whipple, *Report*, Pt. I, 112-119; and Ives, *Report*, pp. 62-92.

That the Mojave holdings may have been more extensive than the river holdings noted by Garces, Sitgreaves, Whipple, and Ives is an unsettled legal question in a court case, *Fort Mojave Indians vs. the United States*. The present study is not concerned particularly with the terrain claimed by the Mojaves but upon their family system and family names. "Before the Indian Claims Commission. Mohave Tribe of Indians of Arizona, California and Nevada; Claimants vs. the United States of America, Defendant. Docket 295!" Mimeograph copy.

⁷Only one Spaniard was known to have travelled through Mojave country during the Spanish era in the Southwest. He was Padre Francisco Garces, accompanied by an Indian guide, in 1776. Mojaves guided him from the Colorado River to San Gabriel Mission. His experiences, and considerable Spanish backgrounds, are reported in *Garces Diary*.

The illicit beaver trappers during the Mexican period in the Southwest were mainly parties of men from the United States. Among them were Jedediah Smith in 1826 and again in 1827; Ewing Young in 1827, 1828 and 1830, George C. Yount and James Ohio Pattie in the party of Ewing Young in 1827; Yount again in 1828; Kit Carson with Ewing Young in 1829 and 1830, Peter Skene Ogden in 1830, William Wolfskill and George C. Yount in 1831.

⁸The land expeditions from the U. S. War Department were those commanded by Major Lorenzo Sitgreaves in 1851, by Lt. A. W. Whipple in 1853-1854, by Edward Fitzgerald Beale in 1857. In 1858, Lt. Joseph C. Ives explored the navigability of the Colorado River. The reports of these men afford excellent descriptions of the Mojaves and portray Mojave-U.S. relations vividly.

⁹The only eyewitness account of the attack is a letter by L. J. Rose, owner of the chief wagon train, which was printed in the *Missouri Republican*, November 9, 1859. It has been reprinted in Robert G. Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, Calif., 1951), pp. 246-273.

¹⁰The name of the post, Camp Colorado, was changed to Fort Mojave by the first post commander. Letter from Brevet Major Lewis A. Armistead to Adjutant General S. Cooper, dated May 1, 1859, in *Report of the Secretary of War, 1859*, pp. 405-406. An excellent description of Fort Mojave is contained in letter from John I. Mil-han, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, to the Surgeon General, dated July 1, 1859, in *Report of the Secretary of War, 1859*, pp. 416-417.

¹¹The Colorado River Reservation was established by act of Congress, March 3, 1865, supplemented by Executive Orders of November 22, 1873, November 16, 1874, and May 15, 1876. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook*, I, 921. The Fort Mojave Indian Reservation consists of: (1) the "Military Reserve" approximately 5582 acres, set aside by General Orders No. 19 of the War Department, August 4, 1870; (2) the "Hay and Wood Reserve," defined in same orders, approximately 9114 acres; (3) the "School Reserve" approximately 7000 acres, set aside by Executive Order of March 18, 1903; and (4) lands approximating 17,315 acres (the even numbered sections of the "Checkerboard Area," south of the foregoing "solid blocks") set aside pursuant to Executive Orders of February 2, 1911. *Fort Mojave Tribal Records*: "Constitution and Bylaws of the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation, Arizona, Nevada, California." Approved by the Secretary of the Interior, May 6, 1957.

¹²Reports of agents at the Colorado River Agency from 1864 to 1874 contain references to the divided house of the Mojaves, and to rivalry between the chiefs *Homoseh quahote* and *Yara tav*. (The names of these chiefs were spelled many different ways among which are: *Sickahot*, *Sickyhot*, *Hom-sek-a-hote*, *Iretaba*, *Yarateva*, *Ira-tabu*.) Both chiefs died in the 1870's, but their deaths did not bring the two factions together. Their opposing views about the land did not change. Although a few post commanders at Fort Mojave and a few agents in the Bureau of Indian Affairs endeavored to get a reservation in the Mojave Valley they were not successful. The matter dragged on and on. Two sets of references portray what happened: (a) reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1864-1915, particularly reports of the "Arizona Superintendency" 1864-1873; reports of the "Colorado River Agency" 1865-1900, and reports of the "Fort Mojave School," 1890-1931; (b) records of United

States Army Commands, National Archives, "Letters Sent, Fort Mojave, Arizona Territory, 1859-1861, 1863-1890."

¹³Fort Mojave closed for almost two years—May 26, 1861 to April 23, 1863.

¹⁴Records of the United States Army Commands, *Record Group No. 98*, "Letters Sent, Fort Mojave, Arizona Territory," Roll II, Vols. 11-15, April 30, 1878-July 19, 1890, p. 13, National Archives.

"Report of Herbert Welsh Institute to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" dated **August 1, 1891**, ***Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890-1891*** (Washington, D.C., 1892), II, 549.

¹⁵The Indian policy adopted by the Government was stated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows: "It has become the settled policy of the Government to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens. The American Indian is to become the Indian American!" Commissioner of Indian Affairs. ***Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890-1891***, II, vi.

¹⁶When we lived in Needles, 1905-1914, Mojave men worked for the Santa Fe Railway, for Monaghan and Murphy Mercantile Company, cut and hauled wood to the Fort Mojave School and did odd jobs around town. The women sold wood by the sack and clay ollas to townspeople, and worked by the day at cleaning and washing. During those years Needles was a busy division point of the Santa Fe Railway. Passenger trains stopped over for forty-five minutes, allowing time for trains to be serviced. The depot "El Garces" provided a lunch-counter and dining room for passengers and a market place where they could buy Indian souvenirs from the gaily dressed Mojave Indians. Crowds of Mojaves met each incoming train and did a profitable business.

¹⁷The "checkerboard" land is that portion of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation which is owned by the Fort Mojaves and non-Indians. It originated in federal grants of lands to railways along railroad right of ways, and in the federal concept of public lands.

¹⁸The flood of 1940 was caused by a build-up of silt between Hoover and Parker Dams before Davis Dam was built. The backwaters of Parker Dam and Lake Havasu caused approximately four thousand acres of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation to be covered with water, thus creating the extension of Lake Havasu near Topoc. It is now a wild bird and game refuge.

¹⁹Oach, Malika and I spent most of a windy day in April, 1959, on the site of old Fort Mojave and the Fort Mojave School reconstructing the fort and the school from old diagrams, photographs and memories. We crossed the Colorado River via the narrow bridge of the Reclamation Service, drove through checkerboard lands with its alternating undeveloped and cultivated sections and took a hardpan road to the site of old Fort Mojave. We walked over the desolate mesa, looked at the remains of old walks, all that is left of the buildings, and saw the wooden-fenced enclosure of the children's burial ground, looked at the blue, slow-flowing river that had once spread from shore to shore, yellow-red and roaring, and talked about the land as it used to be.

²⁰*Fort Mojave Tribal Records: Constitution and Bylaws*, p. 1.

²¹Fort Mojave and Bureau of Indian Affairs do not "see eye to eye" about leasing acreage of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation. I first encountered the "waiting for the government's approval of a lease" in 1952. Recently, the Fort Mojave Tribal Council received "appropriate action from Washington."

²²Mojave Village, as described, comes from personal observations, from maps, and from a brief description written by Malika.

²³*Indian Census Roll, Fort Mojave Indian Reservation, November 1, 1956, Colorado* River Agency, Parker, Arizona. Revised June 30, 1963. This is the official registry of this tribe. It is located in the office of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, corner of Smoke Stack Drive and Courtright Street, Mojave Village, California. Data contained in this register include: register number, English name, sex, birth date or age, tribe, degree of Indian blood, marital status, relationship to head of family, allotment number, ward or not ward, address, and remarks. All Fort Mojave Indians are as yet wards of the government.

²⁴Interviews: Hal Davidson, November, 1952; Malika, April, 1957.

²⁵John G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mojave Indians of the Rio Colorado, Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, II, (July-September 1889), 180-181, 185-186. Hereinafter cited Bourke, "Notes."

²⁶A. L. Kroeber, *Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians* (New York, 1902), p. 278. (Also in the *American Anthropologist*, IV [April-June 1902].)

²⁷Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (20 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1908), II, 52 and *Appendix*, p. 113.

²⁸A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1953), pp. 741-744. (Originally published in 1925 as *Bulletin 78*, Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.)

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 741.

³⁰When we first knew the Mojaves almost sixty years ago they would not speak of the dead; most of them would not allow themselves to be photographed. These taboos are almost gone. Oach and Malika identified Fort Mojave men and women in photographs, giving both their Mojave and their English names—if they had one. In some cases they referred the photographs to other Mojaves, and were successful in obtaining information. After one long session devoted to the examination of old photographs, among which were Oach's husband and sister (deceased), she said quietly, but not protestingly, "It makes me sad to see these pictures!"

CHAPTER II. THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOJAVE CLAN SYSTEM.

¹ Whipple, *Report*, Pt. I, 42-43, 95; Curtis *North American Indian*, II, 52; Bourke, "Notes," p. 182.

²This story of the naming of the people, as told by Malika (Frances Malika Stillman), was transcribed verbatim. It was read by Malika and minor errors were corrected. As quoted here, it has her full approval. Said she, in reading the copy, "It sounds just like I heard it!"

³Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741; Curtis, *North American Indian*, II, 113.

⁴Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶Bourke, "Notes" p. 182; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741; my Mojave consultants, Malika and Oach.

⁷Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741; Bourke, "Notes," p. 181. Whipple's table in his *Report*, Pt. III, 17, shows that the Mojave chiefs had from one to four wives each. My Mojave consultants thought he might be right, but insisted that they did not have

more than one wife at a time. Since Whipple obtained his data during less than a month among the Mojaves, he may have misunderstood their serial monogamy.

"The marriage tie seems to be respected in more than an ordinary degree among Indians. I think that few, if any, have more than one wife." Ives, *Report*, p. 7.

⁸Marrying outside the tribe was one way of developing friendly relations with other tribes—or at least of healing enmities.

⁹Bourke, "Notes" p. 181; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741; my Mojave consultants, Malika and Oach.

¹⁰Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 741.

11 *Ibid.*

¹²The descriptive names of the Mojave women were elusive and difficult to grasp. In order to obtain the Mojave viewpoint and meanings, I hit upon the idea of selecting colored photographs in *Arizona Highways*, as one way of facilitating communication. In 1959, Malika and I went through my copies of *Arizona Highways* from 1950 to date to select photographs which illustrated the clan names and the meanings of the descriptive names. Later I compiled a file of photographs organized by clans. Malika pored over the pictures, one by one, and gave the descriptive name and the English name of the woman or girl who bore it. The data she gave corresponded with the identifications she had made earlier. We then checked the Fort Mojave census and tried to find a picture that fit the name of each woman or girl whose descriptive name we had obtained. This folio is dramatic. I only wish that these gorgeous illustrations could be seen by those who read the printed descriptions.

¹³My Mojave consultants were inclined to brush aside the vernacular names of men and boys as unimportant and really not part of the clanship system. However, after they became acquainted with A. L. Kroeber's brief and uncomplimentary report on Mojave names (*Handbook*, p. 749), they canvassed the names of living men and helped to translate names found in their Tribal Records, or remembered by old Mojaves. The names are included in the present report in order "to set the records straight," and to shed light on their views that "only the clan name matters!" The paragraph in Kroeber's report that perturbed Mojaves and triggered their aid reads: "Mohaves take names of the most undignified sort. A phrase that strikes as apt or novel or alludes to a trivial incident is the basis of many names. There is not the least shrinking from obscenity, even in such personal connections as this . . . the Mohaves delight in filthy speech habitually. Some men assume names of this type in the hope of attracting or impressing women. These are typical men's names: Earth-tongue, Proud-coyote, Yellow-thigh, Foreign-boy, Girl's-leg, Hawk's-track, Doctor's-sack, Shoots-mountain-sheep, Sells-eagle, Muskmelon, Rope, Gartersnake, Man-dies-bone-castrated-coyote."

Kroeber's brief data on Mojave names were obtained during a period when the Fort Mojave Indians were undergoing a thorough cultural overhauling by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Nothing about us was right" one old Mojave told me, "they were making us over." This view was corroborated by other Mojaves. At that time, also, Mojaves were loath to reveal their names, and speaking of the dead was taboo. The attitude of my Mojave consultants toward this report was one of excusing "both sides" on the one hand, Kroeber, who reported "what he was told" on the other hand, the Mojaves, who "would not talk" or who "told outsiders anything to give them the run-a-round"

¹⁴*Fort Mojave Tribal Records: File I*, "Petition of the Fort Mohave Indian Tribe to Hon. Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, relative to land and

water rights, October 6, 1923," This petition bears the signatures of 132 members of the tribe, fifty of which are Indian names or a combination of Indian and English names. Eighteen women used their clan names.

CHAPTER III. MOJAVE CLANS, 1859-1959.

Fort Mojave Tribal Records: "The Big Book," pp. 33-37.

²Bourke, "Notes," pp. 179-185.

³Curtis, *North American Indian*, II, 53, 113.

⁴Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 742-743.

⁵In 1957-1959, I made a preliminary study of Mojave clans with the help of Malika (Mrs. Stillman) and Oach (Mrs. Hood). Using the tribal census roll of English family names, we prepared a list of clans found existent among the registrants of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation. These were verified in the later study.

⁶The seventeen clans among the Fort Mojave were identified by tabulating the census roll of the Fort Mojave Tribe. Not so the list of eighteen which included the Mojaves on the Colorado River Reservation. We listed the extinct clans among the Fort Mojave and canvassed Colorado River Reservation Mojaves to discover whether any of these still exist among them. We also located at least one member of the remaining clans. Four clans were extinct among both tribes—*Mathachva*, *Kutkilya*, *Necah*, and *Vahath*.

⁷*Fort Mojave Tribal Records*, File I, "Petition of the Fort Mohave Indian Tribe to Hon. Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 6, 1923!"

CHAPTER IV. CHANGES FROM MOJAVE TO ENGLISH NAMES, 1859-1959.

¹**Report of the Secretary of War, 1859, p. 409. Records of United States Commands**, "Letters sent, Fort Mojave," September, 1890, National Archives.

²*Fort Mojave Tribal Records*, "File I," contains affidavits and petitions which provide names. Data were also obtained in interviews with Hal O. Davidson and *Gottah* (Mrs. Kate Bryan Wellman). Mr. Davidson, the Tribal Recorder, supplied a list of the Mojave scouts who served under General George Crook in the Apache wars. A visit with the aged *Gottah* in Mojave Village was most rewarding. She burst into voluble delighted greetings when Malika presented me to her — "The oldest daughter of one of your old friends, Mrs. Jane Miller, comes to bring her mother's good wishes!" *Gottah* recalled Georgia (*Chacha Wakavar*), who worked for my mother, her friend Alice Barrachman (*Oach Wethawetha*), and other friends—Captain Owl and *La hoho*. "They are all gone now," she said. She gave the Indian names of a few who were still living. *Gottah* understands English and speaks it fairly well, but she chose to talk in her native tongue. Malika was our interpreter. *Gottah* was a frail little old woman, but wiry, vivacious and alert in 1959. She died on January 2, 1965.

³**Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890-1891, II, vi; also the annual reports of the superintendents of the Fort Mojave School from 1891 through 1930, in Reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1891-1930.**

The educational policy of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs was modified dur-

ing this time but the changes were not reflected to any appreciable extent at the Fort Mojave School. (See Note 15, Chapter I, ante.)

4 Interviews with Mrs. Marian Lambert Vincent who was Boys' Matron at the Fort Mojave School, 1896-1898, and with Mr. Claude F. Compton who was postmaster and post trader at "Mojave City," a stone's throw from the Fort Mojave School, 1898-1904. Interviews with my Mojave consultants who attended the Fort Mojave School, Oach, 1896-1906; Hal Oneyuravarva Davidson, graduate of 1905; Malika, 1916-1922. Snapshots of Mojave children, of the school and of the trading post, provided by Mr. Claude Compton, Mrs. Rebecca Kaiser (a retired schoolteacher at Needles), and by Mrs. Helen Miller serve as excellent visual documentaries from 1898 through 1930.

Extensive information was provided in the letters, snapshots, old manuscripts, children's work, and "souvenirs of Fort Mojave}" either produced or collected by Minnie Braithwaite (Jenkins), who taught at the Fort Mojave School in 1902-1906. She married the school's farmer, Clarence W Jenkins, in 1906. Both left the Indian Service to buy and develop a farm at Live Oaks, California, "The Jenkins Farm!" Minnie Braithwaite Jenkins' collection was loaned to me by her daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Jenkins Ross of San Marino, California. Mrs. Ross is presently arranging this collection to be presented to her alma mater, the University of California at Berkeley. I also spent a week at the Jenkins Farm as Mrs. Ross's guest to "examine all the old papers and snapshots still at the Farm!" Some of the old materials at the Farm consisted of notes and manuscripts written while Minnie Braithwaite Jenkins was preparing her book *Girl from Williamsburg* (Richmond, Va., 1951). Part Three of her book tells of her experiences at "Old Fort Mojave!"

⁵ Corporal punishment of children scandalized Mojaves who did not discipline their children with whips and straps. Disciplinarians at the Fort Mojave School included girls as well as boys in the whippings. Oach spent all of one day, May 8, 1957, and most of another three days later, in the Fort Mojave Tribal Council's conference room with Malika and me, telling about the school when she was there. She asked that what she said be read back to be sure that my notes were "what was said!" Her narrative and that of Malika who attended the school "when it wasn't so fancy" were similar with respect to discipline. Hal Davidson's statements corroborated theirs.

⁶ "Instructions to Agents in Regards to Family Names," dated March 18, 1890, and signed by T. J. Morgan, Commissioner, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890-1891, p. clx.*

⁷ "Employees in the Indian Service, Fort Mojave Boarding School, Ariz." in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1886-1887, p. 545; 1888-1889, p. 629; 1899-1900, p. 712; 1901-1902, p. 678; 1902-1903, p. 561; 1903-1904, p. 664.*

Commencement programs of Fort Mojave School for June 14, 16, 1903; June 16, 17, 1904; June 18, 19, 1905; June 17-19, 1906, kept as souvenirs by Mrs. Minnie Braithwaite Jenkins, were loaned by Mrs. Dorothy Jenkins Ross, her daughter. These elaborate printed programs give the schedule of exercises, and the names of the graduates and other participants in the annual two-day graduation events.

⁸ "Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners" in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1899-1900, II, Pt. 2, pp. 648-650; "Thirty-second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners" in Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1900-1901, pp. 638-641.*

⁹ "Report of the School Superintendent in Charge of Mohave at Fort Mohave" dated August 21, 1903, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1902-1903, p. 120; "Report of the School Superintendent in Charge of Mohave at Fort Mohave" dated*

August 8, 1904, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1903-1904*, pp. 136-137; "Report of the Superintendent in Charge of Mohave at Fort Mohave" dated August 9, 1905, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1904-1905*, pp. 162-163; "Report of the Superintendent of Fort Mohave School" dated August 25, 1906, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1905-1906*, p. 177.

¹⁰Letter by Minnie Braithwaite to her mother, dated May 16, 1905; also manuscript found at "The Farm" written by Minnie Braithwaite in preparing her *Girl from Williamsburg*, considerably altered in her publication. The report of "the census" by Superintendent of Schools, Duncan McArthur, in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, gives no details of procedures--only the accomplished feat. "Report of the Superintendent in Charge of Mohave" dated August 9, 1905, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1904-1905*, p. 163.

¹¹Two opposite points of view on the giving of English names are exemplified in the accounts of Minnie Braithwaite, a prototype of a dedicated teacher in the Indian Service, who believed sincerely that Mojave children should be given decent American names, and Oach, a prototype of Mojave culture, who knew the significance of the old family names and shared her people's indignation and helplessness at being renamed. Post-mortem judgments are easy to come by in the perspective of time. The seasoned and balanced Oach, in her old age and wisdom, grasped both sides. "Our old family names were hard to understand," she insisted. "And in those days Mojaves would not talk about our names."

¹²"Report of the Superintendent in Charge of Mojave" dated August 9, 1905, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1904-1905*, pp. 162-163.

¹³"Tribal Petition to Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs" dated October 7, 1923. *Fort Mojave Tribal Records*, File I.

¹⁴By 1896, the Fort Mojave school children had learned not to talk about their religion. (Interview with Marian Lambert Vincent, Oach.) They are reticent yet. Their exposure to Christian teachings shows up in references to *Mutavilya*, the Godfather and to his son *Mastamho*, a counterpart of Jesus; references to their old religion as "our Old Testament" and attempts to reconcile it with the Christian New Testament. Oach said, "At the school, they taught us to say grace, and the 'Lord's Prayer' and the 'Lord is my Shepherd! We sang 'Rock of Ages' and 'Jesus Loves Me! Afterwards,'" she added wryly, "I heard that we were Christians!" Thus far we have no written accounts of the old Aha macave religion nor their interpretation of it although fragments have been recorded as tales and myths. From what I have learned thus far, the old Mojave religion touched or penetrated all aspects of life.

¹⁵Data compiled by Malika and the writer. We went through the official register name by name, listing the clan name of each registrant and indicating those who had no clan names and why. We then compiled a list by clans, showing the different English names borne by each clan.

¹⁶Examples of the "mix-ups" cited here were selected from those provided by my consultants, Malika and Oach.

CHAPTER V. THE CLAN SYSTEM AND CLAN NAMES AMONG THE FORT MOJAVE INDIANS TODAY.

¹Indian Census Roll, Fort Mojave Indian Reservation, November 1, 1956, Colorado River Agency, Parker, Arizona; revised 1959.

The Census Roll was brought up to date as of June 30, 1963, by the Secretary and the Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, Mr. Claude Lewis and Mrs. Frances Malika Stillman. The Chairman and I spent several days tabulating the types of data needed in this study. We then double-checked the results, including our computations of percentages.

²The data were obtained and verified by a canvass of adult members of clans. These provided a reliable list of the clan names of Fort Mojave registrants.

³Using the list of clan names, and the Census Roll as of June 30, 1963, Chairman Stillman and I prepared a roster of clans organized in terms of their English family names. This roster shows clan, English family name, first name, date of birth, and, when obtainable, the vernacular Indian name of each registrant.

⁴The census by clan names, referred to in *Note 3, ante*, provided the data on size of clans and the distribution by sex and age. The tabulations of data were made by Chairman Stillman and the writer. The computations and the tables were prepared by the writer with the aid of Graduate Research Assistants provided from research funds by the University of California at Los Angeles. Analyses of the data were made by the writer and reviewed with the Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council and her advisors.

⁵*Fort Mojave Tribal Records: Births; Deaths.* These little black books contain the vital statistics kept systematically by the Fort Mojave Tribal Council since 1957. Mojaves have two years after the birth of a child to register him as a member of the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe. The figures given here may not include all of those under two years of age.

⁶This section presents a recapitulation of findings.

⁷Here Malika refers to the social festivities also mentioned by Merriman (Bourke, "Notes" p. 186). In pre-United States days the Mojaves had three geographical subdivisions: the *Matha lyathum*, or people of the north whose domains lay between Black Canyon and Piute Wash; the *Hutto-pah*, or people who lived in the middle (Mojave Valley), and the *Kavi lyathum*, or people who lived south of the Needles Peaks. Each year, usually in May, when the first crops were harvested, "the people got together" to feast, dance, and give their young folks a chance to mix. One year they met in the north, the next in the south or middle, and so on, rotating the meeting place. Oach and Malika both remembered these festivities. "Do not dance with a young man you do not want to marry," mothers and grandmothers admonished the girls.

⁸Needles housewives in those days hired their help by the day—mainly to "do the wash!" No one had a steady full time housemaid. We knew several Mojave girls who "got lonesome" and came home from their outing service. Jane Miller has an excellent account, "Edna's Story" told by Edna Neolge in 1913. Oach and Malika were both outing students.

⁹The Bureau of Indian Affairs finally approved a seventy-five-year lease of approximately twelve thousand acres of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation. The lessors agreed to invest twenty-two million dollars in recreational developments within the next ten years and to employ Mojaves on their project. The leased portions include the site of old Fort Mojave. The editor of the Needles *Desert Star*, Lee Perry, stated in his editorial, December 17, 1964: "Thus ends a six year wait for yield from certain tribal lands held in this area. This means that from now on the tribe can enjoy an income as the large area located in three states begins to develop and

prosper. . . . Words can never describe the dauntless courage of Mrs. Frances Stillman, tribal chairman, and her faithful workers on the tribal council!' Fort Mojaves celebrated New Year's day, 1965, with an invitational barbeque in Mojave Village. The air was filled with hope. As I took my leave near sundown, the young folks were singing the Bird Songs and getting ready for a Mojave dance.

¹⁰A spot check confirms their opinion. Kroeber reported that "Many of the younger Mohaves seem to be ignorant of the totemic import of their names!" *Handbook*, p. 741. This statement is true if the words "seem to" are accented.

¹¹Bourke, "Notes," pp. 180-182, 185-186.

¹²The Mojaves who live in Mojave Village not only know the names of their own relatives but they know the names and family relationships of the other residents.

¹³Mojave names of women aged sixty-five or more are shown below:

ENGLISH NAMES, BIRTH DATES, INDIAN NAMES OF FEMALE CLAN MEMBERS 65 AND ABOVE

NAME OF CLAN	ENGLISH NAME	BIRTH DATE	MOJAVE NAMES
Neolge	Mrs. Annie McCord	(1884)	<i>Norge Thonathon</i>
Neolge	Mrs. Edna Jackson	(8-1-91)	<i>Norge</i>
Neolge	Mrs. Minnie Carter	(8-19-96)	<i>Norge</i>
Neolge	Mrs. Vesta Johnson	(1-1-97)	<i>Norge</i>
Oach	Mrs. Harriet Davidson Wilson	(1886)	<i>Oach Shekashek</i>
Oach	Mrs. Thelma Carter Hammond	(1-1-97)	<i>Oach Wilawil</i>
Whalia	Mrs. Lucinda Carter	(1888)	<i>Whalia Davov</i>
Maha	Mrs. Lucy Morrison Morqan	(1891)	<i>Maha Iyava</i>
Gottah	Mrs. Kate Wellman	(1867)	<i>Gottah</i>
Boudha	Mrs. Henrietta Peterson	(6-5-98)	<i>Boudha Whev</i>

¹⁴For the illustrations of the descriptive names of women and girls, see Chapter II, *ante*.

¹⁵Mojave names of Fort Mojave men of sixty-five years of age or more are shown on page 82.

ENGLISH NAMES, BIRTH DATES, INDIAN NAMES OF MALE CLAN MEMBERS 65 AND ABOVE

NAME OF CLAN	ENGLISH NAME	BIRTH DATE	MOJAVE NAME
Neolge	Harry Lewis	(1880) (83)	Atalk hear
Neolge	Alonzo Knox	(5-15-90)	Mutheel munagh
Neolge	Clifford Johnson	(11-27-90)	Messahi dunyum
Neolge	Clarence Anderson	(9-4-97) (66)	Pete Sulayha
Oach	Clyde Peterson	(1-1-80) (83)	Oonya homar
Oach	Emmett Van Fleet	(9-18-92)	Bulyeek
Oach	Hugh Hammond	(1893) (70)	Arre yatha
Oach	Robert Jenkins	(3-12-97)	Achee muk
Masipa	Charles Evanston	(1890) (73)	Mutaquesa manyieih
Kumath	Bert Kempton	(8-8-80) (83)	Sukum munagh
Kumath	Milo Mills	(5-5-94) (69)	"Milo"
Kumath	Warren Mulford	(1897) (66)	Homan huwheh
Maha	Charles Hamilton	(1881) (82)	Auva halyevatch
Maha	Dewey Hayes	(7-5-89) (74)	Quechan manuov
Maha	Webster Hayes	(12-4-93)	A-ah lovalov
Maha	Daniel Wilson	(2-23-96)	Kopeeda
Chacha	Maurice Boucher	(1892) (71)	Herow heilhevow

¹⁶English names prevail in the presence of non-Mojaves even in cases of long acquaintances.

¹⁷Fort Mojave Tribal Records contain only brief references to their literature. Fortunately A. L. Kroeber recorded a great variety obtained between 1902 and 1925. Among his translations are parts of the tomampas, historical epics, songs and legends. My Mojave consultants "do not go along" with some of his interpretations, but they are grateful indeed that "he put down what he heard," otherwise most of their literature would have been lost.

¹⁸Avi kwami or "spirit mountain" is a prominent peak in the Newberry Mountains. I discovered that Oach had not seen Davis Dam and that she yearned to see *Avi kwami*, so at sunrise one fine November day in 1959, Oach, Malika, and I took off from Needles in my car. Oach's reaction to the clear blue of Lake Mojave was "wrong color," She walked off by herself, and reappeared about an hour later, deeply moved. She had gone to a spot where she could view *Avi kwami*. She said,

I draw my strength from the mountain
 I draw my strength from the mountain
 I could live here forever
 I draw my strength from the mountain.

We called it "Oach's song!"

¹⁹"Nobody sings the long *Tomampa* anymore, the songs are all gone" Malika told me. "The last singer was Jim Twist of the *Teelya* (d. 1944). It was sung also in my time by two women—*Teelya* and *Gottah*, and by old James Bryan of the *Hipa*.'" The *Shulia* sang the *Tomampa Vanyume*, but the last singer, Douglas McAllister, departed on April 23, 1959. The *Oach* sing the *Tomampa uta-uta*. This was the *Tomampa* that the venerated *Quasketta howa* sang. Among our treasured possessions is the *Creation Story* as he told it to Jane Miller, translated by *Oach Wethawetha* almost sixty years ago. *Quasketta howa*'s son, Emmett Van Fleet, now in his seventies, still sings it. He is the Tribal Singer with four grown sons. "People hope one of them

will learn the songs!' Among our helpers in this study, Oach and Achee muk are singers of the *Tomampa uta-uta*. Hal Davidson was a singer of the *Whalia* songs— the *Akwaka* or Dear Songs as was his uncle, the famed *La hoho*, who departed about 1924. *Gottah* is a singer of the Tobacco clan songs; *Boudha Whev* is a singer of the *Halpote* songs. The *Maha* songs were sung by *Suoppaub's* father. These songs are difficult to learn. *Suoppaub* (Lute Stillman) sings many of them. As Oach said so often, "Time is running out!"

²⁰In the old days the Feather Ceremony, *Va haver*, was awarded to the warriors who performed heroic deeds or gave their lives for the tribe. It is still given but it seems to include those who devoted their lives to the tribe, and those whose ancestors within the last one hundred years merited the award. The Tribal Orator has charge of the preparations such as having the eagle feathers ready and tied to long sticks— the *E'pas* or feathered canes, painting the face of the departed black—the warrior's color, sticking the *E'pas* in a row on one side of the pyre. My Mojave consultant explained, "The Feather Ceremony is performed during the cremation ceremonies. For example, if they are going to cremate tomorrow, they start the Feather Ceremony at midnight. The Orator (Harry Lewis) tells the history of the wars, and tells about the man in his line who did the brave acts and why his lineage deserves the ceremony. Nowadays nobody might know what happened way back, and so this is told. After the Orator tells about the history, he sings about the bravery. It is about the same thing he said, but it is sung over and over—a solo with no accompaniment. Then the Runners begin the last run. They have been standing by themselves on one side. The Runners run together at a given signal to the pyre. Each takes a feathered cane, *E'pa*, half go one way in a large circle, half go the other way in a large circle, back to the pyre, break the canes, run to the river to purify themselves. It is now dawn. They are lighting the pyre and singing the farewell songs!"

²¹Oach refers to the *Tomampa uta-uta* or the short *Tomampa*, "when the telling is done, it is very long!" My Mojave consultants Malika and Oach say that *Tomampa* symbolizes man, and that his travels from boyhood to old age tell everything that happens in the span of life. "It teaches all of the lessons of life!"

²²Bourke, "Notes" p. 174.

²³The Needles Peaks are located south of Topock, Arizona, at the eastern end of the Mojave Mountain range. They were given the name "Needles" by Lt. A. W. Whipple in 1854. The Mojaves call them *Huqueamp ave* {*huqueamp*, a battle in the past; *ave*, the place). The translation is where the battle took place. It refers to the battle fought there in which Mastamho killed the sea serpent. "We [Mojaves] have no other name for those peaks" Malika stated emphatically.

²⁴The Fort Mojave Tribal Records contain "Record of the Death and Burial of Joseph Goodman" (the son of Chief Asikut), and "Record of the Death and Burial of Chief Lambert!" A. P. Miller's notes contain descriptions of the cremation ceremonies of Captain Sam Ouree and of Chief Sherman Ross. Jane Miller's notes contain an eyewitness account of a cremation ceremony in 1910.

²⁵*Nyemitch chavauk*, from *nyemitch*, mourning or cry, *chavauk*, a gathering.

PUBLISHER'S POSTSCRIPT

Dr. Lorraine M. Sherer retired from the Faculty of the School of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles, in June 1964, after a distinguished career as teacher, public school administrator, and university professor. Her educational contributions are well known. Her interest in the Fort Mojave Indians is rooted in a lifelong association that dates back to her childhood. The publication of her study on the Fort Mojave Indians' clan system, part of her larger planned work, a comprehensive history of the tribe, marks her debut as an ethnohistorian.

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DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., *Editor*

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