Language, History and Leadership

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Before they were transcribed in the early twentieth century these stories were preserved by memory alone for hundreds of generations. The Havasupai language has existed in written form for only thirty years.[1] By contrast, the European temporal/cultural distance from this kind of transition is one of about 3,000 years. In both living memory and current practice Havasupai oral tradition remains extraordinarily powerful. In pre-contact times those with strong memory skills were accorded higher social status - these stories were the only "TV" that existed. Yet they were far more than entertainment – they were a living library of religious and cultural information.

Although the publication of this complete oral tradition is unique, its serious limitations must be acknowledged. Most obviously, the stories are in English, whereas they were first told by men who spoke only Havasupai. This is problematic, especially since 93.8% of tribal members in 2007 still spoke their native language – a percentage far higher than any other modern North American indigenous group.[2]

Less obviously, these stories were originally interspersed with related songs.[3] Spier notes at the end of Story 13 - which to us is only a few pages long - that it took 22 hours over several consecutive days to tell. Modern Havasupai elders accounted for this by the missing songs. Gifford, the early ethnographer of the Northeastern and Western Yavapai, recorded that they felt it was "wrong to relate them without singing the songs."[4] According to one modern Havasupai elder, some of the traditional stories printed in this volume were still being told from memory alone in 2006, mostly with songs, but also, though much more rarely, by

themselves, just as they were when he was young.' Another elder, in his 80s, said he regretted not having remembered more of what his grandparents tried to tell him about these stories. Although he remembered many, he said he couldn't remember all the songs that used to go along with them." Leanne Hinton's *Havasupai Songs: A Linguistic Perspective* (1984) is helpful for cultural preservation, as is the CD of traditional Havasupai songs recently recorded by Roland and Jeff Manakaja (2006). Although the transition to a writing-based culture has inherent dangers for oral traditions, there is no reason a living culture such as this will not continue to dream stories and songs in the future. In his doctoral study of Yuman myth, Clyde Morris remarks that "spoken words and sung words are two distinct, but complementary, forms of communication with important supernaturals."[6]

The question arises whether other stories were known by people who had already died, or who chose not to speak to the anthropologists; or whether, as among some Australian aboriginal groups, there were different men's and women's stories. Modern informants seem to think the stories of the two were the same, but that the accompanying songs were most often sung by men."[7] The field research conducted by Carma Lee Smithson in her work on Havasupai women (1939 was the source of some of the stories published in 1964, and these do seem, as a generalization, to have a slightly more feminine content (child birth, marriage and menstruation) than the male Sinyella and Manakadja stories from 1918-1921. However, the Smithson stories are not as detailed and complete as the earlier ones. As anthropologist Walter Taylor said, "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence."[8] We may never know what cultural treasures have been lost to the Southwestern tribes; we do know that this most

complete and earliest collection of Havasupai stories should rightfully take its place among those that have been found.

All those materials, whether cultural, genetic or physical, which have been obtained from sovereign native peoples, should be dealt with carefully and with tribal consultation.'

Although a basic tenant of inter-cultural respect, this hasn't always happened with the Havasupai, who have always been a generous people. In respect for those who produced these stories, learners should make an attempt to understand the wider linguistic, ethnographic and historic contexts of the Havasupai. This chapter will focus on those elements particularly related to the stories. Yet the stories themselves may contain more information than all our attempts at multi-disciplinary contextualization. As anthropologist Ruth Benedict observed, "The advantage of mythological material over any other, for the characterization of tribal life, consists in the fact that here alone we have these things recorded wholly as they themselves figure them to themselves."

Pre-contact Yuman distribution in North America. *Courtesy* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuman-Cochimi#.C3%AD_languages.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Over the past 12,000 years or so more than 600 Amerindian languages flowered in North America. In Arizona there are three main indigenous language groups: Apachean, Tepiman (Uto-Aztecan), and Yuman. They are unrelated language groups, each with several sub-groups. Yuman languages are themselves a sub-group of a larger linguistic classification known as Hokan. North American linguistic families

are approximately as different from each other as the difference between English and ancient Sanskrit multiplied by three." Apachean-speaking peoples in this region are the Navajo and Apache, northern migrators who arrived relatively late (1300s-1600s). Early inhabitants seem mostly to be Tepiman speakers, including the Ute, Painte, Hopi, Akimel O'odham (Pima), Tohono O'odham (Papago), as well as many of the indigenous peoples of Mexico all the way south to Durango - people who were mostly though not exclusively wattle, adobe or masonry village-builders over the past 2,500 years or so."" The Havasupai belong to the broad group of the Yuman-speaking peoples of the Southwest; they usually built more temporary brush structures because they often have a migratory cultural element. Linguists tell us the Yuman languages are some of the oldest in North America, although the related archaeological evidence seems to date their appearance, in Northern Arizona at least, to roughly correspond with the end of the Great Drought associated with puebloan abandonment (12"-14" centuries)."

Maps of linguistic Yuman distribution point to its prevalence along both coasts of Baja California Norte, into the deserts of Southern California, up the delta of the Sea of Cortez along the course of the Colorado River; up and past Cataract Creek and Supai as far as the Little Colorado; up the Gila and Salt tributaries of the Colorado, including the Verde (which flows to the Salt) all the way to its headwaters north of Prescott. Currently Yuman languages are spoken by the Havasupai, Hualapai, Yavapai, Maricopa (Halchidoma), Cocopah, Southern Diegueño or Kumiai, Northern Diegueño or Ipai, Quechan (Yuma), Mohave, Pai Pai and Kilitva. One Yuman language, Cochimi, has no known speakers and is apparently extinct." Each year the Yuman Language Conference brings together

representatives of these tribes to celebrate and promote Yuman languages, each of which only has a few hundred fluent speakers."[47] The high rate of mutual intelligibility of Yuman languages has been widely noted. Northwestern Arizona Yavapai elders, for example, report being able to understand many words spoken by the older Pai Pai of Northern Baja California, Mexico."[48] Some linguists have even suggested that the Pai Pai of Baja California Norte and the Upland Pai groups of Arizona speak the same language, with differences being merely dialectical."[49]

It is impossible to have insight into these stories without gaining some understanding of the ethnobiology and migratory patterns of the Havasupai. The stories deal with animals and plants familiar from the seasonal movements that were crucially linked to the tribe's ongoing survival. "Every plant, every hill, every spring was the actual site of some historic or spiritual event in a tale, and the harvesting of a plant or arrival at some location would recall the rich set of events depicted in the tales."[7] The stories themselves provided a crucial magical link between the human beings and their natural world." According to tribal members who talked to Spier, Smithson, Euler, Whiting, Martin and Hirst, Havasupai songs, stories and dreams are interconnected, and may in and of themselves carry the power to heal or otherwise alter one's perceptions of reality." One researcher divides all Pai oral literature into two basic classes: those that have power and those that do not. "Examples of genres that have power are medicine songs, myth-songs, prayers and myths. Those genre which do not have power are the entertaining animal stories told to children and historical war narratives."[8] As David Abram has noted, cultures whose language traditions are transmitted *only* via oral tradition may regard *language itself* as magical, as well as a powerful means to move between the animal and human worlds."[9] Animal characters that appear in this collection, like Blue Jay and Bat, and magical plants, like corn, tobacco and agave, help to carry on the important relationships between those worlds."[10] After all, the animals, plants, springs and rocks of these vast desert territories kept the humans alive and thriving.

Clyde Morris goes so far as to state, "Together the cycles tell of mythic events that explain the relationship between the Pai food resources and their migratory way of life."[v] Alfred Whiting maintained that the Havasupai seasonal round was not as strictly divided as some accounts might suggest. "It is apparent that the typical picture of the annual cycle of the Havasupai was not sharply divided into a winter period of hunting and gathering and a spring and summer period of agriculture. Rather the two economies were fused."[vi] This fusion was a brilliant adaptation to the harsh desert environment of the American southwest. In Western European history, the narrative is one of "progress" from hunter/gatherer to agriculturalist to industrial human. Distinct phases like these don't make sense in this desert. The unusual blending of two means of production was made possible because the Havasupai, until conquest, were free to roam two million acres at will. They had to get enough food to survive.

After conquest, in 1880, they were confined to 517 very isolated acres in the bottom of the Grand Canyon and the quantity and quality of food declined.[vii] Food, the annual migration, the stories and other cultural activities, like singing, were closely linked. Being prohibited from their traditional story-telling areas may have had an impact on the stories, as well as on their potential for constructing Havasupai imagination, understanding and self-concept. The plateau was not freely available to them again until after 1975. As Stephen Hirst so eloquently describes it, "By 1974 the grandparents were still reciting the tales of Coyote, but his trickery and occasional wisdom held little conviction within the chill confines of the canyon. No longer could listeners see from the lodge the endless spaces stretching away in which Coyote could work his feats, in which all things might be possible...In winter,...the loss of the past bore down heavily indeed."[viii]

To know when to plant domestic crops and when to harvest wild foods, when to move to the plateau and when to move to the canyon bottom, the Pai kept track of time using astronomy. This tradition may have been partially affected by confinement as well, since one can only see a small portion of the night sky from the bottom of the canyon. All the evidence gathered by their two major ethnographers points to the fact that they tracked the movement of the stars in part by associating certain star clusters with characters from their myths and tales.[166] Gifford found that among Southeastern Yavapai, elders could tell what month it was by asking the young if a certain plant had appeared, which was said to be synchronous with the appearance of a certain star.[167] At least two of their twelve months are named after constellations associated with figures appearing in the stories (our November and January). The arrival of February is known by the dawn appearance of a certain constellation,[168] later identified as the man who fell over a cliff with his wife and baby.[169] The Havasupai perceived the constellation of Scorpio as Coyote carrying a pole of smaller stars (January). Another cluster well-known to other Yuman-speaking tribes and identically named, were the antelope, deer and mountain sheep, also known as the three stars in Orion's belt. "Every child knew the personalities associated with these stories, associated with specific stars."[170] In one story, Wolf Man helped produce a baby by stirring abalone shell into water; when the child grew up he became a bighorn sheep, who, after a series of adventures, became the star (See "17. Wolf's Boy (second version)". Abalone shell, obtained from Pacific coast Yumans, was considered a

cure for infertility."[xxv] The sun and moon are also important and powerful entities in these traditions.

A.F. Whiting noted an emphasis on winter rather than summer constellations, and that the positions of the stars, the phases of the moon and "the rising position of the sun are used to determine the seasonal activities."[xxvi] The very telling of some stories may possibly have even occurred at the rising of related winter constellations. Solstices were recognized; Spier reports that one of our narrators, Sinyella, had a particular location in which he stood in order to observe the dawning sun on both the longest and the shortest days of the year (1928).

Havasupai religion was largely shaman-based, with different kinds of specialist shamans, such as snake shamans, deer shamans, weather shamans and healing shamans. Dreams were an important source of power, and one became a shaman partly through the occurrence of certain dreams.[xxvii] Songs might come through dreaming; dreaming of deer might make one a deer shaman, and thus an excellent hunter. A graduate student once sincerely asked Robert Euler, what did the Pai peoples, makers of Tizon Brownware, do with their spare time, since they didn't build pueblos, maintain fields year-round or design elaborate pottery? He paused for a split second and then replied, "They liked to sit and dream."[xxviii] Spier observed, "In the final analysis, power comes through dreams...Rock Jones...dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song."[xxix] Mark Hanna (one of the translators of this collection) was in training to be a shaman; he always placed his gourd rattle at the head of his bed. "When he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed."[xxx]

Dreams would bring contact with elements or spirit animals, who also carried power.[cl] Sometimes the animals in dreams helped to diagnose and cure illnesses. Curing shamans might sing over a sick person for four nights, using a gourd rattle. In pre-conquest times there existed the occasional practice of killing shamans whose patients had died.[cm] Head chiefs also carried shamanic power, and were partly headmen *because* they were good story-tellers and good general orators.[cn] Our modern mental constructions of a strong division between, as Cushing phrases it, "ecclesiastical and civil" powers, did not appear to exist among the traditional Havasupai, according to their first anthropologist.[co] Many southwestern U.S. tribes still have a thin or at least flexible barrier between the two, and traditional or what is perceived as traditional spirituality remains in some areas an important input into the political decision-making process. Shamanic powers were usually inherited but could also come from dreaming.[cp]

In the stories, the connection with spirit animals is quite strong. The stories and the dreams may have served the purpose of linking the human community with the non-human world. As the creative thinker and ethnographical researcher, David Abram, has noted, "the scale of a harvest or the size of a hunt are always negotiated between the tribal community and the natural world that it inhabits." From his studies of preliterate Indonesian societies, he generalizes that "the traditional magician or medicine person functions primarily as an intermediary between human and non-human worlds, and only secondarily as a healer...[because of ethnocentric bias], countless anthropologists have managed to overlook the ecological dimensions of the shaman's craft."[cq] Animals formed a unique and important

part not only of the Pai diet but also of their overall conception of the universe and its deities. Animals who were also men in the Havasupai myths include Eagle, Coyote, Wolf, Mountain Lion, Porcupine, Rabbit, Turkey, Mouse, Squirrel, Scorpion, Owl, Fox, Bighorn Sheep, Wren and Bat. Animals who were never men included snakes other than rattlesnakes, Deer and Bear, and post-conquest animals such as Cow, Cat, Horse and Dog.[64]

EUROPEAN ARRIVAL

Spanish explorers in the Hopi country first learned of the existence of Indians living in the Grand Canyon possibly as early as 1540 or 1665, but it was not until 1776 that the first European wrote a description of a visit to the village we now know as Supai. Father Garces, a Spanish Franciscan priest, went "trembling" down the wooden ladder which then formed part of the trail to the village.[65] Captain Sitgreaves possibly sighted the Havasupai again in 1851, and they were definitely described by the explorer Lt. Ives in 1858.[66] The explorer Francois Xavier Aubry reported that his mule had been shot by Pai arrows in 1853,[67] but during the 1850-1900 period it is difficult to tell tribal or band differences from the Anglo reports, which often confuse some Upland Pai groups with Apaches, much less distinguish between Havasupai, Walapai, or Yavapai. Anglo-American and Mexican influx rapidly increased, especially miners and ranchers, in the areas between Prescott, Seligman, and Kingman.[1] Cattle grazing was wiping out the traditional vegetable food base, particularly damaging the availability of the much sought-after seiŕ, a spinach-like plant, and ranchers were seizing all the traditional water sources.[2]

Although the frontier conflicts affected the Havasupai least among all Upland Pai, they raged all around them. In 1865 the so-called Hualapai Wars broke out when drunken settlers murdered Pai leader Aasa. In response, the Pai cut off the route from Prescott to the Colorado River ports, and Pai leader Cherum began organizing Pai warriors from different bands. The war included many of the massacres and guerilla war patterns common to the Indian Wars of Arizona. The Pai were fighting a vicious enemy; many of the troops were hardened Civil War veterans. A brief peace broke out after a treaty at Beale Springs, and then continuous but intermittent guerilla-type warfare ensued until late 1868 and early 1869.[8]

Lt. Col. William R. Price, commander of the Eighth Cavalry, reported on his attacks on several Upland Pai *rancherias* during the three years of hostilities:

> On the morning of the 10', shortly after daylight in the vicinity of Walker Spring in the Aspamins Range, with 15 dismounted men on a high and rocky mountain, I surprised a Rancheria containing about 20 Indians; killed 3 bucks whose bodies were found, and severely wounded others; captured 3 squaws and 3 children, and destroyed this rancheria...On the morning of the 13', surprised another Rancheria containing 5 wickiups, and killed or captured the entire band, killed 8 Indians and captured 7 squaws and 7 children..."

The wars broke out again after the murder of Pai Chief Wauba Yuma, 1866, after a dispute with the Walker Party, which discovered gold near Prescott.

> Raids by the Pai Indians began in full force, raiding white mining camps and settlers. The Calvary from Fort Mohave responded by attacking Pai rancherias and burning them. The Army also used the Mohave Indians against the Pai. A notable Pai warrior was Cherum; he was known for his tenacity as a warrior. This war lasted until December 1868. The Pai began to surrender as a result of whooping cough and dysentery weakening their ranks...the warrior Cherum also later surrendered thus ending the Hualapai Wars."[9]

Cherum is described by Dobyns and Euler as a "brilliant Middle Mountain strategist and tactician." (A biography of Cherum, the 'patriot chief' can be found in Euler and Dobyns, 1998. He was later associated with the Walapai band, rather than the Middle Mountain band.)

The only Pai chief known to have forced United States cavalry troops to retreat, he consistently got between the troops and sources of water. His work at unifying warriors from many of the Upland Pai bands helped to keep the U.S. Cabvary at bay for almost three years, no mean feat considering that the indigenous guerillas had restricted access to higher-tech weaponry. Cherum managed to mobilize nearly every Pai male capable of bearing arms in the struggle against the U.S. conquest of their traditional lands, probably including some Havasupai. After conquest Lt. Col. Price was promoted to Major, left Arizona and continued fighting Indians in Texas and Kansas through the 1870s. In 1881 he came back and made a formal military visit to the Havasupai, described in the section below.[b]

POST-CONQUEST ANGLO NARRATIVES

After the end of the wars, many Upland Pai (though apparently not many, if any, from the Havasupai band) were incarcerated at La Paz for a year to stifle any further resistance. Many died there of disease and starvation.[82] In 1875 they left the Colorado River bottomlands at the La Paz reservation and went back to their own territory, but never again took up arms. As far as we know, Havasupai continued living in the Canyon and going up to the plateau country throughout this period. In 1880, the Havasupai were (supposedly) confined to a small reservation of two miles or 517 acres in the bottom of the Grand Canyon, in Cataract or Havasu Canyon, 3000 feet below the rim.

Perhaps they didn't understand what confinement meant. One unnamed Havasupai ordered ranchers away from Black Tank, north of Ashfork, in 1888, and another, Supai Tom, complained in 1890 to the Indian Agent that some white family had taken over his family's place at Rain Tank.[83] Panamida's brother, a "little chief" called Supai Charley, was

near his family's traditional plateau range in 1914 when he was caught by some Anglo cattlemen with a dead calf, probably his own, and taken to jail in Flagstaff, where he was killed without trial.[68]

The entire experience of three years of desert guerilla warfare, followed by widespread illness, removal and incarceration, caused cultural trauma for these much-disrupted family-based bands. War and disease also severely reduced Pai populations between conquest and the 1930s, when the population began to rise again.[70] Estimated at over 350 people prior to conquest, only 106 Havasupai survived a series of epidemics from 1900 to 1906. Yet by 1968 there were 428 members and in 2006 some 650.[71]

One of the major Pai responses to the trauma and stresses of conquest was religious in nature. Many turned to the messianic Ghost Dance, a new ritual that swept through several western tribes in 1889. The *Mohave County Miner* reported that the dance frightened many local white settlers, as it consisted of hundreds of white-painted Pai gathered together and dancing for days on end. Chief Cherum participated in some of these dances. He and many others believed the dance would restore life to Indians who had died in past years, bring the game back, and make the white people disappear. More traditional Havasupai resisted the new ritual.[72]

Christian education and schools among the Havasupai and Walapai began in the late nineteenth-century, and there are regular reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from the vocational teachers in charge of Havasupai and Walapai education. The canyon-dwellers were also visited by wandering miners from the main Grand Canyon, who established a mine below the village and waterfalls and apparently forced some of the Havasupai to work

there."[47] In 1881 the Havasupai were visited by Elliot Coues who reported that "we reached the wonderful blue spring above described and the wonderful *rancherias* of the Indians."[48] In the same year, a military party from Ft. Whipple in Prescott visited Chief Navajo. Lt. Price wrote at that time,

> Navajo, the Supai Captain, was at first nervous, excited, and very suspicious - fearful that an effort might be made to remove them to some other reservation. They subsequently regained confidence and said that all they wanted was to be allowed to retain the little land they cultivated; that they were self-sustaining, and that they would cause no expense or trouble to the government. I assured them that our intention was to locate and set aside for them all the arable land they had ever cultivated and to secure for them all the water they had ever used for irrigation from any encroachment of the whites."[49]

The following year, 1882, Southwestern anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing published (in the present tense) a description of the people he visited in Havasu Canyon:

> The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fiber. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves variously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three and four times. Necklaces of shell and beads of bone, from which seashells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are marks of prosperity. A bow-guard of leather or rawhide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings, of bright red cactus thorns, complete the list of ornaments, the later being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable. The faces of both sexes are painted with thick red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed, varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with a little wooden spatula, under the lower eyelid, and from the underlip downward across the chin...the Havasupai produce immense quantities of cloth, material, watertight basketwork, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, ponchos, coats, and leggings, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves."

A photographer, Ben Wittick, visited Supai in 1885, carrying his equipment down a rope ladder to get there.[50] General Crook apparently briefly visited Cataract Canyon in 1885

"to settle a little Indian trouble between the Havasupai and the Moqui [Hopi]."[6] George Wharton James visited Havasu Canyon several times between 1899 and 1912, the first time with William Wallace Bass as a guide, a man who already knew many of the Havasupai because he and his family lived at the Grand Canyon.[7] In 1900 James published *In and Around the Grand Canyon*, which included a chapter on the Havasupai, with a photograph of one of our narrators, the headman Manakaja, with whom he conversed (see cover). "No people on earth have a more picturesque home," James wrote. "Rugged grandeur, combined with quiet beauty; flowing water with ponderous rocky walls; blue sky and blue water; green trees and red precipices...."[8]

The early historian of Arizona, Thomas Farish, included a chapter on the Havasupai in a work published in 1918, but his was not a first-hand description. He relied heavily on Cushing. The photographer Edward Curtis visited the tribe in the late nineteenth-century, publishing a slim volume of photographs in 1908 called *The Havasupai*. Very few other white people visited Supai between 187.5-1918, leaving few written records.

Leslie Spier was the next major non-Indian visitor of note. He visited Supai three times: the first in August 1918, during which he collected material ethnographic specimens for and was paid by the American Museum, known later as the American Museum of Natural History, based in New York. From August-November 1919, he returned as a William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellow of Columbia University, also partly funded by the Museum. He made a third trip in August-September 1921, funded in part by the Southwest Society of New

[7] William Wallace Bass came to the Grand Canyon in 1884 for health reasons. He spent more than forty years living at the Canyon and during that time did some prospecting, worked an asbestos mine, got married and became the first person of European descent to raise a family at the Canyon.

York. His wife, Erna Gunther, went to Havasupai in 1921, collecting tales and "incidental material."[xv] Spier described the inspiration for his studies thus:

> ...[The Havasupai] have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know little of them today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Cones in 1881 and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described The Nation of the Willows at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study."

Leslie Spier's first visit was announced in the Scientific American in 1919 as a "unique experience of observing a truly primitive people living at this very time not in the heart of darkest Africa but right here within the boundaries of the United States, the little-known Havasupai Indians of Arizona. These Indians are still what may be called a savage tribe and in most particulars are not much further advanced than our remote ancestors of the Stone Age..."[xvi] Apologies now, of course, for the subordinating language used then, but that time's characterizations help to contextualize Spier's fieldwork.

Spier reported an almost idyllic, paradisiacal situation, as some later Anglo authors have also described Supai. In 1919 he reported that "here great fields of corn, beans, squash and fruit including the fig are raised. Wild seeds and cactus are gathered on the surrounding mountains in which deer, antelope, mountain sheep and wild turkey abound." He said he enjoyed delicious meals of mashed green corn and squash blossoms. He also reported that the Havasupai usually had two or three sweat lodges going at any one time, enjoyed making music with drums and rattles, and that they gambled with dice and had dances.[xvii] He collected examples of Havasupai-made drums, rattles, bows, arrows, rabbit sticks and rabbit rope, several types of baskets, a Tizon Brownware pot, gaming pieces and feather headdresses.

These items are still in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.[1]

In conjunction with his fellow Bousian Elsie Clews Parsons, Spier published in 1922 a chapter called *Havasupai Days*. It is a non-academic piece, but scientifically informed by his ethnographic research. It is a beautiful and imaginative description of Havasupai life as he saw it then, including descriptions of Sinyella, Manakaja and their families:

> Lanso is a hedonist of seven. Day dawns late down in Cataract Canyon, but even spring nights in Arizona are chill, and one's own soft-woven bedding, cedar-bark mat and rabbit-skin blanket, suffuse a warmth one would not willingly forego. But, 'Lanso,' whispers grandfather Sinyella, 'up and run toward the daylight. Run, that you grow straight and hasty. And heed me: take your torch and touch it to your elbows and your wrists that you may never be rheumatic as I, your relative. Oh yes, and as you turn back, fling the torch behind you, turn once again and snatch it up, that your memory may be strong too, that you may remember quickly a forgotten deer charm when you go to hunt.'

In Spier's story, when Lanso gets back from running up the canyon, his aunt, Round-one, Hat's wife, has food for him: "a stew of ground corn and big-horn meat, little loaves of corn meal tied in husks and baked in embers, sweet mescal juice, and salt from the cave far down the canyon."[sic] *Havasupai Days* includes family vignettes of hunting, the sweat lodge, dancing, singing, and telling stories:

> Moonlight spread across the clearing as they danced: the eastern cliffs stood sharply black against the sky. The song ended, and the group around the pole melted away. Sinyella rose in his place among the watching families. 'My own land, hear me. Let all of us remain alive always. I want to live well always. Ground, hear me.' He pressed to the rocks, the ground, the creek: he told the young men to work hard, to dance well, to not be quarrelsome, as chiefs always spoke in the hill between dances.—He had made himself a chief. 'True, his grandfather had been a chief, like his fathers before him. But his own father was never chief; no one would call him that; he was a good-for-nothing. 'Now when I die,' he thought, 'my two oldest sons will share it, as they will my fields. I have taught them both to talk like chiefs.'—Sinyella smiled drowsily at the firelit faces: yes, all his own people. At his side he heard Lanso, 'Grandfather, tell us just one story.

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[1] Some 127 photographs of these items have been digitized and are available for viewing online at: http://anthro.amnh.org. Search the 'Collections Database' of the Anthropology Department of the American Museum of Natural History > North American Ethnographic Collection>Southwest>Havasupai.

> Don't refuse this time; the snakes will not bother now, it is winter.' Sinyella sat back where the children were listening, lying in the darkness. 'Wolf and Coyote lived far to the west close to the ocean. Wolf said to Coyote, 'This country holds no game, no deer, no antelope....'"

Spier's *Ethnography of the Havasupai*, published in 1928, remains the definitive description of the Havasupai as he encountered them, some forty years, or roughly two generations, after conquest. He spent several weeks on several occasions with Sinyella and Manakaja, ate with them, and got to know their families. They were in their early 70s. Because of their extraordinarily isolated location, the Havasupai maintained more of their aboriginal language, story-telling, and singing culture than any other Yuman-speaking tribe. Spier states that the elders he spoke to were thoroughly conversant with every aspect of their traditional culture.

When Spier visited them, Sinyella and Manakaja were elders who remembered what life was like before the white people came. This would have been unheard-of in 1918 for tribes further East, West, or South where Spanish and American conquests had occurred between the 17th and mid-19th centuries. Spier's storytellers, the ones whose voices are published in this collection, were adolescents playing in the canyon in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the wars, born and raised before any disruption by white people. A man who was 70 in 1920 would have been born in 1850, and the Hualapai Wars did not break out until 1865. Sinyella's and Manakaja's words are presented here exactly as Spier and Gunther transcribed the translated rendition down in Supai.

PAI CHIEFTAINSHIP: THE WORLD OF SINYELLA AND MANAKAJA

In pre-contact times the Havasupai and Hualapai were probably merely distinct bands who saw themselves as separate within a larger tribal grouping, whereas the Yavapai

were a separate tribe."[xv] Despite high levels of mutual linguistic intelligibility, similarities in ceramic, stone tool and architectural styles, and even similarities in their cultural religious narratives,[xvi] many Yuman groups were traditional enemies: the Yavapai and the Havasupai/Hualapai of upland Arizona; the Mohave and Quechan of the upper Colorado, and the Cocopah and Maricopa of the lower river. "Warfare," comments Laylander, "was deeply imprinted in the ceremonial behavior of the Colorado River groups."[xvii] Dobyns and Euler even refer to an amity/enmity 'system' among Colorado River tribes."[xviii] Other Yuman-speaking peoples were amicable trading partners, exchanging, for example, seeds, pine nuts, suede and antlers."[xix] Despite this perhaps culturally useful enemy/friend system, all Upland Yumans shared variants of these same myths."[xx] This curious antipathy between cultural groups as similar as the Yavapai and Havasupai has given rise to a lively debate in the anthropological literature regarding the very definition of a "tribe" or a "chief" and what evidence can be used to analyze their structure and authority.

Although Robert Euler and Henry Dobyns disagree with Timothy Beatz about the nature of Upland Pai chieftainship, both emphasize that landscape elements and natural resources such as springs formed a major part of the Upland Yuman self-concept and world view."[xxi] Competition for such resources probably contributed to the antagonisms between the Yavapai and the other Upland Pai, though the stories themselves give very interpersonal reasons for this traditional enemy relationship (see story "4. The Separation of the Yavapai and Havasupai").

One of the traditional Pai subtribes was even named the "Yavapai Fighters" and largely existed on the border between the two groups, the vast, mostly dry Black Forest of scrub juniper that stretches from near Walnut Creek to near Ashfork. Other bands' names were distinctly regional: there were the *Ko'saadva Kopaya* or Plateau People, the *Witoov M'aka Pa'a* or Middle Mountain People, the *Havesoova Pai* or People at the Blue Green Water, and the *Ha Kasa Pa'a* or Pine-Clad Mountain People. The *Hualapai* (*Hwal Pa'a*) were the people of the Big (Ponderosa) Pines. All were Upland Yuman, culturally almost identical to the Yavapai further to the south from whom they were distinguished primarily by mutual and deadly antagonism, as well as some dialect and accent differences.[xxxi]

Subtribes had specific bands, some of them enumerated and named by nineteenth-century military observers. The size of a Pai band varied, but consisted of a camp, or *ranchería*, of loosely related families. Key resources, rather than regions, inspired the band names. For example, the Middle Mountain people subtribe had two named bands just prior to conquest; the Yavapai Fighter subtribe had four; the Plateau People subtribe had six band names – Grass Springs, Clay Springs, Hackberry Springs, Milkweed Springs, Peach Springs and Pine Springs.[xxxii]

Braatz' research indicated that Pai aboriginal structure was less formal than Euler and Dobyns had implied in their ground-breaking study, *Walapai Yuma's People*.[xxxiii] Euler and Dobyns insisted on the existence of formal subtribes made up of family bands, whereas Braatz concluded that formalized structures and headmen with cross-band leadership emerged only as a response to conquest pressures. Braatz accused Euler and Dobyns of supporting a 'coercive' understanding of Pai tribal authority, whereas they in their response

say "No non-Athapascan native leader in Arizona Territory possessed coercive powers. All led by example and persuasion."[xxv]

The argument bears upon the current collection of stories in as much as Sinyella and Manakaja, our narrators, were referred to as "chiefs" by Spier, who maintained that the title was more or less inherited. Yet Braatz rejects the idea of hereditary chieftainship, maintaining that leadership was instead based exclusively on speaking abilities combined with war skills: "Ethnographic evidence suggests that before 1875 Pai leaders emerged based on speaking and fighting ability, not on heredity..."[xxvi] He quotes non-Indian diaries as evidence for this, and much of his other Upland Pai evidence is based primarily on the ethnography of the Yavapai, who were more and earlier exposed to conquest pressures than the secluded Havasupai. Braatz' generalization must be modified in the light of Spier's research, and in some ways the both the Euler/Dobyns and the Braatz research are overstated. Neither fully analyses Spier's early work, which contains elements of both positions.

Manakaja and Sinyella were not the only headmen, or 'chiefs' that Spier encountered. Although "chief" now sounds liked an overly Anglicised word, Spier used it frequently while struggling to describe the leadership he observed. His *Ethnography* says that in the 1918-1921 period six co-extant Havasupai 'chiefs' led a population of 177 individuals that were organized into 42 camps or family units. "Chieftainship," Spier writes, "is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman... Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakaja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions."[xxvii]

Although Spier clearly states that "chieftainship is hereditary among the Havasupai,"[xxxvii] discusses numerous cases, and includes detailed and convincing genealogical charts dating back before 1875 as evidence, he also states that "the principle is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit the social position he makes for himself by inheritance but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognize that he has inherited the status."[xxxviii] In others words, inheritance was conditional upon the man proving himself, and not automatic. Spier gives several examples where sons did not inherit, but the status went to another more capable relative, or involved an inheritance pattern from maternal uncles instead of fathers.

In this matter of governance Spier has clearly come across something he does not fully understand, for he also says of the chieftainships: "it is not clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership."[xxxix] Chieftainship was not a position, but an embodiment of functions and its functions consisted "largely in giving advice and admonitions....This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief."[xl] (Other Yuman-speaking groups, like the Cocopah and Diegueño, also had advisory/admonishing chiefs.[xli]) Ninety years ago Spier spent a considerable amount of time observing our narrators, Manakaja and Sinyella, and the other chiefs, carry out their functions. He concluded:

> Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms and their property. If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would repeat their admonitions. 'Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will

> help you...'" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way...Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions, such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweatlodges. The advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief. It is not clear that there is any other function besides giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakaja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders. Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief....Captain Navajo instructed Manakaja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakaja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way."[xciii]

The six chiefs of Spier's time were distinguishable. "The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of 'big chiefs' and 'little chiefs'...Jess [Chikapanega] differentiated between them by *múlvák·êjá* and *pagámûlvåkåvatéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man."[xciv] The big chief is the most prominent man of the village, but the others have equal functions. The six chiefs Spier found in 1918-1921 were: Manakaja (big chief) and five "little chiefs" - Captain Jim, Watahomidja (Watahomigie), Panamida, Big Jim, and Sinyella. Panamida's and Supai Charley's father, Wasakwivama, was big chief before Navajo, who was from a different family. Navajo earned his position through brave actions, thus eclipsing the former family, and passing the big headmanship to his nephew Manakaja.[3] When the Havasupai concluded a formal peace agreement with the Yavapai at Oraibi, both Wasakwivama and Navajo participated as headmen. Spier includes early descriptions of each of these tribal leaders:

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[3] Sinyella's son Dean married Panamida's daughter Fannie (Spier, 1928).

> Manakaja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually 'on show' but far from pompous. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the young men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Wanahomaiya, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluid talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamaida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances.'

The Havasupai style of chieftainship evolved over centuries of adapting to a vast desert environment in which at certain times of the year different families migrated to different resource places. It was dignified, industrious, and not coercive; verbal prowess in repeating the stories and in encouraging, teaching and admonishing the community was prized.

In prehistoric times, several cultural meanings might have been simultaneously transmitted when the stories were told, or when songs related to the stories were sung. Specific characters might be related to specific stars, and therefore to specific times of year, which might be related to specific foods, hunting-times or harvest-times. The stories imparted lessons for everyday life and behavior, including guidelines for specific familial relationships as well as information about spirit animals. Knowledge of and sacred associations with the natural landscape, such as the Pacific Ocean, the San Francisco Peaks, Red Butte, and other formations, is also present. The stories contain information about who you could trade with, and who was an enemy. They give clues about how to construct tools like bows, arrows, and houses. Shamanic power might be invoked through certain kinds of winter recitations. When Sinyella told Spier his version of the *Yavapai Origin Tale*, he added at the end that "The Yavapai man said one must not tell this story; if he did it would rain all the time (last

paragraph, Yavapai Origin Tale, this collection)."[xvi] In 1882 even the twice-yearly migrations between the canyon and the plateau were explained in terms of these myths:

> 'But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique; hence, only during summer do we live in the home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.'[xvii]

This collection of 48 stories represents the best and most accurate rendition we have of the prehistoric cultural library carried in the minds of the headmen and elders, who every winter passed on this multi-layered information to the young of each generation, no doubt adding to their chances of survival. A strong oral tradition was no doubt an evolutionary advantage for a migratory desert hunting and farming people.

Telling these stories was and is, for traditional Upland Pai and many Riverine Yuman peoples, an act that invokes power. All Pai groups state that myths are told on winter evenings, while the people sit around a campfire."[xviii] Morris maintains that

> the myths are so powerful that their telling requires special care to prevent injury. The Havasupai say that 'a myth must be completed the same evening or the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way.' A similar crippling affliction is said to occur if Northeastern Yavapai listeners do not 'get up before daybreak, run to the streams and wash their faces' the morning after listening to a myth. The Southeastern Yavapai state that after hearing the Dying God story 'listeners would rise and shake themselves for good luck...it was thought that if myths are told during the summer, 'spiders, snakes and bears [would] hear the stories and bite people. In winter these creatures are dormant and do not hear.'[xix]

[i] Havasupai Tribal Website, 2006; Hirst, 2006: 241.

[ii] Matthias Brenzinger, Language Diversity Endangered. *Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs* 181. Berlin and New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 2007:101.

[iii] Hinton and Watahomigie, 1984; confirmed in author's personal conversations with tribal elders in 2008.

[iv] Morris, Clyde, 1974:2, quoting Gifford, 1933:348.

[v] Informal discussion with Rex Tilousi, former tribal chairman, June 2006.

[vi] Informal discussion with Stanley Manakaja, former tribal chairman, February 2008.

[vii] Clyde Morris, 1974:2.

[viii] Alberta Manakaja, 2008.

[ix] Author's personal recollection.

[x] See United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities Working Group on Indigenous Populations 19-30 July 1993. First International Conference on the Cultural & Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Whakatana, 12-18 June 1993 Aotearoa, New Zealand, The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples. URL: http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/IKS/mataatua.html. In the case of these stories, consultations about their publication with various tribal members, elders and the tribal council were conducted over a three-year period, ending when the tribal council gave formal permission for publication.

[xi] Benedict, 1924, quoted in Parezo, 1993.

[xii] A.L. Kroeber, in Parsons, 1922: 8.

[xiii] Shaul and Hill, 1998.

[xiv] R.C. Euler, The Prehistory of the Grand Canyon, Ch. 1, this volume.

[xv] Native Languages of the Americas, n.d.

[xvi] Cook, 2003.

[xvii] Author's personal conversation with Yavapai elder, Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe, Prescott, Arizona.

[xviii] Kendall, 1983; Langdon, 1996; Campbell, 1997.

[xix] Hinton and Watahomigie, 1984: 6.

[xx] Abram, 1996.

[xxi] Smithson and Euler, 1994.

[xxii] Morris, 1974:4.

[xxiii] Abram, 1996.

[xxiv] Abram, 1996.

[xxv] Morris, 1974: 61.

[xxvi] A.F. Whiting, undated mss., Ethnography, 161. NAU Special Collections.

[xxvii] Hirst, 2006.

[xxviii] Hirst, 2006: 21.

[xxix] Spier, 1928; Whiting, misc. unpublished manuscripts in NAU Special Collections.

[xxx] Morris, 1974: 58.

[xxxi] Spier, 1928.

[xxxii] Whiting, n.d., manuscript in NAU Special Collections.

[xxxiii] Whiting, "Havasupai Indian astronomy and calendrical observations," n.d., 29-31, 117; Spier, 1928.

[xxxiv] Spier, 1928: 287.

[xxxv] Whiting, "The Fixed Stars," n.d., 74.

[xxxvi] Smithson and Euler, 1994:3-19.

[xxxvii] Author's personal recollection of a field lecture, 1991.

[xxxviii] Spier, 1928: 278.

[xxxix] Spier, 1928: 278.

[xl] Spier, 1928; Smithson and Euler, 1964.

[xli] Smithson and Euler, 1964; 1994.

[xlii] Cushing, 1882.

[xliii] Cushing, 1882.

[xliv] Spier, 1928.

[xlv] Abram, 1996: 7-9.

[xlvi] Whiting, Ethnography, n.d., Tables 13.1 and 13.2. NAU Special Collections.

[xlvii] Coues, 1900.

[xlviii] Indian Claims Commission, 1968:226-229.

[xlix] Dobyns and Euler, 1967:49.

[l] Dobyns and Euler, 1967; Dever, 2000.

[li] Dobyns and Euler, 1967: 42; A.L. Kroeber, 1935.

[lii] Messersmith, 2002.

[liii] Dobyns and Euler, 1967; 46.

[liv] Jeff Scott, unpublished summary of the Hualapai Wars, found online at http://jeff.scott.tripod.com/indian.html and on Wikipedia at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hualapai.
See also an account of Beales Springs, http://www.citlink.net/~mocohist/museum/beale.htm.

[lv] Sperry and Myers, 2001. An excellent overview of nineteenth-century US-Pai warfare can be found in Peter Cozzens' *The Struggle for Apacheria (Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890).* It includes Lt. Price's first-hand account of his 1881 visit to Chief Navajo, the uncle of Manakaja, one of the narrators of these stories.

[lvi] *We Are Hualapai.* Azcentral.com, 2007. http://www.azcentral.com/culturesaz/amindian/tribes/hualapai_amind.html

[lvii] Dobyns and Euler, 1967: 45.

[lviii] Hirst, 2006: 93.

[lix] Dobyns, 1989.

[lx] Jacobs, 1999; Roberts, 2006.

[lxi] Dobyns and Euler, 1967; see also, Arrieta, 1992.

[lxii] Modern Havasupai tribal member remembering her grandparents' stories about this mine.

[lxiii] Coues, 1900.

[lxiv] Cozzens, 2001: 229. Quoting from a report Lt. William R. Price submitted to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Arizona, from Ft. Whipple Barracks, Prescott, July 1, 1881.

[lxv] Cushing, 1882: 551-553.

[lxvi] Broder, 1990.

[lxvii] Cozzens, 2001: 447, quoting from Henry W. Daly's recollections, 1933.

[lxviii] James, 1900.

[lxix] Spier, 1928:83.

[lxx] Spier, 1928:83.

[lxxi] Scientific American, 1919: 323-324.

[lxxii] Scientific American, 1919.

[lxxiii] Spier, 1922, p. 183.

[lxxiv] Spier, 1922, p. 187.

[lxxv] The Havasupai and Hualapai were apparently two separate bands of the same tribe in preconquest, precontact times. Euler and Dobyns, 1970: 73.

[lxxvi] Gifford, 1933: 348. After examining Spier's notes Gifford wrote that Havasupai mythology 'virtually duplicates' the Northeastern Yavapai mythology, not unexpected for co-lingual groups, but less expected for traditional enemy groups.

[lxxvii] Laylander, 2006.

[lxxviii] Dobyns and Euler, 1999.

[lxxix] Wilken-Robertson, 1999.

[lxxx] Morris, 1974: 8.

[lxxxi] Dobyns and Euler, 1970; 1999; Braatz, 1998; 1999a; 1999b.

[lxxxii] Dobyns and Euler, 1970.

[lxxxiii] Dobyns and Euler, 1970.

[lxxxiv] Braatz, 1998; 1999a; 1999b.

[lxxxv] Euler and Dobyns, *Pai Cultural Change*, 1999.

[lxxxvi] Braatz, 1999: 138.

[lxxxvii] Spier, 1928: 237.

[lxxxviii] Spier, 1928: 254.

[lxxxix] Spier, 1928: 242-243.

[xc] Spier, 1928: 237.

[xci] Spier, 1928: 235.

[xcii] Spier, 1928.

[xciii] Spier, 1928: 236.

[xciv] Spier, 1928: 235.

[xcv] Spier, 1928: 237.

[xcvi] The fact that Sinyella, a Havasupai, was telling the tale that the given him by a Yavapai man in the 1880s, when he had been told never to tell the tale or else it would never cease raining, implies almost a trick, a taking of an enemy's power. Yet he tells it still with an implied incompleteness, as did the original Yavapai narrator, which might indicate he is responsibly averting disaster. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the degree to which the centuries-old enmity between the two Yuman groups still obtained in the 1880s, and to what degree a traditional corporate enmity actually affected the interpersonal relations of immediate post-conquest individuals. Cushing praises the Havasupai Chief Navajo for his decisiveness when he quickly killed a Yavapai refugee from San Carlos in order to avert U.S. anger (Cushing, 1882). Yet Sinyella says *his* father, who was the head chief before Navajo (father of Manakaja), whose name is rendered as either Wa Sgwiivma or Wasakwivama, concluded an official peace with the Yavapai in the mid nineteenth century at Oraibi. Both Navajo and Wasakwivama were there.

[xcvii] Cushing, 1882: 559.

[xcviii] Morris, 1974: 5.

[xcix] Morris, 1974: 5.