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**YUMAN TRIBES
OF THE GILA RIVER**

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away," and more emphatically *gěcpa'm*, "go away!" Pups were trained for hunting, but since they were not used to hunt deer, this was most casual. Objects were thrown for them to fetch, so that they would catch rabbits and bring them on call. Horse meat was eaten but not dog, "because the dog is a person."¹⁸

Dogs were named for their appearance. A dog with a gray nose was called *aucăki'n*, "fire poker," because he resembled the burnt end of a poker. A dog with a white patch around his neck was *ɣama'lgwexa'nök*, "white collar"; a woolly little dog was *mule'l*, "bushy"; a black one with white spots over the eyes was *hiðá'kgwícämpö'p*, "four eyes."

Doves were kept as pets. They were brought by the Papago and were kept in long, cylindrical cages made of tules. The cage was about three feet long by one in diameter; the tules were mounted on a willow hoop at each end, with other tules woven through them at intervals along the side. This sort of cage was called *ákwi'k*, "woven, twined." Mocking birds (*kwícila'*) were also kept as pets, because they woke their owners in the morning and because they were dreamed of.

Young birds were caught and reared, so that each year their feathers might be plucked. These were mostly hawks; rarely buzzards and crows. A cage, about four feet high, was made of willow limbs thrust into the ground close together and bent over to be tied at the top. This lacked horizontal ribs. No nest was made inside, but simply a stick for a perch. Such a cage was *gacwla'n,yiva' tciwü'm*, "built for [a particular species of large] hawks."

FISHING

Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma gave more attention to fishing than might have been expected. This is especially astonishing in the case of the Maricopa since their semi-desert habitat with its seasonably variable streams, containing at best little water, would seem most unprofitable for fishermen. There is no question, however, that even for them fish held second place beside jackrabbits in providing flesh. As between Halchidhoma and

¹⁸ See p. 254.

Maricopa, the former, situated on the banks of the Colorado, were undoubtedly greater fishermen.¹⁹ The information which follows relates specifically to the Halchidhoma in their Colorado River home. Maricopa habits were identical.

Native statements of the amount of fishing are borne out by Kino, who wrote of the middle Gila (February, 1699): "All its inhabitants are fishermen, and have many nets and other tackle with which they fish all the year, sustaining themselves with abundant fish and with their maize, beans, and calabashes, etc. . . . In some places they gave us so much and so very good fish that we gave it as a ration to the men, just as beef is given where it is plentiful."²⁰

The Maricopa took fish mostly in the Santa Cruz slough at the northern foot of the Sierra Estrella. They also fished about the confluence of the Gila and Salt, and up the Salt to the vicinity of Phoenix. This point was, of course, close to enemy territory, hence many men were killed while fishing. Fish were few in the Gila except in times of flood. The fish of these streams were chiefly chub, a soft fleshed, bony fish. The Halchidhoma on the Colorado also caught a very large fish, which may have been the "Colorado salmon."

Three methods were commonly employed for fishing on the Colorado. A small net like a rabbit net (and like it called ca'a'k) was used when the river was high and muddy so that one could not see fish in it. It was held spread out between the hands, aided by a little stick at each side threaded through the meshes, so that the fisherman might reach down and catch at a chance. Another method was by diving to look into beaver holes and the like under the bank where fishes took refuge when it was cold. One man after another dove down, catching the fish in his hands. A third was with large nets (called davi'tc), six to eight feet long and a yard deep. These were very valuable since it was hard to spin so much cotton cord. A pole was fastened at each end, so that it could be held vertically by two men who dragged it through shallow water. Several such nets might be dragged side by side. Other men would walk through the water scaring the

¹⁹ The Mohave also fished more than they hunted (Kroeber, *Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave*, p. 276).

²⁰ Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 195, 197.

fish into the nets. The Maricopa used nets like these in the Salt River. There can be little doubt that the Halchidhoma used fish scoops like Mohave and Maricopa.

The fish scoop of the Maricopa was like that of the Mohave²¹ but smaller (Pl. IV, *e*). An elliptical hoop of willow, three feet by eighteen inches, was provided with a series of longitudinal willow twigs bound to it. A long handle was fastened transversely to the hoop. A mate to this was a conical basket of willow twigs slung on the fisherman's back by a forehead band of rolled willow bark (Pl. IV, *d*). In form and construction it resembled the travelling mortar (Pl. XIV, *c*), having a willow hoop to which the twigs were bound. These were also bound together at the point and fastened on the side by several rows of twining. The small fish caught with the scoop were thrown over the shoulder into this basket. The scoop was called kwisō'tc; the basket kŭ-pārō'c.

Spearing was unknown to the Halchidhoma and shooting fish not regularly employed. When the large "salmon" were caught, the net was almost torn to pieces. Then all the men joined in capturing it. It might be shot when driven into shallow water. Maricopa also shot fish in the shallow sloughs of their country. Such arrows did not have retrieving lines attached.

Young boys fished with cotton lines attached to the ends of long poles. Their hooks were the curved spines of the barrel cactus, heated and bent. A hole was drilled in the butt to take the line. These were baited with worms. The lines were further furnished with floats of wood or pumice, said usually to have been crescentic, like one collected (Pl. XII, *b*). This, which had been found in a local ruin, was of a light vesicular stone and had been drilled through the middle so that the points stood vertically.²²

Such boats as they had on the Colorado for fishing and ferryage were merely rafts formed of bundles of dry tules. My informant did not know how they were shaped. Such rafts might hold ten men and their nets. Sometimes an unshaped log was used: the Maricopa also used this. Catamarans (kopō'p) were

²¹ Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 737.

²² Washington State Museum, No. 2-11926.

also made for use in high water: these were two logs side by side with sticks tied across them. They used their hands for paddling and long punt poles. The Halchidhoma, like the Mohave, also ferried babies across the Colorado in large pots. These people were good swimmers; the Maricopa were not.

Fish were usually eaten fresh. The excess of a day's catch might be half broiled and hung to dry from the house beams. But no attempt was made to keep them longer than a week. Whether this was because such soft-fleshed fish cannot be successfully dried, or for want of knowledge or interest, I do not know.

Fish were either broiled or boiled with corn. In any event, they were always cooked by men, who served their wives before themselves. No reason was assigned for this, other than that it was so strongly customary as to be obligatory. Men never ate fish before their wives; when the wives had had enough they called their husbands.

Broiling was done by two methods. In one, the fish was always cut open along its right side near the backbone. If a man cut it on the opposite side, they made fun of him; told him to go back and grind his wheat (that is, that he was womanly, for he did not know how). The intestines cleaned away, the fish was spread open on the hot ground. Burning sticks were then propped over stones set around the fish so as to broil the upper side. All fish were treated in this fashion. They were broiled in this way very quickly. The other method consisted of cutting the fish along the belly, but not spreading the flanks. Again the coals were raked away, the fish laid side by side, and covered with ashes on which coals were heaped. It took all morning to cook them in this fashion.

They were boiled with salt. This took half a day. When done, finely ground corn, mixed with water to a thin gruel, was added to the pot of fish. The cook, always a man, stirred this, not round and round, but by inserting his stirrer down close to the sides of the vessel and lifting the fish. After the corn was added, another half hour was required to complete cooking. The stirrer used was a stick eighteen inches long, one and a half inches in

diameter, and wedge-shaped at one end. It will be noted that scales, skin, bones and all went into the mess. In fact, the enormous number of small bones these fish contained gave them no concern at all.

Shellfish and crayfish were probably not eaten, if they occur in these waters at all. My informants knew of no mollusks nearby and professed ignorance of the Colorado.

MEALS AND DOMESTIC HABITS

Domestic duties began before sunrise. A woman rose and immediately began her preparations for the morning meal, the cooking utensils being conveniently at hand near her head. (They slept with their heads to the east: these articles were kept near the doorway which was on the east side of the house.) She then went to fetch water sufficient for the day's supply, carrying a large pot on her head balanced on a cloth ring. Each family had several large vessels for storing water, mounted on branching posts erected under the shade. Fetching water was a feminine task alone: they always made a point of having the storage jars filled before the sun rose.

Cooking was done under the shade, with which each house was provided, in the summer, but in winter anywhere in the open. If need be they erected a little screen of arrowweed stalks thrust into the ground to keep off wind and dust. They only cooked inside the dwelling if forced to by bitter cold. There, as outdoors, the fire was not confined, as in a pit nor walled in. Cooking pots were supported on three stones. Today, a little trench is dug for the fire, the pot being supported on several iron rods or even green sticks set across, but I was assured this was not aboriginal. Clay cooking pots and bowls, ladles of clay and wood, mush stirrers, and baskets were the utensils. For a people primarily pottery using, they put an exaggerated value on the convenience of baskets (the shallow bowl baskets obtained from the Pima) and held it highly awkward to have to do without. Stone boiling was unknown. The mush stirrer was three or four arrowweeds twined together near one end (Pl. XIV, *d*).