The Social Organization of the Western Apache

Greenville Goodwin
The
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
of the WESTERN APACHE
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Grenville Goodwin

With a Preface by
KEITH H. BASSO

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To

THE WESTERN APACHE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was the author's wish that all those who helped to make this work possible should be thanked with the deepest gratitude. He wished to express his thanks to Dean Byron Cummings, formerly of the University of Arizona, for his consistent help and encouragement, and under whose direction this work was carried out. Thanks are due to Dr. Leslie Spier, Dr. John Provinse, and Dr. Morris Opler for their suggestions and criticisms; to Dr. Harry Hoijer for his invaluable help with the linguistic material in this report; to Mr. Harry T. Getty for securing certain page references; and to Dr. Fred Eggan for his generous assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press and for his many valuable suggestions.

The author wished to thank Richard Bylas and Charley Sago of Bylas, Arizona, and Laban Jones and Neil Buck of Calva, Arizona—all Apaches through whose efforts much of this work was accomplished.

The author was much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Knowles, of Geronimo, Arizona, with whom he lived during the period that he was engaged in his field work at Bylas.

The author wished to express his deep appreciation to Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole for his kind interest in this work.

In addition, given here are the names and affiliations of Apaches worked with in gathering material for this volume. There may be some omissions and errors, but all those to whom thanks are due are meant to be included in this list.

**ALSUS**: Western White Mountain band.

**Bonney**: Eastern White Mountain band.

**CusTIN BREAD**: fifth semiband, Southern Tonto; old man, lived at San Carlos, where he was one of the early interpreters; was educated at Carlisle; served as a scout. Died, 1932.

**George Buck**: old man, head of family group, still living at Bylas.

**Neil Buck**: Western White Mountain band; interpreter, middle-aged, married, with children; still living at Calva.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

HENRY BURDETT: third semiband, Southern Tonto; old man, lives at Payson.
DAVID BURNETT: Western White Mountain band; still lives at San Carlos.
FRANCIS DRAKE: Eastern White Mountain band; was sixty-eight when worked with; served in the United States Army, Savannah, Pensacola, 1893–95, with company of fifty White Mountain men. Famous medicine man. Is now about seventy-seven; still living at Bylas.
SAMUEL GEORGE: Eastern White Mountain band; old man, lives at East Fork; served as a scout.
GEORGE GRAY: Eastern White Mountain band; middle-aged, still living at Bylas.
JOE HOFFMAN: Canyon Creek band, Cibecue group; old man when worked with; lived at San Carlos, where he was judge at one time. Died, 1936.
WALTER HOOKE: Arivaipa band; lives at San Carlos.
HENRY IRVING: sixth semiband, Southern Tonto; old man, served as scout in Navaho country; lives at Payson.
RILEY LEWIS: Western White Mountain band.
DAVID LONGSTREET: Eastern White Mountain band; old man, lived at Bylas; served in police and as scout. Died, 1933.
EVA LONGSTREET: Eastern White Mountain band; lives at Bylas.
WILLY LUPE: Carrizo band, Cibecue group; old man living at Oak Creek, where he is headman, like chief.
GILA MOSES: first semiband, Southern Tonto; was an old man and blind when worked with; lived at Bylas; was medicine man. Died, 1936.
HARVEY NASHKINE: Western White Mountain band; old man, lived at Bylas; parents were Mexican captives; served as scout. Died, 1939.
JOSEPH NEWTON: adopted Eastern White Mountain band; lives at Bylas.
CHARLEY NOKEYE: fifth semiband, Southern Tonto; old man, lived at San Carlos; served as a scout; subchief; traveled on his own among Mohave, Walapai, Navaho. Died, 1936.
ALBERT NOLAN: died, 1940.
CHARLEY NORMAN: Mormon Lake band, Northern Tonto; old man, served as scout many times. Died, 1934.
Peaches: Cibecue band, Cibecue group; old man lived at Cibecue; went with wife's people to Mexico, 1882. Died, 1933.
ANNA PRICE: Eastern White Mountain band; daughter of Chief Diablo; once captured and taken to Washington; equivalent to headwoman, very highly respected; very old woman when worked with, blind; about one hundred when she died in 1937.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thomas Riley: Carrizo band, Cibecue group; still living at White River.

John Roberson: Eastern White Mountain band; middle-aged, lives at Bylas.

John Rope: Western White Mountain band; old man, still living at Bylas, where he is equivalent to chief; very influential; large family; father was a chief; served as scout and in police; knows much of old culture.

John Sippy: Pinal band, San Carlos group; old man, still living at Bylas.

Mrs. Andrew Stanley: Eastern White Mountain band; old woman, lived at Bylas. Was once captured by Geronimo. Died, 1939.

Emory Starr: first semiband, Southern Tonto. Died, 1940.

John Taylor: Cibecue band, Cibecue group; elderly man when worked with; like a chief, much respected; lived at Cibecue. Has died.

Palmer Valor: Western White Mountain band; about ninety-five when worked with; oldest man at Bylas; been on the warpath many times; served as scout and in police. Died, 1933.

Fred Wesley: middle-aged man still living at Bylas.

Nancy Wright: Eastern White Mountain band; old woman, lived at Bylas. Died, 1936.

Mrs. Jewett Wright: Eastern White Mountain band; Anna Price's daughter; middle-aged, still living at Bylas.

The author had hoped to be able to check the native terms employed, but, since that has not been possible, the reader's indulgence is requested for occasional absences of tone accents and for variations in the spelling of native terms.

Janice Goodwin

Tucson, Arizona
March 12, 1941
PREFACE

Two and a half decades after its first publication, Grenville Goodwin's *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* is still one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the social life of an American Indian tribe. It is exhaustive without being redundant, and its overwhelming thoroughness projects a depth of understanding that few ethnographies can match. Yet despite these qualities, and others equally valuable, it is a work that has remained somewhat obscure.

*The Social Organization* was published shortly after the outbreak of World War II and, although it was greeted by considerable acclaim, one suspects that in the trouble of the times it did not receive the full attention it deserved. Moreover, it has long been out of print. This new edition of *The Social Organization* is therefore most welcome. As it reaches a wider audience and a new generation of anthropologists, one anticipates that its merits will be more clearly perceived and its rightful place in the tradition of classic American ethnography will become more secure.

Grenville Goodwin knew the Western Apache better than any other ethnographer who ever lived. And he wrote about them from the conviction that his knowledge was important — not only for specialists interested in the tribes of the Southwest, but for all anthropologists concerned with the structure and operation of primitive social systems. In the 1930s, when Goodwin did his field work, much of traditional Western Apache culture was still viable. But it was changing rapidly and Goodwin saw that before long it would be irretrievable. This sent him back into history via a group of highly articulate elderly informants who provided him with a wealth of priceless data on pre-Reservation life. Thus, *The Social Organization* is at once an in-depth historical reconstruction and a detailed ethnographic account based on firsthand observations made over a span of nearly ten years in the field. It was essential that Goodwin make use of both approaches because Western Apache social organization
as it existed in the '30s (and, indeed, as it exists today) would have been virtually impossible to comprehend without a thorough knowledge of conditions that prevailed prior to the establishment of Reservations.

It is not generally known that Goodwin had completed the research for *The Social Organization* before he began his formal training in anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1939 — although he had made the acquaintance of several professional ethnographers during the course of his field work. This may help explain why the book is neither problem-oriented in the modern sense, nor formulated in terms of a readily identifiable theoretical framework. Some readers may find this disconcerting. However, a careful reading will reveal that Goodwin clearly viewed Western Apache social organization as an integrated system and, perhaps more important, was able to demonstrate how the system's various components were interrelated. Goodwin read widely in anthropology and one supposes that either on his own, or through discussions with such friends and associates as Fred Eggan, Morris Opler, and John Provinse, he had become familiar with the writings of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski.

Fundamentally, however, *The Social Organization* is an empirical work, and herein lies its chief value for modern anthropology. Goodwin's presentation is so complete, so firmly grounded in carefully documented fact, that it invites and encourages the reader to extrapolate and generalize. Whether one's interest is in descent theory or rules of inheritance, leadership or endogamy, kinship terminology or cultural transmission, *The Social Organization* provides an abundance of reliable information relevant to the construction and testing of contemporary theory.

But this observation is not intended to imply that the book is simply a compendium of data. To the contrary, as the authors of the original *Introduction* point out, it contains one of the most coherent descriptions available of a matrilineral kinship system and, in addition, stands as a major contribution to the literature on clans and phratries. Goodwin's discussion of these types of kin groups takes on special significance when he analyzes their relationship to Western Apache kinship terminology and the composition of residential units.
Since Goodwin did his field work over thirty years ago much has happened to alter Western Apache society. The changes that have occurred together with the processes that produced them, have not yet been fully recorded or analyzed. But as work along these lines moves forward it becomes increasingly apparent that The Social Organization will serve as an indispensable background against which to assess the effects of Reservation life.

It would have pleased Grenville Goodwin to know that his interpretations concerning the Western Apache are so widely applicable. He derived something intensely rewarding from his association with Apaches and would have been saddened to see the study of their culture neglected. A new edition of The Social Organization helps assure that the research he began will continue. This is Goodwin's finest work, a classic ethnography, and the one piece of literature on the Western Apache that modern students cannot afford to be without.

KEITH H. BASSO
Tucson, Arizona
INTRODUCTION

This Introduction is probably unique in that it was written in part by the author of the volume while still active in field work and in part by a group of his teachers and close associates after his death. When one member of this group was called upon to introduce the volume, he asked comments from the others, and the replies were so intimate and so revealing that it seemed only fair to merge them into something more than a preface to a book.

The volume which follows is a monument to a young ethnologist who through several years identified himself with the Apache groups of Arizona. He learned their language, lived with them on intimate terms, and came into as close an association with them as is possible for a person of a different race and social group. To them he was not an outsider who sought to pry into their lives; he was simply a young man who asked to be taught in the life-ways of the Apache. They taught him in much the same way that they taught their own young men, and from them he learned a wealth of detail concerning the recurrent patternings of their culture.

In the years between 1929 and 1931 the author's interests became focused on the Western Apache, though these interests were still perhaps more personal than professional. He began his field work under the direction of Dean Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona, later becoming a research associate in the department of anthropology of that institution. His temperament inclined him naturally to the participant-observer technique; he wanted to know and understand the Apache as human beings. He went on camping trips with his Indian friends and learned to know their territory through their eyes. Always he sought to eliminate his own cultural biases and to see things from the standpoint of the culture he was studying. The length of time he devoted to it and his genius for the personal relation-
ship gave him an exceptional amount of success in realizing this objective.

From 1931 on, his contacts with other workers in the ethnology of the Southwest became more extensive. Particularly important during this period were his contacts with Drs. Morris Opler, Leslie Spier, and Harry Hoijer; and his interests broadened and deepened as a result of their stimulus. When he became convinced of his need to know more of the science of ethnology, he approached the task with the same spirit of thoroughness and enthusiasm he had shown in his first period of field work. He claimed only twenty-two months of intensive study of the Apache, but actually he was in close touch with them for a period of over ten years. Even when not living with them he remained aware of events on the reservation through occasional visits and correspondence. His analysis of Western Apache social structure derives much of its value from his detailed knowledge of its day-to-day functioning. His presentation of the social organization contains a wealth of illustrative material derived from casually observed incidents and overheard remarks. It is the utilization of these data which results in the especially adequate account of Apache social dynamics as well as statics.

In the notes prepared by the author for use in the Preface, he cites the early references to wars and raids carried on by the Apache—first against the Spaniards, later against the Mexicans, and finally against the Americans. In all these he finds little or no information concerning the Apache themselves until after their settlement on reservations. He says:

It was not until Captain Bourke and Dr. White started to inquire from the Apache settled on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations as to their beliefs and customs that we come to information that is more than superficial. From then on we find scattered references which show more of an ethnological interest, although the data are far from complete.

There are many records in which names are given which are supposed to designate the various Apache divisions, but they are often incorrectly and confusingly used, and it is hard to distinguish one from the other. With the desire to find out what the real differences between the Apache peoples were and, more than anything else, to discover what divisions and differences the Apache themselves recognized, I began
this investigation in 1929. The various groups of true Apache living at present in Arizona afforded what seemed to be the best starting-point. There are several very distinct groups among them, but, in spite of this, they have enough in common to make it possible to treat them as one Apache division. As this division is the westernmost of all Apache, I have used the term "Western Apache" for it. The obvious name of "Arizona Apache" was discarded because geographically it would have had to include the Chiricahua, who seem to be different enough to be classed in another Apache grouping. Outside of the Chiricahua, all the Apache groups that live, or ever lived, in Arizona belong to this unit, so that this record includes all Apache groups belonging to the Western Apache division.

In analyzing these groups of Western Apache, I have aimed to present as clearly as possible the former territory of these peoples and their relations to one another. As there are distinct bands within most of these groups, they are similarly treated. Particular effort has been made to obtain information from as many reliable sources as possible and to search out several members of each group and band in order to learn from them not only of their own group and band but also their attitude regarding other groups and bands of the Western Apache. The same technique was used in obtaining information on all other aspects of the culture as well.

The material comes largely from stories told to me by thirty-four old Apache, both men and women, and the information bearing on modern times was learned from Apache of the younger generation. The lives of some of these old people take us back nearly a century, and many of the things that they told me were told to them by their grandparents. In the course of a story they sometimes say: "This I am telling you was told me by my grandmother, and before she told it to me she heard it from her grandmother, and before that her grandmother heard it from another old person. You white people have written books, but everything we know about our people is written in our heads."

Such is the background for the volume which follows. This study is perhaps the most thorough and complete account yet presented of the social organization of an American Indian tribe. It is rich in detail, accurate in presentation, and sincere in its objective—to portray the social life of these people so faithfully and completely that others, too, would understand and appreciate them.

But there is more than rich detail in this account. Students of social organization will find here material with important theoretical implications. The analysis of clan relationships, for
example, leads to the definition of a new type of “phratry” for this region in which clan groups are joined together in “chain fashion” rather than being sharply segregated. This analysis, incidentally, should go a long way toward clarifying the clan-phratry situation among the Navaho, which appears to be basically similar. The discussion of the kinship system offers clear evidence as to the effect of the clan on kinship structure. Here we find the clan affecting only certain peripheral aspects of the kinship system, without any discernible effect on the central core—a situation which may necessitate a revision of some of our basic assumptions as to the relations between clan and kinship.

The author’s interests were not restricted to the aboriginal life of the Western Apache. Detailed comparative data on modern practices, along with a complete survey of a modern reservation community, are presented, as well as a digest of the documentary and historical sources. For good measure there is added detailed observations of the play activities and training of children which will be particularly valuable to students of child development because of their setting in the social and cultural matrix.

American anthropology suffered a great loss when Grenville Goodwin was stricken and passed away at the early age of thirty-three. He had projected a series of monographs on the social organization, economic activities, and religious beliefs and practices of the Western Apache. Fortunately, his manuscript on the social organization of the Western Apache was practically complete; his wife and colleagues merely prepared it for publication. It is now offered both as a memorial to a brilliant and sincere young scientist and as a contribution in its own right to the growing literature on the American Indian. Its dedication to the Western Apache expresses, we think, the spirit in which Grenville Goodwin worked.

Chicago
May 6, 1941

Fay-Cooper Cole
Fred Egan
Harry Hoijer
Edward Spicer
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The
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CHAPTER I
WESTERN APACHE GROUPS AND BANDS

The term “Apache” was first used in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Since then it has been applied to Athapaskan-speaking peoples occupying areas now parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Utah, and the Mexican states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and Coahuila. In Spanish times the term “Apache” was occasionally used for adjacent non-Athapaskan Indians, merely because they followed the Apache example of marauding the Spanish colonies. The Southern Athapaskans termed “Apache” may be divided into six tribes or divisions, according to territorial, cultural, and linguistic distinctions which they themselves recognized. These divisions are Jicarilla Apache, Lipan Apache, Kiowa-Apache, Mescalero Apache, Chiricahua Apache, and Western Apache. Although the Navaho are always mentioned as a separate entity, actually it would be more consistent to class them as Apache, as the Spanish formerly did. The sharp difference drawn between them and the Apache is little deserved, for together the two peoples formed a kindred series of cultures. Linguistically, the Southern Athapaskans divide into an eastern and a western group: the eastern one, composed of Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache; the western one, of Navaho, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apache.¹

Lack of exact information on these divisions, and on their groups and bands, has caused much confusion and the overlapping usage of names for them. Out of the many European terms (mainly of Spanish origin) which have been used for them in the past, the least confusing and most applicable should be formed into a clear and permanent classification for the future. There

has been more confusion of group and band names in the Western Apache division than elsewhere. The following classification for the Western Apache was used in a former article, but the reasons for the choice of terms were not explained. These are discussed below.

WESTERN APACHE GROUPS AND BANDS
(See Map I)

1. White Mountain group, divided into two bands:
   a) Eastern White Mountain       b) Western White Mountain

2. Cibecue group, divided into three bands:
   a) Carrizo       b) Cibecue proper       c) Canyon Creek

3. San Carlos group, divided into four bands:
   a) Pinal       c) San Carlos proper
   b) Arivaipa       d) Apache Peaks

4. Southern Tonto group, divided into one band and six semibands:
   a) Mazatzal band       e) Fourth semiband
   b) First semiband       f) Fifth semiband
   c) Second semiband       g) Sixth semiband
   d) Third semiband

5. Northern Tonto group, divided into four bands:
   a) Mormon Lake       c) Bald Mountain
   b) Fossil Creek       d) Oak Creek

Many of the terms applied to the Western Apache in the past are misleading. "Pinalene" has been used for peoples in the San Carlos group but was customarily applied to White Mountain Apache living about the Graham Mountains. "Coyoter" once designated all peoples of the Western Apache division and, at times, was probably used unwittingly for people of the Chiricahua division. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was applied particularly to those of the White Mountain group who lived south of the Black River. At present it is used for White Mountain Apache residing on the San Carlos.


3 See Appen. A for other European terminology used for the Western Apache.
Reservation. In some sources the name is said to have been applied because the people ate coyotes. This is a Western Apache custom, except among the White Mountain group.

The term "White Mountain Apache" or "Sierras Blancas" appears as early as 1748 for those Apache living in the region of the White Mountains in Arizona, but probably it included other Apache close by. This name is regional and particularly applicable to the White Mountain group within whose territory the White Mountains lay. Apache of the Mescalero division who lived about the White Mountains of New Mexico have been mentioned occasionally as "White Mountain Apache," but the term has never become established for them. Heretofore, the Cibecue group has generally been classed with the White Mountain group, to which they do not belong. They have also, in part, been variously termed "the Apache living on the Carrizo," and they bear no one name as a distinct group. As the above three names are descriptive of the region in which the three Cibecue bands lived, it is best to retain them.

The term "San Carlos" was not applied to one distinct band or group until Dr. Goddard did so. Previously, it was used more as a reservation term, but because Goddard has already so designated Apache of the Pinal, Arivaipa, San Carlos, and Apache Peaks bands, as compared to Tonto Apache and White Mountain Apache, it is retained here as a name for the group to which these four bands belong. Being also descriptive of the region in which the members of the San Carlos band originally lived, it is likewise kept for them. Although "Pinal" has been used for the Pinal, San Carlos, and Apache Peaks bands, it would seem better to limit it to the members of the Pinal band whose territory included the Pinal Mountains. There has been little, if any, confusion in the use of the term "Arivaipa"; and it can be readily applied to the Arivaipa band, through whose territory ran the

4 Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez, "Theatro Americano," Descripción general de los reynos y provincias de la Nueva España, y sus jurisdicciones, Part II (Mexico City, 1748).

Western Apache Groups and Bands in 1850

Groups are encircled by solid black lines, and boundaries of bands and semibands within groups are shown by broken lines. The black dotted line on the western side of the Southern Tonto group shows the approximate location of the peoples of clans 28 and 31 who became largely absorbed by the Yavapai.

1. Eastern White Mountain band
2. Western White Mountain band
3. Carrizo band
4. Cibecue band
5. Canyon Creek band
6. Pinal band
7. Arivaipa band
8. San Carlos band
9. Apache Peaks band
10. Mazatzal band
11. First semiband, Southern Tonto
12. Second semiband, Southern Tonto
13. Third semiband, Southern Tonto
14. Fourth semiband, Southern Tonto
15. Fifth semiband, Southern Tonto
16. Sixth semiband, Southern Tonto
17. Mormon Lake band
18. Fossil Creek band
19. Bald Mountain band
20. Oak Creek band
Arivaipa River. No European name has yet been coined for the remaining band of the San Carlos group. I have used the term "Apache Peaks band," this being geographically descriptive of the area in which they lived.

Like the term "Coyotero," "Tonto" has been used collectively for all Western Apache, and at times even for Yavapai, but in the last sixty years or so has almost exclusively been applied to the Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto groups. Because there are no other suitable European names for these groups, "Tonto" is retained. However, it must be understood that its use for both these groups does not imply that they are more closely akin than either of them are to the other Western Apache. An interesting side light on the possible derivation of the term "Tonto" (Spanish: "fools") is that the Chiricahua applied the name bînt’édîné ("people without minds")—in other words, "crazy" or "foolish people"—to all Western Apache. It is quite possible that the Spanish knew the meaning of this Chiricahua word and shaped their own after it. Escudero, in his Noticias estadisticas de Chihuahua, published in Mexico in 1834, gives the names of the various Apache tribes in Apache together with their Spanish equivalents. He records "Viniettinen-ne" as the Apache (Chiricahua division) name for the Tonto (Western Apache).

The Western Apache are divided into a series of territorial units of differing size and organization. They are here called "groups," "bands," and "local groups"—divisions which are rather difficult to fit into the conventional categories. In addition, there is a formal organization of the society into matrilineal clans which are linked together in an interesting way. The term "group" is used in preference to "tribe" in order to avoid confusing conditions among the Western Apache with those in other Southern Athapaskan divisions. Whereas other divisions can be called "tribes" in the sense that they formed a fairly unified people both politically and culturally, "tribe" is not altogether applicable to the Western Apache. Nor were the Western Apache groups synonymous with those units among other Southern Athapaskans termed "bands."

The bands of the Chiricahua division seem most nearly akin
to the Western Apache group, with this difference: the Chiricahua band had local groups within it, each going under a regional name of its own, whereas the Western Apache group contained loosely bound units or bands usually bearing distinctive names, which in turn were divided into local groups. The latter, although sometimes referred to by their locality, actually did not have names as the local groups of the Chiricahua apparently did. The Western Apache practiced some agriculture, and the Chiricahua relied almost entirely on hunting and wild plant foods. This probably accounts for the above-mentioned differences and seems evidenced in the large area inhabited by a single Chiricahua band, as compared to the relatively small territory of the average Western Apache group. In character the Western Apache group seems halfway between the Chiricahua band and the Chiricahua division, whereas the Western Apache band, in comparison to the Chiricahua band, lies between it and the Chiricahua local group. Of the Western Apache groups, the Southern Tonto and the Northern Tonto most closely approximate the Chiricahua bands. The groups composing the Western Apache seem to have felt greater distinctions between themselves than did bands within any other Southern Athapaskan division—distinctions in dialect and in religious and social practices which should be kept in mind when comparing them with the other Southern Athapaskan peoples.

A man might reside for the greater part of his life within the territory of a group not his own, but he could never change his group identity, and his neighbors would always look upon him as an outsider. Each group went under a name, and thus any individual was readily classified. People of the same group felt a cultural and linguistic bond which separated them from the members of neighboring groups. This feeling of unity often showed itself in local pride, and at times members of one group looked down upon those of another with contempt and mistrust. Willy Lupe's (Canyon Creek band, Cibecue group) attitude is

typical when he says: "The people living here on the Cibecue, over at Canyon Creek, and to the east on the Carrizo are all like one people. It is just as if we were Americans and the rest of these Apaches around us were foreigners." An elderly man of the Cibecue band who had married among the White Mountain Apache once said that, although he had lived among the latter people for forty years, they still considered him an outsider.

Actually, linguistic differences between groups were slight. They probably amounted to no more than the dialectic variations of northerners and southerners among ourselves. There are some differences, particularly in names of plants, animals, and utensils. Even today it is not uncommon to hear two Apache of different groups ridiculing each other's speech, each insisting his own is correct. Husbands and wives from different groups sometimes do likewise, though they may have been married for many years.

The same general culture underlies all Western Apache groups, yet slight distinctions between groups are regarded as important. The following is fairly typical of the Apache attitude to such differences:

Long, long ago, our people were one of many living on this earth. In Charge of Life gave us [White Mountain Apache] our language and culture before all the other people. That is why we have everything there is. He gave this also to the other people and to the dijį́į́'ę [referring to their speech, which sounds nasal] as well, but to these last he did not give all—only about half of what we received from him. That is the reason that their voices are small and that they eat all kinds of things—hawks, coyotes, lizards—that we cannot eat because we would get sick if we did. They don't have the sicknesses caused by such animals that we do.

The clans represented in each group vary considerably. Ritual and the words to corresponding ceremonial songs are said to be unlike in many cases. Again, in the old days there was some variation in mode of dress, and the Apache claim to be able to tell the group of a man or woman by merely scanning their fea-

7 He probably meant to include both Northern and Southern Tonto by this term.
tures and mannerisms. When shown early photographs of Western Apache, they could not always identify individuals but almost invariably and quite correctly could tell to what group they belonged by nothing more than an indefinable tilt of the headband.

In 1875 all the White Mountain Apache were forced to the Gila River. Later, they were permitted to return to their old homes in the Fort Apache area. Those not at Bylas chose to remain where they were. They are the same people as those living in the vicinity of Fort Apache today; and, in fact, many came from the Fort Apache area and have brothers and sisters living on White River. At present, however, the Bylas people claim to be able to ascertain whether a White Mountain Apache comes from Bylas or the Fort Apache area merely by hearing his voice or seeing the way he rides and is dressed.

Groups had recognized territorial limits, and any intrusion into the land of another group was only temporary. Rivers and mountains or hills dividing valleys where water ran were boundaries. Farming sites belonged wholly to the group within whose territory they lay and were almost never shared by people of separate groups.

In spite of the distinctions mentioned, the majority of Western Apache generally felt themselves to be one people with fairly common interests. In comparison, Navaho and Chiricahua were considered to be quite apart. Hostilities in the form of organized warfare and raids probably never occurred between Western Apache groups in prerreservation times, although they did with the Chiricahua and Navaho. Scalping enemies who were killed in the occasional blood and clan feuds which sprang up between families of different groups was unthinkable because “they were really one people.” But, when a slain Navaho, Mexican, or American was scalped, it was different, and even a Chiricahua might meet the same fate, although here the feeling of closer relationship made the practice unlikely.

Groups were divided into bands, each of which had its own territory. Farming sites were shared only by people belonging to different bands of the same group when located on, or very
near, the border between two bands. The two bands of the White Mountain group had no strong feeling against trespass, except on farming sites, where encroachments of outsiders might meet some resistance. However, the resistance would not be band-wide but only within the local groups and the clans affiliated with the site. The strong feeling about such encroachments is an indication of how the farming site was considered to be more or less a permanent fixture, and the closest approach to a home place in Western Apache culture. Wild-food-gathering trips or hunting in territory of another band belonging to the same group were not considered trespassing, but these did not occur often, as the bands stayed almost always within their own limits. In war and raids members of bands in the same group frequently combined at each others' invitation.

An individual born a member of a band was always known as such, regardless of his residence. Only three affiliations were closer in the Apache mind than that of band: these were clan, blood, and affinal relationship. Members of bands within the same group naturally visited back and forth frequently. Intermarriage was common, and clan and blood ties were numerous.

The group was not a political unit. The only way it might function as such was in the co-ordinated action of the various local groups that made up its bands. In these local groups was concentrated what government the Western Apache had. Each possessed its own chief who was theoretically of equal importance to any other chief. The nearest approach to actual band or group control by an individual or individuals is that found in the case of certain chiefs who, merely through character, exerted wide-felt pressure on the people of their band or group. Such a chief was hâcké-tdâsti:lâ: ("angry, right side up"). Also called Diablo, of the White Mountain people on the East Fork of White River, widely known not only in his own group but among those Apache living adjacent to it. In 1864, when Fort Goodwin was established in the Gila Valley, this chief was the principal representative for the White Mountain Apache in a council held with army officers which established a peace between them and the Americans. Again, in 1867, he gave the
Americans permission to construct a road from Fort Goodwin to White River and erect another military post, Fort Apache. He is credited unanimously by the Apache of his group as being the greatest White Mountain chief of his time.

Another similar man was tc’än̓tbá łání (“brown hat”), whose home was in the Mazatzal Mountains among the Southern Tonto group. When the Southern Tonto finally decided to surrender to General Crook in 1872, they selected him to represent them at a council with the Americans at Camp Verde, and it was he who negotiated for the peace. Such chiefs had no legitimate control or representative powers over other chiefs and their local groups, who could have justifiably remained on hostile terms with the Americans. The only criticism an Apache might make of these chiefs would be on their lack of wisdom in remaining hostile.

Again, when the Arivaipa Apache were treating with the American troops all through the occupation of Camp Grant on the San Pedro (1859–73), the two most influential chiefs of the Pinal and Arivaipa were Santos and haskí bánsín (“angry, men stand in line for him”), the former a true Arivaipa, the latter a Pinal married among the Arivaipa. An Arivaipa, on being asked who his chiefs were during those years, will often mention these two. Although there might have been at least a dozen chiefs among the Arivaipa at the time, these two men stand out. It was they who were relied upon to treat with the Americans.

Thus, neither group nor band was a complete political unit. They were only units in the sense of territorial limitations and cultural and linguistic similarities. Classificatory but not functional, they never moved as a whole in economic life, society, warfare, or religion. Such unit participation was reserved to the family, local group, and clan.

The Western Apache have no one name which designates their entire division. In White Mountain Apache the nearest term expressive of a division is ẽ́daγádúʼi (“joined together”). This may be used of several groups who are friendly with one another and who combine in times of war or in other difficulties. It could be applied to the White Mountain, San Carlos, and
Cibecue as a whole because of the friendliness between them, but it would not include the Chiricahua, and probably not Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto. The same term could be used for a group itself to express the alliance of the bands within it. Another term denoting a group is dàtá:’ánóbi-yâfí’ (“their speech is one”), expressing the likeness of dialect and the corresponding relationship which it would imply. An individual wishing to tell someone to which band he belonged says, for instance, “I am On Top of Mountains People,” giving the name of his band.

The White Mountain group.—The Eastern White Mountain Apache were the easternmost and one of the largest and most powerful bands of the Western Apache. They were known by all other Western Apache as dz'ilγá'á (“on top of mountains people”), and they themselves used that name when speaking of their own people. Occasionally, those people on Turkey Creek, Corn Creek, and Bonito Creek are mentioned as biγá:γulkíj'í (“spotted on top people”) in reference to the upland, grassy country spotted in places with many juniper trees, where their farms were located. A nickname used for themselves in fun by the Eastern White Mountain people is dz'ilγá'ádbá:ye'. They occupied that country mainly on the west slope of the White Mountains, Blue Range, and Morenci Mountains, south across the Gila River to the Graham Mountains, and as far as the Winchester Mountains. Their principal farm sites were located on the East Fork of White River; head of Bonito Creek; head of Turkey Creek; at a place near the head of Black River; on Eagle Creek at the present site of the Double Circle Ranch; at Point of Pine west of Eagle Creek; on the head of Cienega Creek running into Eagle Creek, with minor sites at several other places. According to tradition, the Eastern White Mountain farms north of Black River were occupied before those to the south.

Hunting and food-gathering trips for juniper berries and piñons extended to the north, almost as far as Vernon and Bannon, but the people never stayed there long, as it was dangerously close to the country of the hostile Navaho. They went as
far east as the present site of Springerville and on the eastern slope of the White Mountains in search of elk and other game. They also traveled along the top of the Blue Range but not east of it because of the Navaho. Farther southeast they occasionally ranged as far as the San Francisco River in New Mexico on hunting trips or to visit with the Eastern Chiricahua.

South of the Gila River they camped about the Graham Mountains, and even as far as the Winchester Mountains, the southern slopes of the Grahams being a favorite place to gather and prepare mescal in springtime. It was here also that they made hidden camps from which raiding parties could be sent to Mexico, not very far south, to bring back horses, cattle, and other booty. Turnbull Mountain was also used for mescal and as a base for raiding parties. Favorite wintering places were sheltered spots near springs along the foot of the Natanes Rim on Ash Flat, as the face of the rim had a continuous southern exposure.

The first contact of the Eastern White Mountain band with the United States government may have been in 1852, when Calhoun, who was then Indian agent at Santa Fe, mentions a treaty made with the Gila Apache near Acoma that year. In the same decade a man came to visit the chief, Diablo, then living on East Fork of White River. The Apache claim that this emissary was a Mexican who lived in Santa Fe, New Mexico, but who visited them occasionally from the Fort Defiance region in Arizona. He was an officer, possibly one of James Calhoun’s envoys. They called him nànt’anbisdûh (“Chief Bisduhn,” apparently a corrupted Spanish or English name). On one of his visits he told Diablo to take his people down to Apache Pass at the north end of the Chiracahua Mountains, as an American officer would issue rations there. Some of the people, on arriving at Apache Pass, found the officer with soldiers and freight-wagons full of supplies. This must have been approximately 1861, as they say Fort Bowie (established in 1862) was not there then. The officer issued red cloth, brass kettles, and food. He told them he intended to move to the Gila River with his soldiers. Later, he reached the foot of Graham Mountain, and
A large council was held here with people of several Apache bands, the Eastern White Mountain predominating. A peace was established, and the commanding officer told the Apache that the region about this post was to be their reservation. Here, for two years or so, the Eastern White Mountain, the Western White Mountain, and the San Carlos band were on friendly terms with the soldiers, often camping near them and receiving rations. At the same time they were continuing their raids into Mexico, which they claim that the military did not try to discourage. Finally, some trouble arose with the troops, and the Apache fled to their mountains. Later, another peace was made, and in 1867 and 1868, with the permission of Chief Diablo, the troops built a road to the site of Fort Apache. After the establishment of Fort Apache in 1869 the Eastern White Mountain band drew rations there, and shortly the raids to Mexico ceased.

An incident mentioned several times by Anna Price (Eastern White Mountain band), and known to other White Mountain Apache as well, is the Goodwin Springs poisoning. Anna Price claimed that Americans (whether United States troops or civilians is uncertain), while camped at Goodwin Springs sometime prior to the establishment of Fort Apache, sent out word among adjacent Western Apache that they would give away food at an appointed time to all those who came in for it. Having received rations from United States officers already and not suspecting treachery, many White Mountain Apache and some members of the San Carlos band assembled at Goodwin Springs, where a quantity of dried meat was distributed among them. This meat was apparently poisoned, for it is said that scores died on the way home and that the trail was white with bodies (white cotton clothing was then in use). Many of the victims were subchiefs. Diablo was forewarned by his friend from Sante Fe, nant'ánbislá̱hn, not to go to Goodwin Springs this time, as the whites there were planning to issue "bad food," and so he was able to safeguard his local group. A song, still sung at social dances, was made up to commemorate the tragedy of the poisoning. This
incident is not to be confused with the infamous “Pinole Treaty” or similar treacheries among the Chiricahua Apache around the copper mines in New Mexico.

In 1875 all the Apache bands were moved to the Gila River, owing to government policy of concentration. The Eastern White Mountain people were included. They chose to settle at a place on the north bank of the Gila, opposite and a little above Dewey Flats, and they lived there for several years. By 1880 most of them were permitted to return to their old homes around Fort Apache. In 1886 only a small part of them remained on the Gila. These chose not to go back to Fort Apache. Their land washed away at the first settlement, and they moved farther up the Gila River on the north side, a little above the present railroad station of Calva. In 1911 and 1912 their land again washed out, and they moved to the present site of Bylas, where they are now living with remnants of other bands. The Eastern White Mountain who chose to return to the Fort Apache region are all to be found in that locality, living on the same land that they occupied in prereservation times. At present, members of the Eastern White Mountain band, both around Fort Apache and at Bylas, still term themselves as before, retaining the distinction between them and the other bands.

The Western White Mountain band was called lánbá-há ("many go to war"). Two explanations of this name exist, the first being: “Long ago the people who were living over on Cedar Creek [in the present territory of this band] used to go south to Mexico to raid for cattle, horses, and other things. When they went on a raid, it was always in a large party with many warriors, so they were called 'Many Go to War.'” lánbá-há, the second and less accurate version, means “they go to raid for horses.” They used both terms among themselves, and the names were also applied by all other bands of the Western Apache, except possibly the Northern Tonto.

These people were located mainly on Cedar Creek and eastward to White River, below East and North forks. Their principal farming sites were on Cedar Creek, at Canyon Day, and at Bear Springs. They ranged northward in the fall toward the
present region of Snowflake to hunt game and gather juniper berries or piñon nuts, though fear of Navaho kept them from frequenting that country. Southward, they extended across White River and Black River and along the foot of Natanes Rim, a favorite winter location, where there was an abundance of Emory's oak, making it the best part of this territory for gathering acorns. Mescal, also fairly plentiful and a most valuable food plant, brought them here in springtime. For their main supply of mescal the Western White Mountain Apache crossed south of the Gila River, where it grew thickly on the slopes of Turnbull Mountain. They confined themselves mostly to their own western half of the mountain. South of Turnbull Mountain they ranged into the Santa Teresa and Cobre Grande Mountains, in wintertime favorite points of departure for Mexican raids. Occasionally, some of the band crossed the Arivaipa Valley to the southern end of the Galliuro Mountains, where they camped for short periods. Even though this was encroaching on Arivaipa territory, the relations were friendly.

The San Carlos River, immediately north of the Gila River, they claimed as their western boundary. A White Mountain Apache states: "My grandfather told me, 'If any people crossed over the San Carlos River from the other side and came too far eastward, it was up to us to put them out, because the land belonged to us and not to them.'" Their western boundary at this point was not on the San Carlos River but a little east of it. The bands within the groups had little of this feeling, as they often shared one another's camp grounds for short periods.

The settlement of people living and farming from the junction of the east and north forks of White River to Canyon Day, three or four miles downstream, were nominally classed with the Western White Mountain band, the Eastern White Mountain band acceding to this. Some of these people living on the border between, and coming from both bands, did not claim membership in either and so called themselves ndé’ítání nagé, signifying "all mixed together," which they considered to be almost a band name. They were unified as a settlement, and in 1875,
when moved to the Gila River by the government, they chose a separate site at the foot of Navaho Bill Point and near the present location of Bylas. At present, the members of these ńđé’ítít’ānānte on White River are generally referred to by the Apache of the region as tānābat’hdá, although they still are occasionally mentioned under the old term. Not distinct enough, however, to be called a band, they serve as an example of the way in which a new one might form.

The history of the Western White Mountain band in connection with the Americans is closely allied to that of the Eastern White Mountain band, except that some of the former visited old Camp Grant on the San Pedro to draw government rations. In 1875, when removed to the Gila River, they chose the site of Dewey Flats, all living there until 1890, when they started returning to their old homes on Cedar Creek. More and more of them drifted back until only a few were left. Later, their farms on the Gila were washed away, and some of them moved upstream to the subagency, the present Calva. From there they moved to Bylas, where they are now living with the Eastern White Mountain people under the jurisdiction of the San Carlos Agency. The majority of them today are at Cedar Creek and Canyon Day on the Fort Apache Reservation. All members of the band still call themselves by the old band name.

Of these two bands, the Eastern White Mountain is, and apparently always has been, the larger. An Apache will quite often speak of the dzidiy’á and, by this, mean to include both the White Mountain bands. Others outside the White Mountain band almost always refer to the Eastern band as dzidiy’á. Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto occasionally speak of this eastern group as yà’dáidndé (“east people”) because of their residence far to the east of them. They called the Chiricahua by the same term also.

The Cibecue group.—The Carrizo were a small band living on Carrizo Creek above the present crossing of the Cibecue road. Their farms began six miles or so up and were scattered along the creek bottom for some four miles. The Apache name of this
valley is *t'łukâ dígâdîköh* ("canyon of the row of white canes") because of the abundance of canes once growing along the creek.\(^8\) Another term, *t'łukâ dígâdîköhndé*, definitely signifies the band and not the clan. The Southern and the Northern Tonto were originally too remote to have knowledge of this band name, though some of them now know it through reservation contacts. However, they formerly knew the clan and its location on the Carrizo. The people of this band have maintained their identity to the present day.

Much of the year was spent at their farms. They ranged south to the Black River Canyon, where there was some mescal; westward to Cibecue Mountain, which bounded their territory; northward up over the Mogollon Rim, hunting in that hightimbered country; beyond there to the region of Showlow, and toward Snowflake for juniper berries and piñons, but not farther because of the Navaho. Eastward, they were bordered by the Western White Mountain band, the line running roughly along the divide between Carrizo Creek and Cedar Creek. The lower part of the Carrizo Creek, near Black River, was shared with the Western White Mountain Band, though not always amicably. The canyon of the Carrizo affords a sheltered place in winter with southern exposures, its walls deep enough to guard from heavy winds, and a delightful spot in summer, with its heavy shade of cottonwood groves and, farther above, the thick growth of alders.

Because of a clan dispute, probably in 1845-55, between two of the four clans on the Carrizo—clans 57 and 46—the latter was forced to make permanent new settlements and farms elsewhere. One of these, with permission of Diablo, was on North Fork of White River at an unoccupied part of the river bottom.

\(^8\) The *t'łukâ dígâdîh* ("people of the row of white canes") clan has long been centered here, and it is uncertain whether the band's name is derived from this or from the name of the valley. Quite possibly the former is true, for, according to the legend, the *t'łukâ dígâdîh* clan once predominated in this band. The name is used by the White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups, but it is sometimes necessary to ascertain whether it included the clan only or all the people living on the Carrizo.

\(^9\) See Append. E and G for descriptive list of clans referred to by numbers.
about eight miles above the present town of White River. The other was on the head of the Forestdale Creek. The first settlement was on White Mountain lands, and the parts which several chiefs played in the negotiations illustrate the attitude toward a band's settling permanently in another's territory. The following story was told by Anna Price:

One time when I was a little girl, the tcá-te'i-dn [clan], who were then almost all living at Carrizo, where their farms were and where they really belonged, got into trouble with the t'lu'ká-digaidn [clan] and killed some of them. Because of this, the tcá-te'i-dn all ran off, crossing over east toward our farms on White River. My father [Diablo] and the other men were off hunting at the time. I was down in the field irrigating corn and carrying my mother's baby on my back. I saw the tcá-te'i-dn pass by our farm on their way. After they had been gone some time, the t'lu'ká-digaidn came on their trail, close, so I could see them. There were thirty-eight of them, all relatives of the ones the tcá-te'i-dn had killed. ᵁbá’ ‘dá’ ("coyote"), my relative, told our people not to shoot at them [the t'lu'ká-digaidn] and not to run away because they were not tcá-te'i-dn. The t'lu'ká-digaidn were prepared for war. They wore little gee strings and no other clothes but their moccasins. Their hair was tied up on top of their heads, and they had painted themselves with black paint. They all had bows and arrows with them. Near by they shot and killed a horse that belonged to me. One old biza'he man got scared and ran off up the hill. They shot him in the hand just as he turned back and shaded his eyes to look at them.

The same day, the t'lu'ká-digaidn left our place and followed the tcá-te'i-dn up over the bluff and south back of our camp. Just after they went out of sight over the top of the rim, some of our people saw three of them coming back down the hill, but they did not reach the bottom. They disappeared and never were seen again. This was an ill omen; the men had not come back down the hill at all. Later, these three were killed in the fight, and this was the reason for the apparition.

The thirty-eight t'lu'ká-digaidn followed the tcá-te'i-dn south and finally found them camped at 'igayeb'ilte'igóga’ ("white flat running toward yuccas") right where the trails come together. They surrounded the place without the tcá-te'i-dn knowing it and waited. The tcá-te'i-dn had been cooking some mescal in a small pit a short distance from the camp. Near this the pursuers hid. After a while some people came from the tcá-te'i-dn camp and looked at the mescal and then went back again. Then some women came to the pit. ᵁbá’ 'ka’, with the t'lu'ká-digaidn, told his relatives not to shoot them, that he wanted to capture them; after that they could shoot them. With the women were four tcá-te'i-dn men, helping to dig the mescal out. They surrounded them and shot.
The tcá-te-ci·dn had their arms but never used them. Right there about nine tcá-te-ci·dn got killed. The others in the camp came to see what was going on. They had some guns. When they saw what had happened, they started to fight on both sides. The battle kept up all day. Three of the t’luká·digaídíí were killed. About seven more tcá-te-ci·dn were slain. The tcá-te-ci·dn fled south, taking their wounded across the Gila River to Turnbull Mountain, where their shamans tried to cure them. After they had stayed quite some time south of the Gila River, they came up near White River, but the t’luká·digaídíí attacked them again, killing some more.

Two years or so after the tcá-te-ci·dn first left Carrizo, they came to my father’s place on East Fork, because he was the biggest chief there and in charge of almost everything. They said to him: “We have been like this for two years. We want you to give us some land on North Fork at tsé’a·’á: (“rock jutting to the water”) so we can settle and farm. We want you to tell the t’luká·digaídíí chief, hácké·’íba’ (“angry, he goes to war”), to stop his people from killing us any more.” This is the way the tcá-te-ci·dn chief talked to father. He was called hácké·yániní’í·dn (“angry, he shakes something”).

Father said, “All right, I will try and talk to hácké·’íba’ about it.” He went to see him and talked over all these troubles. He told him: “I want you two not to fight from now on. There are lots of little hills here, but they will be made level. It is all good now. I’m going to give the tcá-te-ci·dn land to settle on over in our country.” So it was fixed, and the tcá-te-ci·dn settled up at tsé’a·’á:. That is how they came to get their land there.

These people on North Fork of White River and at the head of Forestdale Creek were called collectively tcá-te-ci·dn because the majority of them were of that clan. They have since intermarried to great extent with White Mountain clans, particularly clan 1, and have become almost absorbed by them. In spite of this, continual friction between the tcá-te-ci·dn and their new neighbors, the White Mountain, resulted in several killings. The White Mountain attribute this to the fact that the tcá-te-ci·dn did not belong with their group.

The tcá-te-ci·dn first drew rations in 1864 at Fort Goodwin, on the Gila, where some of them went with White Mountain Apache. In 1869 they were under the jurisdiction of Fort Apache, where they also drew rations. When the bands were removed to the Gila Valley by Agent Clum in 1875, the tcá-te-ci·dn were the only people in the Fort Apache Reservation who were
not forced to leave their farms and homes. Today only a small number survive, living on North Fork of White River. Some still have farms on the head of Forestdale Creek, where they usually are found only in summer. The Carrizo band first drew rations at Fort Apache in 1869 and from then on were under its jurisdiction. They still live in their old home, the Carrizo Valley.

The Cibecue proper band was and still is called dzilt'á·dn ("at the foot of mountains people"). Members of a similarly named clan were included, the term (especially descriptive of the Cibecue people's location along the foot of the Mogollon Rim) being applied to both people because they lived at the base of mountains. Members of the dzilt'á·dn clan in the Cibecue band were never numerous, and it is unlikely that the band was named for them. It is said that the name was first applied to them by the San Carlos group, who used it most frequently, although White Mountain, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto did also. The members of the Cibecue band do not call themselves by this name but instead habitually use their clans as unit identifications.

The Cibecue Valley is called de·stc·bi·kó' ("horizontally red canyon"), alluding to red sandstone bluffs along its sides, and, when designating all the people living there, local Apache say de·stc·bi·kó'nde·' ("horizontally red canyon people"). Other bands sometimes use the term also. Any people can be defined by suffixing the word nde·' ("people") to the name of their home locality. Some true band names are of this kind, and it is hard to distinguish between them and similar descriptive terms.

Farms of the band were on Cibecue Creek, or its tributaries, and were scattered along both sides of the creek from approximately four miles below the present trading store up to the mouth of Salt Creek. There were occasional farming patches on Salt Creek for nearly five miles and along Upper Cibecue Creek to White Springs. On Spring Creek, west of Cibecue, was a smaller settlement with farms. Although much time was spent in the valley of the Cibecue, frequent hunting trips were made along the Mogollon Rim in the Pinedale and Heber region, and
sometimes in the fall the people journeyed farther north than this for juniper berries. They ranged southward to the Black River. The boundary to the west roughly followed the divide between Cibecue Valley and Canyon Creek.

The first remembered unwarlike relation with Americans was about 1857, when the Cibecue received word that the Americans at Tucson wanted the Apache to come in to “Urinating toward the Water” (the Apache name for the place), a place in the Canyon del Oro on the west side of the Santa Catalina Mountains, near Tucson. They say that this was two years or so before the military post of Camp Grant was established on the San Pedro (1859). News was passed around that Americans were going to give out presents (with the help of Yavapai, friendly to the whites). At first the Apache feared treachery, but finally some of them went, in company with a few of the Canyon Creek band, a considerable number of the Arivaipa and Pinal bands, and some Southeastern Yavapai. The Americans distributed red calico, pieces of copper wire for bracelets, and a little corn.

When Camp Grant was established, a few of the Cibecue group drew rations there. Not until 1869, when Fort Apache was founded and they came under jurisdiction of that post, did they draw rations regularly. In 1875 the majority were removed to San Carlos, where they were compelled to live for several years. The major portion soon returned to Cibecue, and in 1881 a fight with troops occurred there, owing to attempted arrest of a shaman of the band. Today the band remains in the Cibecue region, where they still preserve their identity under the jurisdiction of the Indian agency at White River.

The Canyon Creek band was called gůlki̱n, sometimes biva gůlki̱n ("spotted on top people"), the great stretch of country which they occupied just west of Canyon Creek being spotted with trees. They do not use this term but admit that they are so named by all other bands excepting the Cibecue band. These latter, like the Canyon Creek band, somewhat resent the term and consider clan names to be the only correct classifications for themselves, though they readily use band names for other groups. Their farms, more widely scattered than
those of the Cibecue band, were located on Oak Creek, in Gentry Canyon running into Canyon Creek, on Canyon Creek, just below the mouth of Lost Fork Canyon, and at a place on Cherry Creek at the east foot of the Sierra Ancha. The sites were not extensive, but enough corn was raised to augment greatly the food supply.

The people traveled just beyond the Mogollon Rim as far as the head of Chevelon Fork on Chevelon Butte, which was as far as they dared without being in danger of the Navaho. On the west they claimed to the east end of Pleasant Valley and to the crest of the Sierra Ancha, where they often hunted and made summer camps. West of them in Pleasant Valley, and along the west slope of the Sierra Ancha, lived the Southern Tonto. On the south their territory was bounded by the Upper Salt River.

When the Americans distributed gifts near Tucson, as before mentioned, a few of the Canyon Creek band were present. Later, some drew rations at Camp Grant on the San Pedro. Like the Cibecue band, they did not come in close contact with Americans until the establishment of Fort Apache, when they drew rations under its jurisdiction. In 1875 most of them were removed to San Carlos, but after a few years they returned to their former country, where they have remained ever since.

In 1882 a body of men apparently of this band, as well as from the Cibecue and possibly from the Carrizo bands, killed Colvig, chief of the San Carlos Agency police, and some of his policemen, in the vicinity of San Carlos. They were pursued to Chevelon Fork, beyond the Mogollon Rim. The ensuing fight with them was called the "Battle of Big Dry Wash." Only ten of twelve families are left living on Oak Creek and a few people at Cibecue. The farms on Oak Creek, as well as those at the old sites on Upper Canyon Creek, are still in use. These people have retained their band name and remain quite distinct.

All three of these bands are called collectively dzít'á·dn by both the White Mountain and the San Carlos groups. Although the Pinal, Arivaipa, San Carlos proper, and Apache Peaks bands are closely related to them and are recognized by both groups as legendary offshoots, the legendary separation took place so
long ago that a distinction has grown up. Their speech remains very similar, according to Apache, but the Salt River has become a strong dividing-line between them. A term often used by the White Mountain Apache for the Cibecue group is haiyájédé·hi ("west people"), referring to the location of these three bands, but it was not extended to the Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto groups. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto applied the term žusè·ś₂n to all three of the Cibecue bands.

The San Carlos group.—The Pinal band, ž₁·ś₁·vàn, was named for the place ž₁·ś₁·vàn ("cottonwoods in gray wedge shape") on Pinal Creek, now called "Wheat Fields" because of the fields of wheat planted by the Apache, which were found there by the first American troops who explored Pinal Creek. Groves of cottonwoods are still growing along the creek bottom. The band was known as ž₁·ś₁·vàn among Cibecue, White Mountain, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto groups, and the members use the term for themselves, as did the other three bands in their group. Besides their main farming land (six miles or so of scattered farms along Pinal Creek in the Wheat Fields area) there were farming sites at the juncture of Pinal Creek and Upper Salt River, and on Salt River from the mouth of Pinal Creek to that of Tonto Creek. The people using these farms were some distance from Wheat Fields, but they were considered ž₁·ś₁·vàn. In Coon Creek Canyon, running into Salt River, were farms shared by this band with some of the Apache Peaks band and a few of the Canyon Creek band. Certain of the Pinal shared a farm site with Arivaipa people at ž₁·stc₂ didēstr'íl ("large cottonwoods growing thickly") on the north bank of the Gila River, in the mouth of Dick Springs Canyon.

The Pinal claim that, long ago, none of their people were living in any part of what is historically their territory; that all were north of the Upper Salt River, scattered between the Mazatzal Mountains on the west and the Cibecue on the east. It is true that, according to legend, the majority of their clans originated or first settled in this area to the north. Some claim that Wheat Fields was first found by hunters of clan 39 who, ranging south from their home on the west side of the Sierra Ancha, crossed the
Upper Salt River and followed Pinal Creek until they came to Wheat Fields, then unoccupied. It appeared to be so favorable a location that they brought their families, settled, and started farming. Later, other clans joined them from north of Salt River until they became a band known as the ti:s'evàn.

When not at their farms, they ranged the country between them. Most of the summer was spent on the Pinal Mountain, where game abounded, and the country was cool, high, and safe from enemies. The south and southwest slopes were used for camp sites during the cold months of the year and as a base for raids on the Pima villages westward, Mexican settlements to the south, and the Papago country to the southwest. South of Pinal Mountain was Dripping Springs Valley, territory of Southeastern Yavapai. The band claimed as their western boundary the west end of Pinal Mountain, and a line running almost north from there along the east-west divides of the mountains to the present site of Roosevelt Dam, Iron Mountain being the most westerly point. Beyond was Yavapai country. Relations with the Yavapai were extremely friendly, and some intermarriage took place, yet the Pinal never intermixed with them permanently.

The mountains included in their territory on the west afforded a good place for game and certain wild plant foods. To the north they were bounded by the Southern Tonto, whose territory began some distance across the Salt River. On the east their land ran almost to the Apache Peaks, around which the friendly Apache Peaks band lived. To the southeast they were bounded by the Gila River, and beyond it lived their most closely related band, the Arivaipa. Just northwest of the Gila River were the Mescal Mountains, a favorable region for mescal plants.

According to old people, long ago (probably in the 1850’s) a white man visited them from the vicinity of Fort Defiance, New Mexico, coming about once a year for several years, bringing goods to trade to them and the Apache Peaks band, mainly gunpowder, caps, and lead for bullets. His name was cacbitc'ahn ("bear hat") because he always used to wear a fur cap. This seems to have been the first friendly contact with Americans. Later, some of the people went to "Urinating toward the
Water," as already described. Not until the establishment of Camp Grant on the San Pedro was there a real effort made to bring them under an agency. However, the agency was not successful, and the soldiers there for several years seem to have spent most of their time in trying to pursue and kill the Apache.

In 1864 an expedition of Americans coming through the Wheat Fields region attacked the settlement there. Most of the people fled to the top of Pinal Mountain, and from there to the Arivaipa Valley, taking refuge with the Arivaipa band. When troops were stationed at Camp Grant for the second time after its abandonment during the Civil War, a temporary agency was set up (1867–68) for the purpose of treating with the Pinal and Arivaipa bands as well as with any other Apache who could be reached, supposedly in an effort to establish a reservation on which they might be kept. This agency was abandoned, as terms with the Apache could not be reached. In 1871 a new agency was established here, and some of the Pinal band who had come in to make peace at Camp Grant were told to camp with a large body of Arivaipa in Arivaipa Canyon above the post. They did so, living there peacefully for two months. One morning they were attacked by a party of Mexicans, Americans, and Papagos from Tucson who, undetected by the garrison at Camp Grant, killed about a quarter of the occupants of the camp (nearly a hundred, the Apache claim) and carried off twenty-three children. This was the famous Camp Grant Massacre. The survivors fled to the mountains where they joined other members of their band who had been wise enough not to intrust themselves to government protection. After a few months they were induced to come back, and peace was made once more in 1872 at Camp Grant. In the meantime, General Crook's campaign had gathered most of the Pinal people who remained in the mountains, except a few small encampments.

In 1873 all Apache at Camp Grant were moved to the new post of San Carlos on the Gila River, where they were under the jurisdiction of the San Carlos Agency. They made farms principally along the San Carlos River, and what is left of the Pinal band is there today. One or two families work off and on for
white farmers at Wheat Fields. The older members are still called \( \ddot{\text{i}} \, s'\acute{\text{e}}\text{-bän} \) both by themselves and by others who remember their former status, but the term is no longer commonly used.

The Arivaipa band was called \( \text{tcéjiné} \) ("dark rocks people") derived from \( \text{tséjin} \) ("dark rocks"). The term applied to a part of the Galliuro Mountains in their territory, around which they lived. They used the term \( \text{tcéjiné} \), as did the other three bands of their group and the White Mountain and Cibecue groups. They were also called \( \ddot{\text{i}} \, s'\acute{\text{e}}\text{-vän} \) by these same groups and bands who occasionally included them as part of the Pinal. As the Arivaipa and Pinal consider themselves closely related to each other, it is quite probable that the Arivaipa were merely a part of the Pinal band which moved south. Both bands have practically the same clans, and among the Arivaipa there are traditions of a gradual migration down from their former homes north of the Upper Salt River in the Sierra Ancha and Cibecue regions. The following story concerning this movement was told by Walter Hooke (Arivaipa band):

We have a story about long ago how the \( \text{tcéjiné} \) and the \( \ddot{\text{i}} \, s'\acute{\text{e}}\text{-vän} \) moved to their own countries. Long, long ago, we were all living around Cibecue with the \( \text{dzUt'a\-dn} \). When our people had gathered most of the mescal around that country, they moved toward the west and southwest, following the mescal wherever they could find it and living off pack rats which they caught in their nests. Thus, the people finally worked over toward Wheat Fields, and at this place they settled and started to clear the land for farming. They raised crops. After they had been here awhile, some moved south about the Pinal Mountains and lived there by hunting rats and deer. Then some settled near the Mescal Mountains. Later on, some of them moved over to Dick Springs Canyon and farmed. After this, some moved to \( \text{tsé nán tè\-lé} \) ("broad slanting rock") near Klondike and farmed. Now they all had lots of food. This must have happened very long ago, when the earth was new and still soft. Since that time, our people have never returned to where we used to live around Cibecue.

It is difficult to say when the Arivaipa occupied their historic territory, but we know that the Sobaipuri, a Piman tribe who inhabited the San Pedro River Valley, were forced to give up their settlements along that river in the middle of the eighteenth century because of Apache pressure.
The Arivaipa farming sites which were their main places of abode were three: at the mouth of Dick Springs Canyon, their largest one in the head of the Arivaipa Canyon at tie nan te-le, and the third nearly at the mouth of the same canyon. Their territory extended east to Turnbull Mountain and the Santa Teresa Mountains. South, they ranged to the head of the Arivaipa Valley and the southern end of the Galliuro Mountains, beyond which was Chiricahua territory. The southern end of the Galliuro Mountains and the southwest spur of the Santa Teresa Mountains, where the country was very rough and where women, children, and old people could be left hidden securely, were favorite locations for winter camps from which raiding parties could go to Mexico. Across the San Pedro to the southwest the Arivaipa ranged along the northeast slope of the Santa Catalina and Tanque Verde mountains. The vicinity of Oracle was a favorite place for gathering acorns. During the summertime they lived in these mountains, almost overlooking Tucson and the Santa Cruz Valley. Here was good hunting and safety, as long as a sharp watch was kept for Mexicans, Americans, and Papago. Along the San Pedro Valley the fruit of the saguaro was gathered in July.

From near the mouth of the San Pedro River up the Gila River to the mouth of Dripping Springs Wash, they were bordered by the Yavapai, whose territory began west of these rivers. Between the Mescal Mountains and the region about the mouth of the San Carlos River, the San Carlos band were their neighbors. Although closely related to them and on friendly terms, they did not contact the San Carlos as much as the Pinal band. They claimed that the San Carlos and Apache Peaks bands were similar to each other and that they spoke slightly differently from Pinal and Arivaipa.

Apparently the Arivaipa first came in official contact with Americans when the Pinal did, at Canyon del Oro. After the establishment of Camp Grant on the San Pedro in 1857 the history of the two bands is almost identical. Soldiers and Apache Mansos and Papago scouts destroyed most of their farms and kept them on the move for several years. Finally, when they
made peace in 1871, many lost their lives in the Camp Grant Massacre. In 1873 they were removed, with other Apache at Camp Grant, to San Carlos. In 1874, after they had been there about a year, some of them raided a wagon train across the Gila River from San Carlos carrying a shipment of whiskey. Those who participated fled to the hills, and many of the Arivaipa, fearing that the troops would take vengeance on them as a whole, left San Carlos and started south into their old country. They were followed by troops and Apache scouts from Fort Apache and were brought back to San Carlos without bloodshed. Two Arivaipa chiefs who had refused to come in to San Carlos since the establishment of the agency were still in the mountains with their people. The San Carlos agent hired men belonging to their local groups to bring the chiefs in, dead or alive. They succeeded in bringing the chiefs in dead.

Soon the tension subsided as all Apache belonging to the San Carlos group were established at San Carlos, busy preparing farms for themselves. Part of the Arivaipa selected land at the foot of Victor’s Bluff on the west side of the San Carlos River, some five miles above old San Carlos, but the larger portion settled around the mouth of Salt Wash on the north bank of the Gila River about eight miles above the mouth of the San Carlos. In 1877 the chief _hâckî-bânzín_ moved with his followers back to the mouth of the San Pedro River, then supposed to be on the San Carlos Reservation. But in 1888 he was forced to return to the Gila again, under threats of a raid by whites who wanted the land for themselves. This time his people settled at Old Sub-agency on the south side of the Gila, the present site of Calva, where they farmed until the land washed out, causing them to move to Bylas. The Arivaipa at the mouth of Salt Creek lost their land through flood also and moved back to San Carlos, where some managed to take up new farms. On the erection of Coolidge Dam, these farms were condemned, and they went farther up the San Carlos River, where the remainder of them, with the exception of those at Bylas, are now scattered among the other Apache.

Although older people of the band still call themselves
As older Apache of other bands do, the name is now little used. Those living at Bylas are sometimes spoken of as tłıkà: ("cane people"). Neither a band nor a clan name, its use is localized to Bylas, and there mainly among the people of the White Mountain group. A White Mountain man originated it, because some of the old men had the habit of carrying about cane arrows.

The San Carlos band proper, the smallest band of its group, was called sā'hdê·dò·t'an ("separate it has been placed beside something fire people") by the White Mountain, Cibecue, and its own group. This name was said by John Andrew (San Carlos band) to have been acquired as follows:

We got our name from an incident long ago. A war party of our men from the San Carlos River went to old Mexico. When on their way, they stopped at a place to roast some meat over the coals of a fire. While the rest of the party was waiting for the meat to be cooked, one man ate it by himself. Ever after that our people were called sā'hdê·dò·t'an. This happened long before any of the people living now were born, they say.

Mainly because of intermarriage there were members of all other clans in the group, but this band was made up in great part of four clans: two from Carrizo and two from Cibecue, according to legend. This fits in with the feeling of close relationship between the band and the Cibecue group. They say that they have not always lived in their present country; that long ago there were no Apache in this area south of the Upper Salt River. There may be some historic significance in the fact that the name for the band is said to have been acquired after raids southward began, against the Spaniards or Mexicans, which according to Spanish records started regularly in 1688. The Apache occupation of the San Carlos Valley probably coincided with the general southern movement of the other bands in this group across the Salt River.

The almost negligible number of farms of the San Carlos band were all at places on the San Carlos River, from Victor's Bluff to just above the mouth of Seven Mile Wash. With no ditches or dams for irrigation of the little patches of corn, wheat,
and pumpkins, they depended on planting in the damp soil along the river bottom, which they say at that time grew thick with brush and groves of cottonwood trees. The river never ran dry and was not full of sand bars as it is now. The people spent most of their time between the region of Cassador Springs and the Gila River. They went south of the Gila River only on raids to Mexico. On the north they ranged as far as the vicinity of Hill Top and from there on to Salt River Canyon, touching the river only opposite the mouth of Salt River Draw, called 'íčą: ("salt"), where deposits from brackish water coming into Salt River from the north were used for salt. Those deposits were a common salt ground to all the people of the region, and no band or group claimed them. On the east their territory ran to the Triplets, which they say was their mountain. To the west they claimed the country as far as the east foot of the Apache Peaks, the land of the friendly and related Apache Peaks band, who permitted them to gather and roast the mescal which grew on their mountains. To the south the Hayes Mountains offered good hunting and varieties of wild plant foods. Their land went as far as the Mescal Mountains near the foot of Dripping Springs Wash.

In his personal narrative (1824-30) James Pattie describes coming upon the camp of some Apache at the mouth of the San Carlos River in 1826. These Apache were probably a part of the sa’hadé do’t’án, and more than likely this was the first time that they had ever set eyes on an American. Not until 1864, when Fort Goodwin was established, did they come to friendly terms. Some went to Fort Goodwin for rations and to see what the Americans looked like. Many camped around the post for a time, until trouble arose with the military, and all the Apache left for the mountains. From then until 1873 the troops made several attacks upon people of the San Carlos band, operating mainly from Camp Grant on the San Pedro and Fort Apache. In that year they agreed to live on a reservation and were accordingly located at San Carlos. The band settled along the San Carlos River between the present site of Rice and Peridot, with the majority at the latter place.
Some time in the late eighties or early nineties Apache on the San Carlos River were killed by members of this band. Fearing a feud would start and that the consequences which might arise would be blamed on them, Casidor, their most influential chief, led his people up the San Carlos River some ten miles above Rice, where they ascended a mesa and fortified themselves. They attacked Apache scouts from San Carlos who had been sent to drive some cattle over the mesa to Bear Canyon. After the fight they moved on, in five days coming into Globe to surrender. Since that time they have remained on the reservation, and their descendants, well mixed with other Apache, are living on the San Carlos River. They merely speak of their forebears as having been sa'hande'do-t'ân, and many younger Apache no longer know the term.

The Apache Peaks band was called nada dogülniné, also nada dogülni'hé ("tasteless mescal people"), having received its name in the following way: "People were traveling along. They had some mescal with them. When they came to eat the mescal, they found it was spoiled and had no taste. From that time on the people became known as nada dogülniné ("spoiled mescal people")." This band was also called nde'-il'ânání'gé ("mixed together people") because it was intermarried with and lived between the San Carlos, Pinal, and some of the Canyon Creek band and shared certain of their sites. It has much the same status as the nde'-il'ânání'gé of the White Mountain group, except that here the unit, though always few in number, had acquired a name of its own and was classed as a separate band by surrounding peoples. Sometimes, together with the San Carlos proper band, they are spoken of as sa'hande'do-t'ân, and both considered themselves to be the same in speech and custom. The nada dogülniné used this name for themselves, as did the other San Carlos bands and the Cibecue group. The band was composed mainly of one clan, the xago·zet'le ("people of the wide canyon running upward") (with the exception of members of other clans included because of intermarriage), who claim to have migrated from north of the Salt River. Occasionally, when one uses the term nada dogülniné with an old Apache, he will
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say, "Oh, yes, that was what they called the xágó:zté:lé living about the Apache Peaks."

Within their own territory there were no farms, but some of the band had little farm patches on the San Carlos River at the mouth of Seven Mile Wash and at one or two sites about a mile below. Others farmed in territory of the Pinal band where the Roosevelt-Globe Highway crosses Pinal Creek. Below, at Wheat Fields, they farmed with the Pinal, but all the Apache Peaks farms are said to have been on the east side of the creek, whereas the Pinal farmed on both sides. This was because the Apache Peaks people were outsiders and belonged to the east. A few had farms at the site in Coon Creek Canyon already mentioned. For their own territory the band claimed all the Apache Peaks, on which they spent most of the year when not at the farms. Northward, they ranged over the Seven Mile Mountains and along the south side of Upper Salt River from the mouth of Coon Creek to the mouth of Salt River Draw, where they obtained salt.

Their history in connection with the Americans is much the same as that of the Pinal and San Carlos groups. Between 1864 and 1873 they were continually on the watch for United States troops from Fort Goodwin, Fort Apache, Camp MacDowell, and Camp Grant on the San Pedro. In 1873 they were placed on the San Carlos River under the new agency at San Carlos. They settled mainly between the mouth of Seven Mile Wash and new San Carlos, and what few are left still remain there. Their descendants are no longer called nada dogulné, and the term is almost unknown through lack of use.

The close association of the Pinal and Arivaipa bands, on one hand, and the San Carlos and Apache Peaks bands, on the other, is quite possibly explained by clan migration legends. Those people originally forming the latter pair claimed to come from clans living formerly between the Sierra Ancha and Carrizo Creek, whereas those of the first pair are made up of clans not only that, according to legend, came from between Cibecue and the Sierra Ancha but also that came from between the Sierra Ancha and the Mazatzal Range.
The White Mountain people speak of the San Carlos group as a whole either as *haiyàjéjéjáhrt* ("west people") or, more commonly, as *díljé'ē* (in reference to their way of speaking through their teeth and to the tone of their voices, which sounds like *jéjé*). The second term is also used by White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups for the Southern Tonto and the Northern Tonto. The White Mountain people alone use it for the San Carlos group, apparently because they consider them to be somewhat like the Southern Tonto. (True enough, part of the San Carlos people claim to have come, according to legend, from a territory occupied by Southern Tonto.) However, a White Mountain Apache will differentiate a true Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto by saying that he means a "real *díljé'ē*" from the west side of the Sierra Ancha and on up to Camp Verde, not a *tcejzne* or *Us'e'zān*. They commonly use the band names and say *díljé'ē* more often in a scornful or derogatory way, especially when aggravated. The term *díljé'ē*, applied to San Carlos, Southern Tonto, or Northern Tonto, is resented by these people, especially the first, and other groups are sometimes careful not to use the term where they will overhear them.

An incident took place at Fort Apache recently which shows their attitude toward the use of this name. During the Fourth of July celebration people from San Carlos attended: San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto. Over a mixed gathering of San Carlos and White Mountain people flew a small species of raven, for which the White Mountain term is *gà:gèdljé'ē* (*díljé'ē*—"raven"), in reference to his harsh metallic call, which the bird was uttering at the time. A White Mountain man remarked, "There goes *gà:gèdljé'ē* over us." A man from San Carlos, either a San Carlos or a Southern Tonto, overheard him and arose in anger, ready to fight. "What did you say? Say that once more. I heard it, what you said. We people come up here to visit you; you should not talk that way about us." The White Mountain Apache explained that this was the correct name of the bird and that he meant no harm, but he could not convince the visitors, who thought that he had said it to insult them.
(However, he may have had some ulterior motive in calling attention to the raven.) The White Mountain people delighted in telling of the affair afterward.

Neil Buck (Western White Mountain band) used to tease Anna Price's grandchildren who came to listen to her stories, telling the old woman (then blind) when she inquired who had come that these were some diljé'ë' to see her, much to the embarrassment of the children, who squirmed in their discomfort; they were actually White Mountain. Anna Price once teased her great-grandson in the same manner, saying, "What is this here, a Yavapai, or maybe he is diljé'ë". Oh, no, I guess he is Pima." The little fellow laughed and stoutly said "No" to all her accusations. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto groups used for the San Carlos group as a whole the same term that they applied to the Cibecue group, another indication of the relationship between the San Carlos and Cibecue groups.

It is important to note the tendency of the four bands in this group to lose their identity when placed together on the reservation. Today they are fast becoming one and already are known by other Western Apache as San Carlos ndé' ("San Carlos people").

The Southern Tonto group.—The Southern Tonto are divided into the Mazatzal band and six more amorphous divisions called semibands. Excepting the Mazatzal band and first semiband, the remaining five semibands have really been formed of a few clans claiming local origin or legendary first settlement in what are now vaguely distinguished territories. To avoid confusion with "bands," these territorial units are termed "semibands." The first semiband, though differing somewhat from the other five, is classed with them for lack of a more suitable term.

The Mazatzal band, tséno'lt'i:jù ("rocks in a line of greenness people"), took its name from tséno'lt'i:j, the Mazatzal Mountains, and claimed the east slope of this range. The west slope was Yavapai territory, and the people sometimes visited the Yavapai living in Sunflower Valley, west of the divide, but they remained unmixed and were purely Apache in language. The remainder of their group, as well as the Northern Tonto
and Pinal and Canyon Creek bands, knew them by the above term, though the latter two bands made little use of it. Even other Southern Tonto did not use it much, often designating them merely as the people of such-and-such chiefs. Actually, the term expressed all the people in the region of tséno'ltl'i·j ("Mazatzal Mountains") rather than a distinct band, such as those of the White Mountain group.

The crest of the Mazatzal Range forms a rough line running north from Four Peaks. It was a fine place for the people to camp in the heat of summer, with good hunting and plentiful plant foods. On the south they were bounded again by the Yavapai, north of Salt River. On the east they ranged to Tonto Creek and across it in the region of the present village of Tonto, one of their main camp sites, and where the most influential chief, tc'ę́tibá·hn ("brown hat"), lived much of the time. Bordering them in the northeast were the people of the second semiband, and on the north were the Apache living around dák'ę́gudáll'j ("blue farms") who formed the fourth semiband.

While many of the band spent most of their time in the Mazatzal Mountains and had no farms, others planted at various places along Tonto Creek, from its mouth up to the box canyon above the entrance of Gem Creek. At the juncture of Salt River and Tonto Creek they, and members of the Pinal band, had adjacent farms but always retained their group identities. At the present time this band is almost extinct, only a few remaining at San Carlos and the Gisela settlement.

The first semiband inhabited the west slope of the Sierra Ancha from the head of Gem Creek south to Salt River, just above the mouth of Tonto Creek. On the southwest it was bounded by Tonto Creek and on the west extended almost to the same water course. This region was rough and broken by canyons running to Tonto Creek; but in its eastern part near the top of the Sierra Ancha were places with a continual flow of water where the people spent much of their time, especially in August, when the acorns were ripe and the weather hot in the lower country. These Apache were indistinct as a unit and undesignated by name. They were not composed of certain clans which
claimed to have originated here, as the clans which, according to
legend, came from this area, all moved south at the time of the
migration already mentioned and are now found almost entirely
among the Pinal and Arivaipa. Quite possibly they came into
the area after the migration. They had several chiefs, each resid­
ing with his people at certain sites. The principal chief was a
man called tcílcí·'dí·Ánë (“rectum”), living at the place há·
k'áýé on the head of Greenback Creek, west of Greenback
Peak. This chief and his followers had farms along Greenback
Creek, and here the population of the area was centered. At
times it is said that this semiband was all under the chief
tcílcí·'dí·Ánë, although it really consisted of several chiefs and
their followings.

On the west was the closely related Mazatzal band, the two
peoples visiting back and forth continually; on the north were
the people of the second and sixth semibands, also closely af­
filiated. The people of the first semiband sometimes dis­
tinguish themselves and the Mazatzal band from the Southern
Tonto, claiming that they are to be classed not with them but
with the San Carlos group. Apparently, they had affiliations in
both directions. Visits to the Apache at Wheat Fields and in the
Pinal Mountains were not uncommon, though they were inter­
rupted by occasional quarrels. Only a very few are left who
originally came from this area. They live at San Carlos and
Gisela.

The second semiband was composed mainly of people belong­
ing to three related clans and one unrelated clan who still occu­
pied their legendary origin places: clan 15 on Spring Creek,
along which their farms were located; clan 16 near Turkey
Creek between Spring Creek and Gisela, their favorite camp site;
clan 17 at sai·é·dí·gài (“line of white sand joining” [Gisela]), their
farm site; and clan 51 tédítyúj (“juncture of two canyons”), the
juncture of Rye and Tonto creeks, where they farmed. The
people of all four clans, and others living within the area, were
generally considered as forming a territorial unit which included
a minority of other clans introduced through intermarriage. The
population of the area was located mainly at the four sites men-
tioned above, with the greatest concentration probably in the region of Gisela. People from the Mazatzal Mountains without farms came to Gisela every September to visit and obtain corn, and even the Yavapai from west of the Mazatzal Mountains occasionally did the same. Except for a few members, clan 15 from Spring Creek had long ago migrated south of the Salt River and become absorbed into the Pinal band, but none of the other clans who claimed legendary origin places in the area had left it. Today, those people who originally lived in the area are almost gone. The remnant live at Gisela in a small settlement composed of about eight families, and some descendants are also living at San Carlos.

The third semiband was composed mainly of people belonging to clans who claimed origin at places within its lands: clan 35 from ‘tɛ’gɔ’tsək (Payson) and clan 33 from k’ai hɛci (Round Valley), closely related to each other. The people farmed at the above two sites as well as at Green Valley (called t’ukad’ingai) and Star Valley. The sites of Star Valley and Green Valley belonged almost entirely to clan 35. Probably on this account the people of the third semiband are sometimes mentioned collectively as t’ehgɔ’tsədɛ (“people of the yellow speckled water” [name of clan 35]). The principal chief was called baya’gɔt’ ("notified of a war dance") and belonged to clan 35. The people felt distinct from surrounding semibands, though they were on friendly terms with all and closely related to some, particularly those northwest and southwest. At present only a small remnant remains; about four families at San Carlos, two or three at Camp Verde, and two or three at Gisela. Their old territory is entirely taken over by American ranchers and farmers.

The fourth semiband consisted mainly of two unrelated clans. The first was clan 32, which claims to have originally settled off the north end of the Mazatzal Mountains near the site dák’ɛ’gudútl’i’j (“blue farms”) where springs flowed. The second, clan 40, according to tradition moved into the area after clan 32, coming from the east fork of the Verde. Within historic times the people of both these clans farmed about dák’ɛ’gudútl’i’j and were often designated as dák’ɛ’gudútl’i’jn (“blue farms
people") though this referred only to those farming at \(d\acute{a}k\acute{e}'-g\acute{u}d\acute{u}t'\acute{u}'j\) itself. They ranged north toward the East Verde to the bordering fifth semiband with whom they felt closely affiliated. The Mazatzal band was also akin because it contained many people of clans 32 and 40 whose forebears had moved south from the vicinity of \(d\acute{a}k\acute{e}'g\acute{u}d\acute{u}t'\acute{u}'j\). In fact, its name was sometimes used to include those Apache about \(d\acute{a}k\acute{e}'g\acute{u}d\acute{u}t'\acute{u}'j\). No people belonging to this semiband remain in the old area. At Camp Verde there are still a few who maintain themselves principally by working about the towns in the Verde Valley.

The fifth semiband was composed of two unrelated clans: clan 60, claiming origin at \(y\acute{a}'g\grave{o}h\grave{e}g\acute{a}i\) ("whiteness spread out descending") in the open grassy country sloping toward the East Verde in the vicinity of White Rock Mesa, north of the East Verde, and clan 34, who claim to have originated at \(n\acute{a}'g\grave{o}z\grave{u}g\grave{e}\) ("marked on ground") a little north of the East Verde in Weber Canyon. Its members were fairly numerous, farming not only at \(y\acute{a}'g\grave{o}h\grave{e}g\acute{a}i\) and \(n\acute{a}'g\grave{o}z\grave{u}g\grave{e}\) but also on the East Verde just below the Payson to Pine Road, about two miles up the East Verde at a site called \(b\acute{e}k'\acute{i}d\) ("on a hilltop"), at Pine itself, on Pine Creek near Natural Bridge, at Strawberry, and on the south fork of Strawberry Creek. The last-mentioned farms were occupied mainly by people of clan 34, though quite a number of clan 60 were among them. At Pine, together with the people of clan 34, were some members of clan 47 from the sixth semiband to the east.

The people within this area seldom went south of the East Verde. Northward, they ranged up to the top of the Mogollon Rim, where they had one farm at Strawberry. North and east of the Mogollon Rim they extended through the Long Valley country and as far as the region of Hay Lake; but this high, pine-timbered country was utilized only for hunting and gathering certain wild seeds in the summer. In winter the people were to be found south of the Mogollon Rim, a lower and milder climate. To the northwest they were bounded by the Fossil Creek band; to the north, by the Mormon Lake band; to the east by the people of the sixth semiband with whom they had more
intercourse than any of the other semibands. This is especially true of clan 34, who were closest.

Apparently, the majority of this semiband were of clan 34, and, probably because of this, the inhabitants of the whole area were sometimes called na·gözogn ("people who mark the ground with a stick"), even though clan 60 was well represented. The few of this band that remain—not more than seven or eight families—are now located at Camp Verde, where they live outside the town and work in the Verde Valley at whatever occupations they can find. Their old territory is completely taken over by Americans.

The sixth semiband consisted of four related clans and a clan or clan division. Clan 47 lived mainly between the head of the East Verde and east along the foot of the Mogollon Rim to Promontory Butte, with farms on the East Verde near the mouth of Pyeatt Gulch, at ni·gúzdžis on the side of Promontory Butte, and at tc'o'ülgé·dzi ("spruces extending in a point") just east of Promontory Butte. Clan 48 farmed in a canyon about six miles north of Young's Post Office at Pleasant Valley. Clan 50 farmed about a quarter of a mile below k'áixq'ti ("willows sprouting out") in the same canyon. Clan 49 farmed in the same canyon at k'áixq'ti, and clan 62 farmed at músh, ("owl's song") near Christopher Mountain and Horse Mountain, south of Promontory Butte. They extended up over the Mogollon Rim and toward the country southeast of Hay Lake. This northern area was visited only on hunting trips or in summer to get certain seeds and berries, most of the year being spent south of the Mogollon Rim.

On the east was the Canyon Creek band with whom they had little to do, though there are some people of clan 47 living now at Cibecue. Their presence is explained thus: "Long ago, dzk'ít·a·dn living near Promontory Butte killed people of the Pinal band way south of them. In retaliation the Pinal sent a raiding party up to Promontory Butte and attacked the dzk'ít·a·dn at tc'o'ülgé·dzi, killing many. The survivors fled to Cibecue, where they have remained ever since." Today, the people of this semiband are almost extinct, except for one man living at
Payson, three or four at San Carlos, and others who are descendants.

The Mazatzal band and the first semiband occupied the most southerly areas in the territory of their group. Furthermore, according to tradition in both Southern Tonto group and Pinal band, this southern region is approximately the one evacuated by certain clans moving south across the Salt River long ago. In the northern territory of the group were five semibands, each composed of certain clans who had maintained their clan unity by remaining at their old farms, just as did the clans in the Cibecue group. It seems reasonable to conclude that, if migration legends are true, the abandoned land north of the Salt River would surely be reoccupied in time, for many Apache, belonging to other clans, lived directly north of it. Naturally, when these people moved into the abandoned area, they no longer maintained their former clan unity because, like the clans which claim to have moved south across the Salt River long ago from the Cibecue region, they scattered and settled at different places, thus becoming intermingled. Such a hypothesis is further borne out by the fact that almost every clan which existed among the Mazatzal and the first semiband were clans which came from one of the five other semibands of the group, in whose territory they claimed to have originated or first settled. The similarity between the contrasting formations in the northern and southern areas of this group and those of the Cibecue and San Carlos groups can readily be seen. The main difference is that the vastly larger body of people in the San Carlos group had crystallized into a separate group with distinct bands.

The band and six semibands were probably almost identical in custom and speech. They themselves say: “From \(ná·gəzəgə\) [near Pine] south to \(t'ájídə'hədža'\) (‘turkeys roosting’), Tonto on Tonto Creek, all the people were alike and spoke the same. But from \(ná·gəzəgə\), north and northwest, they [Northern Tonto] talked differently from us. Those east of the Sierra Ancha [Cibecue group] are unlike us, as are those south of the Salt River [San Carlos group] toward San Carlos.” The people of this group had no name for themselves as a whole, nor did Apache living
north and northwest have one for them, merely designating
them by the localities in which they lived. To the White Moun­
tain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups they were known as
diljë'ë and still are. These groups seldom applied any more
definite term to them except to say "the diljë'ë or ndë: [peo­
ple] who live at such-and-such a place." The Southern Tonto
never use the first term among themselves.

Until 1864 the Southern Tonto were little affected by the
American influx into Arizona, except for a few skirmishes with
American military parties. In 1864 Camp Verde was estab­
lished on the Verde River, and friendly Yavapai were sent
among the Southern Tonto with word that rations would be
given to any who came. A few of the more venturesome took ad­
vantage of this, but most were too suspicious. Troops were sent
out to bring them in, with disastrous results to friendship. At
Camp Reno in the Tonto Basin there were a few friendly South­
ern Tonto and some Yavapai who remained peacefully with
the soldiers during part of the year of 1869. Over the rest of the
country the unsettled condition remained until 1872, when Gen­
eral Crook launched his campaign. Shortly afterward, one hun­
dred and ten Southern Tonto were captured near the Tonto
Basin and taken to Old Camp Grant on the San Pedro. Later,
more of them were captured and brought in to Camp Verde,
with the help of Apache scouts from the White Mountain, Cibe­
cue, and San Carlos groups. Finally, in the same year, tc'â
libâ:hn, the Mazatzal chief, came to Camp Verde and made
peace for many of his people. Following the peace, most of the
Southern Tonto settled there with the Northern Tonto and cer­
tain bands of Yavapai. A reservation was established about the
post, but it was not until 1874 that all the Southern Tonto were
gathered together. In these campaign years many of them were
killed, and some of the parties captured were only women,
children, and old people, the men having been slain in battle.

In 1875 the Apache at Camp Verde had the construction of
an irrigation ditch for farming well under way, but in that year,
owing to the plan of concentrating all Apache in Arizona at the
San Carlos Agency, the Southern Tonto, with other Indians at
Camp Verde, were moved to San Carlos. On the way some escaped to their mountains. The Southern Tonto chose to locate their camps and farms at San Carlos, along the north bank of the Gila River below the mouth of the San Carlos River, and thence downward toward the site of Coolidge Dam. A few settled at Bylas in the eighties. They remained on the reservation peacefully until 1898, after which the San Carlos agent at various times gave many of them permits to return to their old homes and to Camp Verde. Those who reoccupied former homes tried to maintain little farms, but, with no protection against the white people, their land was soon stolen from them. Some remained at their farms along the Gila River, but in 1937 the last of these moved back to Gisela, Camp Verde, and Payson. Late ly, many have returned to San Carlos and live on Gilson Wash. One or two are at Bylas, and several are intermarried with Yavapai at Fort MacDowell.

The Northern Tonto group.—The people of the Mormon Lake band, generally known as *dù'ì'ë'ì' ë'ì'ë'thë́ë́ë́ëë́ ("turquoise boiling up people"), had their main camp site at a big park in the pine timber east of Mormon Lake and near the head of Anderson’s Canyon, where a spring with blue sand bubbled up. The name "turquoise boiling up" derived from this was seldom used and was not primarily a band name, but it was apparently the only one by which they were known. The principal chief was *nâdižë́ë́ë́ë́ë́ ("he gets off something"), and more often members of other bands referred to the people as "the people of *nâdižë́ë́ë́ë́ë́." Through continued separation from the three remaining bands of their group, they considered themselves distinct, and the others recognized this. Because of intermarriage, many clans were represented among them, almost all of those existing among the Southern Tonto as well as most of the clans in the other Northern Tonto bands. Pure Athapaskan linguistically, they were not associated with Yavapai, as were the other bands of their group; in fact, they had little to do with any Yavapai except when visiting the Fossil Creek and Oak Creek bands southwest and west of them. They claim to have had no farms, lacking water or suitable ground, and because of their exposed
IHE WESTERN APACHE

position to hostile Navaho, Havasupai, and Walapai. They de­
pended entirely on hunting and wild plant foods.

Besides du-i'ijiháhí'et, favorite summer camps were in the
vicinity of Mormon Lake, Mary’s Lake, and elsewhere. In
summer the people ranged up to the southern foot of the San
Francisco Mountains and Elden Mountain at Flagstaff. They
hunted here but never went far up on the mountains, believing
that supernatural beings lived on top. Southward, they ex­
tended as far as Stoneman’s Lake and Hay Lake. All this coun­
try was in high pine timber and too cold for winter habitation.
In the cold months the people moved eastward into the sheltered
draws along the edge of the great level desert country sloping
toward the Little Colorado River. Here favorite places were
Anderson’s Canyon and Padre Canyon at the foot of the bluffs,
where rain water was found in the natural rock tanks. They
were the only Western Apache who lived entirely north of the
Mogollon Rim, and, therefore, little or no mescal grew in their
territory. Every spring part of the people went south off the
Mogollon Rim to the Fossil Creek region where they could ob­
tain the plant in the lands of the friendly and related Fossil
Creek band. They also went for certain plant foods to the east­
ernterritory of the Oak Creek band, always on amicable terms
with them. The band, the most exposed to hostile tribes of any
of the Western Apache, were constantly on the move to avoid
attack. At present I know of no members surviving from pre­
reservation times, although some may remain in the Upper
Verde Valley.

The Fossil Creek band, the t’údu-i’injádë (“blue water peo­
ple”), took its name from t’údu-i’líj (“blue water”), Fossil
Creek, the place most frequented. Again, this is a regional name
which applied mainly to people living on Fossil Creek and is not
definitely a band name, though it is the only term used to
designate the people of the area. The band was made up of
Yavapai and Apache, the latter forming the majority. Both
Yavapai and Apache peoples were so interrelated by marriage
that they did not constitute separate parties within the band.
Usually, the main body of Apache on Fossil Creek camped
higher up than the Yavapai, who commonly stayed downstream, but they still mixed with Apache.

Their farms, none of them more than tiny patches, were on Fossil Creek, Clear Creek, and at a site on the Verde River below the mouth of Deer Creek. The people were well scattered over their territory, most of them having no farms. Westward, they extended to the west side of the Verde River, beyond which was the friendly and related Bald Mountain band. Northwestward, their land ran across Clear Creek to Oak Creek band territory. Northeastward, Apache Maid Mountain was approximately their limit. To the southeast were the Southern Tonto people, always distinct from them. Southwest, a band of Yavapai which the Apache called ndží'bi't'á:žhis'ásndé' (“yellow pine bent backward people”) lived about the big timbered mountain composing Turret Peak and Pine Mountain, from which they took the name. This Yavapai band was friendly but seldom crossed the Verde River to Fossil Creek. A few Apache of the Northern Tonto group lived and intermarried with them. At present apparently no Apache people of this band remain except a family or two now living on Fossil Creek and possibly a few on Beaver Creek, at the Camp Verde Agency, or at Cottonwood and Clarkdale.

The Bald Mountain band called dásínédásádayéndé’ or dásínédásdáidn (“porcupine sitting above people”) took its name from dásínédásádayé (“porcupine sitting above”), the big mountain on the west side of the Verde Valley, southwest of Camp Verde, called Bald Mountain and Squaw Peak. dásínédásdáidn was also a clan, and the majority of people in this band were members; however, other clans were included through intermarriage with outside bands. The band may have been an outgrowth of this clan. Its people were part Apache and part Yavapai, but the Apache claim that in the beginning the dásínédásdáidn clan was purely Apache. They lived almost entirely about the big mountain from which they took their name. The band, if it can really be called such, was very small and made its living entirely by hunting and wild plant foods, as no farm land existed. To north, west, and south were Yavapai re-
lated to the band through its own Yavapai people. Both the Yavapai and the Apache of the band often visited on Fossil Creek. At present, the Apache of this band are extinct, except for one or two of their descendants living at San Carlos and possibly some in the Upper Verde Valley.

The Oak Creek band, *tséhîtecíndé* ("horizontal red rock people"), was not a distinct unit but was only named thus from *tséhîteci*, the surrounding red sandstone mesas and buttes at Sedona on Oak Creek. It was generally known by this term to the rest of this group as well as to the Southern Tonto. Its several chiefs and their local groups usually each remained in one locality. One such local group was called *'itseltsukb:gwândé* ("red-tail hawk's home people") because of frequenting a place near Oak Creek, some three or four miles west of Sedona, where a large red rock was called *'itseltsukb:gwâ* ("red-tail hawk's home"). The Oak Creek band was half-Apache, half-Yavapai, and the two peoples intermingled. They lived along Oak Creek on Dry Beaver Creek and Wet Beaver Creek. Southward, their territory ran to the west side of the Verde River, between Altman and West Clear Creek. Eastward, they ranged up on the Mogollon Rim, as far as Stoneman's Lake and almost to Mary's Lake. Northward, their territory extended to the region of Roger's Lake and Flagstaff. Westward, they did not range much beyond the divide between Oak Creek and Sycamore Creek, where Yavapai people of other bands lived. One of these bands, which included a very few Northern Tonto Apache, lived on and about Mingus Mountain and the Black Hills immediately west of Jerome. The Apache called them *dût'ijdâ'iskânndé* ("blue, flat-topped people"), because of their home on the Black Hills, *dût'ijdâ'iskán* ("blue, flat topped").

The principal chief of the Oak Creek band, a man called *ndêndê'z* ("tall man"), was married to a Yavapai woman. His favorite camping place was about Sedona and south of it along the red sandstone bluffs. Members of other bands sometimes referred to the whole Oak Creek band as the "people of ndêndê'z." The only Apache remnants of this band are a few now living around Cottonwood and Clarkdale in the Verde Valley, where
in prosperous times the men hold jobs about the towns. Some of these people are also on the Small Camp Verde Reservation and on Beaver Creek. They remain mixed with what is left of the Yavapai members of their band.

The one band of the Northern Tonto which was purely Apache was farthest removed from the Yavapai, as might be expected. However, there apparently was little if any cultural or linguistic difference between it and the rest of the group. It is interesting to note that the Apache and Yavapai in this group have maintained their own language, whereas in material culture there seem to have been few if any differences between them. An individual born an Apache preferably used the Apache language, even though he might speak Yavapai; and, in spite of being bilingual, neither people forgot their identity. The deciding Apache factor in this was identity of the mother, descent being reckoned through her. Thus the children of the Oak Creek band chief, ndéndéž, and his Yavapai wife were termed Yavapai by the Apache, and the son of ndéndéž, still living at Cottonwood, states that he is Yavapai, not Apache. He, in turn, has married a Southern Tonto woman, and in former times the offspring of the couple would have been Apache.

It is not certain how long Yavapai and Apache have been united in these three bands, but probably the fusion is not a very recent one. At present it is impossible to state which people held the country first. It seems unlikely that the Northern Tonto Apache are merely a result of close contact and intermarriage between Southern Tonto and Yavapai. The supposed difference between Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto speech makes this quite evident. Even the kinship terms are so different that they cause a Southern Tonto to laugh. In many respects the Southern Tonto are closer akin in speech and certain customs to the Cibecue and San Carlos groups. The Apache of the Northern Tonto group were probably different from other Western Apache before they mixed with Yavapai. Within historic times this was the group in the Western Apache division which was considered most differentiated from the others.

Among themselves the band names were used to designate
individuals. However, none of these bands were as distinct as those found in the White Mountain and San Carlos groups. In this they resembled the semibands of the Southern Tonto, and a man from the Oak Creek band who settled at Fossil Creek would less likely be referred to as tsèhítsè·ndé· (“horizontal red rock people”) than as a man from the people living at tsèhítsè· (“horizontal red rock”). The Southern Tonto also referred to the people of this group according to the four band names, but nowadays these are not used by either people, as they no longer inhabit their former lands. An interesting overlapping of terms among Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto designated parts of both groups. These were entirely geographical, and such an interuse of terms did not exist between any other two groups of the Western Apache.

All the people living on the top of the Mogollon Rim or north and northeast of it in the high timbered country were called yu·nàji‘ndé· (“north people”) because they lived to the north. This would include the Mormon Lake band, those of the Oak Creek and Fossil Creek bands who spent most of their time on the Mogollon Rim in the pine-timbered country, and those of the fifth and sixth semibands of the Southern Tonto group who did likewise. All the people living along the foot of the Mogollon Rim from Oak Creek to Promontory Butte, as well as along the foot of the mountains from Promontory Butte to Gisela, were called ndé· itléhé (“people below”) because they lived up under the Mogollon Rim and at the foot of the mountains. This included the remainder of the Oak Creek and Fossil Creek bands, those of the fifth semiband who lived under the Mogollon Rim, the remainder of the sixth semiband, and all the second semiband as far south as Gisela.

All those living directly west of the Verde River from Clarkdale south to the mouth of the East Verde River, as well as in the region of the Lower East Verde River, were called yááí‘-d·nà‘áyú·ndé· (“west people”) because they lived to the west. This included the Yavapai band, dútli‘jdá‘izk‘ámdé·, Bald Mountain band, the Yavapai band on Pine Mountain and Turret Peak, those of the fifth semiband who lived on the Lower
East Verde, and the whole fourth semiband. Two other terms, *ni'tin'i'dnde'* ("in the middle people") and *ndé'bindé'ë* ("people halfway between"), and a third, *bigijndé'ë* ("people between"), indicate areas which included all the Apache between the Mazatzal Mountains on the west, the Sierra Ancha on the east, the Mogollon Rim on the north between Pine and Promontory Butte, and the present town of Tonto on the south. These terms were applied to them because the Apache were said to be completely surrounded by other people. The area took in the northern half of the Mazatzal band, the northern section of the first semiband, all of the second, third, and fourth semibands, and all the people of the fifth and sixth semibands living south of the Mogollon Rim. These terms had nothing to do with any differences or similarities in speech or custom, though they exemplify a close feeling of geographic association which existed between Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto groups.

The White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups called the Northern Tonto collectively *díljé'ë*, the same name that they applied to the Southern Tonto. They used none of the band names, probably being unaware of them. If they wished to differentiate the Northern Tonto from Southern Tonto, they did so by saying, "Those *díljé'ë* who live way up there and are hard to understand when they talk." They still designate them in the same way, but sometimes they use the modern expression "Camp Verde *ndé*'ë" for Northern Tonto as well as for the Southern Tonto.

American relations with the Northern Tonto are much the same as with the Southern Tonto. Up until 1864, when Camp Verde was established, there was little or no contact with Americans. The Northern Tonto drew their first rations at Camp Verde from the military and seem to have been slightly more friendly than the Southern Tonto were; but trouble broke out between them and the troops, which resulted in skirmishes and some bloodshed. In 1872, at the close of General Crook's campaign, they came into Camp Verde and settled there peacefully. They suffered slighter losses than the Southern Tonto during these years. In 1875 they were taken to San Carlos Agency with
the Southern Tonto and the Yavapai of the region. On the way, hostility arose between the Apache and Yavapai members of the Northern Tonto bands, resulting in a fight between the two peoples. Several were killed, and in the confusion many Apache, both of this group and of the Southern Tonto, ran off, starting back for their old homes. The rest finally arrived at San Carlos and settled along the Gila River below the mouth of the San Carlos River. Here they remained until 1898, and after that many were given permission to go back to their former homes. The majority, sooner or later, returned to the Upper Verde Valley and settled near Camp Verde on Beaver Creek and Fossil Creek. Close to Camp Verde an agency and school was set up for them in 1908 or 1909.

The following pages briefly outline the interrelations of all groups. Only data pertaining to White Mountain Apache relations with other Western Apache groups are given in full.

Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto were always on friendly terms and visited back and forth frequently. Members of the Mormon Lake band often came to the farming site of the fifth semiband at Pine for short stays, and vice versa. There was some intermarriage. The Apache on Fossil Creek, and from the fourth and fifth and sixth semibands of the Southern Tonto, visited each other similarly, intermarrying somewhat also. The remainder of Southern Tonto semibands and those bands of the Northern Tonto not mentioned above, though cognizant of each other, rarely exchanged visits. The same was true of the Northern Tonto and Cibecue groups. The San Carlos and White Mountain groups were known to the Northern Tonto but were remote from them and without contact.

The Southern Tonto had no intercourse with White Mountain Apache, though they knew of them through intermediate peoples. The Cibecue group bordering them on the east was not hostile, but there was very little contact with them, the distinction between the two and mutual suspicion being strongly felt. Much the same attitude is found between the San Carlos
group and Southern Tonto, even though peoples inhabiting the southern area of the Southern Tonto territory were contiguous to the Pinal and Apache Peaks bands and sometimes visited them.

Relations between the San Carlos and the Cibecue groups were always friendly, and no cases have been known of any suspicious or hostile feelings. They considered themselves to be closely allied both in language and in custom as well as through the clans common to both. Fairly frequent visiting between them is mentioned, and the Cibecue and Canyon Creek bands often made extended stays in the territory of the Pinal and Arivaipa bands during the winter months in order to be within striking distance of the Pima, Papago, and Mexican settlements and to join the San Carlos people on such raids. Sometimes small parties of Cibecue and Canyon Creek Apache went to the western edge of the Pinal Mountains, camped for a short period within southeastern Yavapai territory, and there combined with these people to raid the above-mentioned enemies.

The White Mountain Apache came in close contact with all Western Apache groups excepting the Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto. Their first contact with them was not until General Crook's Apache campaign of 1871-73, when White Mountain Apache scouts were enlisted to aid him within the territory of these two groups. Probably the closest association of White Mountain Apache with people of the Cibecue group was between the adjacent Western White Mountain and Carrizo bands. There was some intermarriage between them, and thus certain families living on Cedar Creek and the Carrizo were interrelated; despite this, the two never merged. Although no large-scale hostilities existed, at times there were blood feuds. Such feuds were almost always clan matters, though perhaps more antagonism was roused through group differences. After the establishment of Fort Apache Reservation and the concentration of White Mountain, tca-tcı·đın, and Carrizo bands about the post, occasional trouble arose. The following account by John Rope (Western White Mountain band) will furnish an example. It is interesting to note that, though the tca-tcı·đın were
virtually outcasts from the Carrizo band, they sided with the Carrizo people in these affairs.

I heard that the Carrizo people had been drinking all night. That morning I borrowed my brother's mule to go after the horses. Another man accompanied me. As we rode up the hill, we looked back to the Carrizo camp where many men were drinking tulibai ("gray water") [a native brew made of soured corn, like a mild beer]. In a little while we heard lots of guns going off at the camp below and thought that there must be fighting and killing there, so we turned back. Soon we met a girl running as fast as she could. She was carrying her clothes, and, when we asked her what was the matter, she didn't answer, just kept on running. We thought someone must have been killed. From there we went to our camps. When the trouble started, ħâcké-lldásíla· ("angry right side up"), the great ná-dôts'ùsn [clan] chief, and ħâcké-yânîlîl'î-da·n ("angry he shakes something"), the tcá-teč'í-da·n chief, were sitting together peacefully watching their people fight. ħâcké-lldásíla· said, standing up and shouting to his people, "dzìrγ'á' boys and lì-náhá-ká' boys, be brave! Don't try to run; go right up to them!"

So the tcá-teč'í-da·n chief stood up and said something also, "tzùk'à digaiän boys and dzìh'tá-da·n boys and tcá-teč'í-da·n boys, go right ahead and shoot at them; don't be afraid!"

All this time the two chiefs were sitting together smoking, while their people were killing each other. Pedro, the tcá-teč'í-da·n chief who had only one eye, was killed there. Two other Cibecue men were killed, one of them being shot by a t'udîlxîlî [clan] chief while he was trying to steal from an Eastern White Mountain camp. In all, nine men from the Cibecue group were killed and two White Mountain men. For this reason a white man [probably Mr. Cooley] went to see the commander of the post and told him the White Mountain people were bad, and on account of this many of our people were killed because he got permission from the officer to let the Carrizo and tcá-teč'í-da·n do it. Afterward, we stayed far apart from these people.

Notice, in this instance, that the stress is put on band and group, not on clan as it usually is in feuds.

No real trade existed between the White Mountain Apache and the Cibecue groups, but, when there was a good crop, the White Mountain Apache visited the Cibecue in the fall to obtain gifts of corn from them. Likewise, the Cibecue took ad-

The White Mountain people have a common belief that killings of their people by the tcá-teč'í-da·n and Carrizo were done with the authorities' permission at Fort Apache, but it is uncertain whether this is true or not.
vantage of successful White Mountain Apache harvests, especially at Cedar Creek, when their own crop had been poor. Red mineral paint was also obtained from the Cibecue. The two groups frequently visited back and forth, particularly the Western White Mountain and Carrizo bands. They often attended each others' drinking parties, where friends exchanged presents such as horses with saddles. Every few years chiefs' councils were held at the home of the most influential chief in the district. Among the White Mountain people the outstanding chiefs of their own group as well as a few of those from the Cibecue and San Carlos groups were invited. Sooner or later, the visiting chiefs reciprocated with similar councils in their territory.

Quite frequently, people of the White Mountain and Cibecue groups combined in warfare against enemies such as the Navaho and Mexicans. In such instances the chief instigating the war party sent invitations to certain chiefs within his and the Cibecue group. These men, if they accepted, came, bringing their following. The Cibecue never stole horses from the White Mountain Apache as the San Carlos group sometimes did.

The San Carlos group, though farther removed from the White Mountain people than the Cibecue, had basically similar relations with them: occasional visits back and forth, with some intermarriage and a general friendly attitude, barring occasional minor troubles. No trade existed between the White Mountain Apache and the San Carlos groups because they belonged to the same division. John Rope says in speaking of them: "They were our friends, our relatives, and, though we gave presents to each other, this was not trade. We didn't trade with them because they were like us." However, there were probably exceptions, and one account describes members of the Arivaipa band arriving in Western White Mountain territory shortly after a successful raid in Mexico, bringing cowhides, each done up in a bundle and containing mescal and beef which they wished to trade for acorns, corn, and other foods.

Social intercourse was mainly in the form of visits between chiefs. This is in contrast to visits between all classes among the neighboring Carrizo and Western White Mountain peoples,
where it was only a matter of a short ride between camps. During the winter months, when certain of the Western White Mountain people inhabited the southern area of their territory, they sometimes stayed temporarily with people of the Arivaipa band near Arivaipa Canyon. Also, both Eastern and Western White Mountain families quite often journeyed to the valley of the San Pedro in the summer for the saguaro fruit harvest. The Arivaipa were admittedly the owners of this land, and, though glad to have the White Mountain people come, they reserved the right to allot the gathering areas for the fruit. Anna Price mentions this in telling of such a trip: "When we got to San Pedro, hâcki-bânziŋ’, ("angry, men stand in line for him"), the chief there, told my father, ‘All right, you people can gather saguaro fruit on the east side of the river, and my people will take all the fruit on the west side of the river.’ And that is the way we did.”

There was intermarriage with the Arivaipa, and in regard to this and the general intercourse between the two groups Anna Price says:

The people of hâcki-bânziŋ’ were our relatives, and their chief called my father his brother because their wives were of the same clan. So we were always friends. The way we became friends was this: my father and his brother had been down to Mexico on a raid. On the way back they stopped with the Arivaipa near Winchester Mountain. That is where my father’s brother married an Arivaipa girl. He stayed there, and my father came home alone, saying his brother was married down there. The children of my father’s brother among the Arivaipa were our relatives from then on. That’s what started our two people being friends [this particular relationship]. This happened long ago before my mother married my father [ca. 1830]. One man is still living at San Carlos who is descended from my father’s brother.

These San Carlos people used to come to visit us at White River. They always came to my father’s place, bringing mescal and saguaro fruit prepared in cakes from their own country. They never traded with our people—just gave things to father. The Pinal and Arivaipa were good friends with all the White Mountain people. We used to give them blankets, corn, and buckskin as presents. We never fought them. The San Carlos band were good friends to my father also. Coyote Hat, their chief, was one of my father’s friends. They came up to visit us at White River sometimes, and we visited them on the San Carlos River as well. We never fought them like the Chiricahua. The people
living at Wheat Fields were our relatives. They raised lots of wheat, and we used to get some from them occasionally. Whenever the people from the San Carlos group came to visit us, we told them, “We’ll be down after a while, so prepare some mescal for us.”

It was not uncommon for people of the San Carlos and White Mountain groups to combine in warfare against Navaho, Mexicans, and such enemies, just as with the Cibecue group. Hostilities between the San Carlos and White Mountain groups were nominally nonexistent. At times considerable hard feeling was caused by horse-stealing, the White Mountain Apache accusing the Arivaipa of this offense, particularly when in the southwestern part of their territory near the Arivaipa. Such horse-stealing, the White Mountain people knew, was generally without sanction of the Arivaipa chiefs and leaders, and this knowledge helped considerably to maintain peaceful relations. If an Arivaipa man knew that his chief would not countenance these aggressions, and he still desired to practice them, he moved his family away from his local group. Operating from a convenient location, he brought in the stolen horses, which were consumed before he and his family returned; thus no one was the wiser. The following story from John Rope recounts such an episode.

Charlie Ship’s father started from White River with some of his people to gather mescal on the south side of Turnbull Mountain. While they were camped over there, they tied their horses close at night for fear of having them stolen by the Arivaipa. When they had completed preparation of their mescal, they started home. On the way they stopped at Sweetmeat. Here, not fearing the Arivaipa any longer, they merely hobbled their horses close to camp. The next morning when they searched for them, two were gone. They trailed them and found where two men had unhobbled, mounted, and ridden them off toward the head of Salt Creek. On returning, Charlie Ship’s father’s men told him this. He said, “All right, we’ll trail them to their homes, whoever they are. These people [Arivaipa] have done this to us lots of times.”

Charlie Ship’s father and his brother and a third man took the trail, following it to the head of Salt Creek and down Salt Creek to the Gila River. From there the trail led on up to a pass near Stanley Butte. The other two men were almost exhausted, and Charlie Ship’s father was in

Charlie Ship, an old man of the Eastern White Mountain band, now residing at Canyon Day on White River.
the lead when he came on the Arivaipa. They had killed one of the horses, roasted it, and were eating the meat. Charlie Ship's father, a chief, came to them while they were eating, "There are two more men coming right behind me. You'd better leave," he said. One of the Arivaipa men got up, saying, "I can't do it. I won't give you these animals. The ti-nává-hé ('people who raid for horses') [Western White Mountain] people are worth nothing. All you have to do is steal things from them and live on their animals." As he was still talking, he saw the other two men coming. The second Arivaipa man said, "Let's leave here right away," but the first replied, "I won't do it; I'm not going to give these animals up." The second told him, "Let's go," and he got up and left. The other refused to leave with him and just stood there.

The one who ran off climbed to the top of a hill from where he looked back. When Charlie Ship's father's two men arrived, Charlie Ship's father went around behind the Arivaipa man, in the direction which he might take if trying to escape. The other two stood close to him. Charlie Ship's father had a gun, and the Arivaipa had a bow in one hand, an arrow in the other. He had his quiver slung on his back. One of the Western White Mountain men carried a quiver also. Charlie Ship's father said, "I would like to see you eat up all this meat. The man who eats his own meat, he's the one I call a real man." The Arivaipa replied, "I ate it because it is my own meat, no one else's."

It was because he talked in such an ugly way to Charlie Ship's father that he got killed right there. If he had not done so, he would have gone free. Charlie Ship's father said, "Put one more piece of wood on the fire." He did this because he intended to make the man think he was not angry at him. Then he said, "When that other fellow started to run, you should have run very fast also." As they stood there, they kept watching each other, ready to shoot the remaining Arivaipa should he make a false move. Then one of the men raised his bow and drew it as if to shoot at him. He did it to draw his attention, and, while the man looked, Charlie Ship's father shot him with his gun. The Arivaipa spoke his last words, saying, "ti-nává-hé, you got me."

After they killed him, they took the horse's liver from the fire where it was roasting, and, packing it with the meat on the other horse, they started back. When the Arivaipa remaining on top of the hill saw his companion killed, he ran off home. We heard later that on his arrival he told his people that the ti-nává-hé had killed his friend. But one of the Arivaipa told him, "We told you not to go over there, but you said the ti-nává-hé were nothing and went there anyway. When you hear crying, don't you cry."

On the way back the three Western White Mountain men stopped at the head of Salt Creek for the night. Next morning they got to their
camp at Sweetmeat. Charlie Ship's father ordered, "Hurry up, let's go!" So they all made for the Eastern White Mountain country, going through Soldiers' Hole, and from there on north, taking a half-circle in order to come into Turkey Creek. There, they arrived at the home of hàcké·ldásilá. Charlie Ship's father told this chief what had happened. He replied, "That's all right. That's what they wanted. The killing you have done is the fault of the Arivaipa, whether they want to make trouble about it or not." Charlie Ship's father was a chief also. He told his trouble to hàcké·ldásilá because he was a very influential man. The reason they had circled back into Turkey Creek was for fear the Arivaipa might be following them.

Next morning hàcké·ldásilá talked to the people, "This is one of our friends who has come to our place because he has killed an Arivaipa. Anyone would have done so. If one of you had a horse stolen, you would catch the thief and do to him the same thing. If the Arivaipa come over after him, we cannot let them take him. He has come here because this is a safe place, so look after him."

These two chiefs were close friends but not related to each other. Their friendship was due to the fact that Charlie Ship's father married a bísñáhé woman, a relative [related clan] of this chief. That is why he had gone to him for help. He and his family lived right in the middle of the camps there, and hàcké·ldásilá told his men to bring in their horses for them every morning, not to let them go out after them themselves.

People of the San Carlos band also sometimes stole horses from the White Mountain Apache and extended their horse-stealing to the White River region in the heart of the White Mountain country. The White Mountain people claim that they never did the same to any of the San Carlos group. They also state that there have never been blood feuds between the two groups as with the Cibecue. When asked which groups and bands they feel closest to culturally, the White Mountain usually answer, "Cibecue and San Carlos." Occasionally, some distinction is made between the various bands in these two groups, as when John Rope stated that his people felt closest to the San Carlos band proper and after that to the Carrizo band. Beyond this the degree of relationship was about equal.

There having been no contact with either Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto in prereservation times, White Mountain Apache generally considered themselves more akin to the
Chiricahua division; at present, however, the Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto people hold the closer position since they are living on the San Carlos Reservation, and the Chiricahua are distantly located. In fact, even though the Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto were of the same division as the White Mountain people, Anna Price went so far as to discriminate between them and the remainder of the Western Apache and Chiricahua, saying that the latter two only were ādē: ("the people"), the name by which the Apache generally class themselves, as compared to outside tribes such as Pueblo, Yuman, and even Navaho. However, this was more owing to lack of knowledge and contact with the Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto than to actual distinctions based on culture.

The Chiricahua were considered fairly close to the White Mountain people, yet they were of a different division and were held so in the minds of the White Mountain Apache themselves, as is shown in the following statement: "These people living over to the west of us, the Carrizo, Cibecue, and Canyon Creek as well as the San Carlos, Pinal, and Arivaipa, talked as we did. They lived the same way as we, and we were all like one people. But the Chiricahua over to the east of us and down toward the Chiricahua Mountains were different; they didn't talk as we did."

The reason for the existence of Western Apache groups is not certain. Some of them undoubtedly have become separated since the time of their arrival within the territory which they occupied in historic times. The San Carlos and Cibecue groups are examples of this. The Southern Tonto seem to be most closely related in culture and possibly speech (though not in intimacy) to the Cibecue and San Carlos groups, but it could not be said that they and the Cibecue had split since arrival in their historic territory. Probably the nucleus of both Cibecue and Southern Tonto groups formed a closely related body of local groups which moved in at the same time. The Western Apache are thus roughly divisible into three parts: first, the Northern Tonto; second, the Southern Tonto, Cibecue, and San Carlos; and, third, the White Mountain Apache. It is impossible to de-
termine the exact position of the Western Apache in prehistoric times, but it seems probable that these three parts each moved into the Western Apache area already separated. Before that, all three may have formed a whole. Migration traditions are not numerous, and what few there are deal wholly with clans.

As has been seen, the band formation within the Western Apache groups varied considerably. The White Mountain possessed the most distinct bands; next, the San Carlos; third, the Cibecue; fourth, the Northern Tonto; and, last of all, the Southern Tonto. Several elements may have influenced these differences. First of all, the one band among the Southern Tonto which bore a name was actually little different in character from the semibands of that group. The four bands of the Northern Tonto might be closely compared to Southern Tonto semibands as well. The three Cibecue bands were a little more distinct but parallel in formation to Southern Tonto semibands. Two of these groups possessed in common the strong tendency to designate according to clan rather than band name. The reason for this may well be that the majority of members of almost all clans in these two groups still remained at sites where they claimed to have originated, or first settled, on entering the country. The clans that concentrated at such sites throughout the area were still the important name units to the local Apache. Among the San Carlos group the clans had almost all migrated into new territory, only one or two of them claiming origin there, and we find them far less localized.

With the White Mountain Apache the existence of strong band classification and less localization of clans than among Cibecue and San Carlos groups is not so readily explained. It is true that the majority of White Mountain clans were no longer centered at the mythical origin sites within their territory but had scattered to other places. Even so, clans were still somewhat localized within the two bands. It must not be thought that San Carlos and White Mountain groups did not use clans as a classification for individuals, for it was their commonest mode of identification. The difference between them and the Cibecue and Southern Tonto lies in the fact that the last two groups used
only clan names, whereas the other two used both clan and band names.

The acquiring of horses may also have affected the formation of bands. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto had few horses, being far from Mexico and the Pima and Papago settlements. They occasionally raided to the south, but this was not to be compared to the extent of raiding carried on by Cibecue, San Carlos, and White Mountain people. Probably the White Mountain and San Carlos groups raided for and obtained more horses than any of the others, and second to them the Cibecue. This correlates with the relative strength of band formation in the groups. The horse may have served to expand and further scatter the people, and, with intercommunication made easier, clan concentrations at one main location may have somewhat broken down. The size of the respective groups' territories correspond also, the White Mountain occupying the largest area; second, the San Carlos; third, the Cibecue, and, fourth, Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, both having approximately the same amount of land. However, these differences cannot be attributed alone to the effect of horse culture or other variations in economic life; population must also be considered.

In prereservation times the White Mountain group probably never numbered over 1,400-1,500, the Cibecue group 1,000, the San Carlos group 900, the Southern Tonto group 900, and the Northern Tonto group 450. As far as these figures may be relied on, they compare interestingly with the size of the group territories. That the White Mountain Apache had the largest territory was probably partly owing to their numbers and partly to the use of the horse. The Cibecue group being second in population but third in territory is perhaps explained by the possibility that they practiced more intensive agriculture than any of the others. The population of San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups was almost equal, but their territories were not. The San Carlos territory did not have such a concentrated variety of life and plant zones as the Southern Tonto country

12 See Appen. D for method by which these figures were reached.
had, and consequently less plant foods were available within the same sized area; but the San Carlos practiced the more agriculture of the two and also made greater use of horses. The population of the Northern Tonto group, together with its Yavapai content, amounted at most to 800, probably less. Having very little agriculture, they naturally needed a somewhat larger area in relation to their numbers. All these factors probably controlled the relation between size of territory and size of population.

The placement of the various groups and bands on the San Carlos Reservation has made it a Western Apache melting-pot. There, group and band distinctions have been broken down more than on the Fort Apache Reservation, where the people still retain their old territorial segments. However, group identity is felt, and White Mountain Apache, members of the San Carlos group, and the Southern Tonto group are quick to make distinctions between themselves. This is particularly so of the White Mountain group, who, located at Bylas for the most part, still regard that part of the San Carlos Reservation, originally within their territory, as theirs. The San Carlos Reservation includes none of the land once belonging to the Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, and the fact that these people are present there is sometimes resented by the San Carlos people.

Today the principal units outside family and extended family are the farming communities around which the people make their permanent homes and from which all stock operations and such things are carried on. These communities on the Fort Apache Reservation are located at Canyon Creek, Cibecue, Carrizo Creek, R 14's place at Cedar Creek Crossing, Cedar Creek, Canyon Day, North Fork, East Fork, and Turkey Creek. With the exception of the one on North Fork, all are still composed of people of the same group who lived at these places in prerreservation times. On the San Carlos Reservation communities are found at Bylas, Calva, Peridot, and Rice or New San Carlos. At several of these places on both reservations more than one community exists. Often adjacent communities join forces during roundup, the only activity that calls for co-
operation, although sometimes they maintain their own round-ups and other occupations independently. Even though the community may be composed of members from more than one group, each is united by common local interests, problems, and farm ownership. Reminiscent of old times is the rivalry in sports, at rodeos, and at other gatherings, where to win an event over members of another community is more than a personal matter. The same is true of the only old game—hidden-ball—still played, in which there is much rivalry between communities, which are always challenging one another. In former times such rivalry in hidden-ball, hoop-and-poles, shinny, and racing was common between groups, bands, and local groups.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL ASPECTS AND OUTSIDE CONTACTS

The Western Apache territory was dotted with the remains of prehistoric peoples: Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon. There are a number of ruins which bear names, such as “Blue House,” “Broad House,” etc. While few references to them or their inhabitants exist in Apache lore, the Apache were quite aware of prehistoric remains and believed them to be Indian ones somewhat similar to their own. Objects from surface ruins such as arrowheads, turquoise, white shell, red stone, and black jet beads they used in ceremonies and for their own adornment but avoided any other remains through fear of the dead. They sometimes say that the mythical flood, once covering the earth, caused the disappearance of these people.

In White Mountain mythology a short cycle of tales relates contacts with a people who inhabited a large prehistoric ruin at Dewey Flat on the Gila River as well as a similar ruin at the confluence of Gilson Wash and San Carlos River. The San Carlos have similar tales. These people were hostile and raided the Apache, who according to legend were then living in the mountains to the north. The Apache made counterattacks and refer to these people as indà:, a term primarily signifying “enemy.” They are also called bàːtcǐː (corruption of the word “Apache”) and sometimes alluded to as Mexicans. The latter usages may be a confusion of the Apache Mansos and Mexicans with prehistoric inhabitants, as Western Apache sometimes say that these two peoples built the prehistoric ruins in their territory, later abandoning them to move farther south. Apparently the allusion to a southward movement is a rationalization of the location of Apache Mansos and Mexicans to the south of the Western Apache.

A short tale from hāsṭi-ṃnābā-há (“old man he goes to war”)
THE WESTERN APACHE

refers to a time when the Apache were living east of the Sierra Ancha in the Cibecue area and had not yet occupied the Tonto Basin. The Tonto cliff ruins were then inhabited by a people whom the Apache called sāikíné ("sand house people"). Some Apache, being on friendly terms with them, later resided nearby. However, trouble arose with the Cliff Dwellers through their alleged theft of Apache property, forcing them to abandon their cliff dwellings and migrate to the Salt River Valley, where they became Pima. The term used for these prehistoric people is identical with that now applied to the Pima and Papago, and the tale may signify a real mergence, though they may not have been Pima themselves.

The gá:n, a class of supernatural beings prominent in mythology and religion, are at times identified as the builders of certain prehistoric ruins and as inhabitants of cave sites. They hold a position in Apache culture similar to the katcina among the Pueblos. At present they are believed to live within certain mountains and under the ground in lands belonging to themselves; but in ancient times they lived on the earth as a people. Because of sickness and death, the gá:n left in search of a place without sickness and where eternal life might be found. They are still believed to live in certain caves, and prehistoric articles found there at times are attributed to them. It is interesting to note that they are always associated with agriculture, extremely suggestive of a Pueblo type of economic life. White Mountain mythology contains a cycle of tales dealing with them which relates that the Apache lived in close proximity to the gá:n in the northern part of their territory and benefited from their agriculture at a time when they had none themselves.

The common name for prehistoric inhabitants of the region, excepting the gá:n, to whom it is not applied, is nàlk’ i dé. The meaning is uncertain, but quite possibly the first syllable, nà, is a contraction of įndà ("enemy"), and the rest of the word may refer to the little mounds which their ruins now form.

A few indications of the prehistoric Western Apache migrations may be contained in some of their clan legends and
HISTORICAL ASPECTS AND OUTSIDE CONTACTS

There is a definite north-to-south trend in the mythology for all Western Apache movements. In myths of the five groups there is mention of a legendary place called variously t'ayá·kó·wa (“camp below the water”), t'ába·kó·wa (“camp beside the water”), and tálba·kó·wa or gútálba·kó·wa (“dance... of myths from the Cibecue, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto is lacking, as well as any clan legends from the Northern Tonto.
camp"), where long ago they claim to have lived in company with the Navaho, Hopi, and other peoples. Some say that the place lies to the north of the Little Colorado River, in the modern Hopi country; others, that it is to the east of the White Mountains in the direction of Zuni. Gila Moses (first semiband, Southern Tonto) thought it lay to the west, maybe in Yavapai country. All that may be gleaned from myths is that they lived there and carried on raids against other peoples (Indians) to the south. Clan legends mention only three clans (besides those said to have originated from captives)—clans 36, 37, and 60—which did not legendarily come from the north or northeast. Added to this, mythical events in the south are comparatively few, except in conjunction with the four directions. The fact that the Rio Grande Pueblos and other Southwestern peoples attribute their origin place, or first home, to the north might prove these references to former Apache residences in that direction to be merely part of a cultural pattern; but the detail in clan legends makes it seem very probable that at least a part, if not all, of the Western Apache were at some time in their history living in the Little Colorado Valley to the north of their historic range.

We may now turn to the historical evidence which bears on the date of Western Apache arrival south of the Mogollon River. Many writers assign a relatively late date (post-Spanish) for this. The nonmention of Apache or Apache-like peoples in the few early Spanish documents dealing with the region has been taken as definite proof that they had not yet penetrated it. These assumptions are mainly based on four early accounts. The first is from the Coronado expedition of 1540–42. Coronado on his way north to Zuni supposedly passed through the extreme southeastern section of what, in the nineteenth century, was White Mountain Apache territory. Although he encountered no signs of people, this should not be taken as conclusive evidence that none lived there. Apache camps were well hidden, and Apache did not show themselves to forces as imposing as Coronado's. It is possible to say that the same expedition could have passed through the identical stretch of country in the
latter part of the nineteenth century without encountering sign of the Apache.

Stronger evidence for their not being there is the fact that none of the native guides mentioned such a people in the region; but this again is not conclusive. According to Apache tradition, they were all concentrated along the foot of the Mogollon Rim and in the country immediately south of it during their early period in the region. If this is true, the area that Coronado's expedition passed through may not have been occupied by Apache at that time, though they may have been no more than a day's journey to the north or northwest. On the other hand, the mention of a people with a simple wild-food-gathering culture and termed "barbarous," living in the region of Chilchilticalli, might indicate Apache in that locality at the time. If they were Athapaskans, I would be inclined to think that they were a part of the Chiricahua or Apache Mansos, though they could have been a wandering group of Western Apache in the region.

The Espejo expedition in 1582-83 again failed to cover any early Western Apache territory, except possibly the Upper Verde Valley, where people were encountered who might easily have been Apache or Yavapai. Also "mountainous people" were encountered along the Little Colorado River and could have been either Apache or Havasupai. In 1598 Oñate sent a small force from the Hopi towns in a southwesterly direction but not through Western Apache country except in the region of Flagstaff. Oñate's own expedition to the sea in 1604 likewise failed to pass through Western Apache country except in the above-named region. Benavides' Memorial, in 1629-30, mentions Apache living well to the west of the Rio Grande in the vicinity of Socorro, which later, if not then, was Eastern Chiricahua territory. Ninety years is not too short a time to allow for Apache occupation, but the documentary evidence must be carefully weighed with other aspects of the question.

Gladwin has fairly well summed up the archeological evidence to date which may shed light on Apache movements in east-central Arizona. He says that, in that area during 1300-1350, peoples north of the Gila show a marked tendency to congregate in
comparatively few large pueblos and cliff dwellings. Again by 1400 or shortly after, the region historically occupied by the Western Apache was abandoned by its prehistoric agricultural inhabitants. Whether withdrawal of this was owing to Apache pressure, climatic conditions, or both, is uncertain. However, it is true that no other people are known to have occupied the area between the withdrawal of its prehistoric inhabitants and the coming of the Apache. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that this withdrawal of the population may have been partly due to the coming-in of the Apache—a withdrawal which was still in progress for the Sobaipuri in the San Pedro Valley in the nineteenth century. Vague Apache traditions, already mentioned, of raids against an enemy people along the middle Gila would tend to strengthen this. Gladwin states that Gila Pueblo itself was sacked about 1400, as was shown in its excavation. But too much theory must not be based on a popular belief in the inherent hostile relations between all Apache and sedentary peoples. It has almost become a tradition with many Southwestern historians and anthropological investigators to view the Apache as a constant enemy of the Pueblo peoples. This is a fallacy, at least considering Western Apache relations with Hopi and Zuni. Although Apache attacked these peoples at times, there were very probably long periods of friendly relations, just as there have been during the last one hundred years or so.

The date of Western Apache arrival in the Southwest could be determined if evidence of their culture was found in definite association with datable remains from other peoples. It is not impossible that such finds will come to light in the future. Just as they have done with historic tribes, the Apache could have carried on some trade with the prehistoric inhabitants. It is not at all impossible that the forebears of the Western Apache were directly north of the Mogollon Rim by 1400 and may have even been living along its southern face. If they were no farther south than the Little Colorado River, raids or friendly contacts would

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have been perfectly effective along the Gila River to the south. It was nothing for Apache to journey on foot southward into Mexico for two hundred miles or more to obtain horses, and the distance from the Little Colorado to the Gila is roughly one hundred and forty miles. It may be of some significance that, of all the many ruins in the area, only three are mentioned as being occupied or raided. Exact dates on these ruins and any causes for their abandonment which could be obtained would be of value in checking the Apache legends concerning them. Dr. Emil Haury has told me that the Dewey Flat ruin, one of these three, may have been occupied as late as 1400. Further investigation among Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto may produce more legends concerning other sites, particularly in the Verde Valley region.

Strangely enough, a theory concerning Apache migrations has long been popular, though there is little or no fact to prove it: namely, that the Apache in general probably arrived in the Southwest later than the Navaho and that somehow or other they were all congregated on the plains in northeastern New Mexico in one heterogeneous mass, which then pushed its head southward and westward until the thrust culminated in the extreme westward position of the Western Apache. The only apparent reason for allotting the Navaho an earlier arrival in the Southwest is that they have absorbed Pueblo culture to a greater degree; the only reason for insisting that the Apache thrust came from the plains to the east is because the Coronado expedition mentions great numbers of people on the plains of eastern New Mexico who probably were Southern Athapaskans of some sort.

Heretofore, no one has taken the trouble to find out whether those Southern Athapaskan divisions termed Apache were as closely related linguistically and culturally as was thought. Hoijer's recent linguistic work has made it clear that, although all Southern Athapaskan dialects are relatively similar and closely related, Western Apache, Chiricahua, and Mescalero are more closely related to Navaho than Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa.

Apache. Although the Western Apache are closely associated in several ways with Chiricahua and Mescalero, their connection with the remainder of the Apache divisions is not close enough to tie them in with the movements of Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache far to the east rather than with the Navaho to the north. On the other hand, there is reason to consider the Western Apache, Chiricahua, and Mescalero migrations as a whole, because of their linguistic affiliations.

Archeological investigations in Gobernador Canyon and Canyon Largo regions in northwest New Mexico make it increasingly evident that the Navaho, who inhabited that region during the eighteenth century and who probably had not moved very much farther west of the Lukachukai Mountains or south of Chaco Canyon, were receiving an influx of refugee Pueblo Indians from various pueblos along the Rio Grande; that these refugees wished to withdraw from Spanish domination and lived not only in Navaho territory but in some places side by side with Navaho in the same camps. Spanish sources mention Apache raids on Zuni during the eighteenth century, and they undoubtedly still occurred in the early part of the nineteenth century. Whether these raids were carried on by Chiricahua Apache or by Western Apache is uncertain. It is very likely true that Western Apache have attacked Zuni at times but probably not within the last ninety or one hundred years. It is quite likely indeed that the Navaho received much of the Pueblo content that is in their culture during this time, long after the Western Apache were first noted as living far to the south of them and already raiding Sonora. Actually, whether certain of the Southern Athapaskan divisions came into this historic territory already distinct, or arrived not yet linguistically or culturally differentiated, must remain conjectural for the time being, but it is not impossible that the Western Apache arrived in the Southwest prior to the Navaho. They could have passed

through northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico before the Navaho came to claim that region.

The eastern edge of the Rockies has always been considered as the logical migration route of the Southern Athapaskans southward because of its easy terrain and because it has been one border of the channel down which have flowed other tribes at later dates, but it need not be considered as such to the exclusion of the western slope, where the terrain may have been more difficult. It was no more difficult, however, than country which the Apache traversed and occupied in later times. There is no necessity at present for saying that all the Southern Athapaskans came down from the north on one side of the Rockies. They may have come down one side or both.

The interrelations of the White Mountain group with surrounding peoples are particularly stressed in the following pages, although a general statement for all Western Apache groups is included. The Navaho, because they lived directly to the north, were called yú·dàhá (“people above” [living on higher ground]). They spoke a language intelligible to any of the Western Apache, once these had become accustomed to it, and called both White Mountain and Cibecue groups dzít·γá’á, the same name used for the White Mountain Apache in their own division. A tale told by Thomas Riley (Carrizo band, Cibecue group), which he had heard from several old Apache, explains the origin of the Navaho:

Long ago, a chief was living with his local group. In the local group was a mean and quarrelsome woman who was continually fighting with the other women and making trouble among the people. No one could get along with her, so they went to the chief and discussed her. The chief said, “This woman is making too much trouble among us. I think the best thing to do is to have her driven out. I don’t want her killed.” So they forced the woman with her children and immediate family to move away four or five miles, where she lived for quite a long time. After a while she returned and started in to do as she had done before, fighting and quarreling with the other women, until there was trouble all the time. So the people came to the chief again. He told them to drive the woman farther away than before. “Make her go off a long way so she will never come back,” he told them. This time they sent the woman with her children about twenty or thirty miles away in order
to be sure she would not come back. She remained there for a few months but again returned.

Everything went along well for a while. Then she began quarreling with the people again and making trouble, until finally no one could get along with her. This time when the chief heard about it, he said, "Drive the woman off so far that she will never return. If she comes back, she will be killed. Take her away off from here." They took the woman with her children away to a distance of seventy miles or more and left her. She never returned. She lived there with her family for a long time. After a while the family increased to a large number of people who lived by themselves. These became the Navaho, and that is why they are such a mean people.

Relations with the Navaho were intermittently friendly and hostile, always distrustful. Navaho raided and made war against the White Mountain, Cibecue, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto peoples, who in similar manner attacked the Navaho. At times the Western Apache seriously depleted the Navaho sheep herds. The White Mountain Apache probably suffered more from Navaho attacks than the other groups, exposed as they were on north and east. Occasionally, Navaho booty taken by Apache in such raids found its way to Zuni, and, after one successful raid, visiting Zuni took many Navaho saddles and basket materials in trade for the goods they brought. Blankets, an important article, were procured from the Navaho and on raids to Mexico. Such blankets taken in war were prized and, when large enough, sometimes cut in half to form two small ones.

During peaceful times both sides ventured into each other's country on trading expeditions. Apache brought horses, mules, and burros packed with cooked mescal, buckskins, baskets, and sometimes unfinished bow staves and bunches of turkey feathers. Navaho offered their blankets, sheepskins, gunpowder, lead, guns, cloth, buffalo hides. As late as 1890 Navaho journeyed to the Gila River to sell their blankets to the Apache. White Mountain Apache trading parties to the Navaho consisted of at least four or five men. When these arrived, the Navaho vied with each other to be hosts and thus to reap the benefits of the trade. A woman having a basket or other property which she wanted to trade might send it along with the party, stipulating
the quantity and kind of article she wished in return. These return goods were for her alone, unless they were guns and ammunition, which her husband or male relative might desire.

The following are trade exchange values quoted from John Rope:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apache</th>
<th>Navaho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 horse................</td>
<td>6 or 7 blankets (sometimes with powder, lead, and cloth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 horse................</td>
<td>1 percussion lock gun and caps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin............</td>
<td>2 big blankets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin............</td>
<td>1 blanket and 1 piece of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bundle of mescal......</td>
<td>1 medium-sized blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bundles of mescal....</td>
<td>2 large white blankets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 good tray basket.....</td>
<td>1 blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bow and arrows........</td>
<td>1 small blanket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No peaches or apples were procured. John Rope states that no caps, buckskin shirts, or leggings were traded to either Navaho or Zuni; Anna Price says that they were.

The following quotation from John Rope shows well the attitude toward Navaho trespass on White Mountain Apache lands:

In the old days if the Navaho had come down into our country to gather wild foods we would have let them stay and do so for only two or three days, then making them leave. But they never did this because it was too far from their own lands. When they came to trade with us before we made the peace [Goodwin Springs, 1864] with the Americans, they used to kill deer in our country on their way. We never objected. But when the Navaho arrived and wished to make camp, one of them would speak to our chief, saying, “My brother, we have come here bringing all kinds of goods. Can we camp here or not?” They were sure to do this before they unpacked their horses. The chief would tell them where to make their camp, and they did as he said.

Lately, contacts with the Navaho have been sporadic. For a few years there was a Navaho school at Fort Apache, but the Navaho and Apache boys did not get on well. At the McNary lumber camp and sawmills, Navaho and Apache laborers mingled to some extent. Today a truckload or two of Navaho often attend the Fourth of July dances at White River, but
Western Apache have not made visits to the Navaho country for many years.

The Western Apache called the Hopi _tsék'á'kiné_ ("houses on rocks people") because of their mesa villages. The White Mountain group had little to do with them in the last half of the nineteenth century, though they knew them and say that long ago they visited them occasionally. The Cibecue and certain of the Southern Tonto group had some trade with them, but the Northern Tonto, particularly the Mormon Lake band, which was closest, made contact with them more frequently. Its members often journeyed to the Hopi villages, especially Oraibi, the nearest of the towns, which they called _'ózaiyé_ (probably a corruption of Oraibi) and the Oraibians _'ózaiyéndé:_ ("ozaiye people"). The Apache did not mention any such Hopi expeditions to their own country. Articles obtained from the Hopi were Hopi blankets, corn, and, later, iron hoes and even firearms purchased from Mexican and American traders. In return the Apache offered the same articles mentioned in the Navaho trade. Western Apache and Hopi relations on the whole seem to have been friendly, though infrequent Apache raids occurred. Apparently there was no intermarriage.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century some Cibecue men made a visit to the Hopi towns, which was described to John Rope as follows by two of the party. The impression which Hopi culture made upon their minds is quite evident:

The Hopi are a peaceful people and were friendly to us. They never fought. They went about with the Cibecue people just as if they were good friends. We used to visit them once in a while. At their town they have a block of houses that looks like Red Knolls [a gigantic natural earth formation near Safford]. In this block of houses they add one room to another. On top of the houses, eagles have their nests. About sunrise you can hear the eagles calling. It was wonderful, just like roosters. The eagles roosted there like white pigeons. They flew about everywhere and in the evenings came back to their homes.

The Hopi chief told us to go in and see where the unmarried girls were grinding corn. They had the meal piled up at the end of their metates. They lined up, ready to grind. Then the end girl started to sing, and all at once they started to grind their corn. We wondered why they sang. It must have been some sort of religious observance, so the
next crop would grow as well as this one. They sang four songs, all singing together in soft tones. When the first song ended, all stopped grinding, and, when a new song started, they began again. They kept time to the singing. These girls were grinding for their whole families, and it was just like our flour mill. When it was over, all the women came in, one at a time, carrying a clay bowl in their hands to get some of the corn meal from the girls. We also watched these women make tortillas; very, very thin and they spread them with their hands on the hot stones.

Then they took us to see a foot race. This was men racing for about one hundred yards. Only one man came in behind. The one in the rear had a quirt in his hand, and, if one of the runners fell behind, he whipped his legs until he came to the finish line. They raced to show us how they treated their men. Next day came the women's race. This was done as before, one woman running behind the rest with a quirt. The following day was the boys' race, and just as in the others a man ran behind with a quirt. These races were only for fun. If a second man fell behind, the runner with the quirt whipped him also. This was all done to show our people how the Hopi did. The last day it was the girls' race. Behind ran a woman with a quirt. She was a fast runner and whipped the girls. They did this to find out who was the fastest runner. After the race was over the chief told his people. "This is only to show these visitors our ways." They gave us a few things and we gave them what we had. When we got back to Cibecue, we told the story about the Hopi to our people, and they were surprised to hear of such things!

Gila Moses told the following legend fragment:

Long ago the Zuni, Hopi, Pima, Papago, and Navaho were all living to the north in the present Navaho country. Then they started from there, migrating to the southwest in search of good places to live, journeying in search of life. They wandered all the way to the edge of the ocean, and, when they arrived there, they could go no farther, so had to turn back the way they had come. This was right through a part of the country we lived in [he means historical Western Apache territory]. On their way back the Pima and Papago stopped in their present territory and have lived there ever since. But the Navaho, Hopi, and Zuni went back to the north where their old homes were.

Charley Nokeye (fifth semiband, Southern Tonto) also claimed that the Hopi had long ago journeyed northward through the Southern and Northern Tonto country (he did not mention a southwestward migration with other peoples),
stopping at various places on the way to their present home. It is difficult to determine if these fragments were recently borrowed through contact with the Hopi or are actual Western Apache legends. No normal contact with Hopi has taken place for many years.

The present town of Zuni (Halona) was called kinto'li ("broad house"), and the Zuni were known to all the Western Apache as na-čt'ije ("painted black people") because of their custom of painting before going to war. One Apache also translated the word "plucked eyebrows." Relations with them, according to Apache, have always been friendly. Except for the White Mountain and Cibecue groups, however, they seldom had contact with the Western Apache. Spanish sources mention Apache raids on Zuni during the eighteenth century, and they undoubtedly still occurred in the early part of the nineteenth century. Whether these raids were carried on by Chiricahua Apache or by Western Apache is uncertain. It is very likely true that Western Apache have attacked Zuni at times, but probably not within the last ninety or one hundred years.

A good deal of trade went on between the Zuni and White Mountain and Cibecue, both at the Pueblo and in the Apache country. The Apache offered those trade articles already mentioned for the Navaho and in return received such things as Zuni blankets, corn, and the European products: iron hoes, firearms, powder, and lead, which the Zuni obtained in Santa Fe or from traders. The Zuni still treasure fine old Apache baskets procured by their parents or grandparents. Anna Price says: "The Zuni used to come to trade with us. They wore blankets about their waists and painted their faces blue. They did their hair in a bunch at the back of their heads. They were like our relatives." No intermarriage with Zuni is remembered or referred to in Western Apache lore, though both people visited each other fairly frequently. The following is one of several tales told by Anna Price dealing with the Zuni:

The Zuni arrived at my father's camp to visit him. bāstčilpē, a Zuni chief, was there. He was a good friend of my father's. Another Zuni chief, dji·yo'ł·l ("he carries ears"), accompanied him. They
arrived early in the morning at sunup. My father's two friends spoke to him, "We almost got here before you did, my brother. I don't know what we would have done if you hadn't been home." [Her father had just returned from a trip.] They laughed, and father said, "You have met me halfway. I have just come up from the San Pedro and you from Zuni. We have met right in the middle." The two Zuni unbundled the belongings which they had brought for father. They had cloth and a buffalo robe with beadwork on it. That's the first time I ever saw one of these buffalo skins. They had brought some mutton also. "I want you to taste the meat of my sheep," they said. They had a sack of corn meal about ten inches high and some tortillas made from corn, the Zuni kind, all rolled up, very thin, some blue and some red.

Another of Anna Price's stories deals with a trading trip to Zuni:

My father said, "We will go back to our camp. I will make a coat. I want to take this to Zuni where my brother, dją:yo'á:i is." This man used to call my father his "brother" all the time. Our camp was up above the farm, on higher ground. Only my mother worked on the coat. She cut the fringes about the edges of the sleeve and around its base. It was a greatcoat, like a soldier's coat. My father had been to Washington once, and the President had given him such a coat made of cloth. Each chief who had visited Washington at that time had received one. My father talked to his people, asking them to assemble at his camp in two days. "We are going to have something to drink [tulibai] for everyone. Those who wish to go with me to Zuni can come and drink here. We are going to take this greatcoat to the Zuni country."

The next day two men came on horseback; one of them was father's maternal nephew. These two men asked him where he intended to go, and father said, "Anyone who wants to go with me to Zuni can come over tomorrow. See, I have tulibai here for them." The two answered, "How many men do you want?"

"I want about fifteen."

"All right, we'll tell these men to come over tomorrow."

Next day fifteen men arrived, and they had tulibai for all of them. They sat there in two rows with many pots for them to drink. "That's what I wanted you to come for. I want you all to be up above the canyon on Lower North Fork and meet me there at the flat. Be there waiting for me in four days. I will start early in the morning from here and get there by morning. We can leave from there. You can begin looking for your horses tomorrow. If you can't find them, search again the following day."

Four days after that my father's brother, a youth who was to ac-
company him, put the greatcoat in one side of his saddle bags, some mescal in the other, and started off with father for their meeting place. Father and his brother arrived where the men were waiting for them. "Go slow, it doesn't matter when we get there. We might arrive tomorrow," he said. [She is probably mistaken about the length of the trip to Zuni.] They stopped on the way for the night. In the morning father sent one of his maternal nephews to the place where dja·yō'ā'ł lived. He told this boy, "Tell dja·yō'ā'ł that his brother is coming, so he may wait in the road to meet me. When I get there he can take me to his house. That's why I want him to meet me on the trail." So the boy did as the chief told him, and dja·yō'ā'ł came out to meet him. When they met each other, they embraced, swaying from side to side. "Thank you, brother, I am glad to see you come home. Where have you been all this time? I haven't seen you for a long while. I cried a lot for you, but you are still alive," the Zuni said. Father replied, "The trouble was that two of my brothers were killed by the Navaho, so I went into the Navaho country and killed a lot of them. Then I moved from my real home for fear of the Navaho. That is what has kept me from coming to see you."

Now he gave him the greatcoat and the mescal, and the Zuni said, "Thank you, brother." It was dry mescal, but all the same he put it in his mouth and chewed it. He put on his coat right away and liked it; kept watching it all the time. There were metal dangles attached to the fringes. When all this happened, I was a little girl. The Zuni chief said, "Brother, did you make this coat for me, working on it all day?"

"No, I didn't work on it; my wife did."

"Thank you, my sister-in-law. You have made a coat for me. My sister-in-law has done good work for me," the Zuni said.

He walked and danced about in the coat. The metal dangles made a sound like zē{l zē{l. Father told the Zuni "Thank you, dja·yō'ā'ł, my brother. Your horse looks the same. I thought it would get old and look different I see it still has the same brand. You eat the same thing, thin, like paper [piki bread]. I didn't think I was going to sleep with your blankets again, but I have done it." He had been given a big blanket. "I can stay here with you only two days."

The next day father went about to every house with the Zuni chief. "I have to go back tomorrow," father told him. They had everything ready for the journey. The Zuni chief said, "I have some tortillas for you for my sister-in-law [the chief's wife]. I want to fill your saddle bags full of them to take home to her." The Zuni chief's wife said, "Thanks, my brother; take this back to my sister to eat." My father said, "Thank you for what you gave me, the blanket and the buffalo robe." It was always that way whenever my father went there. He was given blankets and never bought them. This was because he had
good friends there. In the morning $djá:yó'á·l$ called out to his people:

“These people are leaving this morning. I want you to help me feed them. I want you to count how many people I have here. There are about seventeen of them so bring enough food for that number.” The men told us when they reached home that all of them had been given food by the Zuni. The Zuni were just like us, just like $ndé$ [what the Apache termed themselves]. Father always used to say that they fed you whenever you went there.

When father left, $djá:yó'á·l$ asked him to get some mountain-lion skins for him. “I am afraid of them. I want to make a quiver of one of their skins. I will come over to see you in the wintertime, after all the corn is ripe and harvested,” the Zuni said.

“All right, I don’t live in the same place I used to, but farther above,” father answered.

“Oh, you have moved up on top of what they call Water Resting beside the Water [place name],” the Zuni said and laughed.

“Yes, that’s right,” father answered.

The Zuni chief’s wife packed bread into one side of the saddle bags. “This is for my sister,” she said. Then $djá:yó'á·l$ filled the other side of the saddle bag, saying that this was for his sister-in-law also.

John Rope describes a trading trip to Zuni:

Right above Cedar Creek Crossing, where there is a mountain, I saw a herd of horses and burros loaded with mescal, buckskin, burden baskets, and tray baskets. There were mules also. These were worth more than the rest. They were going to Zuni to trade. When our people ran out of clothing, our children were half-naked. At a time like this we might decide to make a raid to Mexico for burros and horses. If we brought them back, then we would gather together and decide to go on a trading trip to Zuni. Before we could do this, the women had to go out and roast some mescal to take along. Everyone got together and made their outfits ready. Some led their horses on the way. One horse could carry about eight sheets of mescal [these sheets being some eighteen inches by four feet]. It took about three mescal heads to make one sheet. The sheets were folded over and inside were packed slicings of the roasted heart of the mescal, already dried. When all was ready, they started off.

On arrival at Zuni they would approach a house, and, when the Zuni saw our people coming, they came about, each trying to take hold of a horse’s rope and lead it to his home. The Zuni chief talked to his people, telling each headman to take one of our men and treat them well as long as they stayed in Zuni. “I want you to treat them well because if you do they will come back.” The Zuni were a kind people. “These Apache know what they want for their goods and will give you a fair
price. Don't try to haggle with them. Whatever they say, goes. Give them a good price.” One of the men would stay with the Zuni chief. The Zuni led off one horse each so they would have the opportunity of buying the whole of the pack it carried. When a Zuni took a man's horse in this way and led it to his home, the man had to go along also. The Zuni would unpack the horse for him and look after the animal as long as he remained. They never started to trade the first day but always waited until the following one. They did their trading at the different Zuni houses.

On leaving home, the men made a date for the return in order that relatives might know when to expect them. If not home by that time, they would know some misfortune had befallen them. They never stayed very long at Zuni, only two or three days. They were afraid of meeting enemies on the way. During the trading the first one of our men to dispose of his goods would go about among the others and help them to trade off what they had. He might know of a Zuni who had a gun or cloth to trade for a horse. When we had traded all our goods, the chief of the Zuni's would say to us, “dzlf y4'4 [White Mountain Apache], look after yourselves well so you will get back to your homes safely.”

Anna Price denies that there was any purification performed before and after a trading trip to Zuni or elsewhere, but John Rope states that, before starting on trading expeditions to either Navaho or Zuni, the men gathered at the sweat bath and had a shaman who knew the proper ritual pray for them. The men themselves prayed to the Sun that the Zuni country might be quiet and no dangers met on the way, that the Sun might look down and protect them during the journey. On their return they took another sweat bath to prevent any Zuni sickness or contamination and spread their blankets and other trade goods in the wind. It was believed the Zuni had “strong sicknesses” partly because Zuni itself was disagreeably full of human filth.

Among articles traded for at Zuni were: turquoise (denied by Francis Drake [Eastern White Mountain band]) and white shell, both already ground and drilled; tè·ddjë (a mineral paint); blankets, two types being described—one, a small saddle blanket called tc'ëdnódqžé ("striped blanket") and the other a blanket with stripes running down it, and possibly somewhat larger, called hâiyâ·gon for ŏ ("striped downward"). The Apache brought bow staves, stone arrowpoints, prepared arrow feathers, a basket with handles on the side made especially for the
Zuni trade, turkey-feather caps, buckskin leggings, and shirts (John Rope denies the last three items). No dried fruit was obtained from Zuni. The Apache sometimes brought captive wild turkeys to trade for Zuni blankets.

The following list of trade exchange values was obtained from John Rope:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apache</th>
<th>Zuni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 large buckskin</td>
<td>1 big blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin</td>
<td>1 strand of beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin</td>
<td>1 abalone disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large buckskin</td>
<td>1 woven sash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin</td>
<td>1 sack corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>Enough brass tacks to ornament a girl’s hair form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>2 strands beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>1 large abalone disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>1 sack corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>1 metal grubbing hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large tray basket</td>
<td>1 blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 small parching basket</td>
<td>1 blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 burden basket</td>
<td>1 sack corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fringed burden basket</td>
<td>1 bolt of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fringed burden basket</td>
<td>1 big blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bundle prepared saguaro</td>
<td>1 big blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ sheet mescal (fruit)</td>
<td>5 yards cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ sheet mescal</td>
<td>1 abalone disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ sheet mescal with roast heart of the plant</td>
<td>1 large strand beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ sheet mescal</td>
<td>1 sack corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin shirt</td>
<td>1 pair woven garters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old-style buckskin shirt</td>
<td>1 percussion lock gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair buckskin leggings</td>
<td>1 large blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 turkey-feather cap</td>
<td>1 large blanket or large bundle of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cowhide</td>
<td>1 blanket and some cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 stone arrow smoother</td>
<td>1 big blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sack parched sunflower seed</td>
<td>1 small blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 rubbing stone size of a hand</td>
<td>1 blanket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abalone disks, as pendants to necklaces, are described as three and one-half inches in diameter, polished, and pierced with...
a hole for stringing. The buckskin sacks of corn were about ten inches in diameter and filled seven to nine inches with red, blue, white, and yellow corn seed. Strands of beads were apparently made of several loops of heavy trade beads which could be worn about the neck. The packages of saguaro fruit which the Apache traded to the Zuni were about two feet long by one foot wide and bundled in willow leaves. The buckskin sack of sunflower seed was filled to a depth of four inches. The arrow smoothers were either Apache made or picked up on prehistoric sites. The rubbing stones of light porous volcanic rock were used as filing tools, and some old men made them in quantities for the Zuni trade. The exchange value which Anna Price gives these rubbing stones seems too high, and she may have been confused on this point.

Apache have not gone to Zuni since 1880–90, owing to government interruptions in their former life, and the Zuni have not visited them for many years.

Acoma and Laguna as well as Isleta, and the other Eastern Pueblo, under their names and as Indian towns, are apparently unknown to any old Western Apache now living. Probably in times past there has been slight contact with Acoma and Laguna, as today fine old Apache baskets are to be found in Acoma, which the Acoma claim were traded to them by Apache peoples. Whether the Apache were Chiricahua or Western Apache is uncertain. A people, known by name only, t'ulani ("much water"), are said by some to live in an easterly direction and very possibly may be the Laguna or Acoma.

Some time in the last decade of the nineteenth century, people whom the Western Apache call nd'ilka'hi ("they travel about carrying something in the hands") visited San Carlos Reservation. Before this time they seem to have been unknown. From descriptions they appear to be Pueblos, traveling from Acoma, Laguna, or the Hopi villages. John Rope says:

One time I saw them at San Carlos. They brought burro loads of peaches and grapes and woven baskets made from some sort of twigs. They wanted to trade them to us. They painted their faces as we do, and their long hair was tied up in a bunch at the back of their heads like
the Zuni. The San Carlos people chased them off because they brought some sort of sickness with their grapes and peaches. This was about 1891, I think.

To the south and east were the Chiricahua, collectively called hai’qáhá or hai’qá (“east people”) by the White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos groups, and yà’aidndé (“sun people”) by Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, both names referring to their easterly position in relation to the Western Apache. The White Mountain, being nearest, generally understood the distinction between the three Chiricahua bands and knew their names, though not making frequent use of them: tcf·hé (“red clay people”[?]) directly to the east, t’cəkənən about the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains, and ńdé·ndá’ (“enemy or renegade people”) in the region of the Sierra Espuela, Sonora, and the present international border just north of it. Except for the adjacent White Mountain group and some of the San Carlos group, the Chiricahua in prereservation times had little to do with the Western Apache.

From southern White Mountain territory it was only a day’s journey to Chiricahua camp sites in the Dragoon or Chiricahua Mountains. Frequently the White Mountain Apache visited the Chiricahua, who, for social purposes and to obtain corn, returned such visits at White River, Turkey Creek, and Eagle Creek. They apparently did not reach the Western White Mountain on Cedar Creek, though these people sometimes visited them. Principally chiefs with a few of their men undertook these trips to exchange gifts with their hosts. Though White Mountain Apache sometimes went to Chiricahua territory just to visit or gamble, such social intercourse usually took place during sojourns there while on Mexican raiding parties. The people in the Eagle Creek and Graham Mountain area, the southeastern-most portion of the White Mountain country, being closest, naturally had the most contact with the Chiricahua.

Some intermarriage occurred, particularly in the last-mentioned area, a few White Mountain Apache living among Chiricahua, and vice versa. Because the Chiricahua were considered ńdé’ (“Apache people”), there was little or no trade with
them. The distinction between trade and exchange of presents was quite definite and usually indicative of the degree of closeness in culture and friendship. They did not hesitate to trade with Navaho and Zuni, whom they considered as being unlike themselves. White Mountain Apache on the way to Mexico to raid were sometimes joined by a few Chiricahua. This seems to have been the only co-operation between them. If the Chiricahua had trespassed on White Mountain territory, Anna Price feels that they would have been attacked like Navaho or other outsiders. John Rope says that they would have been allowed to remain and gather wild foods or hunt just as the Cibecue. However, Chiricahua did not extend such food-gathering trips into Western Apache country.

In general, the White Mountain Apache claim that they were always friendly with the Chiricahua up until 1870 or so, when they enlisted as government scouts against them in the Apache wars which followed; but there were occasional hostile encounters before that time. Francis Drake has heard of a time when Chiricahua lived with Eastern White Mountain people on Ash Flat long ago. Trouble arose and the Chiricahua left after a fight, moving down into their own country. Anna Price told of Chiricahua intercepting a body of White Mountain Apache, attacking the herders, and taking the cattle which they were bringing back from Mexico. She also mentioned a fight her father had with Chiricahua, apparently some time prior to 1870:

The t'co'kenë were mean people. They were not the Apache who lived at Apache Pass. We used to fight them. I don't know where they lived; they were like coyotes and lived any place. They were the same as the other Chiricahua but talked a little differently. My father fought these people. They shot him in the shoulder one time. They fought on horseback and shot him off his horse. As soon as he fell, he crawled behind a big rock. He fired his gun with one hand, resting it across his right knee. They got his horse away from him. He killed one of them, but the rest escaped. The t'co'kenë knew my father's voice and said to him, "We know you. You are not going to live any longer." But he sat there in the rocks all the same. They dragged away the body of the man he had killed, putting it on a horse and running off. My father was still shooting at them, but they were too far off.

In that same fight my father's maternal nephew was killed. He was
only a youth when this happened. He thrust his lance into one of the enemies' horses. The horse fell and he tried to stick his lance into the man riding it, but one of the enemy in back of him shot and killed him. In the evening our people found him, still alive, and he told my father how it had happened. I don't know where this fight took place, but it was in the Chiricahua country to the east.

The White Mountain attribute several elements in Western Apache culture to the Chiricahua. One is tulibai, which they claim Apache living on Eagle Creek learned from their Chiricahua neighbors, who in turn acquired it in Mexico. Two rather important ceremonies, both for the curing of venereal diseases, are supposed to come from the Chiricahua. Previously there were no ceremonies for such sicknesses.

From 1875 to 1886 the government attempted, with varying bad results, to place and hold the people of the Chiricahua division on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations. Although these years were fraught with troubles and disrupted by military campaigns, Chiricahua and Western Apache experienced close contact, much of the time on a friendly basis. Modern contact with Chiricahua is limited to occasional visits between the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico and the adjoining Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations in Arizona, where a few families of Chiricahua descent are still living.

Although the Mescalero were known to the Western Apache through the intermediate Chiricahua, one instance only of prereservation contact with them was obtained. Anna Price says:

One time the Mescalero came to my father's camp near White River. They came to get corn from us and to look around our country. I think they must have intended to spy out the land because they later returned and fought us. I saw them when they came for the corn, and they looked very much as we and the Chiricahua did. They wore their hair loose down their backs, and both men and women had earrings. They were not the Eastern Chiricahua. The Eastern Chiricahua were enemies of theirs. The only name which we have for them is màcgàltę́.

Apparently this name for the Mescalero is an Apache adaptation of the Spanish term "Mescalero." During the Apache cam-
campaigns, Western Apache scouts enlisted with the government were sent on several occasions to the Mescalero Reservation and there saw Mescalero for the first time. They were much interested in the Mescalero custom of plucking the eyebrows. The only modern contact with them is through occasional visits by Western Apache to their Chiricahua friends at Mescalero.

To the south, beyond the Chiricahua, were the Opata in Mexico, whom the White Mountain Apache called bikègijihàda'-izi't'i' (“strings coming up between his toes people”) or bik-èt'awi'iztàné (“placed under the foot people”), both alluding to their sandals. Their relations with the Western Apache were always hostile, as the two peoples met only during Apache raids in Mexico. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto groups, never raiding so far south, knew nothing of the Opata. There is no modern contact with these people.

Directly south of the Arivaipa band, between Tucson and the San Pedro River to the east, were the Apache Mansos, a small band of Apache who had been on friendly terms with the Spaniards and Mexicans for a long time. These people, though speaking a Southern Athapaskan language, were enemies and many times during the past century joined Papago, Mexicans, and Americans against the White Mountain and San Carlos groups. They were well known to White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos, who called them bàvicì. They figure to some extent in the mythology of these three people. Western Apache say they talked like the Chiricahua. Today they are apparently completely absorbed by the Mexican population of Tucson.

To the southwest were the Papago, called sàikiné (“sand house people”) by the White Mountain, San Carlos, and Cibecue groups, and kétìt'awi'izlànë (“rope [or narrow object] lying under their feet people”) by the Southern Tonto, the name applying to their sandals. Western Apache and Papago relations were continually warlike, the former sending many raiding parties against the latter, who retaliated in like manner. The San Car-

5 Dr. Leslie Spier thinks that these may be the peoples referred to as “washed Apaches” in his *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).
los group, being the closest, bore the brunt of this strife. The more remote White Mountain group did not raid the Papago, though, on occasions, Papago raiding parties surprised White Mountain camps in the southern part of their territory. There is little or no modern Papago contact.

West, were the Pima and Maricopa, both enemies. The Apache say of the Pima that they could never see them without getting into a fight, apparently quite true. They called them sâikiné, the same name used for the Papago. The Southern Tonto called the Maricopa kêtîldâ' tsjéhe (“wood under the feet people”), again because of their sandals. Usually no distinction was made between Papago, Pima, and Maricopa. The White Mountain group, being too far east, did not war against the Pima or Maricopa. But all other Western Apache raided them. One raid followed another, particularly in wintertime, when there was little else to do. From Pima attacks the exposed San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups, particularly the Pinal and Mazatzal bands, suffered the most. Success on both sides seems to have been equal. Apache took Pima captives, usually children, and raised them. Descendants of these captives who married Apache are still living among the Cibecue and San Carlos. Probably more outside Indian blood was added to the Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto groups from the Pima and Papago than from any other source, excepting Yavapai.

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

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

Modern contact with Pima is almost nonexistent except in the Indian schools such as at Phoenix and Riverside. However, the strong feeling of hostility which the Apache bore them remains.
The Apache often remark with much feeling that their farming lands on the San Carlos were sacrificed so that their traditional enemies, the Pima, might have water from Coolidge Dam to irrigate crops. Some two years ago during an intertribal meeting at the Phoenix Indian school, a San Carlos man said with emotion, "The Pima are our enemies" and was not pacified by the assertion of a government employee from Washington that the Pima had been their friends since the establishment of the reservations.

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

The Western Apache name for the Yavapai is commonly gô·hn, sometimes go·he, the latter apparently being an old White Mountain term. They are also called mbâtcî·yû·ma, a corruption of the term "Apache-Yuma," an old white term for them. The first two terms are said to be derived from the word dígo', signifying a rough, rocky country, because the Yavapai inhabited such a land. The Northern Tonto specific name for the band of Yavapai living about the present site of Fort Macdowell was yutsinudé- ("desert people"). The Western Apache groups having most contact with the Yavapai were the San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto. The Cibecue also knew them. Though the White Mountain Apache knew them well through the intermediate Western Apache groups, they had little actual contact with them except on occasional visits to the Yavapai country. The Pinal band was on most friendly terms with the Southeastern Yavapai, and sometimes the two peoples camped together, even joining in raids against the Pima. The Arivaipa band, being slightly more remote, knew less of them.
Between Pinal and Southeastern Yavapai some intermarriage took place, with occasional Yavapai men and women residing in an Apache local group, and vice versa. Those of the Southern Tonto living farthest to the west knew the Yavapai well, particularly the Southeastern Yavapai. Relations were always peaceful, the two peoples visiting back and forth. Yavapai sometimes visited Southern Tonto farming sites after harvest time in order to obtain corn. The Northern Tonto, the only Western Apache who lived permanently intermixed with Yavapai peoples, bore an even closer relationship to them, as can be seen. They had contact with principally the Northeastern and part of the Southeastern Yavapai.

Occasionally, White Mountain Apache visited Yavapai territory on the Lower Verde River to gather saguaro fruit, and they sometimes traded for this food. One or two White Mountain and Yavapai chiefs visited each other and exchanged presents. Because of the friendship involved, this was not considered trade. Anna Price describes the trip her father made to see a Southeastern Yavapai chief:

One time my father said, "We are going to see the Yavapai soon so I will shoe the horses." We used to make these shoes from rawhide. "I am homesick for my partner, ni'gəsdəh. I would like to drink some saguaro juice with him. We will wait two days more. Then anyone who wants to go along and help me can have his horses shod by that time." My father always took a large number of his relatives along with him. "Now it is time to go," my father said and told them to all meet at his place. "Let's see how many of you are going. I am the one who has shod my horse." When everyone had arrived, there were seventeen who intended to accompany my father. Father mentioned dangerous enemies along the way—the Arivaipa, Pima, Papago, and Chiricahua [not all habitual enemies but ones whom it was necessary to guard against]. "I don't want to go alone. We will take a bunch with us so that if we have to fight we can." Women were to go along with them as well. I was a little girl then, only about eight years old, and I cried when we started off.

I don't know how many days it took to get there, but we finally arrived at the camp of ni'gəsdəh the Yavapai chief. On our arrival, the Yavapai brought some cakes of saguaro fruit down to our camp and said to father, "You have come a long way, so you better remain for a while. We will go after saguaro fruit for you." In the morning the
Yavapai chief went to the top of the hill above his camp and talked to his people, "Some men have come over here to our place. I want you, my people, to help me gather saguaro fruit for them." The Yavapai had brought all the prepared saguaro fruit in their camps to father, but they left in search of more. Their chief told them, "My friend has come to see me from far off. I want you, my people, to help me gather enough prepared fruit for them, but I don't want you to go up on the mountains for it." When my father arrived at the camp of ni'gōsdo'h, he told this Yavapai chief, "I haven't come to stay for long. I am going to stay for four days. I want some mescal as well as saguaro fruit." The Yavapai already had some mescal so they brought it to their chief.

After we had been there two days, father spoke to his friend, "I have stayed here two days. I will stay two more days and then I will leave you, early in the morning just as the morning star rises. I am in a hurry because some Zuni have promised to visit me, and maybe they are there now. I must hurry back." In the evening the Yavapai killed a cow and gave half of it to us. ni'gōsdo'h said, "If I give you a whole cow it would not matter to you, so I just give you half a one. Now you can have meat on your way." That was on the third day. On the fourth morning as we were saddling up to leave, ni'gōsdo'h came over to us: "I didn't give you much meat, but I think it's enough for you people. I'm very glad you have stayed with us four days." Then he said "good-bye" and shook hands with my father. "If the Zuni should come to visit you with blankets, save one for me. I'll be over there in the fall to get it." My father agreed to this, and we left for home.

Later, that fall, while we were shelling corn, ni'gōsdo'h came to our place to get his blanket. My father told him how we had arrived home and how the Zuni came to stay with us the very next day. "Yes, you are right. You left just in time," the Yavapai chief said. Seventeen people, some of them women, had come with him. They had done this because they were afraid of the Navaho. ni'gōsdo'h told my father, "I am going to stay with you four days. On the fourth morning when the morning star comes up, I will leave you. I am afraid of the Pima and Papago. They might get my children. The Pima might come from the west and take my children where I left them at my home."

My father spoke to his people, "All my relatives, people living here, this is my friend who has come from far off to see me. I am going to spread two large cowhides on the ground. I want you to bring some corn over and dump it on these cowhides, so there will be enough for all of them, my maternal nieces and aunts, maternal nephews and uncles, maternal grandparents." Now there was a big pile of corn on each cowhide. My father brought up a mule already saddled, having a saddle blanket and bridle. On the saddle he placed cloth and a buffalo robe.
This is the way he gave the mule to the Yavapai chief. The people who brought corn also brought blankets and pieces of cloth and piled them up for the Yavapai. They did this to help their chief, my father. He had many relatives, so the piles of gifts were high. Then \( n\hbox{\textasciiacute}g\hbox{\textasciidot}\text{\texttimes}d\hbox{\textasciidot}\text{\texttimes}h \) told father, “I am going away the same as you in the morning. I have already packed the corn in sacks.” My father killed a cow for them.

Just before dawn I heard them packing up to go. The chief said he was hurrying because his children had been left alone. “Back there the Pima might get my children, that’s why I’m hurrying. I will stop on the other side of Black River at noontime.” The evening after they left they stopped to camp near Turkey Tanks, beyond Black River. Some of our old women were camping there to gather mescal. The Yavapai camped with them. The old women had just uncovered their roasted mescal, so all pitched in and ate it right away.

Anna Price only mentions those articles procured from the Yavapai during the occasional trading with them in prereservation times: cakes of prepared saguaro fruit, saguaro fruit seeds, and metal mescal knives made from old shovel blades. The exchange values (in number of saguaro fruit packages) she gave as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apache</th>
<th>Yavapai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 large buckskin</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 medium-sized buckskin</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 saddle blanket</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 turkey-feather cap</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buckskin shirt</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair high moccasins, folded over</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 burden basket, plain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fringed burden basket</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 basketry water bottle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basketry dippers as well as parching baskets were also traded to the Yavapai.

Anna Price claims that the Yavapai living northwest of Wheat Fields were hostile at times. Only with Yavapai living west and south of this place did they have trading contacts. These more remote Yavapai stole horses from the White Mountain people within White Mountain territory at least once.

Close contact with Yavapai has been maintained since the establishment of the reservations. These people were placed on the San Carlos Reservation shortly after it was created.
the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of 
the twentieth, almost all of them returned to their former 
habitat, though a few still remain on the San Carlos Reserva-
tion. Western Apache, not including White Mountain, had 
more contact and intermarriage with them than any other tribe 
including all Southern Athapaskans.

To the northwest were the Havasupai, known only to the 
Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, who called them t'adûlt'ijû 
(“blue water people”), their name for themselves. Relations 
with them were usually hostile, both sides raiding each other’s 
territory. No contact since prereservation times has occurred.

The Walapai, farther to the west, were on similar terms with 
Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, and both people raided 
each other. The Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, the only 
Western Apache to whom they were known, called them náyùnâ-zn (“farther north people”). No contact with them since 
prereservation time has taken place.

The Western Apache speak of a people living in Sonora whom 
they called gô·hátcdô‘ (“big Yavapai”). They claim some slight 
contact with them and describe them as follows: “They wore 
sandals and had bobbed hair which reached to their shoulders. 
About their necks were hung tweezers for plucking their whiskers. 
They talked almost like Mexicans, though they had bows and 
arrows like ours.” The identity of these Indians is uncertain. 
They may have been Seri, Yaqui, Mexican Pima, or Tarahumara. Relations with them were only hostile during Apache 
raids in Mexico. They are said to have co-operated with the 
Mexicans against the Apache. A people called sê·gô, also met on 
Mexican raids, wore sandals. They very possibly are the same 
as gô·hátcdô‘. The name may be a corruption of Seri. John Rope 
says that the sê·gô‘ were identical with the gô·hátcdô‘, the bikè-
gîjîhâdâ‘izt'î, and the bikè-wâ‘iztâné and that he thought they 
were Yaqui.

The term 'iji·'hitl'âkâ·l (“inner bark skirts”) is known to the 
White Mountain Apache as the name of a people. The White 
Mountain Apache do not know to whom this word was applied, 
and whether these people are mythical or not is undeterminable
from the present data. Southwestern tribes unknown to the Western Apache and not mentioned already are: Cocopa, Mohave, Kamia, Diegueño, Chemehuevi, Paiute, Ute, Jicarilla, Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, Comanche.

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

The size of the territory in Sonora over which the Western Apache raided is extraordinary. The Apache knew it like their own country, and every mountain, town, or spring of consequence had its Apache name. Raiding parties sometimes reached the Gulf of California, probably between the mouth of the Rio de la Concepción and Tiburon Island. They operated almost as far south as Hermosillo and Suaqui, Sonora, but eastward they did not go beyond the Bavispe and San Bernardino rivers. Chihuahua was unknown to them. It was not unusual for a party to be gone seventy or eighty days. Raids brought the Apache horses, mules, burros, cattle, cloth, clothing, blankets, metal to be made into spearheads, arrowpoints or knives, occasionally firearms, saddles, bridles, leather, cowhide for moccasin soles, and anything else light and useful which could be brought home. Animals obtained were commonly killed and
eaten, as the Western Apache made little effort at raising stock in prereservation times. A boy waited for the time when he would be old enough to go against the enemy, and an old man, no longer active, spent winter evenings telling of his raiding and war adventures. The raids to Mexico became an integral part of the culture. They were considered lawful and just, for “did not any people with enemies have the right to raid and kill them?”

The Mexican settlements along the Rio Grande to the east were remote, though the Western Apache knew of them, and possibly during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they raided the towns about Laguna. The White Mountain Apache claim that in prereservation times the Mexicans living to the northeast and east of them in the Rio Grande Valley, particularly those about Santa Fe, were their friends, while all Mexicans living to the south (in Mexico proper) were considered enemies. They traded with certain New Mexicans who ventured into the Western Apache country to obtain the same horses and mules taken in turn from Mexicans to the south. Santa Fe was called $yó-t'á', meaning “bead water.”

According to Spanish records, it was in 1688 or so that Apache started regularly to raid Sonora. They continued to do so until after the establishment of Fort Goodwin on the Gila River in 1864, and more than one United States soldier saw a victory dance near this post given by successful White Mountain Apache returning from Mexico. After 1870-74 Western Apache hostilities against Indians and Mexicans ceased, never to be resumed. The people were too hard pressed by United States troops and Apache Mansos, Pima, Maricopa, and Papago scouts.

The name for Americans is generally $indá'. It is also used for any Europeans, as well as for Mexicans at times. Its real meaning is “enemy.” It may be supplemented with adjectives to give

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6 E. C. Parsons mentions a raid by the White Mountain Apache on Isleta, New Mexico, during the nineteenth century, but no allusion to it was made by these Apache, and it seems probable that, if the raiders were Apache, they were Chiricahua (“Isleta, New Mexico,” Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1932], p. 453).

7 Anonymous (1716-62), Rudo ensayo de la Provincia de Sonora (St. Augustine, Fla., 1863).
it a particular meaning. Thus, Negroes are called *indà·ditxiti* ("black enemies"). In the nineteenth century Americans were also called *kàbisá·nà* and *gùdigá·nà* by the White Mountain group and *bùdigá·nà* by the Cibecue and San Carlos groups. (The first term may possibly be derived from the Spanish *capitan* [captain], the second two from the Spanish *Americano.*)

Traders whom the White Mountain Apache termed *indà·cà·če* ("bear enemies"), because of their hairy bodies, visited the Western Apache in prereservation times, probably as early as 1850. The Apache say that they looked like Americans, and they were probably a few venturesome fur traders. The White Mountain Apache claim that they usually brought them flintlock muskets. John Rope saw them once, as a boy, and describes them as follows:

They were some sort of white men who traded among the Navaho and were friends with them. One time these traders came to Cedar Creek. They stopped beside a big round rock, standing some six feet high. They lined their guns against the rock and traded them for nothing but horses. Once in a while these men brought knives and metal hoes to trade. During one of their visits to us, some of our men (not chiefs, just common men) talked among themselves, "Let's kill these white men and take all their guns away from them." But one of them told the chief what they had decided to do. When the traders were about to leave, this chief sent word among the people to come together at one place and meet. He spoke to them, "Don't talk about killing these traders any more. I don't want to hear of it. They bring us guns; they bring us axes; they bring us everything we need. This is how we get the things that we use. When you kill these white men, it will not make men of you. They are our friends, and they are also the friends of the Navaho."

The Western Apache frequently date events from the time of their first peace with the Americans. In the case of the White Mountain people this was at Goodwin Springs in 1864. The peace is referred to as *dèkè'sà'q·yu*, meaning "since friendship was established."8

8 For a description of this peace at Goodwin Springs see G. Goodwin, "Experiences of an Indian Scout," *Arizona Historical Review*, VII, No. 2 (1936), 31–73, in which John Rope describes his remembrances of it as a boy.
Captives taken and adopted by Western Apache came only from Maricopa, Pima, Papago, Opata, Apache Mansos, Navaho, Mexicans, possibly a few Americans, and, among the Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, a few Havasupai and Walapai. Youths and grown men were commonly slain; but children and sometimes maidens and grown women were brought home and adopted and either placed in the captors’ family or given to another. When young, such captives stood a fair chance of becoming the social equals of their captors, but when grown or nearly grown they were already too differentiated readily to absorb Apache culture.

Anna Price’s father had four such captives, two men and two women. They were compelled to work in the fields during the farming season. One of the men finally escaped, returning to his people, the Navaho. The other was killed among the White Mountain Apache in a quarrel. John Rope says: “When we obtained captives in the old days, we never sold them to the Navaho or Zuni or any other outside people. But we did sell them among ourselves. Also, if you had an old relative you might give him a captive and say, ‘Here is someone to lead you about when you get too old.’” Though these captives were thought of as belonging, and being subservient, to their captors or those to whom they were given, actually they often became well-respected and loved members of the family. During the American occupation Mexican captives often helped the Western Apache in dealing with the whites, acting as intermediates and interpreters. They were generally well treated, and more than one case exists where captives, escaping to their own people, later returned to the Apache because they were unhappy away from them.

9 An old Mexican captive whom the Zuni purchased from some Apache when a boy is mentioned in Parsons, “Notes on Zuni,” Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, IV, No. 3 (1917), 171.
CHAPTER III

CLANS

The Western Apache clan does not fit into the descending sequence of group, band, local group, and family cluster in either size or function. Within historic times only in a few cases where the majority of members of a clan (sometimes of two clans) was concentrated about one farming site have Western Apache clans formed anything like economic units similar to local groups. This was particularly true among Southern Tonto and Cibecue, where several clans claim to have remained almost totally at their legendary origin places. However, without analysis of the clan components in such cases, no definite statements can be made as to their self-sufficient function as territorial, political, and economic units. It is probable that they were very similar, but it remains conjectural to what extent the Cibecue and Southern Tonto conditions resembled those among the White Mountain Apache, where almost every farming site was said to belong to a clan, though it was actually owned and operated by members of several clans, one of which was dominant—the owner clan. Both clan function as a political unit and any individuals who might be termed clan officers are lacking. The only exception is in connection with chiefs, where certain families possessed chieftainships which bore a relation to clan. The clan did not own property other than farming sites. Property, otherwise, was individually owned or owned in the family, and claims had to be made through blood connection, not through clan alone. The true power of clans lay in their far-flung network of obligations—obligations necessary because of a supposed kinship among all members of the same clan. It is important to note that clan obligations extended not only between members of the same group but to members of all groups, forming the fiber of the few existing intragroup blood kinship bonds.

See Appen. E for the distribution and groupings of Western Apache clans.
In conversation clan membership may be referred to as *nì ńt'i'* (“your lineage”). In asking to what clan a person belongs, one says, “What are you?” and the answer might be, “I am *dè-stcì-dì*.” Again, of an individual, one says, “He is *dè-stcì-dì*.” Less common is to ask, “Who are your relatives?” A clan may be called *dàłá'ágò'hát'i'í* (“of one descent or one lineage”) and also *dàłáhát'è* or *dàłáíndlíní* (same meaning). Clans in plural are designated by the word *hàdà-za'íí* (“several separate descents”); literally, coming upward from several sources. Certain clans have named divisions within them, but divisions of one clan do not necessarily exist in every group in which the clan is represented and more often occur only in one group. Frequently, these divisions and their names are unknown to Apache unless of, or related to, the clan in question. They are considered more as nicknames than actual divisions and have been applied where there were large concentrations of clan members geographically separated. Names of divisions tend to allude to personal habits of the people concerned or to their location in relation to the remainder of the clan. Ordinarily, rather than use the name of his division, a person gives the true name of his clan.

Each person belongs to or is of his mother's clan. One of the most important aspects of clan function is clan exogamy which is strictly adhered to. Although not extending to the father's clan, it does affect certain related clans. No Western Apache clan is without related clans, which may number from one to sixteen. There are three grades of clan relationship which we will call here “closely related,” “related,” and “distantly related.” Certain clans are grouped without hesitation as closely related, in comparison to merely related clans, and the term “my close relatives” is applied just as it is to close blood kin. The bonds between members of closely related and related clans are not quite so strong as those for members of one clan, but almost the same obligations may exist. The difference between closely related and related clans is slight, the ties of the former being merely a little stronger. Practically the only function of “distant” relationship between clans is to prohibit marriage. The term
used of distantly related clans is the same as that for distantly related blood relatives—"my distant relatives."

Exogamy between distantly related clans formerly depended much on the individuals concerned and whether or not conservative objections to marriage would be raised. Sanctioned marriages between distantly related clans are said to have occurred. Often distant relationships were apparently based on the relation of both clans concerned to an intermediary clan or clans. Certainly, there is variation of opinion as to these distant relationships, and frequently one informant does not recognize them where another does.

In former times all adults knew these clans within their group which were related to their own clan as well as some of those in neighboring groups. But when two groups were widely separated, such as the White Mountain and Northern Tonto or even Southern Tonto, they were ordinarily ignorant of each other's clans. Even in adjacent groups this lack of knowledge is quite evident. Today what acquaintance there is with clans of other groups derives in many cases from reservation contact in the last sixty years. Old people exchanged clan legends and stories of the relationships between various clans, and relationships which, through lack of contact, supposedly had not been observed since prehistoric times are said to have been sufficiently revived to affect marriages.

Almost half of the clans were localized within a single group, and the remainder claim to have been so localized, according to legend. An accompanying tendency is to associate clans with one of the five groups, or even with a band, not only because of legendary origin or first settlement there but also for a more important reason—namely, because the majority of members of the clan live within the area. Thus, though a clan might legendarily claim origin in the territory of one group, if the large majority of its members migrated into the lands of a second group, it would become associated with the latter. This has actually happened with certain clans claiming origin in Southern Tonto territory who migrated into San Carlos group country.

The localization of clans in groups and bands is perhaps most
strongly marked among the White Mountain Apache, who are peculiar in not sharing any of their clans with the other groups. Moreover, the insignificant number of people from clans not localized in their group amounts to a virtual exclusion of other Western Apache clans. This difference between the White Mountain and the four other groups seems to indicate lack of intermarriage or migratory exchange, at least since the period when clan names were formed.

Among the White Mountain Apache there was definite association of clans with bands. Clans 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 20 were considered essentially Eastern White Mountain, and clans 2, 21, 29, and 30, Western White Mountain, though members of all were in both bands. The number of clans confined to each group are: White Mountain, 10; Cibecue, 5; San Carlos, 6; Southern Tonto, 5; and Northern Tonto, 3. Clans confined to two groups are: Cibecue-San Carlos, 7; San Carlos-Southern Tonto, 5; and Southern Tonto-Northern Tonto, 4.

In a recent paper on White Mountain Apache clans I used the term "phratries" for the grouping of clans. Among the White Mountain Apache the small number of clans and the fact that they are definitely divided into four sets within which there is no variation in relations to other clans make the use of "phratries" quite possible. But the clan systems in the other four groups are not so simple, for here clans may be related to other clans which in turn are not interrelated. Thus, it is impossible to form all clans bearing relationships to one another into nonconflicting sets, as among the White Mountain Apache, and, for lack of a better term, the units into which it is necessary to group them in explaining clan relationships are called "clan sets." It must be understood that the majority of these clan sets (except for the White Mountain Apache) are somewhat amorphous and overlap in a sort of chainlike fashion. An Apache, when asked for the clans related to his own, will naturally mention all those that come to mind, regardless of whether they, in turn, are related to clans unrelated to his own.

There is no distinctive name for phratry or set of related clans. Terms from White Mountain Apache which may be used are 'tlk'i- ("related"; the word used for a blood or clan relationship) and dac‘indlin‘i ("one descent"; from one common origin). If desiring to signify four related clans, one may say d‘gő‘hăi‘-i‘tlk'i- ("four descents [lineages] related"). The fact that terms used for blood kindred are also applied to clan kin signifies the frequent lack of distinction between the two both in thought and in practice.

A tendency to group clans on likeness of name is not uncommon. Thus, an Apache may say that clans 33, 41, and 46 are related because all contain the word "red"; clans 30, 31, and 45, because all have in them the word "cottonwood"; clans 48, 49, and 50, because each has "willow" in its name; clans 2, 12, 17, 57, and 60, for all contain the word "white." A relationship actually based on this seems rather improbable, however, for unrelated clans often have names including the same word, which Apache must overlook in such a grouping. The reason for relationship lies elsewhere, although it is quite possible that one or two cases of likeness in names may be due to relationship. Particularly among Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, individuals sometimes attempt to place related clans in sets of four, usually the four clans most closely related, regardless of any interrelations that one or more of them may bear to other clans. This necessitates some repetition, and often one or more clans will be used in different sets. It is not the usual custom and apparently is not done because of any concept directly pertaining to clans but as an expression of the popular and holy number of four.

The common method is to group clans irrespective of name and number in larger sets based on relationship. According to the lists of related clans given by the Apache, it is apparent that the Apache almost always tended to group the same lot of clans in a set. There were often other clans related to a given set, but they were usually mentioned on second thought, or when asked for, or at times were left out entirely, to be given with another set. This, of course, was governed to some extent by knowledge.
of various clans and whether they existed in a particular group or not. Many Western Apache clans claim relationship to, or direct descent from, what may be termed three archaic clans: t'udnêc'têdù (“bitter water people”), tsêyî'dêñ (“in the rocks [canyon] people”), and dê:stêc'têdù (“horizontally red people”). Only the latter has been in existence within historic times. Curiously enough, these archaic clans are either attributed to or are Navaho clans. What significance this may have is discussed later. The three archaic clans are unrelated, and, paralleling this, no Western Apache clan, as far as I know, claims descent from, or relation to, more than one of them.

Taking the total number of Western Apache clans and segregating them on the above basis, they divide quite nicely into four great segments. In the first are clans 1–17; all are related to, or descended from, one archaic clan, and all are commonly mentioned together as related, except clans 7, 8, 9, and 10, usually grouped irrespective of segment with those clans to whom they are “closely related.” In the second are clans 20–27; seven are “related” to, or descended from, one archaic clan, and all are commonly mentioned together. In the third are clans 29, 30, 32–35, 38, 39, and 41–46; all are related to, or descended from, the same archaic clan, but from group to group there is a decided variation in the clans included in this segment because of their presence, absence, or adjacency and the extent to which they were represented in each group. Thus, the White Mountain Apache mention first of all the clans in their group—29 and 30—and add outside clans well known to them, such as 41, 45, and 46; the Cibecue ordinarily give clans 38, 39, and 41–46; the San Carlos do likewise, less commonly adding the introduced Southern Tonto clans 32–35; the Southern Tonto ordinarily give clans 32–35, which are an important block in their group, and later add the less important clan 41, etc.; the Northern Tonto do the same. In the fourth segment are clans 47–60. Here there is no archaic clan from which all claim descent or relationship, there being instead two legendary clans from which nine of the other clans originated. No mention is made of the origins of the other three clans. The only clans in this
segment bearing relations to ones in other segments are 57, 58, 59, and 60—all related in segment I. In segment 4, counting all relationships between clans, there are several "distant" relationships which do not prevent marriage. These do not apply to the four clans having relatives outside the segment. It must be remembered that an Apache, in calling off clan relationships in this segment, does not ordinarily include such "distant" ones.

Besides the clans included in these four segments, there remain seven clans (clans 18, 19, 28, 31, 36, 37, and 40) none of which, so far as my data go, is related to, or descended from, an archaic clan. There is no tendency to associate them with large sets of related clans, and they are commonly given only with those clans to whom they bear "close" relationship. All are highly localized, and this may be the reason. It is interesting to note that, according to legend, two come from a people other than the Western Apache; a third is sometimes ascribed to the same outside source, as well as having a strong admixture of Yavapai blood; and a fourth has a similar Yavapai content.

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not legendary descent from an archaic clan, or relation to it, is actual. The important point is that it is real to the Apache. The association of clans in segments can be caused by influence of clan legends and legendary relationships to archaic clans or to quite an opposite factor. However, the latter seems less probable, for in some cases close relationships between clans in separate segments occur. A fourfold basic clan structure, as suggested above, is quite possible, but whether the present system originated from it or whether it is a product of present practices must remain conjectural, unless we are willing to accept the veracity of clan legend.

In contrast to Hopi and Navaho, there is a marked absence of clan reference in Western Apache mythology. Only in three myths are clans spoken of, and even then merely incidentally as an identification of peoples. In all other tales the clan member-

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3 See Appen. G.
ship of a participant is of no concern to the Apache, who, if asked for clan affiliations, would be at a loss to supply them. The clan legends, moreover, are meager and apparently occupy no position in context with the rest of the mythology among the White Mountain Apache. "They are told at any time of year, without taboo; they are not dangerous as are the Coyote tales and others," says Anna Price. From what is known to date, the same seems to apply to the mythology of the other four Western Apache groups, but further research is necessary before making a definite statement regarding the Cibecue, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto.

In almost all cases those Apache with whom I have worked learned what clan legends they knew from their grandparents, usually the grandmothers. If an individual had well-informed grandparents who took an interest in telling him tales, he might know two clan legends—that of his own clan and that of his father's clan. Today, however, not all Apache know their clans' legends, and sometimes knowledge of them is found completely lacking, although the better informed, particularly those who practice ceremonies, usually know them. Of all clan legends recorded (none was obtained from Northern Tonto), those from the Southern Tonto were the most detailed. In the same group, clans maintained a unity and localization more than elsewhere, and the elaboration of clan legends may be a reflection of this.

There is a marked difference today in the size of clans; some are large and others are small. This is not entirely owing to changed conditions within the last sixty years, for it is said that these inequalities have always existed. This is even rationalized, as shown in a typical old saying quoted by Nancy Wright (Eastern White Mountain band) concerning her clan, "The one who created the tūdilxiti people said, 'Let there never be many of them,' and there never were many."

As is evident from clan myths, certain clans are considered to be the ancestors of others, but it is doubtful how much historical value can be attached to clan legends. In many cases it is probably true that one clan originated from members of an-
other, but it is not certain which are the parent or root clans, for Apache do not always agree on this. Two individuals of differing clan affiliations, in giving information on the same set of related clans, are often likely to claim as the root clan the one with which they have the closest connection, thus endowing it with a certain superiority over its offspring clans. However, it is true that, almost without exception, clans considered to be root clans are the largest ones. There is also a tendency to distinguish one of a set of related clans, usually the root clan, as the head of its set. Again, this can differ according to clan affiliations of the individuals giving information. These head clans and root clans have no special designation, nor do they have any special functions or rites separate from their related clans.

The data in Hopi literature concerning adoption of members of an almost extinct clan by a larger related clan, the survivors taking its name, cannot be paralleled with anything found among the White Mountain Apache, and I believe that it is safe to include other Western Apache in this statement. However, a larger clan related to a very weak clan would aid and protect it in time of need. Sometimes, though not often, an Apache will state he is of one clan; a day later he will claim membership or be assigned by a friend to another. On being questioned, the individual will say both clans are the same (related) and that one is almost identical with the other, although he really belongs to only one of the clans. The membership in the other is merely based on clan descent from it or clan relationship to it.

The Western Apache look upon the clan system as something that they have always had. Thinking continually in terms of clans, it is difficult for them to grasp that other peoples are without them. They read clans into the three Chiricahua bands, asserting that these are clans like their own, though not claiming any interclan relationship with them. They even attempt to fit the system to the whites, using as evidence some chance remark of a trader's clerk or some such person. The Western Apache also declare that wherever women have mar-
ried they have introduced their clan. They insist that the Chiricahua have White Mountain clans because White Mountain Apache women have intermarried with Chiricahua, their descendants living among those people. The same is said of female captives taken long ago by Apache Mansos, Navaho, and even whites and Mexicans.

Formerly, among the White Mountain Apache, intermarriage to outside peoples, excepting with captives, occurred only with the Chiricahua. Several Chiricahua women, or women of that descent, are married among the Western Apache today. It is interesting to note that they and their offspring, regardless of the Western Apache father, are termed hai'aghá ("Chiricahua"), just as if this were a clan name. Although the three Chiricahua band names are thought of as clans, in actual practice only the one term is used, covering all Chiricahua.

Captives, mainly Navaho, Apache Mansos, Opata, and Mexican, were common among the White Mountain Apache. In noncaptive marriages with the Chiricahua the offspring of the alien woman retained their tribal designation as a clan name, but this was not the case with captives. They were generally children raised either by their captor’s family or by one to whom they had been given. In either case they became affiliated with the clan of the individual who owned or raised them. However, Navaho, if of a clan already represented or known among the Western Apache, retained their original clan membership, but if of unknown and unrepresented clan they were taken into the clan of the foster-family. The offspring of women captives taken into a clan kept the clan membership, though they had the taint of alien blood as long as their ancestry was remembered. The term for descendants of male or female captives married to Western Apache is nàl’dítcín ("born from above downward people") coming from one woman, or a variant ndà tôîlcín ("enemies born one after the other people"), which is sometimes applied almost as a clan name when the descent is through females. In fact, in some instances it is used in preference to the name of the adopted clan. This is true of a family now residing at Bylas whose ties
are with clan 30. They cannot marry anyone of that clan or clans related to it because their lineal head, a woman, was captured by some of its members.

Following are a few Apache statements on the clan affiliations of captives. John Rope says: "If I capture a girl in Mexico, she takes my clan because she is my property. Her children will take my clan also." Anna Price says: "My father used to capture Navaho sometimes—bring them back and raise them. One of these was a boy. He told my mother that his clan was t'údnteči-dți, and she said to him, 'Well, you are t'údnteči-dți, and i'ya'aijye [her clan] is t'údnteči-dți also, so you will be called t'údnteči-dți.' We always referred to him as a t'údnteči-dți." This was the only instance encountered in which one alien Navaho clan name was kept. A White Mountain family now living on North Fork of White River is known as yú-dähá'de-stći-dți ("Navaho dë-stći-dți") because the maternal grandmother was a Navaho woman of that clan.

The Western Apache considered all peoples to have clans, but there were only four with whom they claimed actual clan relationship: the Yavapai, Zuni, Hopi, and Navaho, all having fairly strong matrilineal clans of similar type. Gifford states that only the Southeastern Yavapai possess clans. Those Apache who came in close contact with the Yavapai very definitely considered several of their clans to be identical with Yavapai clans and concluded that exogamy would exist, extending to clans related to those involved, just as it would among themselves. White Mountain Apache did not recognize any clan relationships with Yavapai, probably through lack of contact with them.

The statement that the Zuni have clans related to those of the Western Apache is based on data from Anna Price and Gila Moses. The question was not exhaustively followed out with other Apache, but the one or two who were asked had heard

4 Clan 1 is said to have originated from the t'údnteči-dți.

neither to the affirmative nor to the contrary. However, none was as old as Anna Price, and none had made the personal contact with the Zuni and Zuni trade which she had through her father’s visits there and on the return visits of his Zuni friends. Again and again, she spoke of relationships to clans at Zuni and said: “The Zuni have clans related to ours. When they came to visit and trade with us, they brought gifts for their clan among us.” She also gave what she claimed were Zuni designations for certain Western Apache clans. These are listed below and are not beyond question of accuracy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apache Clan</th>
<th>Zuni Equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clan 1 .......</td>
<td>t'údítci·dñ (“bitter water people”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan 2 .......</td>
<td>‘icí·hágáiyé (“salt white sloping up people”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clans 20 and 21</td>
<td>tseko(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gila Moses claimed that a tséyí·dñ and dë·stci·dñ clan existed among the Zuni. The Zuni language was totally unknown to the Apache, although certain Zuni who came to trade spoke Apache and Navaho. The above Zuni words are quite evidently Athapaskan.

The statement that Western Apache clans were related to those of the Hopi and the claim that the later people had dzít’á·dñ and 'itsí‘ná·djín clans⁶ rest on information from Gila Moses and Henry Irving (sixth semiband, Southern Tonto), both just as sure of their statements as Anna Price was in regard to Zuni. No contradictory information was obtained, although there was no thorough questioning of other Apache on this point. Gila Moses mentioned the same two clans for Hopi as he did for Zuni. Whether or not the Zuni and Hopi had such clan connections, it is certain that individuals among them claimed clan relationship to Western Apache and took advantage of this in dealing with them. It is quite possible that these clan relationships were merely a system used to promote friendly inter-

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⁶ This is a mythical Western Apache clan (see Appen. G).
course, but if nothing more than this the case serves as an extremely interesting function of clan in the area.

The relationship between Navaho and Western Apache clans within historic times is substantiated from many Apache sources. Exogamy was present (at least in theory) with those Navaho clans thought to be identical with or related to Western Apache clans. When they were on friendly trading visits among the Western Apache, Navaho used these clan ties, and vice versa. The following statements illustrate this:

If I went up to the Navaho country to visit, I would try to find some Navaho who were de-stck-dii or t'is-k'ad-dii and stay with them because they are my relatives [Palmer Valor, Western White Mountain Band].

In the old days when the Navaho came down to visit us on White River, I and the other 'iyad'qiyel people, or the people related by clan to us, used to ask which were t'udntc-dii, so we could give them a big piece of mescal because they were our relatives [Anna Price].

One time some Navaho came down to visit us near Calva, on the Gila River. My mother cooked for them because they were t uhagaldn. They gave her three blankets [David Longstreet, Eastern White Mountain band].

One time some Navaho came to San Carlos to trade blankets with us. One of them, after talking with me, wanted me to go back with him to the Navaho country and visit my relatives. He said: "You have lots of relatives up there, and your real chief lives in that country. Your relatives have many saddle blankets, and, if you stay with them, they might give you some." I know I have lots of [clan] relatives up there that I have never seen [Walter Hooke, Arivaipa band].

The Navaho are split up in clans, just as we are. I heard visiting Navaho at White River say that some belonged to 'iyad'qiyel, some to ngod-cgij, and some to bsza-hi, so we must be related. Up at MacNary [at the sawmill] many Navaho were working [recently]. They asked some Western White Mountain people to which clan they belonged. When they told them, the Navaho said they belonged to the same clan, and from then on they used to eat together [John Rope].

The Western Apache thinks primarily in terms of his clans when referring to the Navaho, although from the literature it is

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1 Clan 2 was related to the t'udntc-dii (see Appen. F).
apparent that the great majority of Western Apache clans do not have Navaho counterparts. Thus, a member of the 'iyā'-'äiyë clan may say: "I have many relatives among the Navaho. There are lots of 'iyā'äiyë up there." When asked what the Navaho call these people, he might answer: "They call them t'udnctl·dṇ up there, but it is the same thing." There is an evident reluctance to admit legendary relationship to, or descent from, present Navaho clans, probably because these are alien and associated with a one-time enemy people. The Western Apache were totally ignorant of the majority of Navaho clans, and the reading of a Navaho clan list to them usually aroused nothing more than laughter at the strange names.

A list of corresponding Navaho and Western Apache clan names is printed below. R. F. Van Valkenburgh, who for the last two years has done ethnographic work among the Navaho, was kind enough to give me a list of Navaho clans. This, and the list from Dr. G. A. Reichard's *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*, have been used. The recording of Navaho clan names is my own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Apache*</th>
<th>Navaho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kl·'yā·'án</td>
<td>kiyā'änl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dē·stcl·dṇ</td>
<td>dē stcl·'nnl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tsjsik·dnnl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'udntcl·dṇ†</td>
<td>t'6dltc'l nl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ltsj'nā·djin†</td>
<td>tsínà·djinl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'átc·dnl‡</td>
<td>t'átcl·nl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'j·hitcl·dn§</td>
<td>kl'fitcl·n nl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'dē·dnlln§</td>
<td>t'úhèdl·nl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsf' ts'èhè sk'ldn</td>
<td>sà'hèsk'ldn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Appen. G for complete description of each Western Apache clan, relationships to Navaho clans, and information on names given in Western Apache list.
† Mythical Western Apache clan.
‡ Never a Western Apache clan but attributed by them to Navaho.
§ The name is only similar; it may possibly have no connection.
|| A Western Apache clan nickname.

The status of the mythical clans t'udntcl·dṇ and 'ltsj'nā·djin is puzzling. These clans do not exist among the Western Apache now and apparently have not since legendary times. It is uncertain whether they were originally Western Apache clans or clans obtained from the Navaho.
The following material on clan "relatives" deals only with the White Mountain Apache unless otherwise indicated. Each of the three clan phratries and the single unrelated clan has "relatives." Those of the phratry formed by clans 1–5 are the eagle and red-tailed hawk, as well as the remainder of the hawk family; clan 6 has the black-tailed deer; clans 20 and 21, the roadrunner or chaparral cock; clans 20 and 30, the bear. The existence of these clan and phratry "relatives" was fairly well known among the people. Anna Price assigned certain plant "relatives" also to the above phratries and clans: the plant 'iyā'âi to the clan named for it and its related clans; the thistle poppy for clan 6; t'ôhîts'ô's ("slender grass") for clans 20 and 21; and t'ôhtéï ("red grass") for clans 29 and 30. However, these plants were probably not so widely recognized as the other "relatives."

Clan "relatives" could be called "totems," but it seems wiser to use the term "relatives." Their position was not highly formalized; they were not clan guardians and were not prayed to by clan members except in ritual context which had nothing to do with clan. Descent from them is not claimed, and apparently, with the possible exception of clan 6, there is no legendary explanation of why they are related to clans. Since these birds, animals, and plants were looked upon as kin, formerly certain behavior was observed toward them. They were called by blood-kin terms at times: "my brother, my maternal uncle, my sister, my maternal aunt, my maternal grandparent, my 'relative,'" or by the term sizar'we, meaning "my older blood kindred" (person of same clan). Children were taught not to molest their clan "relatives" unnecessarily and to prevent others from so doing. Clans related to the hawk family were frequently termed 'itsâdndê'yú ("hawk people"), 'itcâ-tcùdndê'yú ("eagle people"), or "red-tail hawk people," and it is usually under one of these names that they are mentioned in mythology. Today this is still done, though more in jest than in seriousness.

Individuals related to the eagle did not kill him for his feathers. "What would they want to do that for?" asks Anna Price. "He is their 'relative.'" But other clans would kill the eagle, though Anna Price claimed that the "relatives" of the bird might, in
fun, demand part of the feathers—half the tail and the two longest feathers from the wings—as atonement for the death of their "relative." Again the individual who killed the eagle could offer some of the feathers to a local influential man, often a chief in one of the clans related to eagle. The same was true if a dead eagle was found. In this case the man given the feathers would say, "It is all right that you found the dead eagle and took his feathers, but do not kill one." The gift of feathers diverted any evil consequences of eagle power from the one killing or plucking the bird.

During a visit to Anna Price, I told her of a box of eagle feathers that I had. Jokingly, she proceeded to scold me, probably much as a member of her clan would have talked to another Apache in former times:

Hey, you have some eagle feathers. Where did you get them? They belong to me, all of them. Go and get them quickly and give them all to me [she made a threatening motion at me with her arms, as if she were angry]. It is as if you took those feathers from me; pulled them right out of me. I am the same as eagle, I am eagle and those are my feathers that you have pulled out of me and taken. Go get them right away. They are mine. You killed that eagle; you have killed me also. It is as if you killed me and took those feathers out of me. I am the only one who can have those feathers, so go get them.

At another time she said:

If members of my clan are wearing an eagle feather and it drops off, they must not pick it up, for they are Eagle People, and they have molted the feather. But members of other clans, even those related to ours, could pick it up and use it.

Although Anna Price denied the method, John Rope states that, formerly, only members of the clans related to eagle had the right to tie young eagles in the nests until grown, then to pluck and release them. Very often, members of clans not related to eagle requested those who were to pluck dead eagles for them, since they were afraid to do it themselves because of eagle's strong power. Those who did the plucking received part of the feathers.

Anna Price mentioned that men and boys of clans related to
eagle and the hawks sometimes wore one or two large eagle feathers tied in the headband and hanging down at the side of the face. She claims that all such clans had the right to do this (excepting clan 3), as well as individuals whose paternal clan was one of the above. She adds that the type of mens’ cap ornamental with a bunch of short, black turkey feathers and two eagle tail feathers was the property of clan 1 and its relatives. They alone had the right to make it, and a man’s clan affiliations could be told by his wearing one of these. However, anyone could make such a cap whose paternal clan was one of those related to eagle. Clan owners of the cap encountering a man of an unrelated clan wearing one might grab it and demand why he wore it. If he did so because of his paternal clan relationship, he said biγq’ñcînî (“my paternal relatives”), and they released him. Anna Price holds that no other clansmen could make or wear the hat, but John Rope differs, saying that permission could be obtained from a local influential man of clan 2, the head clan of its phratry in his (John Rope’s) band. The individual might say, “I have already fixed the hat. I have plenty of turkey feathers and two eagle tail feathers. All I have to do now is to assemble it.” Mentioning the matter was merely a friendly gesture and was almost certain not to meet with a refusal. Nowadays, these caps are made and worn regardless of clan, and eagle feathers may be tied to any man’s hat.

The two clans related to roadrunner are sometimes jokingly called “Roadrunner People.” Roadrunner, as an individual, is allotted a somewhat different status from eagle, hawk, and bear, all of whom are respected for their powers, whereas this lowly bird is considered ridiculous. Clan relationships to various animals and birds are occasionally used as a vehicle for fun-making, and this is especially true of roadrunner. Anna Price recalls the following:

I can remember one time when some men of the nágòdè-cgijù and t’ pérdmn’à-dh clans pursued a roadrunner, trying to rope him. A few members of the bìsáhè clan arrived on the scene and began shooting their guns into the air, as if fighting the tormentors of their relative. They did this in fun to make them stop persecuting their kin.
John Rope mentioned an incident of the same kind:

At'udìkì́lì boy walked by an old biszá·hé man called hàčké·tíbá (“angry, gray”). The boy was holding some arrows his father had feathered with roadrunner feathers. The old man, seeing this, grabbed them and broke them up. He was mad. The boy ran home and told his father about it. “That’s all right,” his father said, “I told you not to go where any of those biszá·hé would see you.” The old man really felt very strongly about any roadrunners being hurt or killed.

He goes on to say that a frequent way of teasing members of the biszá·hé clan was to pick up a roadrunner feather somewhere and show it tauntingly, describing the place and time where the bird had been killed. People related to roadrunner would scold if they found out that one of their “relatives” had been killed. Supposedly, only members of clans related to roadrunner could wear his feathers, which were stuck in the hatband, and, if sported by a person without the right to have them, they could be taken from him.

Because of the small number of surviving members of clan 6, it was difficult to obtain information on the clan “relatives.” Apparently, no parts of the animal were worn. However, a mythical event accounts for the supposedly superior skill in deer hunting possessed by these clansmen. In the legend of “How the ga·n Ceremony Was Obtained” members of the clan adopted and raised a little girl abandoned by the ga·n. She later married the son of the family. The ga·n father, coming to visit her at the time she gave birth to a boy, brought bf·ìzè· (“deer medicine”) for her to tie in the baby’s cradle so he would be a great hunter. But she refused it, saying that she did not want anything from those who had abandoned her. She gave it to her husband, and from that time on men of clan 6 could immediately kill a large black-tail buck when they went hunting.

Clans related to bear were sometimes called “Bear People.” Bear was a much-feared animal not only because of his ferocity but because of his supernatural power. Being related to him, members of these clans were considered more or less immune from his attacks—“He would not harm his own ‘relatives.’” The bear ceremony was by no means limited to members of clans
related to bear, but some Apache claim that there were more shamans practicing the ceremony in these two clans than elsewhere. One old man of clan 29 who possessed bear power was famous for his boast that he could walk up to a wild bear and knock him down with the flat of his hand, his prowess being based also on the fact that his clan was related to bear. No one had ever seen him perform the feat, and men, in speaking of it, usually added with a smile, “I’d like to see him do it.”

Men with bear power sometimes wore claws and bear paws which they used in curing. There is some indication that members of clans related to bear also wore them without having the bear power, but decisive information could not be obtained. However, any clansman related to bear might lay claim either seriously or in fun to such objects. The following from Anna Price is illustrative:

A man whose father was t’i-st’-t’-dnt’-dû killed a bear. That night he slept with the hide close by. In the morning some náyódegiijn men encountered him and grabbed hold of the hide, tugging at one end, and the bear hunter at the other. “Why, who gave you this bearskin?” they said. They were joking him because they were his cross-cousins. Finally, they released him when he laughingly said, “My paternal relatives [meaning the bears].”

Although the plant ‘iyà’áí was related to all clans in the phratry of the clan named for it, it had special relationship to its namesake ‘iyà’t’-qiyè. Mothers would say half-seriously to their children playing where the plant was growing: “Be careful, don’t break your kin. These are your kin.” Sometimes, men married into the clan carefully stepped around such a plant, saying, “Maybe it is my parent-in-law.” Anna Price remembers some paternally related clansmen living among clan families poking fun at them when they ate the seeds of the ‘iyà’áí plant: “My paternal relatives taste pretty good. I eat up my paternal relatives, ‘iyà’áí; taste pretty good. I eat up my paternal relatives.” Plants related to clans were not used as insignia or worn on the person.

Eagle and hawks, deer, roadrunner, and bear are the most widely recognized clan “relatives” among the White Mountain
clans, but there are others mentioned in the clan list, some of them related only to individual clans such as raven, ga·n, king bird, yellow warbler, and mockingbird. None of them was as intimately associated with their clans as those already mentioned. Anna Price claims that her clan and its relatives alone had the right to wear the yellow warbler as ornament and charm. This is not the case now. It was denied by at least two informants that ga·n were related to any clan, but John Rope knew that they were related to some clan, although he could not recall which, and k'å·γé·l definitely stated they were related to his clan. The latter recounted a dream of the ga·n he had, giving the impression that he dreamt of them because they were his relatives. He added: "I have traveled all over, and I am old now, but my strength has never failed me. My legs have been good, from the ga·n, for I am ga·n [ga·n are his relatives]. We are called ga·n people sometimes." If the old man had possessed either ga·n power or the ga·n ritual, he could have attributed his endurance to these also.

Definite conclusions regarding the relation of corn to clans cannot be drawn from the data obtained. Anna Price believes that each of the seven varieties of corn distinguished by the Apache was the property of a certain clan or clans, and John Rope says that an old White Mountain man once told him the clan affiliations of the different colored corns. The concept is quite evidently present though not widely known. Corn is definitely not related to one clan only, and there is nothing comparable here to Pueblo corn clans. The colored corn of a clan was not considered as a "relative" and was not alluded to by the special term for clan "relatives" but was merely called "my ripe fruit." Clans owning a certain colored corn need not necessarily plant that kind of corn only. They might obtain seed of another variety to plant, but, if they wished to save some of the ears for seed next year, as a matter of form they asked permission from members of the clan who owned the corn.

In hopes of uncovering further clan relatives, lists of Pueblo clans from Kroeber's Zuni Kin and Clan were read to White

8 See Appen. G.
Mountain Apache. Beyond recognition of those clan "relatives" already mentioned, nothing was elicited except amusement. There is, moreover, no connection of season with clans, that is, no summer-winter grouping.

A privilege enjoyed only by clan 1 was the right to paint a decoration about the shoulder of their basketry water bottles (see Fig. 1). If individuals of another clan dared to decorate their water bottles likewise, people of clan 1 might destroy the vessels. All other basketry forms and pottery were decorated without such restrictions.

Use of clan designs in Victory Dances, as found among Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto (data absent on Northern Tonto), is said to be lacking among the White Mountain Apache. There is only one contradiction to this: David Longstreet states that, when women and girls of clan 2 danced before the crowd clothed only in a gee string (a custom at Victory Dances), they painted their bodies completely white and that members of all other clans were painted in different ways. The Victory Dance was given on the return of a successful war or raiding party against the enemy and was an occasion for distributing a part of the spoils among those who stayed at home. People danced and sang a set of songs before a successful warrior, an honor which he was bound to acknowledge by a gift of some sort, such as a horse or a steer. For this occasion among the

\[ \text{fig. 1.—Designs used by members of clan 1 on pitched water bottles.} \]

9 \( \text{k}a\text{-y}^\text{é}-\text{l} \) claims that all the White Mountain clans related to clan 1 had the right to use the design, and John Rope says that, if other clans used it, local members of clan 1 expected to be paid for the privilege. However, all other sources of information limit use of the design to clan 1 only.
Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto men and women of the same clan banded together with their clan designs painted in color completely over the body or above the waist or in a bandoleer over one shoulder and diagonally across the chest and back. An individual could not use a design belonging to another clan, for, if he did, members of that clan would rub it off.

According to Joe Hoffman (Canyon Creek band, Cibecue group), men who had been on a raid did not paint, and boys who had not undergone their warpath apprenticeship were excluded, as well as girls who had not reached puberty and who did not know the Victory Dance songs. He also states that only four sets of painted dancers performed and that the same clan could dance only once. Charley Nokeye says that ordinarily among his people only one or two—the leaders of the dancers—were painted with the clan design but that, at very large Victory Dances where a crowd containing unacquainted people was assembled, all participants painted designs—men on their bodies and maidens on their skirts—to show clan membership. Thus, girls would know whether they might ask a boy to dance or not, as two persons of opposite sex cannot dance together when close blood or clan kin. In all events, the clan design was primarily used in order that the clan might be known.

Among the Cibecue and San Carlos there are short tales not found among the White Mountain which account for clan “relatives.” The following is from Joe Hoffman:

The way in which the clan designs started was this. Long, long ago all the various kinds of people were different varieties of birds. These birds were marked in different ways, just as they are now. Some had spots or stripes on their faces or bodies, bands of color on their wings or backs, and those were their begu't'îné [clan insignia]. One time all the bird people came together, animal people also, and danced the Victory Dance. Each had their own song and each wore their begu't'îné. That’s the way it all started. Later when part of the birds and animals were changed to actual people, they kept their begu't'îné. That is why each clan had a clan bird or animal relative and at Victory Dances they each sang a song about the animal or bird related to them.

The singing of a song about the clan “relative” was another divergence from the White Mountain, and it was not recorded
for any of the other Western Apache groups. Among the San Carlos and Cibecue some of the clan designs are definitely said to resemble the markings of the clan "relative."

There are two terms for clan "relatives" and clan insignia; the first, the only one used by the White Mountain Apache, is $bi'ii'f'$ ("his clan relative or insignia") or, in first person $ci'ii'f'$ ("my clan relative or insignia"), and the second, $begüi'në$, meaning the same but literally "seen by it" or "seen with it" (known by it), which is the common term among Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto. Among the White Mountain Apache the first term may also be used for anything that is expressive or representative of an animate object. Thus, one may say jokingly that some peculiarity of an individual is his $bi'ii'f'$ or that the pine tree is the $bi'ii'f'$ of the Abert squirrel, or the prickly pear is the $bi'ii'f'$ of the pack rat, for the animals live around these plants. Even a bead design on a dress may be thus termed, without having anything to do with clan.

At present, respect toward clan relatives or use of clan designs no longer are observed. Some of the younger people know of their clan relatives but many do not, and painting of clan designs went out with the ceasing of the Victory Dance. Among the White Mountain Apache today the clan sign on water bottles is not strictly observed.

All members of a clan and related clans are considered as being interrelated by blood and as having the kinship ties (according to generation) which actual blood kin would. The terminology for blood kin and clan kin does not differ, and thus one's clan and related clan are composed of sisters, brothers, mother's siblings, sister's children, sister's daughter's children, and mother's parents. It is this which makes the clan function as it does. The Apache cannot readily explain their belief that actual blood bonds exist between all members of a clan and related clans. Among the White Mountain, descent from a single woman was not given as a possible reason until inquiry was made, and then only hesitantly, although apparently it is not a completely foreign idea. The two most common explanations are (1) that the relationship exists because it has been present
since time immemorial and (2) that supposed descent comes through one blood lineage (not from an individual), now untraceable. Some light is thrown on the question by the statements of Apache themselves. John Rope says that people in one clan are related because long ago they lived together at one place (the blood lineage is not stressed here, but the common residence in extended family or local group is). Anna Price implies the same: "My mother's father told me, and an old man had told him the same long ago, that originally five men and five women came to the place 'iyà'áí and settled there, becoming 'iyà'áiyé. I do not know whether the five women were related by blood before they arrived, but at 'iyà'áí they became related because all became 'iyà'áiyé." It is interesting to note, and important in connection with the possible origin of Western Apache clans, that the relationship (common interest) is based, to great extent, on original common residence and close economic association.

In spite of the belief and practice concerning blood relationship between all clan and related clan members, and despite the theory of a single matrilineal lineage being the core of the clan, actual blood kin within a clan are clearly distinguished in the native mind, though not in terminology, from those who are not so related. Each clan may be said to consist of several matrilineal lineages between which it is not possible to trace blood kinship, but within which maternal blood ties exist. One's blood kin within a clan is determined by tracing a blood relationship through intermediary females. Of course, there can also exist blood kin of a different lineage within one's clan, but these are separated by an intermediary generation and would not be maternal blood kin. There is no functional need for an Apache to know the number of blood lineages within his clan, and consequently he is not familiar with all of them. From childhood he is taught to distinguish his blood relatives among members of his clan; knowing blood relatives is considered more important than knowing clan relatives. He is generally acquainted with all clan members within his home area, but there are, of course, many unrelated clansmen elsewhere whom he never knows at all.
In legend, relationship between clans is accounted for in the three following ways: it was in existence when the clan originally entered the country; its origin was from the same clan or one from the other; or it developed through close association and residence. However, the most common Apache explanation is that the clans have always been related; if this does not suffice, clan legend is resorted to by those who know it. Naturally, clan legend, as explanatory of clan relationships, cannot be accepted blindly, and it is important only for being the Apache explanation of existing practices, accepted by them without question. When Western Apache were first gathered on the San Carlos Reservation, some clans met others not previously known in the old area, and in certain rare instances it is quite possible that clan legend was a decisive factor in creating marriage restrictions between such clans. However, precedent of practice was always the causative factor in exogamy under normal conditions.

One of the primary functions of clan is classification. Knowing a resident individual's clan membership, the local Apache can immediately place him and his family affiliations. Almost any person over thirty-five knows the clan affiliations of his neighbors and friends in the locality as well as those of any man or woman he has known well in the past. Without sufficient data on young people, it is impossible to estimate their knowledge of such matters. Very often a person's clan affiliation can be determined by knowing the clan of one of his blood kin.

The Apache is born into the clan of his mother and remains a member of it throughout life and even after death. He is that clan, and his relations with other people cannot alter his status. The position of the father's clan differs considerably. Individuals are spoken of as “the children of” the clan or, according to age and sex, respectively, as “sons of,” “daughters of,” “maidens of,” or “women of” such and such a clan. This is not done in connection with the maternal clan. It is important to note that those prerogatives existent between an individual and his paternal clan extend almost equally to clans related to the paternal clan. Although the clan of an individual's mother identifies him with her, regardless of his father's clan, this is not always suf-
cient to overcome a prejudice and distinction which may re-
sult from foreign parentage on the father's side. A case in point
is that of two brothers whose mother was a full-blooded White
Mountain Apache and the father a white man, which has re-
sulted in their being called "whites" at times. The same is true
of those with Mexican, Yavapai, Chiricahua, or other parentage,
though nominally they would be considered Western Apache
like their mother. Being considered an outsider depends largely
on personal relations, for, if feeling is not friendly and a deroga-
tory remark seems in order, foreign affiliations are always men-
tioned. Distinctive characteristics because of outside parentage
are sometimes pointed out. Thus, two brothers with a Mexican
maternal grandmother were thought conspicuous because they
wore little mustaches like Mexicans, and one of them was even
said to walk like a Mexican.

It is obvious that clan aspects discussed so far are mainly
characteristics, not functions. Many of the functions of clans
are so ramified, affecting simultaneously numerous parts of the
culture, that to remove them from their setting would be to lose
the chance of presenting them as they actually work. However,
it is necessary to know where to watch for them. They occur
in the following contexts: family, local group, chieftainship,
extension of blood and affinal kinship terms and behavior
patterns, marriage, arbitrations, feud, war, farm ownership, re-
ligion, and death customs.
CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND LOCAL GROUP

The word "family" as used here signifies man, wife, and children, a social unit forming one household. In some instances, because a second household is almost inseparably associated with the first, the two may be said to compose a single unit or family. The extended family, or "family cluster," is made up of several households choosing to live together because of blood, clan, marital, and economic ties. The family as a separate entity living apart from the family cluster is rare; its association with other households in a family cluster is common.

People seldom traveled anywhere alone. It was considered unsafe not only because of enemies and dangerous animals but also because of possible accident and injury. Women out gathering wild foods always went in parties, and men avoided hunting by themselves. The laborious methods of obtaining food supplies invited cooperation between households and made living alone extremely undesirable. The custom of sharing success or supplies with neighbors and related households was an added inducement to the clustering of camps. Often the unfortunate were carried along by the fortunate, the unskilled by the skilled, the lazy by the industrious, the unfit by the fit. One must grasp this to understand Apache society. Out of all this has probably grown the extremely gregarious nature of these people and their utter feeling of loneliness and fear when compelled, through some exigency, to live apart.

Extraordinary though it may seem, there were grown men who had never spent a night alone. John Rope vividly recalled the first time that he was caught out after dark and had to camp by himself. Although he was thirty years old at the time and had served on army campaigns and been used to danger, complete solitude was almost too much for him. He says:
I decided to camp, as it was dark. I boiled a little coffee and ate some mescal, but I was not hungry and felt a little lonely. It was the first time I had ever spent a night by myself. I tied my mule near by, but he kept making too much noise, and so I got up about midnight to move him farther away. There were lots of owls hooting around me, and I could not sleep. I stuffed my ears with something and covered my head with my blanket. That way I slept a little.

The feeling that the Apache has about the white ranger of today, who often lives with wife and children miles away from other habitation, shows how great is his own need of close association with other families:

It may be all right for white people to live that way; they seem to like it. But it would not do for us. We can't live off alone. It isn't right. Other people would talk and say there was something wrong with a family who did this; that they must be trying to conceal something or that they were doing something bad.

When an Apache says of a lone family, "Poor people, they have no relatives they can live with. That must be why they are living alone," he is both voicing his strong compassion for such a condition and giving the only normal explanation for it he can think of.

Nowadays, with danger of enemies removed and far less need for economic co-operation because of near-by stores and improved farming methods, conditions are changed. Sharing of food supplies and other property by neighboring households has also been slightly altered by alien innovations, such as wages paid by the government and whites for unskilled labor, which anyone in good health can independently earn, and the growing attitude that profits are only for those who earn them. The latter is greatly deplored by the older generation, and one old man, bitterly complaining of such callousness, said:

When we were eating our old foods and living the old life, we did well. But now that these younger people eat good food, they talk badly in the English language; they are not as they used to be. In the old days no matter if a man had but one horse, he gave it away if someone wanted it. Long ago when we went down into Mexico on raids, going so far off that it was as if to the foot of the sky, when we came back and saw our brother, cousin, or uncle going afoot for lack of a horse, we
FAMILY AND LOCAL GROUP

would say, "Here is a horse for you," and give him one. If a man had no saddle, we gave him one with the horse. But, nowadays, our people have new ways, and they would not give you a five-cent piece even if your were dead-broke.

In the old times things were good, and we did not forget our relatives. Now we live as if we had no relatives. A man with a horse keeps it for himself until it is old. As his saddle gets worn, he patches and sews it together, still using it though it is ragged. That is the way we are living today. If a man has a big family and one of his children asks for meat, he can't give it. Long ago, if a child wanted meat, no matter if it was the last horse he had, the father would kill it right away for his child. It was the same way with cattle. They have lots of cattle now, our people, but they don't want to kill them. It is as if the cattle were not their own, belonging to nobody [he is referring to the government's restrictions about an owner butchering his cattle without permission].

Long ago, when a man went to war, he would leave behind two horses and tell his wife, "If one of the children asks for meat, kill a horse and use it. If later on you are in need of food again, kill the other and use it." When we butchered a horse or steer, even camps a mile away received a share, but now if you go to where they butcher and ask for meat, they say, "Where is your money?"

In spite of modern trends the need for close association between families and the fear of being alone have continued and even increased, through crowding about schools and agencies. This is seen in the difficulty that the government has in obtaining Apache cowboys willing to live on the range, even for a few months at a time. Husband, wife, and children alone do not afford one another sufficient company and soon grow lonely. The most noticeable separation of families from their family clusters is on the San Carlos Reservation at two recently opened farming sites. Here, because land has been assigned to household heads instead of family cluster heads, as formerly, families have been compelled to live as units apart from the family cluster, though they still maintain the close contact they need with households owning adjoining land.

A family, for social or economic reasons, might detach itself from its family cluster at will and take up residence with another family cluster permanently or might leave for only a limited period to care for a farm or to harvest certain wild foods. Although wild-food-gathering journeys were usually undertaken by mem-
members of several households together, such households were not necessarily from the same family cluster, and for the duration of the expedition families from different family clusters, because of some blood, clan, or affinal tie, might band together to form the party.

Nominal authority in the family was vested in the husband or father, although the actual amount of control he had depended on his strength of character as compared with that of his wife. In any event, the woman of the family, by expressing her desires, might shape family actions fully as much as her husband in such things as visiting relatives of hers and gathering certain wild foods. Economic functions of husband and wife were frequently combined, the family moving to where there was both good hunting and good wild-food-gathering.

With mother and father rested the responsibility of providing for the family, but children from twelve years old on became increasingly useful. Until the time of their marriage, big boys and girls were expected to help their parents with certain tasks. Now, enforced school attendance, usually from the age of seven to sixteen, has somewhat altered this, although when older boys and girls are at home they continue to help as they formerly did. It is said of grown children that they wish to help their parents because they have, in turn, been given what they wanted and have been helped through their troubles. Today other blood and clan kin of a younger generation may be hired and paid for certain tasks, yet a son or daughter, because of filial obligation, is expected to do the work without remuneration. At the same time, being a part of the household, the children themselves benefit from their labors, and a son who has worked on the cattle roundup for his father, although not paid wages, may be given a small share of the profits just because he is a member of the family and has helped.

A young man's marriage more or less predetermined that his future labors would, for the most part, benefit his parents-in-law, but it did not mean he completely lost interest in his parents. Whenever possible, he and his wife gave them food and other goods, and, when old and helpless, parents (especially
those widowed) might reside near or with a married son. Parents should be able to turn to their grown children at such times, and an Apache once expressed the pattern in the simple words, “My wife and I take care of our children now. When we are old, we hope they will do the same for us.” But the marriage of sons could be an economic loss to the parents, especially when there were more sons than daughters. As one old woman said of her own family:

When youths marry, they must help their parents-in-law, and so they can help their own parents only once in a while. Before they marry, grown sons help their parents all the time. This is what happened to me. I have three sons, and before they were married they used to go off to work, and when they received their wages there was lots of money in our camp. But when they married it was just as if I went broke. We don’t see money like that now.

When a daughter married, she and her husband were likely to live beside her parents, with their affairs closely linked. The young man worked for his parents-in-law, and, when they were aged, their daughter cared for them. However, because of the avoidance between man and mother-in-law, they never lived in the same dwelling, and the respect between a man and his father-in-law made their residence in the same household extremely uncommon, even if the latter were a widower. In such cases there were almost always two dwellings, but, despite this, the two may be considered a single family, as their interests were closely knit.

The term for a family cluster is gota'. It may be applied to any cluster of associated households and less commonly to an entire local group when camped in one place. Being predominantly matrilocal in residence, these people, although there are many exceptions, tend to associate more with maternal blood kin. Thus, the common family cluster is made up of four or five households: an older couple or a single widowed older individual and two or more married children, usually daughters, although a married son is not uncommon, these younger couples in turn having older married daughters or sometimes married sons living in the cluster. Not uncommon is the presence of a son-in-law’s widowed parent and occasionally the widowed parent of a
daughter-in-law. Each family cluster is usually composed of one nuclear clan, almost always the clan with the most married women in the unit who belong to the same maternal lineage. Although women of other clans may be included in almost equal numbers, such women are very likely to be of separate maternal lineages. The Apache readily identifies a family cluster by its nuclear clan and will often say, "The people in that family cluster are of such and such a clan," although actually they may be composed of members of several clans. He is correct, for by mentioning the nuclear clan of the unit he emphasizes a bond holding the unit together, a core about which it is built.

Each household within the family cluster is an entity in that its members have their own dwelling, eat at one fire, and make most of the utensils which they use. But, aside from this, members of the family cluster frequently join in any local work which is not limited to a single household. Formerly, this was especially true of women, who often accompanied each other on wild-food-gathering trips, though each gathered expressly for her own family. Many times a single farm was shared by two or three households whose members divided the crop. Men from the same family cluster often hunted in twos and threes. The meat that they obtained was generously given away in the unit, and it was not uncommon for a hunter to return home with less meat than he had parted with. Even in undertakings benefiting only one family, help from the other households could be counted on. Repair or construction of dwellings might see several individuals, as daughters with mother, or sisters, working together. Beneath all we find the functioning of the various blood, clan, and affinal relationships.

Now, as in the past, farms owned by members of one family cluster are, with a few exceptions, at the same farming site. Sometimes an outsider married into the unit retains a farm in his or her original locality and may return at the proper season, with wife or husband, to use it, but more commonly outsiders relinquish such farms on taking up their new abode. Economically, there were four types of benefit derived from farms: first, those who owned no farm but were given a small part of a crop by
Plate II

a) Members of the Bylas 2 Family in 1935

b) A Family Cluster: Unit 12 on Canyon Day Flat
close kin in the family cluster who owned one; second, those who owned no farm but shared in that of a relative or relative-in-law, working it with other sharers and receiving an equal part of the crop; third, those who owned no farm but were loaned part of one belonging to a relative or relative-in-law, farming it indefinitely and retaining the total crop; fourth, those who actually owned a farm and all crops raised on it. Relatives within a family cluster who together own and share farms are those who also share in other economic pursuits.

The following lists concern White Mountain families at two farming sites in 1936. The farm owner is given first, and each household unit utilizing the farm is listed under a separate letter. The farms listed under Canyon Day are only those shared by more than a single household and are far outnumbered by farms used by one household. Other kin, benefiting from the farms but not working on them, are not included in these lists.

**BYLAS**

1. a) Wife and divorced daughter. b) Daughter and husband. c) Daughter and husband.
2. Man and wife.
3. Man and wife.
5. a) Man and wife. b) Wife's daughter's daughter and her husband.
6. a) Man and wife. b) Man's sister and husband.
7. Owner absent with wife at White River. a) Man and wife use it because woman's mother and owner's mother were blood sisters.
8. a) Man and wife. b) His brother and wife. c) His widowed mother. d) Daughter of wife b and her husband.
9. Owner does not use it but lends it. a) Man and wife, she being daughter of owner's sister. b) Man and wife, unrelated, he being a powerful snake shaman and a person whom the owner wants to favor.
10. Man and wife.
11. Widow.
12. a) Man and wife (used to be his father's farm). b) Man and wife, he being friend of owner (not relatives).
13. a) Man and wife. b) Their daughter and husband.
14. a) Wife and man (originally her father's farm). b) Man and wife, she being blood sister of owner.
15. Owned by old man and wife who do not use it. a) Man and wife, he being son of owner.
16. a) Man and wife. b) Man and wife, she being daughter of owner.
17. Man and wife.

CANYON DAY FLAT
1. a) Widow. b) Married son and wife.
2. a) Widow (former wife of owner). b) Her mother's sister's daughter's child (son of her husband) and wife who farm her farm for her also. c) Brother of b and wife.
3. a) Man and wife. b) Mother and father of wife.
4. a) Widower got farm from wife; his grown son shares it with him. b) Widower's daughter and husband.
5. a) Man and wife. b) Their son and wife. c) Their daughter (a's) and husband.
6. a) Man and wife. b) Their daughter and husband. c) Their son (son of a) and wife.
7. a) Man and wife. b) Their son and wife.
8. a) Man and wife. b) Their son and wife.
9. a) Old widow. b) Widowed daughter resident with her.
10. a) Wife and husband. b) Daughter of wife and her husband.
11. a) Man and wife. b) Their son and wife.

The site where the greater part of a family cluster had its farms usually determined the region which the unit considered to be its home locality and to which it always returned during certain periods of the year. Usually, more than one family cluster owned farms at the same site, and the various family clusters so attached to a site were almost always banded together in a still larger unit, the local group. Unlike the family, the family cluster might function as a self-sufficient unit for extended periods of time. The presence on Canyon Day Flat in 1936 of several family clusters from Cedar Creek, twelve miles to the west, who remained there independently for months at a time was by no means abnormal, although probably such independence was less marked in former times. It was not uncommon for a family cluster to be temporarily separated from its local group during winter months or on food-gathering harvests or farming activities. However, sooner or later, return to the local group and home locality was inevitable.

Every family cluster was under the leadership of a headman,
variously termed *nuxwágq'yákhi* ("our smart one"), *bik'e' högôtá* ("he whom the cluster is under"), *bik'e' hök'wa* ("he whom the camp is under"). Although sometimes he was a member of the nuclear clan of the family cluster, very often he was an outsider, and, being generally the father of the grown and married women of the unit’s nuclear clan, he had authority over his children and their mates who resided with him. When he became too old, one of his sons-in-law would probably take his place, although if one of his grown sons lived with him at the time he might readily become the leader. The rarity of the latter situation is illustrated by the Canyon Day survey, where six out of the ten family cluster heads were not of their unit’s nuclear clan. At first, the position of the outsider who married into a family cluster, and in time became its headman, was and still is, that of a young son-in-law more or less at the disposal of his wife’s relatives in the unit. As he gained prestige and became the leader, the status was reversed, and his wife’s relatives lived with him, not he with them. Personality and kinship ties gave a headman a considerable amount of control over the members of the family cluster. A move to a new location, hunting parties, or undertaking farm labors were under his initiative and advice. Social difficulties between members of his family cluster or with other family clusters, when serious enough, might be settled by him. In family matters such as marriages, the hiring of a shaman, or, as today, in regard to credit at the trader’s store and other dealings with whites, his advice and mediation might be sought. As representative of his family cluster, he played an important part in councils, war, raids, and social arbitrations.

In many ways the wives of such headmen were fully as important and as much in authority as their husbands. Because they were usually members of the nuclear clan of the unit, in certain matters their power was undisputed. Wives of headmen who were not of the nuclear clan exerted far less influence. The opinions and advice of such women were felt in all phases of life mentioned above, except in dealings with alien people, where men predominated. When the headman of the family cluster was deceased, his widow, if of the nuclear clan, was often ac-
knowned as the leader of the unit. One man says of his maternal grandmother who played such a role, “My mother’s father died before I was born, and there was only mother’s mother left. She acted as our leader. She was our family cluster head.”

Men and women heads of family clusters belonged to a class which may be termed “leaders.” Not only they but also any individual considered wealthy and influential went to make up this class. There might be more than one of the leader class in the same family cluster, such as two brothers or two sisters. Because of this, it is not always possible to determine the number of family clusters in a local group merely by knowing the number of its men who were in the leader class. Those who became the most successful, influential, and had the backing of sufficient relatives were termed “chiefs” (if women, “women chiefs”), whether actually the heads of family clusters or not. For that matter any head of a family cluster might be called “chief,” for he was chief of his own small unit. Although such individuals were at times called “chief,” they must not be confused with the true chief, the man controlling the whole local group. To avoid this, they will be termed here “subchiefs” and “women chiefs.” True chiefs might be formally instructed or chosen by the people of their local group, but this was not so of heads of family clusters or subchiefs, who gained their status merely through recognized ability. Their authority was never absolute, and dissenting members of the family cluster were at liberty to move to another camp, the correct procedure if friction of this kind arose.

To determine actual family and family-cluster components, a survey was made of the Canyon Day Flat community in July, 1936. The location on White River, some five miles below the town of White River, is beside the old Canyon Day farming site, where the majority of residents own or share farms (see Map III). Of the fourteen separate units composing the community, one was a family, ten were family clusters, and three approximated the old local group. Data on units 13 and 14 were not obtained. The total number of individuals in units 1–12 was two hundred and seventy-nine, and that of inhabited dwellings
MAP III

THE CANYON DAY FLAT COMMUNITY

Each unit is numbered. For description of these units see text. Data are lacking for units 13 and 14.
or distinct households, eighty-four. Because the makeup of such social units is forever slightly changing, being joined by relatives from elsewhere or breaking up to form new entities (just as No. 5 split off from No. 9, or Nos. 4 and 7 from No. 1), the picture presented is a "still," permanent only in the social patterns it exhibits.

Units 1, 2, 4, and 8 were visitors from Cedar Creek, there because of temporary local employment and schooling for the children. Their absence would reduce the community to three local group-size units, five family clusters, and one family. It is not certain how closely this approximates the prereservation population of the farming site, long in use by Western White Mountain Apache. In 1850 at least one local group lived here, possibly two. The present concentration of camps along the edge of the flat may be partly because of the modern road into the canyon, which affords easy access to farms and the water supply.

The survey was not exhaustive, and although within each unit, and between those known to be formerly associated, all blood, clan, and affinal ties were recorded, this was not done between units not known to have been formerly associated. Thus, a vast number of such ties must be omitted. Data are also regrettably lacking on the sex of children in some families. The majority of types of variation in makeup of family and family cluster are to be found in the units of this community, but the human and economic reasons, which of necessity were vital in causing them, unfortunately could not be included. However, the same human and economic reasons would occur in any area occupied by these people, and the material obtained does serve to delineate the entire scope of family and family-cluster personnel in all its contours.

In the following analysis units 9, 10, and 11, because they are larger than family clusters, have not been used except where specifically mentioned. Within them the components of family clusters can often be distinguished, but this is likely to be difficult, for related households which in smaller units would be clustered are not necessarily so in a local group. First, the ex-

1 See Appen. H for tables and diagrams of each social unit studied.
treme necessity of being near other households is met merely by inclusion in the local group, and, second, need for adjacency to related households is somewhat overcome by these related households being in the same encampment. Thus, the clear-cut configuration which family clusters show when in separate units sometimes blurs in the local group, but the same vital blood, clan, and affinal relationships are to be found. It is conceivable that occasionally a local group could represent an extremely large family cluster, although this could not be said of units 9, 10, and 11.

Of married individuals who have two surviving parents and parents-in-law, out of thirteen couples, eleven live near the wife’s parents in the unit to which the wife originally belonged, and two live near the husband’s parents in the unit to which the husband originally belonged. Again, one couple is living near the wife’s widowed father, two couples live near the wife’s widowed mother, all of them in the original units of the wives, as against one couple living with the husband’s widowed father in the husband’s unit, and two couples live near the husband’s widowed mother in her family unit. The last shows an equal division of choice of residence, but, when we consider that among all the above couples one is living in the wife’s family unit with the husband’s mother in their domicile, three are residing in the wives’ family units with the husband’s widowed mothers, near by in the same unit, and one is living in the wife’s family unit, which the husband’s mother and father have joined for the purpose of living near their son, it becomes evident that matrilocal residence is dominant. Several conclusions may be drawn from these figures: first, that a widower or widow will quite often live with a married son, but a widower will seldom live in the same household as his married daughter, and a widow never; second, that those parents who have gone to live with their married son in the family unit of the son’s wife are almost always widows or widowers and probably have done so out of preference or because they do not have married daughters to help them.

Of married siblings, there are four cases of sisters living in the same unit, two being in the parent generation, and six of siblings
of opposite sex living in the same unit, three being in the parent generation. Some of the ten instances above are from the same family units where the relationships occur in different generations. Only two of the above ten cases are not composed of individuals belonging to the nuclear clan of their unit. Of the four cases of siblings of opposite sex belonging to the nuclear clan of their unit, two are made up of one brother and one sister, one of two brothers and one sister, and one of one brother and two sisters. This again is indicative of matrilocal residence, there being no cases of only brothers living in the same family unit. However, it does show that matrilocal residence by no means excludes patrilocal residence. From this data may also be obtained the number of sibling-in-law combinations existing for adults in the eight units.

Counting those individuals who are adult and married or widowed, we have the following figures on uncles and aunts: there are eleven women who may function in their units as maternal aunt (mother’s sister), six women who may function in their unit as paternal aunt (father’s sister), four men who are maternal uncles (mother’s brother) in their unit, and three men who are paternal uncles (father’s brother) in their unit. Turning to the three local groups on Canyon Day Flat (units 9, 10, and 11), similar figures occur: seventeen maternal aunts, six paternal aunts, six maternal uncles, and three paternal uncles. These figures make it reasonably clear that an individual is more closely associated, at least in regard to residence, with his mother’s siblings than with his father’s. Exactly the same conclusions may be drawn concerning parallel cousins and cross-cousins. The majority of one’s cousin associates, particularly in childhood and adolescence, are parallel cousins through the mother’s sister, although cross-cousins of both types are often closely affiliated.

Study of grandparents in each of the eight units brings to light several interesting points. First, in the few cases where orphaned children reside with a grandparent, it is with a maternal grandparent; second, only paternal grandfathers who had no one else to cook for them were found living in the same dwelling with grown and married grandchildren. However, I have known
cases in other families where the maternal grandmother lived with her married grandchild. In Table 1 the various numbers of possible grandparent combinations in a unit are listed. Numbers for the eight smaller units are placed first, and those from the three larger units (9, 10, 11), last. Combinations in which the maternal grandparent or grandparents dominate are somewhat in the majority, except for combination No. 1 in the three larger units. If we count all widowed grandparents and their deceased mates as couples, the conditions are more readily seen. Thus, there would be five cases in which a "child-set" has both maternal and paternal grandparents in its unit, twelve cases in which "child-sets" have only paternal grandparents in their units, and eighteen cases in which "child-sets" have only ma-

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grandparental Combinations</th>
<th>Family Clusters</th>
<th>Units 9, 10, 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Child-set with maternal grandparents only in unit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Child-set with paternal grandparents only in unit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Child-set with both maternal and paternal grandparents in unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Child-set with maternal grandmother only in unit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Child-set with paternal grandmother only in unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Child-set with maternal and paternal grandmother in unit</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Child-set with maternal grandfather only in unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Child-set with paternal grandfather only in unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Child-set with maternal and paternal grandfathers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Child-set with maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Child-set with maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Child-set with maternal grandparents and paternal grandmother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Child-set with maternal grandparents and paternal grandfather</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Child-set with paternal grandparents and maternal grandmother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Child-set with paternal grandparents and maternal grandfather</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ternal grandparents in their units. As the grandparent is an extremely important factor in the Apache child’s life, the above figures will prove revealing in a later discussion of kinship behavior and obligations.

Three of the eight family-cluster units also include families not closely related by blood but who are related by clan to most members of their unit, one in which the wife is the clan relative, one where the husband bears the clan connection, and one in which both husband and wife are thus connected by clan. These families distantly related by clan are often present in family clusters.

According to the above information, a family cluster comprises almost every type of blood and affinal relationship, but, basically, matrilocal residence predominates over patrilocal residence. Accompanying this is closer association between female siblings, parallel cousins, maternal aunts, maternal grandparents, and the affinal relatives through all these. However, opposite associations obtained through patrilocal residence are very common, and it is necessary to grasp this in order to have a full understanding of Apache family social structure.

The following are outlines of two family clusters at Bylas: Bylas 1 and Bylas 2. They are excellent examples, and acquaintance with their personnel made it possible to gain some information on the human and economic factors affecting their existence which, together with social patterns, go to make up the fabric of Apache life. Fortunately, data on both units were obtained during two periods (in 1932 and again in 1935–36–37), thus affording an interval in which important shifts occurred. Additional Bylas units not described are Bylas 3, Bylas 4, Bylas 5, and Bylas 6.

**BYLAS 1, 1932**

(See Map IV)

This unit is spoken of as being composed of clan 2, its predominant and nuclear clan.

1. *a*) Husband, clan 21, old man about eighty and head of unit.
   *b*) Wife, clan 2, old woman about sixty. *c*) Their youngest daughter,

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See Appen. E for clan numbers.
MAP IV

The Community of Bylas I in 1932 and 1935
married to a San Carlos of clan 41; she is the pet of the family and receives many favors from her parents because she is their youngest-born. 
d) This woman's small boy, clan 2.  
e) Two youths, clan 2, about nineteen and twenty-three years old, sons of a deceased daughter of 1a-b, who prefer to live with their mother's parents rather than their father of clan 29 and his second unrelated wife of clan 21, residing in another unit.  
a) originally came from Cedar Creek, on the Fort Apache Reservation. He still has sisters and brothers residing about Fort Apache but has lived on the Gila River for many years because of marriage to a woman born there. He has cattle, farm, government pension.

2.  
a) Husband, clan 30, about forty-five.  
b) Wife, clan 2, daughter of 1a-b, about thirty-five.  
c) Their little girl, clan 2, a baby.  
a has cattle and works at times. They use a part of the farm of 1a, who allotted them about one-third of it.  
b has a father and brothers and sister in another Bylas unit.

3.  
a) Husband, Southern Tonto of clan 32, about fifty.  
b) Wife, clan 2, oldest daughter of 1a-b, almost fifty.  
c) Their oldest son, clan 2, about twenty-six.  
d) Their next oldest son, clan 2, about nineteen.  
e) Their youngest son, clan 2.  
a will probably be the next headman of the cluster, for, although he is an outsider, he has had a good education and is now recognized as a spokesman among the Bylas people. He has cattle and also works as a carpenter at times. The oldest son does not seem to care for girls and works as camp cook on the round-ups and earns other wages. The two younger boys are old enough to help their father with horse work now.

4.  
a) Husband, clan 21, about thirty.  
b) Wife, clan 2, daughter of 3a-b, about twenty-two.  
a has a mother and father in another Bylas unit but lives in his wife's unit. He has cattle and works for wages as well. They may use a part of the farm of 1a.

5.  
a) Husband, San Carlos man of clan 42.  
b) Wife, clan 2, daughter of 3a-b, about twenty-four.  
c) Their two children, a girl four years old and a girl two years old, clan 2. They may use a part of 1a's farm.

6.  
a) Husband, clan 21, about forty-five.  
b) Wife, clan 2, daughter of sister of 1b.  
c) Their two children, clan 2.  
a has cattle and also works for wages at times. He has close blood relations (mother's siblings) in other Bylas units.

7.  
a) Husband, clan 2, son of 1a-b, about forty-five.  
b) Wife, clan 20, age forty-five.  
c) Their five unmarried sons, clan 20, ranging from one to eighteen.  
d) Their unmarried daughter, clan 20, about thirteen.  
a has cattle and works for wages and as carpenter.  
a-b have a married daughter living at San Carlos with her San Carlos husband of clan 42 who works for the government; also a son married to a woman of clan 2, living in another Bylas unit.
8. a) Husband, clan 12, old man about seventy, Southern Tonto. b) Wife, clan 20, old woman about sixty-eight. These are parents of 7b. Although they are included in the unit, they are slightly separated from it. a gets a government pension, but the old couple are poor, and the old man has never amounted to much among his own people. This is probably the reason they, with their daughter and son-in-law, have joined the latter's very strong family.

BYLAS 1, 1935

1. This dwelling torn down and occupants moved to a new wickiup, 9, where they live as before, with the addition of a young woman about twenty-three, clan 2, who comes from blood kin of 1b at Fort Apache (possibly sister's daughter). She is merely visiting here but seems to remain indefinitely. 1e is now divorced from husband and has a new child by him, a boy of two years or so.

2. This dwelling torn down and occupants living as before in a new one, 10.

3. This dwelling used principally as a storehouse, and former occupants now live in a new frame house, 11, built by 3a, who is a progressive. The household has also undergone some changes. The youngest son married a San Carlos group girl of clan 28 and now lives with her family unit when not out earning wages. The daughter in 5 has divorced her husband and now lives with her parents in the frame house. She helps her mother with cooking and housework. Her two children are also staying with their grandparents here, and the older attends school. The middle son of 3a-b now helps with cattle work and farming.

4. Not occupied at present; family away in mountains where husband is working on a government project. They now have two small children.

5. Used as a storehouse now.

6. This dwelling torn down and a new one built, 12. Occupants same as before.

7. Occupants same as before with exception of the oldest unmarried son and the unmarried daughter both having been married, the latter living in another Bylas unit. The newly married son lives with his wife in a tent, 13, beside that of his parents. He may have cattle of his own.

8. This dwelling torn down and put up again in a new place, 14. The occupants are the same as before.

OTHER STRUCTURES

A. Used by occupants of 7 and later of 13.
B. Used by occupants of 8 and 14.
C. Used by occupants of 3 and 11.
D. Used by occupants of 5.
E. A frame house, used by occupants of 1 and 9 and the female occupants and children of 1, 6, 10, and 12. It is primarily a workroom for the women, who keep a sewing machine in it, and also a place to go on long rainy days.
F. Used by the same people as use E.
G. A storehouse with shade built on front of it, used by occupants of 1, 2, 9, and 10 as a place to keep saddles, horse feed, etc.
H. An uncompleted wickiup.

BYLAS 2, 1932
(See Map V)

This unit is spoken of as being composed of clan 1, its predominant and nuclear clan.

1. a) Husband, clan 30, about forty-five, head of unit. b) Wife, clan 1, about forty-five. c) Grown son of b by a deceased husband (brother of a), clan 1, about twenty years old. d) Boy, clan 1, son of b by deceased husband (brother of a), about sixteen years old. e) Boy, clan 1, about ten, son of a-b. f) Boy, clan 1, about thirteen, son of a by a deceased wife (sister of b). Though c is almost old enough to marry, he does not seem interested in girls. The other two are yet in school. a has a farm and cattle. He also works as roundup cook on the seasonal cattle roundups.

2. a) Old woman, clan 1, about ninety, whose husband has been dead for many years. She is mother of 1b, and cooks and eats by herself. She has a small ramada, helps plant 1a's farm at times.

3. a) Husband, clan 1, son of 1b, about thirty, by a former husband (brother of 1a). b) Wife, clan 29. c) Their small children, about two, clan 29. This family sometimes eats at a common fire with that of 1, as well as sharing the ramada with them. a works for wages as cowboy and has some cattle.

4. a) Husband, young man, about thirty, Chiricahua descent. b) Wife, clan 1, young woman about twenty-five, daughter of a dead sister of 1b and daughter of 1a. c) Their small child, a boy about two. The husband has close blood kin in another Bylas unit, a mother and brother, but chooses to live close to his wife's people. They use the ramada in front of their dwelling and plant a part of 1a's farm for themselves. a has cattle and works for wages at times.

5. a) Husband, clan 30, man of about fifty, brother of 1a. b) Wife, about forty-five, clan 2. c) Their children living with them, a girl and a boy about ten and twelve, clan 2. The household does not form such an integral part of the cluster and is slightly separated from it,
THE COMMUNITY OF BYLAS 2 IN 1932 AND 1935
but the husband has chosen to live close to his brother in 1. a has a farm shared with his younger brother in Bylas 3, whose son-in-law also plants part of farm. a has cattle.

6. Old woman, about seventy, clan 30, mother of 1a and 5a. She chooses to live near these two sons, although she has another younger son in a different Bylas unit. She plants a part of 5a's farm for herself.

BYLAS 2, 1935

1. The occupants are still the same.
2. This dwelling is torn down.
3. This dwelling is torn down and the family has moved away. The man has a job as cowboy and lives with his wife and children, a day's journey by horse to the north. He only occasionally visits Bylas.
4. This dwelling is torn down.
5. The occupants are still the same.
6. The old woman has moved to the cluster of her youngest son, on the opposite side of a large field.
7. A new wickiup where the old woman lives who formerly lived in 2, and the young couple who resided in 4. The latter have a little girl now, as well as the boy. The old woman is getting too old to cook for herself, and so her married granddaughter does it. They all eat together. The oldest unmarried son, c from 1, sleeps in this wickiup, though he eats at his mother's fire.

In 1936 and 1937 other changes took place in Bylas 2 which practically disbanded it. In the spring of 1936, 1a died in the hospital at San Carlos, after an illness which started at his own camp. His wife and family immediately burned his dwelling and, abandoning the rest of the dwellings in the cluster, moved away. His widow and the three sons and stepson who were residing with her in the old cluster, together with the old woman in 7, moved about a quarter of a mile to another unit, Bylas 4, which they joined because its headman was a first parallel cousin of the recently widowed woman (his mother and the widow's mother were sisters). The unit was also predominantly of clan 1, the nuclear clan of the disbanding unit.

The young couple with their two children moved to another unit, Bylas 5, that of the husband’s mother and stepfather. Here they resided for several months but finally rejoined the wife’s grandmother and aunt in Bylas 4. They formed two
households in Bylas 4, the first, composed of 1b and her stepson and unmarried sons and old mother, the second, of the above young couple with their two small children. Because there was mother-in-law avoidance relationship between the widow and the young husband who lived in old 7, they could not all share one dwelling. The old woman who had formerly lived with them now chose to live with her own daughter, as her son-in-law was no longer present. Thus, they became a part of this new unit, residing close to their blood relatives.

Another element which helped to split Bylas 2 on its first move in 1936 was the discord which had existed between the headman and his wife. This also extended somewhat to the man’s close relatives. The occupants of 5 in Bylas 2 also moved, but to a different unit, Bylas 3, that of the younger brother of the husband, where his mother had previously moved. Here they made a temporary camp. This new unit, Bylas 3, consisted roughly of three households: first, that of a, the younger brother, and b, his wife; second, that of his wife’s daughter by a former husband, married to a man from a unit not far distant; and, third, that of the mother who had joined the unit from Bylas 2. With the addition of the older brother, there were four households. But within a few days the brother who had just joined the cluster died, and the camp had to be abandoned, its households 1, 3, and 4 moving down to another unit, Bylas 5, about a quarter of a mile distant, in which there was a man of clan 30 though not close blood kin to them. The clan bond was what brought them to join the unit.

Household 2 of Bylas 3 joined a different unit, Bylas 6, that of the husband and made up of his old father, his married brother, his married sister, etc. Within two weeks another misfortune struck the family. The wife of 1a in Bylas 3 was hurt in an auto accident and died. Several months after this 1a in Bylas 3 married the wife of his deceased brother (Bylas 2, 5b). This hasty marriage after the death of relatives was severely criticized, and some said there was an ulterior motive, for the woman inherited many cattle from her deceased husband. Again, in the spring of 1937, the old woman who had lived in 1 of Bylas 2 died. This
caused further disbandment of the two households that had joined Bylas 4, and the old woman’s daughter with her sons and stepson moved away and settled again at a distance of about one mile. The wife of the young couple and her two children who had lived with them accompanied her maternal aunt. Her husband was away at the time, and it was impossible for him to return. Thus, a large extended family was completely broken up within a period of four years, and the original personnel shifted about among other units of which they became a part. Although this is an extreme case, it serves as a very good example of what may befall a family cluster over a more extended period of time.

A most important social unit, and the next in size above the family cluster, was the local group. Composed of from two to ten family clusters, its households might number from ten to thirty and, in one or two cases, as many as forty or forty-five. Units 9, 10, and 11 in the Canyon Day Flat survey, as already mentioned, strongly resemble the old local group, and No. 11 would approximate a fair-sized prereservation unit of this kind. The common terms for local group are dàlähágò ‘nànà-de-li’ (“many moving about as one”) and 'uí'á'kò-wà (“camps in a large cluster”). In referring to one’s local group, ’uí'á'nàcà-gèhi’ (“the cluster of camps I come from”) may be used. Local groups are not known by standard regional names as are bands and clans, but they may be informally referred to by merely appending ndé (“people”) to the name of their farming site or home locality, as yà-gàgài'ndé’ (“Canyon Day people”), gàdjà-jénà-i'índé’ (“Cedar Creek Crossing people”). Notice that n, signifying “people,” is not appended as in clan, band, and group names which have become standardized and warrant such an abbreviation.

Something has been said of the tendency of family clusters to lose their clear configurations when merged in the larger unit. The wider range of kinship connections which the local group afforded, because of its increased size, meant that a family had a greater choice of related households near which they might decide to live. To leave a neighboring family to live beside another might mean a drastic change in locality, if occurring in an
independent family cluster, but this was not the case within the large encampment of a concentrated local group.

Old people can give information on farming sites, chiefs, favorite camping places, and food-gathering or hunting areas of prereservation local groups, but it is very difficult to obtain from them clear accounts of households, families, and family clusters even within their own local group. However, they can easily recall the clan makeup of such units. The average local group contained members of two or three clans, but a small unit might consist mainly of one, and a large unit of as many as seven. Because such clans formed the basic content of a local group, they may be termed "nuclear clans." Other clans also included were decidedly in the minority, their members being chiefly outside men married into the unit.

In any local group usually one nuclear clan predominated, or was considered to predominate, and may be called the dominant nuclear clan. A local group was almost invariably identified by its dominant nuclear clan, whether it contained others almost equal in size or not. Where the Apache mentions one, rather than another, or two unrelated clans equally dominant, it may be because of a former numerical superiority, or because of an ancient clan association with the local farming site. The following are Apache descriptions of various local groups based on clan: (a) composed mainly of clan 2 but also including many of clan 21; (b) composed mainly of clan 21 but also including many of clans 2 and 29; (c) composed mainly of clans 1 and 20 but also including quite a few of clans 2, 4, 21, 29, and 30; (d) composed mainly of clan 4; and (e) composed mainly of clan 30 but also including many of clans 1, 2, and 21.

Where there are only two "nuclear clans" in a local group they are almost invariably unrelated, and the same is true when they number three, although sometimes two of the three may be related. The following data are from old local groups (indicated by letter) and from three modern Canyon Day Flat units: (a) two unrelated clans; (b) three unrelated clans; (c) seven clans, two pairs of unrelated clans and one set of three related clans; (d) one clan; (e) four clans, only two related; Canyon Day 9,
three unrelated clans; Canyon Day 10, two unrelated clans; Canyon Day 11, five clans, two related in one set, three in the other.

As soon as the number of "nuclear clans" rises above four, relationships between some of them are automatically present, because of the clan relationship system. Thus, related clans did not tend to associate in the same local group, but unrelated clans, between which there was marked intermarriage, did—a direct reflection of marriage within the local group and the pattern of association with one's relatives-in-law. Data on marriages outside of the local group as compared to those within it are lacking. We do know, however, that, although both occurred and individuals could have frequent intercourse with members of other local groups, the major part of everyday social contacts lay within the home unit, and therefore local marriages were frequent. If a local group were composed of only related "nuclear clans," the result would be a social impasse.

Comparison of married males and married females in nuclear clans of old local groups is now impossible, but similar figures from modern units of local group size on Canyon Day Flat will afford valid information on this point. Individuals never married are not included because they do not live under marital residence conditions. Two of the three nuclear clans in No. 9 are composed equally of men and women; the other, of one man to five women. Of the two "nuclear clans" in No. 10, one is made up of three men to four women, the other, of one man to five women. Of the five "nuclear clans" in No. 11, the first is composed of two men to four women; the second, three men to five women; the third, four men to three women; the fourth, one man to three women; the fifth, one man to four women. Thus, out of all, in only one "nuclear clan" do married men predominate; in two, the sexes are equally divided; and, in the remaining seven, married women predominate. Correspondingly, of all the "nonnuclear clans" in these three units, one is represented by one woman, two by two men and one woman, and the remaining seven by men only.

It must be understood that nuclear clans were frequently
composed of several distinct and unrelated maternal lineages, and, although members of these lineages extended blood kinship terms to one another, this was done only because of membership in the same clan. The three large units of Canyon Day Flat can again be used to illustrate. Two of the nuclear clans in No. 9 consist of one lineage, the other of at least two lineages. In No. 10 one clan is a single lineage, the other made up of two lineages. In No. 11 one clan has four lineages, another has three, another two, and two consist of one lineage each. Those lineages in nuclear clans represented by men only are not counted here, because the men are likely to be outsiders married into the unit.

The configurations within local groups now become clear. The relationships by clan on the maternal side, as well as on the paternal side, maternal and paternal blood connections, and the variety of affinal ties present formed a network which affiliated the various households and family clusters. Of almost equal importance were territorial associations and the ties to farming sites.

Every local group belonged definitely to one of the two White Mountain bands, within whose territory it generally remained. In this area each claimed one locality as its home. The home localities north of the Natanes Rim and Ash Flat were almost always near important farming sites. Only one local group, an Eastern White Mountain unit, lived permanently south of the Gila River. Its economy differed slightly, as it depended less on agriculture and tended more to shift continually from one camping site to another in search of wild foods and game. In this, it resembled the closely neighboring Chiricahua. Home localities about farming sites were not clearly defined but were usually within a radius of from three to eight miles. The attachment of the Apache to such areas was marked.

Beyond home localities the territory of each band was common property to its members, unrestrictedly open to wild-food-gathering and hunting. Although women might stake out a sunflower patch and claim the right to harvest it, the claim did not last over to the following year. Apache, in general, repeatedly deny the existence of individual, family, or local group hunting
tracts, asserting that a man had a right to hunt where he wished. However, in a few instances, tracts may have been claimed by a chief and his family cluster or entire local group. Anna Price recalled her father calling an unmarked area adjacent to his farm cijje'k'ee' ("my hunting tract") and said that only he and his men could hunt there. She knew of no trespass on this tract and was unable to state what might have happened if there had been any. Another informant asserted that the term for hunting tract, given above, could be used by a man for any area which he hunted frequently and did not signify a claim to it. Even home localities about a farming site were not considered owned land from which trespassers could be ejected. The Apache allowed outsiders to gather wild food or hunt in his home locality if they wished to, but such instances were uncommon, as other units had food-gathering and hunting areas more convenient to them. However, if an outsider wished to do this, it was customary to first ask permission of the local chief or an influential man. The Apache vehemently denies any claim to individual landownership or sole rights, outside farming sites, and explains that it is for everyone. He points with resentment to the variance between the concept of landownership of white people and his own.

Loose ideas of land tenure where group delineations are distinct may seem odd, but we must remember that in group boundaries we are dealing with supposed linguistic and cultural differences more than political frontiers. Turning to ownership of farms and farming sites, the situation is strikingly different, and trespass of any kind was quickly resented and protected by definite attitudes. Taking into consideration the abundance of good hunting and wild-food-gathering areas and that incursions on them were only temporary, the difficulty of finding and preparing a suitable farming site, and the fact that it was considered a permanent location, there are sufficient reasons why a recognized form of land tenure exists only for farms.

The statement that every local group is associated with a farming site requires some explanation and knowledge of farm ownership, for the association is by no means absolute. Farms were individually or family owned, and owners might lend or
bequeath them as they wished, neither chief nor clanspeople having the right to interfere. Only in cases where a farm was loaned to an outsider of neither blood, nor clan, nor affinal kin did the owner first consult the chief in control at the site or, in his absence, some wealthy man or subchief owning land locally. Consent was almost always given, or the owner was told that he should do as he wished. Lacking any formality, the consultation was to show respect for the chief or wealthy man and to obtain his approval rather than consent.

Farms were inherited by sons or daughters and from either maternal or paternal sides of the family. Which of the grown children inherited a farm depended largely on where they lived. If married sons should be living in another locality, they were likely to relinquish their shares to married sisters still at home. Quite possibly they would have acquired new farms, or shares in one, through their wives. The same might be true of married daughters residing elsewhere. The Canyon Day survey revealed some families and individuals owning farms not locally but twelve miles distant on Cedar Creek or seven or eight miles up East Fork. Although modern conditions have undoubtedly affected this to some extent, the same was true in prereservation local groups. A few families owned farms both locally and at some other site. Some local groups were almost equally affiliated with two farming sites and, in one or two cases, with as many as three or four. In such instances the sites were only a mile or so apart.

Whereas almost every family now owns a farm, in former times the difficulties of preparing land, planting, and irrigating were serious hindrances, and probably not over 60 per cent of all White Mountain Apache owned or shared in farms. Nevertheless, the remaining 40 per cent who so desired could obtain farm produce in return for planting, tilling, or harvesting for wealthy men with large farms who solicited such labor. Thus, it is evident that association of a local group with a farming site, and the locality about it, implies that probably not over 45 per cent of the group owned or shared in farms there. A remaining 15 per cent of farm owners or farm sharers might have farms else-
where. Only a minority owned farms locally, but they became a majority, though probably a slight one, when one considers those of the remaining 40 per cent nonfarm owners who could share in farm produce through labor.

A few farming sites, such as that at Canyon Day where several clans dominated, were not associated with any one clan, but ordinarily each important farming site was said to be owned by a certain clan. The reason commonly given for this is that, according to legend, all White Mountain clans but one are said to have originated at different farming sites in White Mountain territory. Migrating clan forebears settled at a site, and, because they continually lived and farmed there, they were known by its name, which became a clan name. The Apache identify six of these origin sites as ones used into the middle of the nineteenth century: ʼtʼi:\-sè:\-dnl'i' ("cottonwoods joining"), at the forks of Cedar Creek; bìszáhè, near Bear Springs between Cedar Creek and White River; ʼnyâ"á'i, in the same locality; ʼt'e:ná:doljâ:ge ("descending into the water in peaks"), on North Fork of White River; tsét'ē'sá: ("rock jutting into water"), higher up on the same stream; and nádèhòts'òs ("slender peak standing up"), on Bonito Creek near White River. There is less certainty about the origin places of clans 2, 3, and 29, though each is said to have taken its name from an old site. Of the six known sites, only the first, second, and third are still dominated by the original clan, and, of these, only the first now has a resident community, the other two being visited from Canyon Day. Two of the remaining three are now in the hands of other clans, and the third is no longer in use. A second reason for a clan owning a site is because of original occupation. The site tl'uk'âa-l'ì: ("reeds are being made"), on Upper West Fork of Cedar Creek is owned by clan 29, "who have always had the land"; that called gádjà:jéna:t'ì: at Cedar Creek Crossing by clan 2; the site called xàyó:bi'icj:hé ("dove's salt"), near the present Lutheran mission school on East Fork, was owned mainly by clan 1; the one a short distance above it at tč'índi:yèsikâ:ð ("walnut tree standing") by clan 20; the one on Lower East Fork close to Fort Apache by clan 2, etc.

When a clan is said to own a site, it means that it controls the
site, and the Apache will remark, “That is the land of such and such a clan, and the people who use it are all members of the clan.” Here, again, the dominating clan is used to identify a social unit, regardless of other clans which may be included in large numbers. It is not meant literally when they say that members of one clan own all farms at the site but merely that the clan mentioned is the most important and dominant one there and must be reckoned with in dealings affecting the site. Although old people are able to recall the dominant owner clan at a site, as well as other nuclear clans associated there, they are unable to remember, farm for farm, the clanspeople and families owning each field. Apparently the status of farm ownership has changed little in the last sixty years. A study of these old farming sites still in use on Cedar Creek, therefore, affords fairly representative conditions. The data cover the period of 1890–1936. Under each site are given the clans represented there and the number of farms their members own.

**tl'uk'á·l't·**, UPPER WEST FORK, CEDAR CREEK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 29</th>
<th>Clan 30</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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**l'í·s lít dét'í', AT THE FORKS OF CEDAR CREEK**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 30</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**gàdja jénát'i', AT CEDAR CREEK CROSSING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 4</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each case the dominant clan is the one considered as owning the site, but members of other clans also owned land in quantity. Information obtained beforehand, regarding clan association with and ownership of sites, was substantiated in almost every detail, and it is safe to say that material of this kind recorded for other sites not studied is probably correct also.

Once a clan was in control of a site, predominant matrilocal residence tended to keep farm ownership within that clan, unless
some unforeseen decimation of, or danger to, its members occurred. Necessary shifting from one site to another, because of social disturbance or drought, sometimes left farms abandoned for another clan to reoccupy later. Absorption through many outside marriages might have the same result. Some eighty years ago, because of their feud on Carrizo Creek, the teátci·dn were forced to take up a new farming site on North Fork of White River, which became known as their home and is still occasionally mentioned as such, though few of the clan survive there. Because of intermarriage with White Mountain Apache, clan 1 now dominates the site, with other White Mountain clans subordinate to it. The farming sites of t'éná·dólja·gé and tsét'ė·d·á were abandoned by their owner clans during difficulties with United States soldiers in the nineteenth century and were later reoccupied by other clans. But the tenacity of original clan association with a site is still evidenced in occasional reference to them as the land of the former clans, despite present ownership. In such cases previous occupancy is not enough to displace the present owners, for the land had been abandoned when they took it.

At sites controlled by a certain clan or clans, outsiders unrelated by blood, clan, or affinity were ordinarily not permitted to take up farms, although they could use them temporarily. However, newcomers who were in any of these ways related to farm owners at the site would be allowed land. If they were given part of all of an already used field, they needed no other sanction than that of the owner; but, if they intended to use new unclaimed land, they were expected to consult with the local chief, and, if he were absent at the time, to seek him out. A sub-chief owning land at the site could assent to the request in the chief's absence but would speak of it to the chief when he returned. Sometimes outsiders in need of a farm and who were related to farm owners were invited to take up land. In the middle nineteenth century the powerful chief Diablo, who owned farming land on East Fork of White River, invited the large family cluster of his wife, composed mainly of clan 1 (her clan), to move to better and less crowded land at a site which he controlled.
They were glad to do so. When the drought of about eighty years ago caused the abandonment of the dry farming sites, biszahé and 'iyá'áí, members of the two local groups affiliated with them would have been in a sore plight if the people at other sites related by blood, clan, and affinity had not invited them to take up new farms, even giving them parts of their own fields.

Normally, there was definite opposition to outside and unrelated family clusters or individuals taking up farming land. "Why should we let other clanspeople take up land at our site? Every clan has a site of its own. Let them stay where they belong," is the usual reaction. Certainly, this decided feeling and the ever present desire for association with kinsmen helped to limit the clan content at sites. Despite this, a gradual spread of clans continued, and one should not think of the total number of members in each clan as being segregated at separate sites.

Some clans controlled more than one site, and the same clan might be dominant in more than one local group, even in the same band. It seems probable that, under normal conditions, clans would tend to become less and less localized in large dominant bodies. Such a diffusion, although it might alter certain social aspects, could not change the clan components of the family cluster, where clan is completely under the control of family pattern and matrilineal descent. Its effect on the local group might have been a general increase in the number of nuclear clans and decrease in the number of their members, but clan obligations in war, feud, and everyday life were important, and, because of them, people would tend to congregate accordingly, whether related by blood or not. Probably the limit of development away from single-clan dominance and centralization at a site, or in a local group, was reached about such sites as Canyon Day, Eagle Creek, or Point of Pine, used almost equally by several clans.

An understanding of seasonal activities serves both to delineate the life of the people and to point out the independence of families and family clusters within the local group. Economic pursuits more than anything else (only the most important are dealt with here) made for temporary separation of families and
family clusters from the larger unit, and chief among them was the gathering of wild plant foods.

The first wild-food crop came in April with the sprouting of mescal. The plant grew abundantly along the southern slopes of the Natanes Rim and south of the Gila River on Mount Turnbull and the Graham Mountains. Parties journeyed to these places and returned with the prepared mescal.

Planting of farms came in May. A chief commonly spoke to the camps about him, saying, "You should go to your farms. Build up your ditch and dam well, and put in your corn carefully." The people would talk about what he said, "Our chief said to do this, so let's go and put our crops in and fix the dam."

To give a good example, the chief set out for the site, but it is important to note his words were advice, not command. Families were at liberty to delay planting as long as they wished but usually heeded their chief, and for a week or ten days one family or family cluster after another trickled into the site. Some had business which detained them, others wished to arrive first in order to have prior use of the water. All owning farms on the same ditch—and there might be from five to fifteen farms on a single ditch—must help in cleaning and repairing it. At some sites elderly men who took special interest in farming and usually possessed agricultural ritual were called "ditch bosses." These men notified farm owners on their ditch when ditch work was necessary and also apportioned the irrigating water, sometimes remaining at the site throughout the summer to watch over it. At times they were hired to make the first ceremonial planting of a new field. Farm-owning families usually stayed until the corn was up six or eight inches in the first part of July. After that, only a few old people, sometimes captives, were left in charge of the farms, the rest moving away.

Saguaro, growing in the low country of the Gila Valley, ripened in July, when some people went to gather it. Parties such as this even penetrated as far as the Arivaipa country along the Lower San Pedro River. The crop was not so important as others, however, and only a limited number went after it.

By the latter part of July came the most important wild-food
FAMILY AND LOCAL GROUP

harvest, the acorns of Emmory's oak, in which almost every family participated. The best acorn grounds were along the southern face of the Natanes Rim from Blue River to Arsenic Tubs, in the vicinity of the Eagle Creek farm site, and in the gap between the Graham and Santa Teresa Mountains. At times, a local group under its chief moved in a body to the acorn grounds and upon arrival separated into family clusters. Smaller parties also undertook the journey independently. The harvest lasted for four weeks or more. When families had gathered what they wanted, they might either return to their farming site individually or remain until all were ready to go home.

In late August mesquite beans were ripe. These grew in the low country of the Gila Valley but, because they were not a very important food source, did not induce a concentrated harvest movement. By then, people were sent to see if green corn was available at the farms, and, if so, small parties brought it to the wild-food harvest camps.

In September farm crops were ripening, and units began to drift back to their sites. Chiefs or headmen again took the initiative, saying, "Let us all move back and make use of our crops." Just before farm harvest, ditch bosses or men with agricultural rites, were frequently called on to perform a ceremony to hasten the ripening. The fall stay at the farms continued until crops had been stored away, usually by the end of October.

Pinyon nuts and juniper berries, important wild foods, ripened in November. Both grew plentifully north of the Natanes Rim, and the Cedar Creek, White River, and Eagle Creek sites were surrounded by them. Juniper berries could be obtained on the slopes of the Grahasms, but pinyon was less common there. Besides gathering around their homes, parties journeyed south to the Natanes Rim and as far north as the Showlow and Pinedale regions.

Late fall was a favorite time for deer hunting, and parties composed only of men, under the leadership of a headman or chief, were gone from home on hunts from four to ten days at a time. Favorite hunting grounds were along the foot of the Mogollon
Sporadic, unorganized hunting occurred all year, and, while wild foods were being harvested by the women, men spent much of their time in hunting.

From the end of November until April, hunting (excluding the raiding of enemy people) was practically the only economic pursuit. The local group might remain in the home locality either in a fairly concentrated encampment or in scattered family clusters. In troubled times winter encampments were not made at the farming site but a little distance from it because enemies might already know that location. Between 1850 and 1870 so prevalent was the danger of attack by American soldiers that the people never dared remain at sites longer than was absolutely necessary. Winter was a favorite time for visiting relatives in other parts. Again, a local group or several of its family clusters not infrequently moved south to lower country for two or three months to escape severe weather. Favorite locations were along the foot of the Natanes Rim or at places in the Gila Range as well as the lower slopes of the Graham, Santa Teresa, and Turnbull Mountains below the piñon juniper belt.

Thus, from April until November, the Apache’s time was divided between farming, gathering wild foods, and hunting, covering in all a very wide territory. The fact cannot be too strongly stressed that a local group did not ordinarily act as a complete unit in these economic pursuits, whereas the family cluster or a party of individuals from various family clusters of the local group did. Only occasionally, in a mass movement to or from a food-gathering area, did the local group function as a whole. Even within a family cluster all might not wish to undertake a food-gathering expedition. A single family talked of a proposed trip, and when various families in other family clusters heard of it, those desiring to go formed a party large enough to travel safely. Each party was lead by a chief, subchief, or headman, someone of responsible position fit to guide it. Blood, clan, and affinal interrelations were strong incentives in the makeup of such a party, yet they were by no means necessary, and unrelated families could readily join.
When going after mescal, mesquite beans, or saguaro fruit, a trip of ten days or two weeks to the low country and back, parties were small and worked separately. But in other important midsummer wild-food harvests nearer the home localities, the stay was usually longer, and parties from the same or different local groups often made adjacent camps, forming fairly large concentrations, just as during the acorn season on Ash Flat today, where seventy-five or more families gather within two square miles. After the harvest, these units often remained on in a favorable location, until the next wild foods became ripe elsewhere. Some of the favorite wild-food-gathering areas are particularly beautiful, and it is common to hear old people mention with some sadness the pleasure and fun, the almost holiday feeling, that they had during their stay in these summer encampments. It afforded opportunity for families from different local groups to see one another, the making of new friends, and the renewal of old acquaintances.

Food-gathering parties were commonly made up from the same local group, but at times a family or family cluster might temporarily join a party from another local group. Usually some kinship connection encouraged this. Although two local groups occasionally combined in one large encampment for a short period, this was uncommon, and, if camped close to each other, they usually remained separate. The chief of one local group who arrived at acorn grounds where another already was camped warned his people, “Make your camps over here at a good distance,” and he might indicate that no one was to go beyond where he stood. Family clusters when operating independently from different local groups at wild-food harvests did likewise. Late arrivals always inquired where their clusters or local groups were camped, so that they might join them. The same tendencies are present today at the acorn grounds, where families from the Bylas and Calva communities camp farther up the creek and separate from those of San Carlos and Peridot. But here, group as well as community distinction exists.

Throughout the year, but particularly in spring and summer, large public ceremonies were held at various places. In June
came the ceremonies for protection against snakes and lightning, and in June, July, and August special lightning dances for rain and crops. These seasonal rites were the nearest approach to annual ceremonies that the White Mountain Apache had. The girl’s puberty ceremony given in full was a spectacular affair, as were the war dances and victory dances. Such ceremonies brought together large crowds from all over White Mountain Apache country, irrespective of band and local group. Feasts, dancing, and social intercourse which these gatherings afforded were the main attractions. Kinship obligations were special reasons for attending war dances. The people loved to go to such gatherings, and during them both old and young mingled socially more than on any other occasion.

Despite seasonal residences in other places, the real ties were with the home locality about the farming site. Although some wild-food crops were occasionally stored in caves close to where they were gathered, the greatest portions were packed home, often over miles of rugged country, to be stored in ground cache, cave, tree cache, or wickiup, where they would be available throughout the winter. The most permanent and largest wickiups were always constructed here and were called by the special term *nesdankwa* (“ripe fruits wickiup”) in allusion to the crops stored in them.

Development of clans from localization to comparative nonlocalization seems traceable, at least in certain instances, such as the mass removal of large bodies of clans 1 and 21 from their original sites—some going east, others west—to locations where drought conditions did not prevail.³ When localization of a clan at a site is mentioned, it must be understood that probably no site was occupied by one nuclear clan to the complete exclusion of members of others who might also be termed nuclear locally. The shift from localization to nonlocalization merely indicates that clans became distributed at more sites than they were two hundred years previously. They either were represented by proportionately smaller bodies to allow for the expansion or re-

³See Appen. G.
mained the same in size because of marked increase in population. The latter seems the least probable. Whatever affinities clan and local group may have had in the past, those which they have now could never lead to confusion of the two, for every local group, as mentioned, consists of several clans.

Apparently, the basic function of kinship, family, family cluster, and local group is duplicated among all Southern Athapaskans, but only Navaho and Western Apache have clans. Admitting that clan was not part of the original structure as brought from the north, the only reasonable conjecture is that it was somehow acquired in the Southwest. As Navaho and Western Apache clan systems resemble those of Hopi and Zuni more than any others in the area, it seems highly probable that they originated through contacts with the latter peoples, or ones very similar to them. Navaho clans appear strikingly similar to those of the Western Apache, and it might be supposed that Western Apache obtained the system from Navaho, or vice versa. Before such a hypothesis is acceptable, however, Western Apache clan aspects such as relationship of animals and birds to clans, ceremonial prerogatives of clans, and clan connection with the gá'n rite—all parallels of Western Pueblo traits—must be established for the Navaho. Lack of anything more than trading and occasional raiding contacts between Western Apache and Hopi and Zuni within historic times makes it difficult to explain acquisition of the clan from these Pueblos. Trading trips amounted to two or three days in a pueblo and then a quick return. Another visit might not take place for six months or a year. No Apache intermarriage with, or theft of, Hopi and Zuni women was recorded, although at some remote period there may have been some admixture. Again, it is quite possible that the Western Apache occupied the northern portion of their historic territory when it still contained Puebloan people. The region is dotted with ruins of fairly recent date, and some of these show cultural affiliations with Zuni. The fact that agriculture was important to both Navaho and Western Apache (and among Western Apache, clans were strongly associated with agriculture) might suggest Pueblo origins for both clan and agriculture.
Several important social traits are common to the majority of Southern Athapaskan divisions: extension of kinship terms to those whom blood relatives address by a kinship term; matrilocal residence, the family cluster, the local group ranging within a given territory in quest of game and wild foods, and composed of several family clusters in that locality; and, finally, the tendency to designate people by the place or region in which they live. With basic traits such as these, the people had susceptibilities to certain alien social patterns, and, if brought into contact with them at a time when there were accompanying impulses in the same direction, they would be likely to acquire them.

Granting that the economy of the Western Apache was originally what it has been in historic times, minus agriculture and raiding of European settlements, the prehistoric local group was probably somewhat different. Lack of agriculture would obviate necessity for ties to definite sites and permit an increased mobility. With the introduction of agriculture, the vaguer local associations would develop into definite affiliation with a farming site to which the family clusters would return time after time. The Apache tendency to designate people according to residence would, before long, find the people at the site referred to by its name, in spite of being composed of several family clusters and unrelated maternal lineages. Thus, with agriculture added to those basic traits already mentioned, we have a decided stimulus toward formation of clans of the Western Pueblo type. But these factors alone are not sufficient explanation. The Jicarilla Apache, although practicing some agriculture, were without clans, and the same appears true of Papago and Pima. Difference in agricultural methods and other cultural and social traits might allow formation of clans in one people and not in the other. But the more logical reason for the presence of clans among Western Apache is their existence among Hopi and Zuni. The absence of them among Jicarilla may be explained by non-existence of clans at agricultural Taos and Picuris, from whom it is probable the Jicarilla agricultural complex was obtained. Therefore, if a historical reconstruction of Western Apache
stimulus toward formation of clans is made, strong social tendencies already present, adoption of agriculture, and contact with people already having clans must be equally stressed.

Whatever the influences on the Western Apache, the designation of people at a farm site by its name could gradually be crystallized into something of more significance than merely a term for a local group. It would be applied to all those at the site, regardless of their several maternal lineages, and, in this, closely approximate the clan as it is today. The use of the term for oncoming generations, once applied to the people, would tend to be governed by matrilineal descent. If the process followed the suggested lines, the impress of the clan pattern on society was a gradual one and may have spread from certain Western Apache to the remainder of them. The total absence of any Pueblo clan name (if we accept Western Pueblos as the source of Western Apache clans) can only be explained by the extremely prevalent Apache trait of referring to clans by place names. In the Western Apache clan "relatives" we have a close link, for many of the names of these "relatives" are Hopi and Zuni actual and legendary clans and subclans, but it cannot be ascertained whether the Pueblo type clan name has ever dominated over the Apache place name.

The common legendary explanation of Apache clans—that they were formed by people settling and farming at a site whose name they finally adopted—seems entirely plausible. Examples from the Southern Tonto seem to demonstrate this. In this group such units as clans 51, 52, and 54 were not universally recognized as true clans. Some claimed them to be true clans; others, that they were merely designations for people living at those farming sites. The latter interpretation tends to refer to members of all three units as belonging to one already established clan, while the first interpretation merely relates them to this clan. This would seem to validate the Apache concept of formation of new clans, namely, that part of a clan (several family clusters whose dominant clan was the same) migrated to a new farming site. It is not impossible that, up until eighty years ago, some clans were still in the process of formation among the
Southern Tonto. If the formation of new clans was still active among the Southern Tonto, one wonders how much longer it would have continued and why it was not equally active among other Western Apache groups. Under unchanging conditions, clans might continue to form until all available territory and farming sites were entirely taken up and clans had undergone a complete shift from localization to comparative nonlocalization. If dependence on agriculture had become markedly increased, the people would probably have tended to gather into sedentary communities, and the social structure of such communities would greatly resemble Western Pueblo towns. But there is no evidence that agriculture was on the increase, and probably it had been at the same stage for a long time.

As was mentioned before, outstanding men of the leader class, although not true chiefs, were called nānt'án ("chief"). The most common designations for them were kā·ldžíl ("strong or powerful one") or ʔik'ádní'izi ("wealthy one"). When mentioned in connection with a family cluster which they controlled, the terms for headmen given on page 131 are used. If more than one subchief lived in the same family cluster, one was nominal head of it, although the other might exert considerable influence in its affairs. In one case cited four blood brothers of clan 21 were all called "chief," and their sister was called "woman chief"; but only one of the men was a true chief. Whether or not a subchief controlled the family cluster in which he resided, his kinship connections with it were usually those already described for headmen.

The status of subchief was not inherited. The use of the term "wealthy man" for subchiefs is fitting, for to be a leader a man must be wealthy, and wealth was gained only by personal success. Ability in hunting, raiding, and war and industriousness were all prerequisites, but cool and sane thinking, impartiality, control of temper, speaking ability, generosity, patience, and sometimes self-sacrifice were attributes held even higher. A man's circle of

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4 Insufficient clan data from the Northern Tonto do not allow for their inclusion here.
blood, clan, and affinal relatives was extremely important, and without such backing the individual was definitely handicapped in attaining influence. Although subchiefs were not formally instructed as true chiefs were, it was common for them to possess war power of the type that true chiefs used. They might have other ceremonies as well.

The amount of influence that a wealthy man or subchief exerted outside his family cluster varied according to his character. A man with ability could organize food-gathering parties, hunting trips, raids, and war parties and take important parts in councils and social arbitrations. Members of another family cluster might join him in economic enterprises. Such undertakings were carried out quite independently, but it was the custom to consult the chief of the local group before entering upon them. The readiness with which individuals joined a subchief in ventures depended upon his former successes. Thus, men were eager to join a raiding party led by a subchief in whom they had confidence, for they felt that they would benefit from it. Every chief had from three to six subchiefs in his local group whom he might consult in matters which concerned the entire local group.

Ceremonies with a communal tone, such as those for protection against snake bite and lightning, or to insure good crops and rain, and those given to check or hold off epidemics or other evils, were often sponsored by subchiefs. Such ceremonies cost a great deal to give and also entailed responsibility. The desired shaman must be approached, and a quantity of food had to be furnished for the feasting. These ceremonies were communal only in their benefit to all, not as to expenditures. Because they were costly affairs, it required a wealthy man with family and property to back them. Therefore, from time to time, to show his generosity and to heighten his prestige, a subchief or chief undertook to organize one and to request an outstanding shaman to officiate. Sometimes two wealthy men joined in this.

Subchiefs made a practice of lecturing to their family cluster early in the morning, before sunrise. In a large encampment their words were directed at all within hearing, whether of their cluster or not, their authority resting in their influential status.
and recognized wisdom. Usually the speeches concerned everyday matters, and the following one is quoted from John Rope:

Do not be lazy. Even if there is a deep canyon or a steep place to climb, you must go up it. Thus, it will be easy for you to get deer. If any of you go out hunting this morning, tomorrow, or the following day, look after yourselves while you are alone. When you trail deer you may step on a rock. If the rock slips from under you, you may fall and get hurt. If there is a thick growth of trees ahead of you, don’t go in it. There might be a mountain lion in a tree ready to attack you. Always go on the upper side or the lower side of such a clump. If there is thick brush ahead, there may be a bear or some wolves in it. Go above or below it. When you trail a deer and you come upon him, if he should start to run, don’t run after him for a deer can run faster than you, and you cannot overtake him. You women who go out to gather acorns and walnuts, don’t go alone. Go in a party of three or four. Look after each other. If you get a mescal head ready to cut off, don’t stand on the lower side of it; always work on the upper side. If you stand below it while you cut, it will roll on you, and its sharp points will stick into you. If you cut it off and are about to chop away the leaves from the head, don’t open your eyes wide. Close them halfway so the juice won’t get in them and blind you.

The people were expected to be quiet and listen during such talks, which were made whether the local group chief was present or not. In Anna Price’s local group the subchiefs spoke at their chief’s request and took turns doing so. Men took pride in ability to make speeches, and, because it was a sign of leadership and prestige, the more aggressive seldom let an opportunity pass without thus asserting themselves, even among people outside their local groups.

The dignity of subchiefs and wealthy men put them above certain types of more menial work. They did not work on their farms but hired poorer people to help their own family in planting, cultivating, and harvesting. They sometimes supported poor relatives who, in turn, did work for them. A subchief on a war or raiding party was not expected to do camp work such as getting firewood and water; his men did these things, often at his command. Subchiefs were frequently known as leaders of ability outside their local groups, and people spoke of their wealth and generosity. They were shown deference and never
joked or ridiculed except in joking relationship. A subchief's control of people depended on their willingness to heed him, and he was without authority to enforce his wishes. If one of his men should refuse to listen to him, his only recourse was to sever social intercourse and never speak to him again. Mild though this may appear, it was serious to the Apache, for it cut off definitely any hope of aid from that source in social and economic undertakings such as feuds and sickness.

Women chiefs corresponded to subchiefs. They were spoken of as 'isdzä-hinnäntán (“woman chief”), as well as há·dzíłł and 'ik'ádzi·zi', the same terms used for subchiefs. Almost invariably such women had been or were married to chiefs or subchiefs, for, as one man put it, “If a woman is há·dzíłł, her husband is bound to be also.” There was some tendency to consider chiefs' or subchiefs' wives with respect because of their husbands, but whether or not they were spoken of as “women chiefs” depended on their character and on the leadership which they exerted among the people, especially among women. When a chief or subchief had more than one wife, one might be a woman chief while the other was not. Industry, even temper, avoidance of gossip and trouble-making or other quarrels, a wise head, and a strong body were the main characteristics of a woman chief. In this she was the example par excellence of what a woman should be. She was never idle but continually engaged in household tasks, care of children, basketry, preparation of buckskins, farm work, or gathering and preparing wild foods. She differed from her husband in that no work was below her dignity, and through her hard work and diligence she became wealthy—another prerequisite for women chiefs. Social patterns decreed that those who were wealthy must also be generous, and so the woman chief was continually giving away food to poorer people who came, knowing that they were not likely to be refused. Such a woman's wealth was augmented by her husband's successes, as was her husband's wealth by her industry.

Ordinarily, women chiefs did not lecture to their encampment, but they did speak at war dances to encourage and incite the men, and at times they spoke at chiefs' councils. Their principal
function, after setting a good example by their behavior, was to organize other women into wild-food-gathering parties and arrange them on the necessity of having plentiful food supplies for the winter. During large feasts women chiefs encouraged other women to help prepare and cook the food. When a war party was out, she would tell the other women to prepare plenty of food and tulibai for the men's return. She spoke to other women concerning family matters such as care of children, respect for husbands, and avoidance of quarrels. Her efforts gave her prestige not only in her own family cluster but with women in other units of her local group, and because of her social position she was treated with respect.

A woman chief did not inherit her status, nor was she formally chosen. However, it is true that those of her daughters who had ability stood good chances of attaining the same position through the thorough training she had given them. Matrilineal descent and predominant matrilocal residence also made it extremely likely that succeeding women heads of family clusters would be of the same clan. As with subchiefs, numerous blood, clan, and affinal kin were important in lending prestige to a woman chief. But, unlike a subchief, she controlled and associated principally with her maternal blood relatives, not affinal relatives.

The concept of female head of a clan, or clan mother, is totally absent among these people. Sometimes the knowledge of all their clan legends which is attributed to women chiefs indicates nothing more than their general alertness and ability to remember what they had been taught. They know just as much about other aspects of their culture also.

The term for chief is nànt'án and, when used in reference to a local group or its people, is bánànt'á: (“chief for them”). A chief's followers, particularly the men who accompanied him on raids and in war, were called sílá-dá: (“followers”), probably a corruption of the Spanish soldado (“soldier”). The difference between subchiefs and true chiefs is sometimes vague, but generally chiefs were formally chosen, installed, and not infrequently instructed, whereas subchiefs were not. Only in instances where
FAMILY AND LOCAL GROUP

a large family cluster lived permanently separate from any local group was its subchief leader sometimes chosen to his position. Such a unit was almost large enough to be a local group, and, if its leader was a man of ability, he might, in time, attract enough families to form a true local group, with himself recognized as a prominent chief.

Chiefs might come by their status in one of two ways: inheritance through clan and blood lineage or acquisition of it mainly through ability, clan membership and blood lineage being secondary. Men who gained chieftainship the latter way had slightly less prestige, and among them are the subchiefs who have gradually become important enough to be termed true chiefs. *na-gintá* ("he scouts ahead"), the chief of unit 19, was such a man, chosen because he was the best man among his people. The chiefs of units 13 and 15 were men of the same kind, as were most leaders of those units living permanently south of Black River, who ranged from subchiefs to true chiefs according to their influence and the size of their following. Occasionally, nonhereditary chiefs were outside men married into the unit, but often they belonged to one of its nuclear clans, and sometimes a son of ability might follow his father as leader. This type of chieftainship duplicated the patterns for family cluster headmen and, deep rooted as it was, at times overlapped the hereditary type of chieftainship. In the course of disintegration of chieftainship under white pressure, it was the clan hereditary chieftainship which went, not the simpler form, which was little affected. Loss of the local group but retention of the family cluster was a vital factor in this.

Chieftainships of all the large local groups and some small ones were hereditary. They remained in the same clan and maternal blood lineage, the clan being almost invariably the dominant nuclear clan of its local group. The old chief’s brothers, maternal parallel cousins, sister’s children, maternal female parallel cousin’s children, and sometimes the son of his sister’s daughter were those commonly chosen to take his place. At

5 See Appen. I, p. 661.
times, the choice was made from more distant kin of these types, but the relationship to the old chief had to be traceable and considered close. No one of these kinships held precedence over another, and from the wide choice thus made available the most promising man was selected. The following are chieftainship inheritances from approximately 1830 to 1875. The period after 1875, separated by dashes, shows marked white influence:

1. A succeeded by B, his parallel cousin (mothers of both men were sisters with separate husbands), though A had three brothers; —— B became tag-band chief R1 and was succeeded by his son R14, now R1.

2. A succeeded by B (same clan, blood relationship unknown); —— on death of B his clansmen requested C, his brother, to be chief, but C refused, and D, B’s son, took his place and was made tag-band chief G1; D succeeded by E, his son.

3. A succeeded by B, his sister’s son; —— B succeeded by C, the son of a man of his clan, who was made tag-band chief I1.

4. A —— succeeded by B, his brother.

5. A —— succeeded by B, his parallel cousin (their mothers were sisters with separate husbands).

6. A —— succeeded by B, of his clan (same blood lineage, relationship unknown), who became tag-band chief Y1; B succeeded by C, his son, now tag-band chief Y1.

7. A —— succeeded by B, a man married to one of his blood and clan relatives, who became tag-band chief L1.

8. A succeeded by B, his sister’s son; —— B succeeded by C, his sister’s son; C succeeded by D, a man of unrelated clan (probably married to a woman of his clan); D succeeded by E, married to a woman of his clan, who became tag-band chief H1; E succeeded by F, married to clanswoman, who became tag-band chief P1; F succeeded by G of related clan, who became tag-band chief Y1; G succeeded by H, his son, who became Y1.

The data afford three types only of inheritance in aboriginal times: by a maternal parallel cousin, by a sister’s son, and by a man of same clan but undetermined blood relationship. Material from reservation times, although showing influences of white contact and its paternal descent concept, still shows something of native maternal descent in the following examples: by broth-

6 This Y1 and his son are mentioned under No. 6, and apparently leadership of it and No. 8, by this time, had merged.
er, parallel cousin, sister's son, and man of the same clan and lineage but of undetermined blood relationship.

Descent of chieftainship in one clan and maternal blood lineage is well recognized; less clearly defined is the concept that hereditary clan chiefs were head chiefs of their clans. Although such men were thus repeatedly alluded to, this needs explanation and must not be taken literally. Wherever members of a clan were concentrated they were almost certain to produce a subchief or chief, and the largest of such concentrations usually contained the hereditary chief. Thus, there could be several chiefs or subchiefs of a clan in one band, but only one was recognized as holder of its hereditary chieftainship. A chief of another group was referred to by his band and not his clan connection, but in the same group any chief or subchief was usually alluded to by clan, as *bíszáhé nànt'án* (*"bíszáhé chief"*), and there was no terminological distinction for hereditary clan chief. Hereditary clan chieftainships did not imply complete control of a clan. This would have been impossible, for members were scattered in two bands and many local groups. Actually, hereditary clan chiefs had no prerogatives which nonhereditary chiefs in the same clan did not also enjoy. However, the hereditary chief was usually the most influential chief of his clan in his band, and therefore other chiefs, regardless of clan, looked up to him. At the same time a hereditary clan chief, although known as a chief outside his band, was only considered hereditary chief of his clan within his band. Only with a small clan, such as clans 4 and 6, limited to one band, was the hereditary chief recognized as such in both clans.

It remains undetermined whether or not hereditary clan chieftainships date from a time when clans were small, extremely localized, and with only one chief. Wherever members of a clan were concentrated, one out of its several maternal lineages locally represented was considered the wealthiest, most influential, and head lineage of the clan there, and this may offer some clue, for it was in such lineages that the hereditary chieftainships ran. These lineages were called *gólzugóz’q* (*"strong camped in a group"*), because of their recognized prestige and power, and
were looked up to by the poorer people. Anna Price says of the people of clan 1 in her local group:

The man at the head of the leading 'iyå"áiyë lineage among the people of our unit, was hàckë tiña gòzâ d. He was the brother of djà'ò'åhâ ("ears sticking up"). Everyone looked up to this family and would go to them for food or help. Whenever they killed a cow, the people living about them were given some, for they always divided what they had at such times. Although djà'ò'åhâ was hereditary chief of the 'iyå"áiyë clan, he had left his family to live beside my father, and so his brother ran the affairs of the family.

It is not certain whether the prestige of such leading families descended from generation to generation or depended on their economic condition at the time. Probably both factors were important in maintaining the social supremacy over a considerable period of time. A change from extreme localization of a clan to its distribution in concentrated bodies at various places would increase its number of chiefs and subchiefs. New leading families would also establish themselves, and it is not inconceivable that hereditary chieftainships might do the same.

The personal qualities already mentioned as prerequisites for subchieftainship hold true for chiefs. A keen mind and steady head were considered the most necessary, and, despite the Apache's past reputation for a life of marauding, war or hunting prowess alone were not sufficient to fit a man for chief. Above all, a chief must have the interests and safety of his people at heart. The obligation of a chief to help his people is illustrated in the custom, still in use, of calling anyone from whom a special favor is desired "my chief." Not only is it a compliment, but to refuse the request under such conditions can be considered boorish. One old man in describing the qualities necessary in a chief said:

A chief was chosen because he usually had the biggest farm and was the richest man of his clan in the locality. Also, he was picked because he had the largest number of relatives. A man without a family would not be made a chief. Besides these things, he must be the best talker, fear nothing, have keener wits, and do more than any other man. He must be a man who would not run, even if he saw a bear coming after him. The chiefs we had were true men.
PLATE III

a) John Rope, a Modern Leader

b) Diablo, Eastern White Mountain Chief
PLATE IV

SOME TAG-BAND CHIEFS OF THE FORT APACHE RESERVATION ABOUT 1900
Chiefs were selected from men already subchiefs of proven ability. A boy’s first recognized opportunity to show his talents came when he was old enough to go on raids, where older men judged him by his obedience and willingness and by the aptitude he showed in learning. With added age and experience his chances to show himself increased, and, if exhibiting extraordinary ability as a young man, he might even be requested to lead a raiding party. From then on it was usually a matter of time until he became a subchief, commonly in his middle thirties. Some men, such as the fathers of John Rope and Anna Price, both hereditary clan chiefs, became subchiefs at surprisingly early ages. Probably neither of the above men was over thirty when he became true chief. Boys began to show potentialities of leadership in their early teens, and, as John Rope remarked of Anna Price’s father, “He was a chief even while playing with other boys.” John Rope’s and Anna Price’s accounts of their fathers are excellent examples of how men became chiefs.7

A chief remained leader of his local group as long as he was mentally and physically fit. When old age began to affect his mind and body, it also affected his wealth and prestige, which were both fluid among these people and lasted only so long as the individual was capable of maintaining them. Ordinarily, an aging chief, weary of his responsibilities, himself felt and spoke of the need of a successor: “My people, I am too old, too weak, I am just about to go. You should pick out one of yourselves to be the next chief. I have done well for you, but my life has almost passed by.” A chief having arrived at this stage of life, and succeeded by a younger man, was still remembered appreciatively, and people would point to him, saying, “He was a great chief in his time.”

The method of selecting a successor for a chieftainship, whether hereditary or not, varied slightly, depending on the circumstances. When a nonhereditary vacancy was to be filled, all members of the unit, with the exception of young people and the poor, who lacked social standing, came together to discuss the

7 See Appens. J and K.
matter. The leader chosen was installed without further ceremony than being told his obligations to his people.

Hereditary chiefs were, at times, probably installed with as little ceremony, but their installation could also follow a more complicated pattern. This pattern was widely recognized, but how often it was observed is uncertain. An old chief might suggest his successor, but, if his people did not approve his choice, they were quick to say so, for it was they, not the old chief, who controlled the selection. Speaking of the selection of a hereditary chief, the Apache is likely to say, "His clansmen put him in." This is again the trait of identification by dominant clan, for, although the majority of participants in the selection were of the clan mentioned, members of other nuclear clans in the unit, outsiders married into it, and even families associated but not related had a decided voice in the matter. Thus, when it is said, "The biszahé clan put him in as their chief," a unit in which that clan was predominant is meant.

Since the chieftainship ran in the clan, there is some indication that members of the candidate’s clan besides the members of his local group were summoned from other units within the band to participate in the selection. John Rope insists that, when his father was chosen, members of his clan living twelve miles distant at Canyon Day, as well as elsewhere, came to help, and Anna Price says that, under similar circumstances, people of her father’s clan came from as far south as Eagle Creek, where they lived in quite separate units. Such outsiders came because of the social importance of the event, and the feasting that usually went with it, and also because of the common bond created by membership in the same clan. Apparently, in the choice of hereditary clan chiefs there was an overlapping of clan and local group functions.

The choice of a new chief was first discussed by subchiefs in the unit, mainly those of the clan in which the chieftainship ran. When the time was right, these men sent out word that a meeting was to be held. Headmen, women chiefs, subchiefs, and adult men and women of recognized standing in the unit attended, as well as clansmen from other units. Those promoting
the meeting furnished a feast. Anna Price and Riley Lewis (Western White Mountain band) claimed that these gatherings always lasted four days. When a decision was reached, the man chosen as chief was notified. Some men tried to avoid the chief­tainship, well knowing the responsibilities it entailed, but in the end they had to acquiesce to the demands of their people.

If the chosen man were young, he was usually taken in hand by an older, experienced man. With Anna Price's father it was the old chief he was to succeed; in John Rope's father's case a paternal kinsmen whom the headmen of his own clan prevailed upon to do the work. Instruction followed in what was known as nànu'á·ya·ti' ("chief’s talk"). This consisted of simple advice concerning the duties of a chief. It impressed upon the young man the responsibility of his position, the necessity for the constant consideration of the welfare of his people, and deftly pointed out the loss of social prestige and the ridicule suffered by a chief who deserted his people in time of danger.

Besides this knowledge, a chief needed certain types of holy power. Being in such a prominent position, he was the target for enemy power, and he had to know how to ward it off. He also needed to be able to use his power against enemies, to weaken them, confuse their minds, and make himself impervious to their arrows and bullets. He had to have horse power and cattle power to aid in handling stock taken on raids. He might have secret enemies among his own people against whose power he needed protection. Holy powers of the type thus used by chiefs all come under the heading of go'ndí, a term covering those rituals used to gain from or to disable others. They are not to be confused with true witchcraft.

Such ceremonial instruction lasted from one to three years and was not continuous. Differing from the ordinary procedure in learning ritual, this instruction was not paid for because it was for a special purpose, and in time the instructor benefited from the success he imparted to his pupil. Being a kinsman naturally made him all the more willing to teach. But, on the other hand, when an older relative with knowledge of war power said to a man already chief, "I will teach you some power so you can pro-
tect yourself from your enemies. I will teach you certain words to say. If you have this power, all kinds of people will be good to you and respect you. You will become wealthy from it," the chief might pay a price because it was on a more personal basis. A chief’s knowledge of war power indicates one of his main functions, which is to lead raiding and war parties; but it is important to note that such power was also used defensively in the interests of his people.

An old chief might remain in control for several years after the choice of his successor, who lived as a subchief either in the unit or in one not far removed. When the time came to install the younger man, a sweat bath was made for the men, and another meeting similar to the first was held. Members of the local group participated as well as those of the chief’s clan, who came from elsewhere to help. There was feasting and speech-making by subchiefs and women chiefs who spoke to the new chief, stressing that he was now their leader and should act accordingly. Riley Lewis says:

My maternal uncle became chief in this way. They talked for four nights and put him in. A man spoke to him, saying, “Be smart, treat people well and give to the poor. Help the men along. Always talk well to them. Help the women and kill a horse for us every so often.” Then a rich man gave him a bundle of arrows, saying, “Keep these. Other people have arrows, so you shall have them.” Another gave him a lance, and another a blanket.

It was customary to sing certain songs called nānt’ásf (“chief’s songs”) over the new chief. These were from the song cycle known as göb’sf and were sung by a shaman who knew them, aided by other men. Four was the usual number, and they amounted to a blessing and the straightening-out of things for the chief, that he might have continual good luck and long life. Riley Lewis says that this took place at the end of the fourth day, and upon completion of the songs the chief was told, “These songs are sung so that you will have good luck the rest of your life.” The man was then fully installed as new chief.8

8 Chiefs wore no insignia or special dress by which they could be distinguished.
In those local groups having hereditary chieftainships, and in many where chieftainship was nonhereditary, the majority of people were likely to be members of the chief's clan. Also included would be quite a number of his paternal clansmen and many of his wife's clanspeople, as well as members of other clans which were represented in the unit. When a chief had a reputation for success in hunting and raiding, generosity, and good leadership, people joined him in expectation of personal benefit. Although unrelated families might join him, usually those who came had some blood, clan, or affinal tie with him. Foremost among these ties were identical maternal lineage and close affinal relationship. A chief's wife's close blood kin were among the first to profit from his abilities, because of his obligation to help them. Mere membership in the same clan was slightly less binding, and paternal blood or clan relationship to the chief was usually the least binding of all. Regardless of their relationship to him, all members of a chief's local group were equally under his control as long as they lived with him.

Because clan and local group again overlap in allegiance to chiefs, an individual might acknowledge two different men as his chiefs: first, the chief in whose unit he lived and, second, the hereditary chief of his clan. Naturally, the two were frequently combined in one man. If the individual was raised under a chief who was neither his hereditary clan chief nor the chief he later lived under, he might, through his former associations, speak of the first as his chief also. To his hereditary clan chief, even though he was not living under him, the individual owed allegiance in times of feud, war, or other crises when co-operation was necessary. He owed the same allegiance to the chief he lived under. Actually the Apache speaks of any man whom he has once permanently lived under as his chief and mentions any chief or subchief of his clan in like manner merely because of the clan tie.

When two chiefs lived in the same local group, as occasionally happened, the people under them gave allegiance to both, although only one was considered head of the unit. In such instances the lesser of the two chiefs was usually there because of
his marriage to a woman in the unit or because the other chief was married to a close kinswoman of his clan near whom he wished to live. Strange though it may seem, at times hereditary clan chiefs left the local group which they controlled for fairly long periods to live in other units which they did not control. Like any other man, a chief might take his family to visit another unit. His absence did not leave his local group at loose ends, for there were subchiefs in it fully capable of leadership. Those chiefs who had married a woman in another local group frequently went to visit her kin, and in rare instances such stays might be protracted almost indefinitely, with returns only on visits or when summoned.

The following résumé of a chief's functions should be supplemented by reading Anna Price's account in Appendix K of her father and his local group. In giving information on family cluster, local group, subchiefs, and chiefs, she continually used illustrations from her own old local group. Being the daughter of its chief, and living in his household, she had opportunities to observe much. Although her unit was exceedingly large, her reminiscences are invaluable in reconstructing a picture of the local group as it actually was.

Like subchiefs, chiefs also addressed their people in the early morning, giving simple advice identical with that already quoted. In a chief's absence, subchiefs in the unit made their own speeches more forceful by adding, "Our chief wishes you to do this."

Although a chief had no authority over family matters outside his own relatives, serious family troubles might be brought to him for his advice. At the same time he might lecture the trouble-makers and warn them to avoid such quarrels in the future. In his speeches he also emphasized the undesirability of domestic friction and the necessity for fulfilment of domestic duties. When disputes occurred which were not of a family nature, though the chief might settle them if called upon to do so, he was powerless forcibly to punish the wrongdoers.

Cf. p. 166.
An understanding of his people's mental reactions made a chief's continued urging of his followers to behave well and protect their families very effective. A typical instance of this comes from the chief Diablo, who, once shortly after being attacked by United States troops and in constant fear of another attack, was faced with the necessity of keeping up the morale of his men. He spoke to them, saying, "If any trouble comes to us, and some of you should run off and leave your women and children behind, then you will not be men. Then you will not be in my mind as good men any longer. You better stand up against any enemy, all of you, if they should come." He well knew that his men would not risk being lowered in his estimation.

The function of chiefs in arbitrations of social breaches such as rape, injury, and murder was important. The chief affiliated with the offending family was expected to speak for them in an effort to appease the other side. He also aided in making the arbitration payment, if necessary. Chiefs connected with the injured family spoke at the meeting, emphasizing that the arbitration payment would end possible enmity between the two clans. In such crises chiefs were obligated to help, mainly because they were members of the same clan as the respective disputants. Their participation, because of affinal or paternal kinship, was only occasional. In cases of incest and witchcraft the local chief might call a meeting on his own initiative or upon the request of his people. Here the culprits were tried and, according to the merits of the case, freed, banished, or executed by order of the chief.

A murder within the group which remained unarbitrated was commonly revenged by a few of the murdered man's maternal relatives or by a larger party led by the local chief of their clan. Anyone killed by alien people was avenged by a war party, led either by the clan chief of the victim or by the chief of his local group. The chief who organized a war party invited other chiefs to bring their men and help. He and his family furnished the food for the visitors. He made the important decisions in the war plans and was recognized leader of the undertaking, as well as being held responsible for all the men who accompanied him.
Friendly contacts with alien people were also in the hands of chiefs. The instance where a chief saved the life of two white traders is illustrative of this.\footnote{Cf. p. 95.}

In the course of speaking to his people, a chief often emphasized the necessity of working hard to gather and store away wild foods for the winter. He was expected to lead wild-food-gathering parties and to encourage the people to accompany him. He likewise led or sent his men out hunting, and his leadership of horse and cattle raids in Mexico may also be classed as a form of economic enterprise.

Like subchiefs, chiefs at times sponsored certain ceremonies with communal objectives. At dances, although some chiefs assumed a more distant attitude and did not readily mix with their people, others made speeches encouraging those present to take part in the dance and warning against moral indiscretions of young people of opposite sex while at such gatherings. They also took this occasion to exhibit their oratorical abilities on the more commonplace topics which formed the body of their customary lectures.

The mental and physical force a chief used in controlling his people varied according to his character. Anna Price said that her father drove out of his local group those men who would not obey him. This was not difficult when a dissenter was socially unimportant, but it might also happen to a recalcitrant subchief. The same chief, at least once, prevented a subchief in his unit from making speeches. A chief's controls probably ranged from the more forceful type, just mentioned, to the milder but effective method of socially ignoring the offender, which in itself was enough to drive a man out of the unit.

Because a good chief was an economic and social asset, his people valued him highly and never allowed him to travel alone, for fear that harm would come to him. Therefore, a chief was always accompanied by some of his men, usually subchiefs in his local group, who not only protected him but, by their presence, showed a social esteem for him. If he were killed by enemies, it would be a severe blow to his local group. The unwarranted
killing of a chief was punished with all the available force his followers and clansmen could muster. No Apache could recall an unsatisfactory chief nor one who had been removed because of incompetence. The people knew their own men too well to make a faulty choice in leaders.

Whenever a man wished to undertake something important—economic, social, or religious—which would affect him and his associates, he made a point of consulting the local chief. In this he showed respect for his chief, who in turn was made to feel a certain complimentary responsibility which often induced him to give aid. If a man failed to consult the chief and later ran into difficulties, he could not seek help in that quarter. The chief would say he had not been informed of the intended plans, and difficulties arising from them rested squarely on the individual’s shoulders, not his. For this reason, as well as the practical one of keeping others informed of their whereabouts, subchiefs were careful to consult the local chief before undertaking a journey to a distant farm or to gather wild plant foods. Two or three times a year a chief and the subchiefs and older men of his local group might meet to discuss matters, such as economic undertakings and moving the emplacement to a new location. Such conferences were formalized by smoking and were termed nānt’ānlìnà·dżà (“chiefs gathered”) or nānt’ānlìnà·gùldì’ (“chiefs talking together”), the same terms applying to the gatherings of chiefs from various units discussed below.

The social position of a chief entitled him to respect from his people, known as bidilzi’ (“to respect him”), as well as those outside his local group. Those who knew a visiting chief or subchief cautioned others, “He is a man you have to respect. He is a chief. Don’t try to call him a funny name or laugh at him.” Such respect applied in all contacts except where joking relationships were customary. A case of extreme respect was that accorded the chief Diablo. Men removed their hats on entering his wickiup, and women held up their hands in salute. This was not recorded for any other person except a very powerful lightning shaman, who required that people show similar respect for him when passing by on the road. A chief helped to maintain his
dignity by his reserve, but the extent to which he did this varied according to his personality. Some mixed freely with their people in such things as gambling and speech-making, others refrained from speaking at dances and left this to the subchiefs, and a few even avoided mingling with crowds gathered on such occasions. Diablo always made his camp slightly apart from the main encampment of his local group, although John Rope stated this was not ordinarily done by chiefs. The same chief’s custom of sometimes having his companion chief, djà'ò'á há ("ears sticking up"), repeat his speeches, enlarging upon them for him in a loud voice while he talked at an ordinary pitch, also added to his prestige and dignity. This practice was an exception, for generally chiefs talked directly to their people. Only subchiefs and headmen were considered fit to talk on equal terms with a chief. A common man was expected to do as his chief said and not to discuss the matter with him.

Chiefs’ dwellings, like those of any wealthy man, tended to be markedly larger than other people’s, and at one old camp site visited an Apache friend made the typical remark that a certain large ramada must have been a chief’s because of its size. As with subchiefs, farm work and camp work on raiding and war parties was beneath the dignity of chiefs. Moreover, men would not let their chief get wood and water for the camp at such times, for they considered it to be beneath his station. A chief usually sent someone to bring in his horse for him and might send his men out to hunt if he wished meat, while he remained at home. However, on the hunters’ return, the meat went to their families as well as to the chief’s. At the end of a raiding or war party, the chief who led it always divided what booty was taken, apportioning the largest share to himself and the most influential men with him. Thus, a common man might receive only three head of stock, a subchief nine or ten, and the leader of the party, fifteen or twenty. This was considered a fair division, because without the skill of the leaders there would have been less success.

A chief’s children were taught to carry themselves with dignity and assurance. It was carefully impressed upon them
that they were a "chief's son" or a "chief's daughter." Anna Price used to say with some pride, "I was the daughter of a chief and people knew me; knew that I was strong and a good worker. They knew me because of my father." A chief's or wealthy man's daughter was taught not to be embarrassed in the presence of strangers or other older people. If a stranger came to the camp while she was alone, she was not to maintain a bashful silence as the ordinary girl might but must ask what he wanted and give him food if he so desired. She must be wise and unafraid. Her conduct with youths of her own age, however, could be as shy as that of any unmarried girl.

On approaching a camp once, with an Apache, we found two grown girls there alone. We were unknown to them. We spoke to the elder girl cooking beneath the ramada, but she would not look at us and, after mumbling a word or two, arose and entered the wickiup. In a moment the other girl emerged and walked slowly toward us. She was about sixteen. She stopped when fifteen feet or so away and, looking at us with a composed and pleasant expression, inquired what we wanted. When we told her that we had come to see the man of the camp, a chief, she replied that her father had gone across the river to attend a meeting, telling us in detail how to get there. Then, turning, she walked back to the dwelling. Somewhat surprised at her frankness and composure, I later remarked on it to my Apache friend. He said, "That is because she is the daughter of a chief." The same traits were observed in other daughters of chiefs or subchiefs.

A chief's son was likewise trained to be dignified, never to be embarrassed with others, and to speak openly and fearlessly when necessary. If a stranger came to his father's camp, he should speak to him and tell his sister to prepare a meal. It is often true that sons and daughters of chiefs or outstanding headmen are more intelligent and aggressive, have a wider knowledge of their culture, speak with authority, and have a distinct sense of pride. Because of this it is understandable why lineages in which chieftainships ran were able to maintain their social prestige from generation to generation. Whether or not a child
acquired such traits naturally depended greatly on its personality and mental capabilities. Not all children could hope to be equally talented, in spite of having a chief for a father. Thus, while Anna Price was aggressive, remarkably intelligent, well versed in the lore of her people, and always alert and ready with a reply, her older sister, Gray Eyes, was quite a different person, and, though showing the same tendency to joke with people, she lacked the keenness, alert eyes, aggressiveness, and knowledge of her younger sister. She also had failed to make as good a marriage and was less wealthy.

The one or two chiefs in a band whose prestige excelled because of their personality were spoken of as 'i-2:snànt'án, signifying "a very great chief." Their reputation for wisdom, generosity, and bravery sometimes brought people from other units who were in need or in trouble and who came knowing there were no abler men to whom they could go. Because he was considered the most powerful chief of his time, Diablo was consulted sometimes by outsiders in this way. His participation in closing the feud between the tl'uk'á·digàdñ and tca·tcz·dñ clans is an example. In a following section instances are quoted where family clusters sought refuge with him from an enemy clan, knowing that no one would dare attack his camp.

Chiefs paid formal visits to one another periodically, and, besides exchanging social courtesies, they took this opportunity to exchange gifts—an important gesture. A chief invited to make such a visit, often in another group, picked ten or fifteen of his best men to accompany him. Sometimes wives and children went along also. The visitors remained three or four days and were well entertained. Sweat baths for the men and drinking parties occurred almost every day. The host chief made speeches to the visitors, monopolizing the floor and showering his chiefly advice upon them. Such speeches were sometimes long and tedious to the guests, but they were expected to listen politely. If the host recalled a remarkably successful raiding party of his, he was likely to tell of it also. At the close of the visit the host

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11 See p. 18–20. 12 See pp. 405–12. 13 In Appen. K are given Anna Price's reminiscences of her local group, including a remarkable account of one of these visits and its speech-making.
and his people bestowed a quantity of gifts, food, sometimes captured blankets, and even a horse or two upon the visiting chief, who divided them among his men. Then, after inviting their hosts to come to them sometime, the visitors departed. On the return visit the procedure was the same, and, as the Apache say, the two chiefs were “even again,” having exchanged gifts and kept each other up late at night with their speeches and story-telling. The men who had received a part of the gifts on the first visit were obligated to help their chief supply the return gifts. The following story, which Francis Drake told with some amusement, illustrates the concept of the chief’s “getting even”:

One time Diablo and his wife visited a chief of the Pinal people at Wheat Fields. There he was kept up all night being told stories. The next day they made a sweat bath, and he and his host with some of his men went inside. The Pinal chief poured the water on the heated stones. They stayed in a long time and sang about fifteen songs. The Pinal chief kept pouring more water on the stones, and it became so hot that it was hardly bearable. Some men can stand more heat than others. The next night they sat up all night telling stories again. About one year later, while Diablo was camped near Ash Flat, the Pinal chief came up to visit him. Diablo did the same thing to him. They sat up all night and told stories. Diablo told how he and a lot of his men had gone down into Mexico and captured many blankets, so many that some of the best fighters got fifty, the unskilled fifteen. Then, instead of returning directly home, they headed east far into New Mexico and back by way of the Mogollon and Blue Ranges. The Mexicans tried to cut them off but failed. It was a long story. The next day a horse was killed for the visitors. That’s the way he got even with that chief again.

It is doubtful whether all chiefs’ talks were held in special enclosures with directional associations, as described in Anna Price’s account. Some were probably far simpler.

Appendix I includes a list of all recorded White Mountain chiefs and subchiefs and their units. The clan membership of the Apache who gave this information is partly responsible for the names being predominantly of certain clans, but, more than this, the varying size of clans is responsible, for the number of leaders within a clan was in ratio to the total number of its members. Thus, clan 1 shows eighteen; clan 2, five; clan 3, three; clan 4, three; clan 5, none; clan 6, three; clan 20, sixteen; clan 21, seven; clan 29, three; and clan 30, eight. Lack of any chief for
clan 5 is apparently because of its extremely small size and its absorption into other units. It is said that it had a chief long ago but has not had one within the memory of anyone now living.

Besides headmen, headwomen, subchiefs, women chiefs, and chiefs, the war chief and powerful shamans were socially important. Every local group had two or three men known as bàːye·bik'è'hì, bik'è·hônàbà·hù, or nàguñlkà·dñat'àn ("war leader" or "war chief"). They were subchiefs in ordinary life, indistinguishable from others and not having any special function except in time of raid or war. Even then their position was vaguely defined and apparently could vary slightly. Thus, both John Rope and Anna Price agreed on the following: that they were essentially men who knew war power and were good fighters and war leaders; that a local group chief and war chief could not be the same man (John Rope even claiming that a war chief who became a true chief could no longer be termed a war chief); that war chiefs were the most active men in war councils and the making of war plans (Anna Price asserting they did the talking rather than her father, though he was always consulted when definite plans had been formed); finally, that war chiefs led their men out to dance when named in the war-dance songs. John Rope says, however, that once a war party had started, it was the war chief who walked at the head of the party, who had the command, and the true chief was under him for the duration of the trip; whereas Anna Price said that, although the war chiefs were important authorities, when her father was along, he was in control of all and walked in the lead. Probably both versions are correct, and the leader of a war party was its recognized organizer, whether chief or war chief. John Rope also claimed that war chiefs were formally chosen and installed by the people of their clan and that their position was hereditary; but Anna Price said that in her local group the chief chose and installed them. Again, both statements are probably correct, though the allusion to choice by clan is rationalized clan identification. However, the claim that war chieftainships were hereditary does not seem substantiated.

One of the most important individuals in Apache society was
the shaman. Types of shamans varied, and those with certain
powers had the most prestige, particularly those who conducted
large public ceremonies benefiting all people in the region. The
wide scope of such ceremonies, their color and publicity, made
them extremely appealing. A shaman functioned independently,
and religious societies were entirely lacking. He had no set obli­
gations toward his local group, and only in times of general epi­
demic or presence of evil and danger could he be called on to help
publicly. Then, if a shaman had a power which might save his
people, it was felt that he should use it on his own initiative or
upon request. At such times people might say of him, “Why
doesn’t he do something about it? He says he is a shaman. He
ought to do something to check this. Let’s see him help us
now.” If he refused to give his ceremony, he ran the risk of be­
coming unpopular. To some extent, people identified a resident
shaman’s power with their own interests. If he should needless­
ly endanger his power and run the risk of weakening it, his people
would resent it because it would directly affect the benefits they
might derive from him. This was especially true of his own blood
and affinal kin, who were in a position to benefit more than
others.

A shaman might have some control over social, economic, and
religious events, and in a sense he had an even stronger influence
than a chief. If he determined through the medium of his power
that a blessing ceremony was necessary, that the site of the en­
campment was dangerous because of supernatural causes, that
individuals were practicing witchcraft, that someone had broken
a religious taboo, or that a wild-food-gathering trip or raid
should not be undertaken, the effect might be electric on other
members of the unit, and they would depend on his guidance in
this matter. Since it was desirable to live near a good shaman
who could be depended on in times of sickness or evil, families,
especially those with children, sometimes moved from one unit
to another. But the shaman’s power was not reserved for his
unit alone. His ceremonies might be attended by anyone who
could get to them, and he was quite often hired to perform his
rite outside his local group.
Outstanding shamans commanded the same respect as chiefs. People listened to what they had to say, whether concerning religious matters or not. They were expected to be worthy of their position, to have good morals and a steady mind, and to refrain from excessive talking, laughing, or drinking. To be a great shaman was an exacting responsibility, and the most influential type, the lightning shamans, are said to have grown old under the strain. Chiefs had war power and other powers oriented toward war, as well as sometimes having curing rites of the simpler types, but apparently they seldom, if ever, had lightning power, which came from direct contact with supernatural powers. The Apache explanation of this is that chiefs already had enough responsibilities without those of the lightning shaman being thrust upon them. They were also wealthy and successful men and had all they wanted. Because of this, the supernatural power was extremely unlikely to seek them out and would turn instead to less fortunate men.

Anna Price’s mention of a “sweat-bath chief” in her local group was not duplicated elsewhere and should not be taken too literally. Certain men are known for their love of sweat baths and maintain one on the river’s edge for their own and others’ enjoyment. The social life of men while at the sweat bath is important, and a man who frequently organizes and indulges in sweat-bathing is commonly called “sweat-bath chief.” The individual mentioned by Anna Price was probably such a man, and it is conceivable that her father would call on him to arrange a sweat bath when he wanted one for his men. This continuous practice probably formed a precedent in his local group.

Family and family cluster with its headman function today much as they always have, but only a few modern units resemble the old local group. At sites originally controlled by one local group, such as those on Cedar Creek, the old units have become the stabilized communities now occupying them. The larger modern farming communities like Bylas, Canyon Day, and East Fork of White River are fusions of remnants of various old local groups.
One of the principal reasons for the decline of the local group is the change in economic pattern. Hunting and wild-food-gathering began to wane early in reservation life. Raiding of enemy peoples and fear of enemy attack had ceased completely by 1875. Government distribution of weekly rations was a new food source, and farming was increased by more modern methods. Opportunities to earn wages began with enlisting of scouts for the army and with the market for wild hay cut by the women at the army posts. Wage-earning has now become vitally important as a means of support, and the recent introduction of cattle on a large scale has added another income. At present, families tend to remain at their farming sites the greater part of the year, leaving only temporarily on cattle roundups or to obtain work. Those in the Gila Valley move to higher country for a month or so during the acorn harvest, but all the other old seasonal movements are obliterated.

Government usurping of chiefs’ power and function has also helped to liquidate the local group. The government took over supervision of certain irrigation systems, controlled the food supply by rationing, and handled serious social misdemeanors in the reservation courts which it dominated. It did not hesitate to contradict and alter a chief’s course of action. It created tag-band chiefs, some of whom were true chiefs, others being merely wealthy men found to be amenable to the whites, and an alien patrilineal system of inheritance for tag-band chieftainships was imposed. In an attempt to recognize some of the already existing social units and to form a method of reservation identification, early governmental authorities on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations divided the total population into lettered tag bands, those on the San Carlos Reservation being listed with double letters, such as “CF” or “SL,” etc., and those on the Fort Apache Reservation as A, B, C, etc.

All married men were assigned a number in the tag band with which they were affiliated, and wives took the same number as their husbands. On the death of a man, his number was held open for the next man needing one. Tag-band numbers were allotted mainly according to residence after marriage. Each tag
band had a chief selected and recognized by the government, who always was given the number 1. When a tag-band chief died, another man was appointed in his place and given his number. All men were supposed to wear a metal tag about their necks, on which was stamped their number. On the San Carlos Reservation these metal tags are said to have been differently shaped for each tag band. Actually, tag bands in the beginning were composed of from one to two or three prerreservation local groups coming from the same locality, and in almost all cases the local groups combined in one tag band came from the same aboriginal band. The tag-band system is rapidly going out of use now, as members are no longer allotted.

Some true chiefs, such as Diahlo, were not appointed tag-band chiefs, and, though they continued to exert considerable influence among their people, their prestige was seriously damaged. When these chiefs became old, they were not replaced. Thus, formal chieftainship became a thing of the past. Until 1895 tag-band chiefs functioned in many respects as true chiefs. At one time they drew the beef ration for their tag bands and distributed it. They guaranteed payment on supplies bought by their people in the traders' stores, and credit could be obtained by merely presenting the borrowed metal identification tag of a tag-band chief, against whose account the amount was charged. Such accounts sometimes ran as high as fifteen hundred dollars, but the tag-band chief saw to it that he and his people paid them off. It was still common for a man to consult his tag-band chief concerning a proposed undertaking, and some men did so before enlisting as scouts for the army. The highest scout rankings given Apache, those of sergeants, were often held by tag-band chiefs or subchiefs, because of their ability to control the men. Matters involving a community, such as putting through a railroad or telegraph line, were at times ably handled by these men.

By 1895 the change had become so great and government domination so established, that there was less and less room for chiefs. In one or two instances tag-band chiefs, too keen and assertive to be duped, were removed from the chieftainship by the agency. Younger Apache lacked firsthand knowledge of the
old local group and chiefs, and, seeing white control as an irresistible force, they gave in to it. The few tag-band chiefs remaining are old, and when they die they will not be replaced. Reforms in the Bureau of Indian Affairs have created reservation committees or councils elected by ballot. It is to be hoped that eventually the men elected will be influential family heads, the same timber from which old chiefs came, but the regrettable lapse in self-control is a hard gap to bridge. As one of the candidates running for the council put it, “It’s not like it was in the old days. You know, then we had men who were fit to be leaders through years of training for chieftainship. But none of us has that training now. None of us feel we know enough to do it.”

Despite the changes in the last sixty years, there still remain individuals who may be compared to the old subchiefs. Family, comparative wealth, a gift for leadership—the bases of chieftainship—are still qualifications, and the men possessing them, usually family heads, hold much the same social position as they would have formerly. Every modern community has several such men. The Canyon Day Flat community has fifteen family cluster heads, five of whom stand out as the most wealthy and influential. The Bylas community, with its ten or more family cluster heads, has at least five outstanding men. One of the outstanding men at each of these communities closely approximates a true chief in the deference shown him and in the widespread influence he exerts. These men all own cattle and horses and a farm and control large families. Often they are called “chief” by their own people. Their advice is heeded and their help is sought in times of need. At the request of those who give large dances, they often officiate as dance bosses and speech-makers, admonishing those present not to quarrel but to have a good time. Current affairs, such as cattle or schools, sometimes may form a part of their talk. It is largely these men who have functioned as intermediaries between the government and their people, and sometimes a family with business at the agency requests one of them to act as mediator. Although the government does not officially recognize their status, superin-
tendents at times ask such men to speak to crowds gathered at dances and to help keep order. These modern leaders are treated with respect similar to that formerly accorded subchiefs. Some even refrain from mixing with large crowds. The old custom of sending invitation tokens to outstanding men for large ceremonies is still carried on by modern subchiefs.

The principal functions of women chiefs—encouragement and organization of wild-food-gathering parties, leadership in storing away quantities of such foods, the setting of good examples by frequently making household utensils and buckskins—have all but gone. With them has gone the "woman chief." There are still women known for their industry and property, often the wives of influential men and themselves female heads of families, but none of them can be said to parallel exactly the prerreservation woman chief.

War chiefs became a thing of the past with the ceasing of raiding and warfare. It is uncertain if the old form of ditch boss still exists on the Fort Apache Reservation, but on the San Carlos Reservation men in charge of ditch work hold government jobs as pump men and are not an Apache institution. Changing economic and social conditions have been powerless to blot out Apache religion, and shamans still function much as they did sixty years ago. The missionaries, Catholic and Lutheran, though present on both reservations for a number of years, have had little effect on the people.
CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

The kinship system of the Western Apache can be understood through an analysis of the kinship terminology and the behavior patterns between various relatives. The terminological aspects of Western Apache kinship are shown in the accompanying charts (Figs. 2–4) and in the table of kinship terms (Table 2).

The terminological system varies from that of its eastern neighbor, the Chiricahua Apache, in that it is definitely influenced by the development of the clan. In the parental generation the father and the mother are separated terminologically from their siblings, but the father’s siblings are classed together regardless of sex, whereas the mother’s sister and the mother’s brother have separate terms. In ego’s own generation siblings are differentiated according to sex, and sibling terms are extended to parallel cousins, separate terms being used for cross-cousins. In the first descending generation sons and daughters are differentiated from brother’s children and sister’s children, and the latter two from one another.

Outside of the immediate family all blood-kinship terms are self-reciprocal. Thus, the term for father’s siblings is used also for brother’s children, the terms for mother’s sister and mother’s brother are used reciprocally for sister’s child, the grandparental terms are applied to grandchildren, and the great-grandparental terms are used for great-grandchildren.

The affinal system uses separate terms from the consanguinal. Reciprocal terms are used between a man and his parents-in-

1 The introductory statements to this chapter and the charts of kinship terms have been revised by Dr. Fred Eggan in accordance with the conclusions reached in several conferences in June, 1940.

Fig. 2.—Chart showing consanguineal terminology: Ego = male. Numbers refer to kinship terms in Table 2
Fig. 3.—Chart showing consanguineal terminology: Ego = female. Numbers refer to kinship terms in Table 2.
law and between a man and his grandparents-in-law, the latter term being used also for wife’s siblings. There is a single term for any man marrying a blood relative and another for any woman marrying a blood relative.

The terminology is further modified by certain factors, specifically the clan, which affect the usage of terms in certain positions. In the accompanying charts these are inclosed and lettered for reference. These modifications are associated with the usage of sibling terms and paternal parallel-cousin terminology and behavior between any two individuals whose fathers are of the same or related clans. Thus, not only are the father’s brother’s children addressed by sibling terms but also the father’s sister’s son’s children (D), as well as those individuals in positions G and F whose fathers will be of the same clan as the father of ego. The difference in generations is ignored. Therefore, the offspring of these individuals are addressed by kinship terms reckoned on the sibling terms used for their parents, so we find the individuals in position E, etc., addressed by terms 3 and 4, which would be those for actual sibling’s children. For the same reason a peculiarity occurs in the terms used for the children (A)
TABLE 2

KINSHIP TERMS OF THE WESTERN APACHE

BLOOD KINSHIP

*1. cítá: my father, † used by all groups; in direct address the possessive pronoun is frequently omitted.

2. címá: my mother, used by all groups; in direct address the possessive pronoun is frequently omitted; na and ba, respectively second- and third-person variations of ma, are often used in mentioning the mothers of others. ci'istcine ("she who bore me") can be used to emphasize one's mother.

3. cibejé, cibé'hé, cibé: father's siblings and father's parallel cousin, or children of male sibling and children of male parallel cousin; first form most commonly used, the other two less frequently applied and then usually by women. Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto use the second form more frequently, and the Northern Tonto use the third form almost exclusively.

4. ci'dá'a, ci'dá'ë, ci'dá'yi', ci'dá': mother's male sibling, mother's male parallel cousin, and mother's male cross-cousin; or, man speaking, children of female sibling, children of female parallel cousin, and children of female cross-cousin; first form most commonly used. First and second forms used by all groups.

5. ci'g'cë: feminine form of cross-cousin term; ci'hná'á'e occasionally used by women for male and female cross-cousins. Northern Tonto use this term quite differently from other groups, substituting it for term 4.

6. ci'ká'á', ci'ká'ë', ci'ká': mother's female siblings, mother's female parallel cousin, and mother's female cross-cousin; or, woman speaking, children of female sibling and children of female parallel and cross-cousins; first form most commonly used. Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto usually employ the second form.

7. ci'c'ë: employed only by Northern Tonto, who use it exclusively in place of term 6.

8. ci'yé: my son; used only by men; all groups.

9. ci'sí': my daughter; used only by men; all groups.

10. ci'já-jë': my child; term most commonly used by a woman for her offspring, though men sometimes use it. Women also employ the following terms for offspring according to sex and age: ci'kek'ë' ("my boy"), ci'in'ádn ("my youth"), ci'dnë" ("my man"), ci'já'dáñ ("my girl"), ci'ná'íjí'ë' ("my maiden"), ci'is'dáñë' ("my woman"). "My

* Numbers refer to the charts (Figs. 2–4).
† All terms are given as used by the speaker unless otherwise indicated and therefore are usually preceded by the first-person possessive pronoun, ci. Data apply only to the White Mountain group, except where specific mention of other groups is made.
TABLE 2—Continued

**TABLE 2**—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. <strong>silisn̄</strong>:</td>
<td>sibling of same sex or parallel cousin of same sex; used by all groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. <strong>cilà</strong>:</td>
<td>sibling of opposite sex or parallel cousin of opposite sex; used by all groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. <strong>cidíjé</strong>, <strong>cidij</strong>:</td>
<td>younger sibling, younger parallel cousin, or great-grandchild other than one whose father is addressed by term 19; first form most commonly used. Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto employ term similarly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. <strong>cits'ile</strong>:</td>
<td>used only by Northern Tonto, who employ it exclusively in place of term 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. <strong>cidé</strong>, <strong>cidé-d</strong>:</td>
<td>older sibling, older parallel cousin, or great-grandparent, excepting one related through the father's mother; only the first form used. Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto, who use only the first form, employ it for older siblings of the same sex or older parallel cousins of the same sex. Northern Tonto, who use only the second term, employ it, as do the White Mountain group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. <strong>cindâgé</strong>:</td>
<td>older sibling of opposite sex or older parallel cousin of opposite sex; used only by Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The use of sibling terms 13 and 15 varies according to sex of the speaker. Women use them in preference to terms 11 and 12. Men hardly ever address male siblings by terms 13 or 15, instead using term 11, and though they sometimes use these terms for female siblings, they prefer to use term 12. However, both men and women freely use term 13 for great-grandchildren.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. <strong>szű-gè</strong>, <strong>szű-dè</strong>:</td>
<td>correct term for cross-cousin of either sex but commonly used in this sense only by women; employed by men for female cross-cousins; used by all groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. <strong>cilu’a-c</strong>, <strong>cilu’a-c', cil’dè, ’à-c, sìla’sè</strong>:</td>
<td>male cross-cousin, man speaking, but occasionally misused jokingly between cross-cousins of opposite sex or between female cross-cousins; first form most commonly used and other forms are its derivatives; term considered as being originally slang that has come into concrete usage; its meaning, &quot;with me we two go about together,&quot; signifies the camaraderie between cross-cousins. First, second, third, and fourth forms are used by Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto. The fifth form is Northern Tonto.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. *citb*: maternal grandparent, sibling of maternal grandparent, or child of daughter and child of niece. Sometimes the sex of the grandparent is indicated by *citb-hast-hû* (“my maternal grandparent old man”) or *citb-sà'n* (“my maternal grandparent old woman”).

20. *citbyê*: probably another form of term 19 and used in the same way; employed by all groups.

21. *citwô-yê*: used as are terms 19 and 20; of these three terms, 19 is the most commonly employed; used by all groups.

22. *cid'ude*: used as are terms 19, 20, and 21 but confined to the Northern Tonto where it is the most commonly employed of the four.

23. *citc't-nê*: paternal grandmother, female sibling of a paternal grandmother, and female sibling of a paternal grandfather; or, woman speaking, child of son and child of nephew.

24. *cindâ-lê*, *cinâlê*, *cindô*: paternal grandfather, male siblings of paternal grandfather, and male siblings of paternal grandmother; or, man speaking, children of sons and children of nephews; first form is that used. Second form is employed mainly by Cibecue and San Carlos; third form is common among Southern Tonto.

25. *sitê'sê*: used for great-grandparent and great-grandchild classes with the exceptions noted for the same usage of terms 13 and 15; apparently a form of term 11 which has come into separate usage and rarely used for siblings, etc.†

**AFFINAL KINSHIP**

26. *ca-da-nî*: husband of daughter, husband of sister’s daughter, and husband of cross-cousin; or, man speaking, parents of wife, siblings of parent of wife, and cross-cousin of wife.

27. *citf*: sibling of mate, parallel cousin of mate, and grandparent of mate or sibling’s mate, parallel cousin’s mate, and grandchild’s mate.

28. *sà-itsâ-γâ* (pl., *ba-itsâ-kayâ*): any man married to a blood relative and who is not addressed by terms 26 or 27; may also be used descriptively of any man married to a woman relative by blood or clan, whether or not terms 26 and 27 are employed in direct address.

† Plurals of any of the above terms, excepting 1 and 2, may be formed. The plural of terms 4, 6, 11, 12, 18, and 25 are usually formed by adding the suffix *yu*, those of terms 3, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24, by adding *kin* or *ke*, and that of term 19 by adding *ike* or *kin*. The variation is determined by the ending of the word. Plural forms of kinship terms are frequently used in addressing a crowd of people among whom are many related to the speaker. Thus, they are a direct appeal to everyone present customarily addressed by these kinship terms. It is not uncommon to encounter a kinship term suffixed by the amplifying and emotional “iyê.” This is done under stress of feeling, such as at the end of a prolonged absence or during heartfelt grief.
29. \textit{ba'itsə'ca}: the reciprocal of term 28.

30. \textit{ca'γγə (pl., ca'γγi-yu')}: any woman married to a blood relative and who is not addressed by term 27; may also be used descriptively for any woman married to blood or clan kinsman whether or not the term 27 is used in direct address.

31. \textit{ba'icədhi}: the reciprocal of term 30.

of a male cross-cousin (son of the mother's brother) when ego is male, for ego's children and the son of ego's mother's brother will normally address each other by sibling terms because both their fathers will be of the same clan. Ego, basing his usage on how the male cross-cousin will address his children, will address the cross-cousin's children by term 24, the same one that he would ordinarily use for the children of any male for whom his children used a sibling term. The same is true in position C. Offspring of the individuals in position A and C will be addressed by term 25, which is the proper one, reckoning from the usage of term 24. Thus, in positions D, F, G, and E on the paternal side the individuals are brought a generation closer, and in positions A, B, and C they are set a generation farther away by the kinship terminology used. If ego is a woman, this shift does not occur in positions A and B, for ego's children's father cannot be of the same clan as ego's mother's brother's son.

It may seem unreasonable for a male ego to address his mother's brother's son's children arbitrarily by a grandparent-grandchild term (where, if the kinship system were reckoned strictly according to generation, he would use term 3), perhaps even before his own children are old enough to use a sibling term for this relative, on which he could base his own terminology for the relative's children. This does happen, however, and four cases of it were recorded. In two of these the individuals addressing each other by sibling terms based on their fathers' common clan membership were quite near of an age, and in the third the individual using "grandparent-grandchild" term 24 for the children was relatively of the right age to be a grandparent. In the fourth the man who addressed the children of his mother's brother's son by term 24 had only small children who were many
years younger than those for whom he used term 24. Although no cases were found in which ego had no children on which to base the use of term 24, it seems reasonable to suppose that the usage has become so intrenched that it no longer requires ego’s children’s use of sibling terms to be established. There may be cases in which ego would use term 3 rather than 24 in such instances, but none was recorded.

In those few instances where an old person lives to see children of a great-grandchild addressed as sik’isé, the kinship term used is reckoned by the sex of the great-grandchild and that of the old person. Thus, the term cibè‘ is used when the great-grandchild is male, cik’à if the old person and the great-grandchild are both female, and cidà‘ if the old person is male and the great-grandchild female. All three are shortened forms of terms 3 and 6, and in the kin-term sequence they show added proof that the great-grandparent–great-grandchild term is a derivative of the sibling term, sik’isé.

The regular term for “my relative” is cik’i’. It may be used indiscriminately for any blood, clan, or affinal relative, but it is commonly employed for blood and clan relatives. In order to denote closeness or distance of the relationship, adjectives may be prefixed to it: thus, andago cik’i’ or niza’yu cik’i’ (“far off my relative”) and ’atxànëgo’ cik’i’ (“close my relative”). Relationship caused by fathers being of the same or related clans is termed ndi’da’k, the plural of which is nìndi’nda’k. The term bådânt’i’ denotes any clan kinsmen of the father (members of related clans and the same clan). The reciprocal for this term, used for any offspring of male members of one’s clan and related clans, is cânînt’i’, the plural, cânî’dîlyû’i’. The singular of any of these terms may be used in direct address but ordinarily is employed descriptively. A polite, singular form of the term for paternally related clansmen is bânte’i’i’i’, commonly used of such clansmen when married to a woman of one’s clan. It may also be used in a derogatory manner to describe a marriage where the blood relationship (cross-cousins) is considered too close.

Four rather uncommon kinship terms follow but are not to be classed with the ordinary ones given above: sîzâ’yè’, common-
ly used descriptively rather than in direct address, can be applied to any members of one’s clan or related clan but ordinarily is used for older clan relatives of the grandparent class and at times for animals or birds related to clans; *bitgodszi’hé* ("with him I am left alone"), used of and by both sexes but most commonly by men, employed as a sibling term for members of one’s clan, related or not related by blood, when they are the last members of the clan or maternal lineage left in the region; *cêïl’t’ye*, less commonly *cegudû’ni’i*, meaning "with him joined" (in common bond of relationship), man’s term used in direct address like our word “partner” between contemporary individuals distantly related by clan or blood who have a particularly friendly feeling for each other, such as members of same or related clans, also used by individuals whose fathers were of same or related clans, or for members of paternally related clans; *’a’ry’i’ile*, not used in direct address but employed descriptively of any individual related by clan, blood, or affinity.

It is normal for the Apache to know all blood and affinal relatives who live in his community or in ones adjoining it, and with each he will have established usages of kinship terms and behavior patterns. Most blood relatives usually live within a radius of fifty miles all their lives and, because of this, are well known to one another. However, when members of a family have lived widely separated for a generation or so with only occasional contacts, their knowledge of one another is limited. This is true of certain families living on the Gila River and their relatives, some sixty miles to the north in the Fort Apache region. It applies especially to contemporary affinal kin and to the offspring of their marriages with blood kin. Although a man may know that one of his relatives is married and has children, he sometimes does not know the identity of the mate, or the sex and number of the children, or if any of them are married.

When the Apache has relatives living in communities widely separated from his own, it may be said that he is generally fairly well acquainted with those of his own and the next ascending generation. He may not know those in the grandparent class so well, however, many of whom are gone before he is old enough to
remember them clearly. He knows less of descending generations because, ordinarily, contacts with distant members of his family take place in his youth during visits with his parents. After his marriage he is less likely to undertake visits on his own initiative, not knowing these kin as well as his parents did. Succeeding generations widen the gap between branches of the family, until after five or six generations knowledge of the blood relationship is lost.

Knowledge of kin in descending generations who live in the same or adjacent communities is more comprehensive, and the Apache usually knows the cousins of his own children better than he knows the cousins of his parents. Thus, conditions are somewhat the reverse of those described above for widely separated branches of the family, where knowledge of kin in the ascending generation is usually greater than in the descending generation. The reason for this seems to lie in the difference between children's and adults' usage of kinship terms and obligations. A child is brought up to know his close blood and affinal kin, but his knowledge of the obligations which may exist toward them is not consciously employed until he reaches adolescence. When a grandparent tells stories to a child, or a maternal uncle sends a boy after his horses, or a maternal aunt tells a girl to do something, their attentions to, or demands on, the child are based not only on the bonds of close blood relationship and affection but also on conscious observance of kinship obligations. On the other hand, the child goes to his grandparent for a story or obeys his uncle's request to bring in the horses not so much because he is aware of the kinship obligations involved but merely because he is making a customary request or doing the bidding of an older member of his family. Parents may tell a child to ask something of an older relative, knowing that on account of the kinship obligations involved probably the request will be granted, but in such instances the child is merely doing what his parents tell him to. Even if he were old enough to realize the obligations, undoubtedly he would be too shy to observe them.

An adult knows the children of his siblings because he has observed them through childhood and adolescence with the
interest of an older person fully conscious of his own obligations and relationship to them. But the child's attitude toward his uncles and aunts is more automatic and disinterested because they are older people with whom he is as yet unconscious of kinship obligations. Even when he is grown, he is not likely to analyze his behavior to older kin, for ordinarily he has been conditioned to this attitude since childhood. Thus, because the individual is fully conscious of lineage, kinship obligations, and the use of kinship terms only when he is mature, he is likely to know his relatives as a whole in descending generations better than those in ascending generations. This is excluding certain older relatives who formed a part of his immediate family and family cluster and whom he knows well through years of close association. It is interesting to note that younger children, although not making conscious use of kinship and affinal obligations and behavior with actual relatives and relatives-in-law, nevertheless mimicked them in their play.

Married adults showed a peculiar thought pattern when asked the usage of certain kinship terms. The reciprocal terminology between uncle-aunt and nephew-niece or grandparent and grandchild means that individuals addressed by these terms may be of ascending or descending generations. But the kinship terms given abstractly for the offspring of relatives so addressed were almost invariably those used when these relatives were in a descending generation. This made it difficult to obtain correct kinship terms for children of uncles and aunts or children of grandparents' siblings without recourse to genealogy. The reason for this confusion is again probably because of the difference in attitude toward older and younger kin. Thus, kinship terms for older relatives have been used almost automatically since childhood, whereas those with younger kin must be personally instigated. When examples in the family are produced, however, there is no difficulty in securing the right term.

Knowledge of blood and affinal kin usually ends with the fourth ascending or descending generation, counting that of the individual, and the Apache have a saying, "After the fourth time [generation] the kinship is gone. It is no more, because no one
Genealogies are not important to the Apache, and ancestors of more than four generations back are forgotten. Their fame and attainments mean nothing, and no pride is taken in them. Moreover, fear of the dead prevents mention of deceased relatives.

Since the Apache does not retain knowledge of long-dead relatives, he sometimes finds it impossible to trace a distant blood relationship. In such instances he may use a kinship term derived from those that a parent or other intermediate relative used for the person in question, and he can only say that he knows that there is a relationship and that his parent probably could trace it.

Children begin to use kinship terms at an early age. "Mother" and "father" are among the first words that a child learns, and children of three sometimes use kinship terms for siblings and grandparents. Parents teach kinship terms by telling a child, "Go and play with your younger brother," or "Take this to your grandfather." The same may be done later with less closely associated relatives who visit the camp. In this way the child gradually and unconsciously associates the correct terms with his various relatives. At the same time, parents, especially the mother, will point out relatives to a child, saying, "That is your uncle"; "This is your cousin." In this way his use of kin terms is extended beyond the immediate family, but for several years this is only in response to his parents' instructions and not because he understands the nature of the relationship. By the time the child is ten or twelve years old he begins to grasp the kinship system, and at sixteen the average boy or girl fully understands the usages of the various kinship terms and can properly extend them to any kind of relative.

Respect and avoidance between siblings of opposite sex start at the age of eleven or twelve. Affinal respect and avoidance are not usually established until puberty. No detailed information was recorded as to when conscious use of joking relationships begins, but it is probably at the same age. Prior to this, children do not seem ready to accept such bantering and may even resent it and be embarrassed, much to the amusement of
adults. Neil Buck recalled the following incidents from his childhood:

When I was a little boy of seven or eight, a woman relative-in-law, my mother's brother's wife, used to come to visit us during the day. She was a relative-in-law who had a right to joke me, but I was too young to realize this. She liked to tease me and would call me her husband and say she was coming after me. It made me mad, so I used to run away from camp every time I saw her coming. In the same way, an old man of my father's clan, because he was a clan cross-cousin of mine, jokingly used to call me his boy, as if I were his son. I resented this also. But, when I got old enough to understand why they joked me, I didn't mind it any longer.

Adults make more use of kinship terms and behavior patterns than young people, both through better knowledge of social forms and through freedom from restraint and self-consciousness. Generally speaking, women seem to show the most knowledge of blood, affinal, and clan kin, and men sometimes refer to their wives in answering a question concerning kinship, even though it involves their own relatives. Greater interest in such matters is also exhibited by the women, perhaps because of the descent traced through the mother and the functional dominance of kin on her side rather than on the father's.

Blood relationship is a strict barrier to marriage. The general consensus is that blood relatives should not marry unless their relationship has been widened by five or six generations—in other words, when it has almost been forgotten. However, unlike marriage restrictions, obligations and behavior between blood and affinal kin are not extended to the limits of relationship but are more or less governed by distinction between close and distant blood kin. Generally, close blood kin are those who can trace direct relationship within the third or fourth ascending generation, and distant blood kin those whose relationship is further removed.

The same kinship terms are used whether the relationship is close, distant, or merely by clan, but in spite of this the Apache makes distinctions. The strongest ties and obligations are with close blood relatives, and it is they, rather than distant or clan
KINSHIP

kin, who are first looked to for help. Behavior patterns function on a somewhat different basis, for, although behavior with siblings, cross-cousins, paternal uncles, and children of distant male siblings is affected by the degree of kinship, other behavior with maternal and paternal grandparents and maternal aunts and uncles remains the same, regardless of the degree of kinship. Thus obligations decrease or change with widening blood relationship, while, on the other hand, some behavior patterns remain the same, and others are altered.

All members of one’s clan and its related clans, as well as members of the paternal clan and its relative clans, are considered relatives. Within one’s clan, however, a distinction is made between members who are considered close kin and those who are not. Close clan kin include only those belonging to the same maternal lineage within the clan. Blood kinship, when not too distant, is always thought of as being emotionally closer than clan kinship, although not necessarily closer in commonness of interests and economic association. Thus, blood kin on the father’s side are considered closer relatives than clanmates with whom no blood relationship is traceable. As John Rope says, “You are a little more closely related to them because you are directly connected; you will look somewhat like them, you will walk like them, and there will even be a resemblance in your manner of talking.”

In spite of blood connection superseding that of clan, the latter is dominant in classifying kin. When the Apache says “my relatives,” he usually is thinking of all the members of his clan. To him his mother’s kin are the members of her clan and its related clans. The same is true of his father’s relatives, and he may say, “My paternal kinsmen are the t’êgâidn clanspeople.” This tendency to designate inclusively by clan is understandable, for the Apache is identified by his clan, and clanmates form the largest body of people to whom he consistently owes one type of behavior and obligation and on whom he may automatically rely.

Close relatives have the most frequent contacts with one another, and therefore it is between them that kinship obligations
and behavior patterns are most often observed. In the following pages each type of relationship is discussed, and wherever possible the description is supplemented by actual cases illustrating these relationships.

On being questioned about matrilocal or patrilocal residence, the Apache answers something like this:

You can live near your wife's parents or your own. It depends on what you both want. Sometimes a woman doesn't get on with a man's parents, and so she gets him away from them. Some women are no good. Then there are men who can't get along with their wives' relatives, and so they don't like to live with them. Again, some couples will stay a while with the man's parents and then visit with the wife's parents, dividing their time about equally between the two.

This is correct, for, although matrilocal residence is the basic pattern, patrilocal residence is common. Nevertheless, the Apache feels closest to his maternal relatives, and he generally finds himself allied with mother's siblings and mother's parents rather than father's siblings and father's parents, both because they are of his clan (excepting the maternal grandfather) and because they are the relatives with whom he is more commonly associated through predominant matrilocal residence.

Parents.—The matrilineal clan system and more common matrilocal residence have helped to differentiate the position of mothers and fathers in relation to the children. The child is strongly attached to both parents throughout life, but especially to the mother. Adults, in recalling their youth, are more likely to mention the mother than the father, who at times is spoken of in a more disassociated manner. In some instances fathers who were outstanding chiefs or shamans may be mentioned more frequently than the mothers, but this is usually more in connection with their exploits than with the intimate happenings of childhood. Fathers are less approachable, more stern, and sometimes slightly feared or held in awe. As one man said:

It is their mother whom the children love most. When they are grown and live elsewhere, they may return for a visit. Their mother is the one they really come to see. It is for her that they do it. She is the one who made clothes for them, cooked for them, fed them, and helped
them when they needed it. When they were in trouble, she comforted them. Children love their father also. He has been good to them and taught them things they should know. But their mother is the one to whom they are most attached.

However, both parents are deeply fond of their children and have them always uppermost in their minds. In praying, the first words a man utters are for the health and well-being of his children, and more than once the death of a favorite child has caused a parent’s suicide. Two accounts of such cases follow:

A widow was living at Bylas. She had only one son. This young man was unmarried and lived with her. One winter he was taken sick. The woman did everything she could think of to save him. Shamans worked over him, but to no avail. Finally he died. They buried him the next day. A few days later the woman told neighbors she was going across the river to get something. The neighbors noticed that she had not returned by the following day. They set out in search of her and found her across the river, hanging from a tree. She was so despondent she had hung herself.

The second incident is well known and happened many years ago:

A chief lived about Rocky Creek. He had many horses and cattle and was a good man. When he went to raid in Mexico, he always used the best he had—his best horse and best saddle, saddle blanket, and rope. He always came back bringing lots of horses and other booty. This chief had a son of whom he was very fond. He was good to the boy and brought him horses and cattle from his raids. The boy was about nineteen years of age, and, because he was almost a man, his father took great pride in seeing him well equipped.

One time the chief left on a raid to Mexico. As usual, it was successful, and the party returned happily, bringing many horses. But while the chief had been away his son sickened, and the very day he arrived home the boy died. They buried him in the rocks on the northwest side of a hill. The father had all his horses and cattle brought to the grave and killed. When everything was over, he returned to his camp and sat there looking straight before him. He would not speak or look at any of his friends. He sat there, neither seeing nor hearing. Soon he recognized his best horse standing near by, with his finest saddle on it. He got up and went to the horse, mounted, and rode straight down toward the edge of Rocky Creek Canyon to the brink of a high cliff. He never looked back but kept facing ahead to the precipice. His friends watched
his progress for a while and then followed him, turned his horse, and led him back to his camp. All the way back no one said anything. When they arrived at camp, his friends said to him, “We know how it is with you, but we don’t want you to do a thing like that.” The chief stood for a while, and then he spoke, “My friends, I am all right now. A little while ago it was as if I was dead, but now I am made alive again.”

Up to the age of ten, children are principally in the care of the mother. The father may play with younger children in his leisure time and even watch over the little ones while the mother is busy, but during his frequent absences from camp he does not take the children with him unless his wife comes also. After reaching the age of ten or eleven, boys and girls are old enough to be helpful, and their parents start to teach them what they will need to know in later life. A boy comes into closer association with his father at this time. Ordinarily, parents and children remain on intimate but respectful terms. A daughter is likely to be more familiar with her mother, and a son with his father. A boy will sit down beside his father, but he would not do so with his mother. Likewise, girls refrain from sitting close to their father but would not hesitate to sit close to their mother. Parents and children may laugh at each other when amused, though joking between children and parents is rare, and those few who indulge in it are given to joking with everyone.

At times, parents and adolescent or grown children may become quite angry with one another, and show it. One grown daughter so berated her old father over some family difference that he left the family cluster for two days. On rare occasions more serious trouble may arise, as in the following incident: An old man, in singing a certain religious-song cycle, habitually included a very dangerous set of songs which did not properly belong in the cycle. They were particularly dangerous to women and children, and, because of this, it is said, the children of the old man’s son died. The son took his father to task, saying, “Because you do this, all my children are dead. If you don’t stop it, I will kill you.”

Parents naturally play a vital part in social matters pertaining to their offspring. Grown and married children also take an im-
important part in decisions which affect their parents and may successfully oppose their parents in certain family issues, such as a marriage. When parents become aged, they are no longer considered to have the judgment that they formerly had, and their grown children take the lead in making decisions for the family.

Maternal uncle and sister's children.—Just as the mother's siblings are terminologically distinguished from those of the father, the behavior and obligations toward these relatives are also differentiated. Next to the father, the mother's brother and the sister's son are by far the most important male relatives. The maternal uncle is expected to show interest in the children and, in the event of the father's death, may take it upon himself to teach them things that they would have learned from their father. The close bond with a maternal uncle is particularly important for a boy, who almost invariably turns to his mother's brother when in need of serious counsel, aid in an undertaking, or the loan of property which he could not obtain from parents or maternal grandparents. The fact that the uncle often lives in another family cluster does not matter. Remarks like the following are frequently heard: "My sister's son came to borrow a horse this morning," or "I can get a horse from my mother's brother when I don't have one of my own."

The maternal uncle in need of a young man to work for him, to send on a journey, or to take his place in an undertaking which he does not wish to continue looks to his nephew after his son, and he can be assured of his help even before he asks for it. Such services can be properly asked of a younger man, but the nephew would not ask them of his maternal uncle. If nephew and uncle are near of an age, though they may ask favors or help of each other, neither may ask the other to do something ordinarily done by a younger man. To do so could be considered disrespectful. When there is only a slight age difference between the two men, their close kinship bond often makes them comrades in undertakings but does not change behavior and obligations between them and in no sense creates familiarity such as that between mere friends. After a man's death his sister's son may become the foster-father of his children. In this event the
younger man will treat the children almost as if they were his own. Marriage of the widow and the maternal uncle of her deceased husband is somewhat less likely because of the disparity in ages.

Women share also in close and binding obligations with maternal uncles, but these are limited by sex difference. A woman in need of help, the loan of a horse, or food for her family does not hesitate to ask it of her maternal uncle, and if she should be in trouble he would be one of the first to help her. A maternal uncle is far less likely to ask something of his niece because, being a woman, she is less in a position to help him than a nephew would be. However, if he needs women to help in preparing a feast, he may ask her aid, and he may even send her to the store for food if necessary.

Being one of the most important relatives, the maternal uncle takes active part in the affairs of his nieces and nephews, and his word carries tremendous weight in decisions concerning them. In turn, a man's sister's grown children may have much to do with his own family matters, though, being younger, they usually aid in material things rather than by giving advice. The close ties between a man and his sister's children are too serious to permit any joking relationship. Relatives of this kind who do joke are pointed out as rare exceptions. The stringency of the relationship can be seen when it is compared to a grandparent relationship. Both important and trivial demands may be made of a grandparent, whereas one goes to a maternal uncle only on more serious matters.

The following are instances from maternal uncle-nephew and uncle-niece relationships:

“When my sister's son [only a few years younger than the narrator] fell off the roof of a building at San Carlos, while at school, he bruised his lips badly. So I and a friend of mine took him to the settlement at Dewey Flat and hired a shaman to sing medicine songs over him.” At the time the narrator was only a youth, but he felt the obligation to help his younger relative.

A youth had a holy vision from the supernatural ga·n and thus acquired their power. Though he told his family of his trance and the songs he had learned during it, they paid no attention to him. In the
year that followed he grew listless and sickened. The holy experience was inside him, but he had been given no opportunity to demonstrate it as he should. The youth's father was dead, and so his mother's brother, realizing his plight, summoned various men unbeknownst to him. The men gathered at his camp in order that he might reveal himself. Through this he came into his own, but his chance to do so was because of his maternal uncle.

At a recent curing ceremony given for the benefit of a paralyzed old woman, three men made themselves prominent by helping to carry the patient about and otherwise officiating. They were brothers and wished to help because the old woman was the mother-in-law of their sister's son.

"My mother's brother had been out as a government scout after the hostile Chiricahua. He had just finished a six months' enlistment. The officers at Fort Apache were making up another enlistment, but my uncle had had enough of scouting. It was hard work, meant long dry marches without water or food, and climbing great mountains. I heard about the enlistment and went over to Fort Apache with some other men. When I got there, my uncle handed me his cartridge belt and rifle, telling me to put the belt on, 'Here, my nephew, you are to go as a scout. I have had enough of it.' Then he took off his moccasins and told me to put them on. I did so. That is how I enlisted as a scout. My uncle put me in his place."

A Carrizo chief named Metal Tooth was married to a White Mountain woman. This chief was very influential and much feared. Quarreling with his wife had caused their separation. A year later he rejoined her, but on the evening of the same day he started to fight with her. He intended to beat her, and so the woman came rushing into the wickiup of her maternal uncle, close by. The uncle had already gone to bed. "My maternal uncle, don't let this thing happen to me. Don't let it be," she implored him. Her uncle jumped up and, snatching a brand of firewood, stepped out to meet the angry chief. In the scuffle which followed he hit the chief over the head and killed him. Then he ran off to escape the vengeance of the chief's kin. The following morning when an officer and troops arrived from Fort Apache to investigate the matter, two sons of the dead chief's sister made every effort possible to kill the woman's uncle.

Some people of another clan seriously wounded the maternal uncle of a powerful chief during an attack on this chief's clansmen. He organized a revenge party made up of two sister's sons and other men. After
a long search they came upon the camp of their enemies, who had taken
their wives with them in their flight. The camp was surrounded and at­
tacked. Among the women was the daughter of a close female parallel
cousin of the chief, and whom he accordingly called his niece (sister's
daughter). The fugitives were concealed within the wickiup, and for
any one of them to have ventured out would have meant almost certain
death. But in a moment this woman called out loudly, "My maternal
uncle, I think it is you out there. I am going to you," and she came
running to where he was hidden in the rocks. In this way she saved her
life, for the chief would not have harmed her.

Maternal aunt and sister's children.—The mother's sister is
less important only because being a woman limits her capacity
to give aid and control property. In requests involving property
the Apache sometimes hesitates to approach a woman relative,
where he would feel free to approach a man. He is afraid that
the woman's husband may not approve, may begrudge the aid.
As an Apache puts it:

A man wouldn't want to ask his maternal aunt for something when
he could go to his maternal uncle. It isn't that she would not give him
what he wants; it is just that she is a woman and would not possess as
much property as the uncle. It is better to go to your uncle for such
things, as he can give them to you without talking to anyone. But your
aunt might have to consult her husband before she would do what you
asked.

Being of opposite sex, men are more hesitant than women about
asking a woman relative for property. A maternal aunt is mainly
helpful in more homely affairs: aid in cooking, care of the chil­
dren, building of dwellings, farming, wild-food-gathering, and
other women's work.

Children, as a general rule, are in contact with their mother's
sister more than any other relative of the next ascending genera­
tion. On losing their mother, they are commonly in the care of
the maternal grandmother or a maternal aunt, and through
sororate the latter may become their foster-mother. Just as a
maternal aunt helps her grown nieces in everyday tasks, so may
the nieces help her, and the two often co-operate in women's
labor within their family cluster. In instances where a woman
needs the help of a man, she may also turn to her grown sister's
son, whose aid she can count on. But it is her relationship with her niece that is the most important.

After parents and children, relatives thrown together most frequently are sisters, female parallel cousins on the maternal side, and maternal aunts and their nieces. Children within the same family cluster who bear an aunt-niece relationship to one another sometimes grow up as contemporaries. Unconscious of the relationship until considerably older, they play with one another as sisters and brothers. Girls such as this very are likely to be close companions. In the days of polygyny sometimes a man married his wife's sister's daughter, and there were frequent marriages in which a widower was reclaimed by his former mate's niece.

The maternal aunt is an important factor in family affairs, and her advice may be sought in making decisions. Her nephew and niece, though having some part in her own affairs, exercise less influence because they are younger. As with the maternal uncle, joking relationships are entirely absent and considered improper.

Paternal aunts and uncles—brother's children.—The maternal uncles and aunts of the average individual throughout their lives are closely tied to him by obligations, clan, and common enterprise, but the same cannot be said of paternal aunts and uncles. These paternal kin belong automatically in the father's clan, a body of people not directly interested in the individual, and therefore their relationship to him does not carry with it the common interests shared by members of the same clan. The Apache differentiation of mother's siblings from father's siblings is well illustrated in his use of English kinship terms. Although he has no difficulty in calling all his grandparents "grandfather" or "grandmother," it is hard for him to apply the same English terms for all his aunts and uncles. He overcomes the conflict with his own system by terming mother's siblings and sister's children "uncle" and "aunt" and father's siblings and brother's children "nephew" and "niece." The blood kinship with paternal aunts and uncles creates a certain tie, but it does not necessarily entail extremely close obligations and common enter-
prise. Being kin of the father, his siblings to some extent are obligated to help when aid is requested, and in the same way men and women may ask help of a brother’s grown children. But such interchanges are not often solicited or counted on, and, when they do occur, they are more because of a kinship feeling than a recognized obligation. Residence of the relatives in the same family cluster naturally increases these interchanges because of adjacency of households.

These relatives take a far less active part in one another’s affairs, although paternal siblings are important in distribution of the father’s property. However, because of the levirate, a father’s brother may become a stepfather and in this capacity is closely associated with his nephews and nieces. There is considerably less restraint with paternal uncles and aunts than with maternal uncles and aunts, and infrequently mild joking may take place, even though there is no recognized joking relationship. The following are a few instances of this joking. A woman says:

One time we went up to Stanley Butte to prepare mescal. With us was a young man, the son of one of my brothers. He was just married. When we were about to light the fire in the mescal pit, he came to us. Because of the way in which he was related to me, I joked him, saying, “Now be careful and don’t do anything with that woman [his wife] tonight. There is another camp above us, a big one, and we don’t want them laughing at us. We are counting on this mescal coming out well done.” The next day I saw him again and said the same thing. “Don’t worry, I have a good head. It’s all right,” he answered. When we took out the mescal, it was well done.

A man sometimes jokes with the son of his paternal parallel cousin to whom he is therefore paternal uncle. He relates the following instance:

I sang over a man one time for half a night, as his wife had requested that I do so to cure him. The next morning I met my relative. He asked me what I had been doing. “I stayed up all last night singing medicine songs over a man,” I told him.

“How many songs did you sing?” he asked me.

“Oh, I sang about three hundred and fifty,” I said.

If a man and wife have intercourse while mescal is cooking in the pit, the mescal will not be well done.
“Whew, that’s a lot!” he replied, believing me.

Later on he met the man whom I had sung over and said he had heard his relative sang three hundred and fifty songs over him. “No, that man just sang about ten songs over me and then left,” he said.

One time an old and respected man of clan was explaining the tradition that people of his clan were born with power to ward off bullets and arrows shot at them. The son of his brother, a man considerably younger than he, overhearing his uncle, joked him, “It’s no power your clanspeople have. It’s just witchcraft.” Everyone, including the old man, laughed.

Generally, the Apache does not joke his father’s siblings, nor they him, for the relationship is considered too close to permit such familiarities. As Anna Price says, “If I joked an older woman, the sister of my father, she might get mad and say, ‘Don’t joke me.’”

Unexpected familiarity of this kind could be strongly resented, as in the following case which a woman told of herself (she was a young widow at the time):

I had been staying at my maternal uncle’s camp for five days. He had a large buckskin he wanted to make into moccasin uppers for me. It was stiff in places, and so he asked me to soften it for him. As I sat working on it, a man walked up behind me, He was the son of my brother. “Here is the one I claim in remarriage,” he said, at the same time pushing my head forward. I had a rock in my hand and jumped up and hit him in the face with it. The blood ran down. I said, “No one has a right to call me that. I have had a hard time, and so no one should bother me.” Right there we started to fight. I fought him just like a man. A lot of women were standing about. Afterward he went to the agency and reported what I had done to him. When he returned he told me, “They are going to send you away from here for two years.” I answered, “Well, that is all right. I guess it will be a good place for me.” One of my brothers went to see the agent. The next day the agent sent for me. That man was there also. The agent laughed and said, “What did you fight this good little girl for? The next time you bother her you will be sent away for two years.” My nephew had only meant to joke me, but we had never joked before, and I don’t know why he tried to do it this time. He must have been drunk. From then on he avoided me.

4 Joking about possession of ceremonial knowledge is common.

5 Because her first husband was of his clan, clan brother, he alluded to the levirate.
Grandparents and grandchildren.—Maternal grandparents are frequently spoken of, but paternal grandparents are far less commonly mentioned in spite of the fact that they often reside in the same family cluster as the grandchild. Likewise, in mythology the kinship term for maternal grandparent is commonly used, but those for paternal grandparents do not appear. This indicates the greater importance of maternal grandparents in children’s lives, and it is true that in family affairs they are far more active than the paternal grandparents. Old age and inactivity give maternal grandparents more time to devote to children in telling stories, making toys, and teaching them some of the things they will need to know in later life.

Grandparents love to watch their grandchildren at play. It is common for a grandmother to give a small child the run of her wickiup, the child passing and repassing in front of her with a most annoying frequency, stepping over her, lolling against her, pulling at her dress, all of which she accepts with a calm inattention truly remarkable. If the child is too much in the way, the grandparent may turn about in feigned anger and dismiss it with a sharp word. The child usually obeys. Occasionally, a child will defy a grandparent. The parents do not interfere but leave the matter to the grandparent entirely. If the encounter ends in the child’s crying, it cannot run to the parents for sympathy. The child’s attitude toward its grandparents is not duplicated with any other relative. The grandparent’s good-naturedness and willingness to do things are taken for granted, and I have never heard a maternal grandparent mentioned with any dislike or fear. They are usually spoke of with a feeling of affection, intimacy, and respect.

Grandchildren when grown retain much the same attitude toward maternal grandparents and go to them for help if they can give it. In former times maternal grandparents served grown grandchildren most through their grasp of the culture, their skill at making certain utensils, and the ceremonial knowledge they might have. A maternal grandmother was useful about the camp in helping with household tasks, and a maternal grandfather no longer able to hunt or go on raids still could work on
the farm or at camp. To a certain extent, grown grandchildren return the interest and affection that these old people have bestowed on them and will cook for them, clothe them, and otherwise look out for them.

Paternal grandparents may function in their grandchildren’s lives in somewhat the same way that maternal grandparents do, but they are less closely associated because they are paternal relatives. Siblings of the grandparents are treated terminologically and functionally as maternal or paternal grandparents, according to which side of the family they belong. Because of this, it is often difficult to determine whether a grandparent being mentioned is a true grandparent or a great-uncle or great-aunt. Great-uncles and great-aunts, particularly the latter on the maternal side, may live in the same family cluster as the children, and the child’s relations with them are almost identical to those with true grandparents, except that the slightly more distant connection makes the old people’s attachment somewhat less marked.

The close relationship between maternal grandparents and grandchildren prohibits any sort of joking. “You can’t joke a maternal grandparent. They are too old and they might get mad at you,” is the general attitude. There are rare instances of joking between such relatives, but they are not the normal pattern. In one family the young people sometimes joked their mother’s father, particularly a youth of twenty, who even used to mock the old man. The grandfather, a highly respected leader in his community, did not seem to mind it, though he never joked back. However, the younger members of this family were peculiarly precocious and showed a marked lack of respect for their elders as compared with other families. In spite of the feeling against joking maternal grandparents or maternal great-uncles and great-aunts, there is decided lack of restraint with them. Where a young man hesitates to use another relative’s dwelling, he makes himself entirely at home with his maternal grandparents, using their belongings, lying on their beds, asking for food and money.

There may be the same freedom between grandchildren and
their paternal grandparents or paternal great-uncles and great-aunts, although there are fewer opportunities to exercise it. A recognized joking relationship also exists. Its use depends on the personal characteristics of the relatives and whether or not they are given to teasing. The joking, in all events, is mild and does not ordinarily allude to sexual matters. It seems to be a part of the whole behavior pattern with paternal relatives, which usually allows for joking. Examples of joking between grandchildren and paternal grandparents or paternal great-uncles and great-aunts follow:

A man often jokes the daughters of his half-sister's son. They are unmarried girls in their teens, and when he sees them he says, laughingly, "Why don't you get married. If you don't hurry up, you are going to be old maids." The girls take it good-naturedly.

An old woman says of her sister's son, "Whenever I go over to his camp I call his wife 'n'ūzi:i:i:dliq'geht [slang term for men married to a woman relative, used only in joking relationships, and purposely misused by the old woman to tease] and call his children by the same term just for fun. They don't mind. One of the boys comes over to my camp sometimes and pretends he is a policeman searching for hidden tulibai. He prods about the inside of my wickiup with a stick and turns my bed over. I say to him, 'My grandson, I know what you are doing,' and he sits down and laughs."

The same old woman says of her paternal grandparents: "When I was a girl I used to joke them. One time when my paternal grandfather was fording the river, I threw a rock in the water beside him. It made the water splash up all over him. 'My granddaughter, I'm going over to get meat from the hunters,' he called back to me. My paternal grandmother was old and shriveled. I used to tell her, 'Eat lots of food and you will fill out,' she would laugh at me and answer, 'I don't think I would. I will be just like a yucca fruit and fall off the stalk soon, when I am ripe."

Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren.—Old people rarely live to see their great-grandchildren mature, though they may be present while the children are still small and, if so, are likely to become a sort of super-grandparent. They are seldom remem-

6 Up until recently, camps were periodically searched by Indian police under agency orders. Any tulibai discovered was confiscated.
bered vividly in later years. As long as they are able to, they help in light work about the camp, but often they are too feeble to do much and very likely are widowed and being cared for by a grown grandchild.

_Siblings._—One of the outstanding aspects of the kinship terminology are kinship terms for siblings denoting seniority or juniority. The usage of these terms suggests differentiation of functions between older and younger siblings, but the differences are not so striking as might be expected. Besides those sibling terms already mentioned, there are some, seldom used, descriptive of the order in which siblings are born. The first-born is called _da‘itsé-náya-hí_ ("first he goes"); second-born, _‘iké‘ge‘-náya-hí_ ("next he goes"); the middle-born, _‘indi‘ge‘náy-a-hí_ ("in middle he goes"); the next youngest to the middle-born, _‘indi‘ge‘híbik‘génáya-hí_ ("after middle he goes"); and the last-born, _da‘ike‘génáya-hí_ ("last he goes").

The eldest brother, next to the parents, is usually the most influential member of the family, and very often he is the wealthiest of the siblings, a matter of great importance to his prestige in the family. In matters concerning his siblings, such as marriage, divorce, division and administration of property, or revenge for injury or death, he is all-important. However, the influence of the elder brother, though still very strong, is not what it used to be, for economic independence of the individual from his relatives has been markedly increased by changes in the last fifty years. The following remarks on eldest brothers, quoted from a man, are fairly typical:

If an eldest brother did not approve of a marriage, he had the power to stop it in the face of the parents on both sides. The reason was that he had everything and, if you didn't do as he said, you could expect no help from him in the future. Should you proceed regardless of your brother's wishes and advice, later on to find yourself in trouble, you wouldn't have the face to ask him for help. If you quarreled with your wife and had family troubles, he would say, "Well, that suits me. You went ahead and did it anyway." When I got out of school I was going to marry a certain girl. My oldest brother did not want it. He said, "That girl will grow very tall, so don't marry her."7 I listened to my

7 Tall women are not admired.
brother and didn't marry her. He was right; she did grow tall. Nowadays it's different. An eldest brother does not have the power to stop the marriage of a grown sibling. There are lots of jobs to be had which give a man economic independence that he could not have had in the old days. Then you couldn't go against the wishes of your kin, for it was too hard to make a success of marriage without their help.

An eldest brother's seniority makes it decidedly likely that he will be the leader of his brothers, but this is not always so, and, if one of the younger brothers shows greater ability and possesses more property, he may usurp this leadership or at least take over some of it. The following is an instance of this:

A couple had three sons and one daughter. The man had acquired a small herd of cattle. When he died, he left them in the care of his eldest son. The daughter later was married but died not long after. The youngest son also passed away after marrying, leaving the two eldest sons and the mother the sole survivors. The eldest son, A, married a woman who bore him no children. For several years he continued to be administrator of the cattle his father had left. When cattle sales were made, he received the total amount and distributed it among his relatives as he saw fit. Not only was A head of his family but he was an outstanding man in his community. He bossed the roundups, initiated work projects among the people, and was looked up to because of his influence and wealth. However, the government seriously interfered with his administration of the family cattle upon the request of certain of his dissatisfied kin and established a controlled distribution of his income. This was a hard blow to A's pride, and, though still considered a powerful individual, his old spirit of independence was broken. He grew fat and gambled considerably. He ceased to take part in the roundups and left the cattle work which he should have attended to for others. The fact that he had no children also cost him prestige, for children are a criterion of success. The younger brother, B, in the meantime, had built up a cattle herd of his own. His marriage was against the wishes of A because the woman was a widow with several children. In spite of this, the marriage was successful. B grew wealthy and influential and many considered him keener and richer than A.

Like the eldest brother, the eldest sister, because of her seniority, has a decisive voice in the affairs of her siblings. She generally succeeds her mother as head woman of the family cluster, though a younger sister with greater ability may sometimes supersede her. It is usually the eldest sister who cares for young
orphaned siblings. Even while the parents are still alive, she may have young siblings living with her and her husband much of the time. The Apache often recall such close associations with the eldest sister.

Another term given for youngest child is ūgēstećq'-á', and, when used in its strictest sense, it indicates that the child's mother has reached her menopause. Such children hold a unique position in that they are the pampered ones of their families, receiving special attentions not only from parents but from older siblings as well, though at times the latter may exhibit some jealousy. This treatment of the youngest child continues until its marriage. The same term and treatment is also generally accorded any youngest-born until the next child comes along. The following are examples:

"A used to be our youngest-born until the last baby came. Whenever we got candy she would cry for it, and she got it all. When our last baby gets a year or so old, she will receive the same sort of attentions, I suppose."

"I was my mother's last child. All my brothers and sisters were grown but me. One sister was married to a Yavapai scout. She always used to invite me to come and stay with her, and I spent much time at her camp. She used to bring me presents. When I was in school at San Carlos, she would come down from the Natanes Rim bringing cooked mescal stalk for me. In 1898, when the railroad was put through the reservation, everyone got ten dollars apiece. Because of this our people put on a large dance. I went there. My brother and father each gave me money and were especially good to me. My father died shortly after I was married. My oldest brother killed one of father's cattle for me and said, 'These cattle are yours. Kill one whenever you want it. They were our father's.' Later, I heard that his wife found out about it and was angry. My brother treated me this way because I was the youngest-born. He did not do the same for my sisters." Once, while with this man, I met his oldest sister. She explained with pride and evident affection that he was her youngest brother.

A young man is his mother's last child. He is unmarried and lives with her. All his brothers and sisters are married. Because of his position it is supposed that he receives the largest share of maternal favors, and the fact that he recently bought a car is accredited largely to the financial aid of his mother, who receives a pension.
A woman of twenty-eight, separated from her husband and living with her parents, is the youngest-born. She still receives extra favors from her parents, and her father frequently buys her things or gives her money. Her brothers and sisters occasionally complain about this to their father, saying, "You should not treat her this way. She gets more of your money than we, and you buy things for her all the time."

Serious mishap to a youngest sibling is likely to cause extreme grief, where with other siblings the emotion is less heartfelt. Two instances of this follow:

Long ago, a youth was killed during a Navaho raid on the Apache in the vicinity of Eagle Creek. He was the youngest child, and to add to the horror of it he had been scalped. His older sister, a head woman, insisted on accompanying the war party sent to revenge him, in spite of the objections of her own people. "I have to go where my little brother's scalp is. I'm going to kill some Navaho." She went, and on returning from the successful punitive expedition, she and her husband journeyed to the youth's grave and placed the scalp on the corpse's head. Nothing but the deepest affection could have caused her to do this, for the Apache dread of dead bodies is very strong.

A similar case occurred when a woman's younger brother was killed in Mexico. Despite protest, she accompanied the revengeing war party, even though one of her youngest sons tried to dissuade her. She said, "I have to go over there where my younger brother is. I have to find him." Only under extraordinary conditions such as these did women ever accompany war parties.

These are the only definite functions and characteristics of sibling interrelationships which sibling terms denoting difference in age may be said to reflect. However, it can be added that the Apache generally heeds the advice of older siblings, whether the oldest or not, and it is to them that he ordinarily goes for help and advice rather than to a younger sibling who is not likely to be so wealthy or experienced. Again, any younger sibling is usually spoken of with evident affection and tenderness.

Brothers and sisters play together freely until the age of eight or nine, but from then on a gradually growing restraint is
noticeable. During the years just before puberty, siblings of opposite sex learn to avoid physical contacts, never to stand or sit close together, and not to touch one another even accidentally. A brother will hesitate a long time before offering his sister a helping hand over swift water or other difficult places. When a flooding river must be crossed, the usual method, rather than touching hands, is to hold one end of the rope and let the sister hang on to the other end.\(^8\)

Other restrictions are present. There should be no joking or familiarity. The dual form of the verb, though permissible for young children, is avoided between older brothers and sisters, even in reference, for it implies that the two do things alone together, and as an old woman said, “People would start to talk and say bad things about you and your sister. They would say your were going with your sister.” Casual conversation is undesirable, and only necessary matters are mentioned. A sister may cook for a brother and eat in his company if others are present, but if alone she ordinarily leaves the dwelling while he eats. They may hand things to each other but are likely to do so in a gingerly fashion. The basic reason for such marked restraint is to avoid any suspicion of incest, a crime viewed with the utmost repulsion, and the slightest breach of this restraint may result in unpleasant and injurious gossip.

The reserve between sister and brother can be strikingly evident. The following is an instance which I had opportunity to observe closely:

A sister and brother went eighty miles to visit their widowed brother, whom they had not seen for years. They had both been looking forward to this visit. After supper the brothers exchanged local news and conversed on other matters. But from the beginning the sister and her widowed brother seemed to almost ignore each other. Their reserve was very evident, especially the sister’s, as she was in a strange household. However, she talked quite unrestrainedly with the women and young men of the household. This case is by no means out of the ordinary,

\(^8\) A brother attending his sister in the capacity of shaman can touch her body, for it may be necessary as part of the rite.
although the marked stiffness between the brother and sister may have been because of their long separation. Underneath such behavior exist strong family ties and often a real affection.

Brother and sister who live in the same locality frequently help each other. Remarks made concerning one old man who failed to show concern for his sister’s well-being indicate the Apache opinion of such lapses. The old man in question had received a fairly large sum of money due him in back army pension: “The people talk about A and the way he treats his sister. They say it is not right the way he does. Never once has he offered to give his sister any part of his pension money. He has never helped her along, and besides this they say he never goes to see her. That is not the way to treat a sister.” One may ask how a brother can go to see a sister with all the restrictions the two must observe. However, it is quite possible. The woman mentioned above who visited her widowed brother wanted to see him just as much as the brother who accompanied her. If the old man had visited his sister, he would have done as she did: talk principally with her husband and sons, hardly at all to her. But actually it would be her, rather than the men, whom he had come to see. Likewise, when a man or woman makes a gift to a sibling of the opposite sex, the gesture is not obvious to the outsider, for the gift is sent through or given to an intermediary—a wife, husband, or some other member of the family.

More stress is placed on brother helping sister than sister helping brother, and if a woman needs the aid, wealth, or influence which a brother can give, she does not hesitate to ask it. A man in need of help would far rather ask it of a brother than of a sister; first, because of his restraint with the sister; second, because she is not the nominal head of her family, and her husband, who is, might begrudge the request; and, last, because, being a woman, she is less likely to own the property or be physically able to supply the help desired. But in work usually done by women alone, such as care of motherless children, preparing food for a feast, or building dwellings, a brother may readily call on his sister. If she is widowed at the time, he may summon her from far off to do such work for him.
Brothers observe far fewer restraints with one another. They may use the dual form of the verb, eat together, converse freely but not intimately or jokingly, and accidental physical contact is ignored. No intentional physical contact takes place, and thus brothers as a rule neither shake hands nor embrace. Wrestling or jostling in play is also strictly avoided after puberty. Reserve is likewise the reason why one brother ordinarily will not ask the help of another unless in something important and worthy of his time: the cutting of a horse, performance of a rite, pecuniary aid, food, or advice concerning serious family matters. Some men will even ask help of a maternal uncle or sister’s son rather than a brother. No instances were recorded of a man sending a younger brother in his place or otherwise requesting work of him. If one brother should be going on a cattle roundup and the other remaining at home, the latter may ask the former to look out for his cattle, but only as a favor. The obligation for mutual aid between brothers during times of crises is a strong one and in some instances may lead to virtual suicide, as in the following instance:

During an encounter with Mexicans many years ago, an Apache leader told his men to stand their ground. But the men ran off, leaving their chief to be surrounded by the enemy. The brother of this chief took the lead in the dash for escape. He had left his brother behind to be captured. The chief called to him, "Hey, my brother, where are you going?" The other men heard this and shouted to the fleeing brother, "Your brother says, 'Hey, my brother, where are you running?'" When the man heard this, he turned around and started running right for the place where the Mexicans had surrounded the chief. The other men shouted to him, "Don't go back there" and tried to grab him, but he outran them and joined his captured brother. Both were killed by the Mexicans.

The relationship between siblings, especially brothers, was considered such a close one that failure of one sibling to live up to it could cause real mental distress to the other. An extreme case is the following which took place many years ago:

A youth went to his older brother who had some tulibai. He asked for a drink, but his brother ungraciously answered, "No, this is not for your mouth." The youth went home crying. He was so mortified at his
brother's unkindness that he shot himself in the head. The elder brother, hearing the shot, rushed out to find the youth lying dead. Without stopping to think, he stabbed a Chiricahua chief standing near by, believing that he had killed his brother.

Quarrels between brothers are rare, and if ill feelings exist they are concealed. Only under particular stress, such as intoxication, do such matters come to the surface. Occurrences like this are almost nonunderstandable to the Apache, who say: "Why would brothers fight together? Their blood is one. They come from the same woman. Their minds should be the same."

Sisters are likely to associate throughout life far more than brothers. After marriage, they live frequently in the same family cluster and in the polygynous marriages of former times often married the same man. Each sister in a family cluster ordinarily cooks and eats at her own fire, but, living only a few yards apart as they do most of their lives, they are always available to each other in everyday needs such as household tasks, construction of dwellings, and borrowing food or utensils. Sisters are much less restrained with each other than brothers and are very likely to be close companions. There is, however, an avoidance of joking and undue familiarity. Sisters are supposed to live harmoniously, but they do have their quarrels. The tremendous importance of sisters to each other not only in economic cooperation but in companionship is well shown in the following quotation from a woman of about forty-five. The mention of nieces and nephews of both kinds is also indicative of the part such more distant relatives may play:

I have no relative left me but my mother now. All my sisters are gone. There used to be seven of us, six girls and one boy, but I am the only one left. I have no one to look after me but my old mother. Other people about here have lots of sisters to go about with, but not I. Your husband can never take the place of women who are very close blood relatives to you. He can't go about with you the way your sisters or your sister's and brother's children can.

Parallel cousins.—Behavior and obligations with parallel cousins on the maternal side are approximately the same as those with siblings, for parallel cousins are considered brothers
and sisters. The degree of reserve between such cousins is slight-
ly less, however. Instead of being members of the same house-
hold, they ordinarily live in other dwellings of the family cluster,
but so close that the separation makes almost no difference, at
least until marriage. Women cousins of this kind were sometimes
co-wives in the days of polygyny, and because they were treated
as brothers and sisters, these cousins were included in the prac-
tice of the levirate and sororate. They also took quite a part in
one another’s family affairs.

The status of parallel cousins on the paternal side is somewhat
different. The fact that they can be of a different clan and can be
connected by blood relationship alone immediately places them
on another plane. They are far less likely to have the close as-
sociations of living in the same family cluster that parallel cous-
sins on the mother’s side enjoy. The behavior between them is
much the same as that between the other type of parallel cousin,
though it is slightly less formalized. It was not ascertained
whether the use of the dual form of the verb is avoided among
these cousins when of opposite sex. They are seldom directly in-
volved in each other’s affairs, and, when participating in such
matters or when offering aid of any kind, they do so more be-
cause of bond of blood kinship than from a recognized obligation
pattern.

Cross-cousins.—Cross-cousins of both types are treated
identically. The survey of the Canyon Day community shows
them living frequently in the same family cluster, but not so
often as parallel cousins on the maternal side. It is not uncom-
mon for the individual’s closest childhood friends to be his cross-
cousins. Living adjacently as often as they do, cross-cousins are
bound to co-operate in economic life, nor because of recognized
kinship obligations but because of common residence. Kinship
obligations with them are not important, and, moreover, since
cross-cousins are automatically of a different and unrelated clan,
all clan obligations are eliminated. They take small part in each
other’s social matters and important family actions. When they
do participate in such affairs, it is more because of their personal
desire to do so than from standard obligations. Likewise, though
cross-cousins sometimes go to one another for aid, they are not nearly so likely to do so as are parallel cousins on the maternal side.

Behavior with cross-cousins can take one of two forms. Referring to cross-cousins, the Apache usually say: “Those are the ones you joke with all the time,” but this is not always true of close cross-cousins, with whom the joking relationship may not exist. Many feel that the close blood relationship makes joking almost impossible, just as marriage with close blood kin is improper, and so the behavior approximates that between parallel cousins, with slightly less restraint and a marked feeling of comradeship. As Mrs. Andrew Stanley (Eastern White Mountain band) put it in describing relations between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, “A man is restrained with both his father’s sister’s daughters and his mother’s sister’s daughters, but the one he must stay farthest from is the latter, for she is not only blood kin to him but also a member of his clan.” Nevertheless, joking relationships do exist between closely related cross-cousins. They are discussed later in connection with distant cross-cousins, between whom they are more likely to occur. Whether used or not depends greatly on the personal characteristics and relationships of individuals. Several instances of joking relationships with closely related cross-cousins were recorded, and the following is one of them.

A man of forty-five says: “I call A cross-cousin. He is the son of my mother’s brother. I used to go and spend the summers with him at Fort Apache, shortly after I finished school. I joked both him and his brother because they were my cross-cousins. At Fort Apache are also living a woman and two men, the children of my father’s sister. I joke them all and they me because of our blood relationship.” It is interesting to note that this same man on another occasion emphatically stated that it was improper to joke closely related cross-cousins.

Every blood relative, no matter how distant, is accorded a kinship term and with it the correct type of behavior pattern and, where necessary, observation of obligations. The kinship terminology applied to close blood relatives is the same used for
distant relatives, but associations between parallel cousins, grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, and aunts three or four times removed are far less frequent than between direct relatives of this kind, for distant blood kin are not so likely to be living in the same family cluster.

The Apache uses kinship terms for many whose exact blood relationship to him he is unable to trace and for scores of others to whom he claims no blood relationship. His reason for this is based, first, on kinship usage of some older or contemporary intermediary blood relative and, second, on clan relations. Thus, anyone whom a blood relative of ego addresses by a kinship term, ego may also accord a kinship term; if a sibling or parallel cousin calls someone "cross-cousin," "sister," "uncle," etc., ego will also; if a parent or parent’s sibling uses a sibling term for a person, ego will use an uncle-aunt term, depending on which parent it is, etc. Blood kinship does not enter into relationship reckoned by clan. Any member of the same clan or of a related clan may be placed, according to relative age to ego, in one of the maternal relative categories: sibling, maternal uncle and aunt, offspring of sister, maternal grandparent, or daughter’s son or daughter. Besides this, any two persons whose fathers are of the same or related clans address each other by sibling terms, as they are parallel cousins by clan on the paternal side. As the behavior patterns and obligations with traceable distant blood kin do not materially differ from those with untraceable distant blood kin and clan kin, they may be discussed together.

*Distant maternal aunts and uncles—nephews and nieces.*—The behavior pattern is much the same as in close blood relationship, but obligations are commonly lacking. The individual is not likely to go to such relatives for help, except when close blood kin cannot supply it, or when additional aid is desired in giving a large feast or ceremony, or, as formerly, in organizing war and raiding parties. Joking sometimes occurs but is not normal unless it is based on an extra affinal relationship.

*Distant paternal aunts and uncles—nephews and nieces.*—There is little participation in one another’s lives, and only at times, because of wealth or special ability, are such relatives called
upon. The behavior follows the same pattern as that with close blood kin, but, because the distant relationship is more casual, joking is more likely to occur. This joking may be anything from gibes to occasional physical contact and rough-and-tumble. However, physical contact between members of opposite sex is highly improper and quickly resented. Such relatives, whether of the same or opposite sex, usually limit their joking to words, as anything further could be undignified because of the age difference. Familiarities of any kind always depend on the personalities involved.

Distant grandparents—grandchildren.—Outwardly, the behavior is much the same as that with close kin, but the child does not go to distant grandparents as he would to his own, nor do these distant grandparents show the same interest in him as they do in their own grandchildren. However, at times children will go to such an old relative who is especially adept at storytelling, and a distant grandparent with some sweetmeat may call a child saying, “You are my grandchild, so take some of this.”

Distant parallel cousins.—Behavior is approximately the same as with close parallel cousins, though slightly less restrained. The obligations and associations are far less binding and are only taken advantage of occasionally when the individual approached is peculiarly fitted to grant the request. Formerly, when distant parallel cousins were of the same or related clans, they might combine to help each other in times of crises, such as feud or war, and now, as then, the giving of some expensive ceremony may see the same co-operation. Normally, members of the same or related clans do not joke, but some men are habitual jokers and do not limit their funmaking to relatives with whom they may have standard joking relationships. Below are several examples of joking between distant parallel cousins when members of the same or related clans.

Anna Price said: “My father and nāts’d’ilic ("he fails to do what he claims he will") always used to joke together, though they called each other brother and belonged to the same clan [or related clan]. One time this man sent word to father that he had killed a deer and had left
the meat cached in a certain tree for him. He said that father could have it if he went and got it and that he would not have a hard time finding the tree as a mark had been made on the ground which pointed to the tree. So father got his horse saddled and tied a rope to the horn with which to lash on the meat. Then he went to the place where the mark was supposed to be. He found it and went in the direction it pointed. Shortly he came on fresh human feces. It was that of nãts'-d'ítíc. He had done it to joke father. There was no meat at all. Father returned home, and when nãts'-d'ítíc found out that he had taken a rope with him to tie the meat on the saddle, he laughed and kidded father about it. Father used to say he was going to get even with him for doing this, but he never did.

"My father had a little farm on Rocky Creek. nãts'-d'ítíc farmed there close by him. Then this man left for Blue River with his family to gather and roast mescal, but before going he pretended to say seriously to father, 'I don't want anyone going over to Blue River to get mescal but myself.' He had no special right to the mescal at that place, and so father replied in the same vein, "ítcan (feces), I'm coming down there and cut every single mescal plant on the place." Not long after this, my mother and some other women went over to Blue River to gather and roast mescal. nãts'-d'ítíc was there at the time, and one day, while he and some other men were taking a sweat bath, he jokingly said of father, 'He ought not to have sent his wife down here to get mescal without consulting me and getting my permission first.' Later on, when father heard about it, he said sarcastically, ‘All right, when he comes up to our camp we will give him a piece of the mescal we got there.’

"This same man used to joke father sometimes by sending his boy up with a tiny piece of meat and the message, 'This is just for you. My father does not want your children to have any of it.' Father used to say to the boy, 'Take this meat back home to him. I don't want it.' The boy would believe he meant what he said and start to go, but mother always used to say, 'Here, give it to me. Give it to me.' She and father knew that a large piece of meat would soon be sent over to them by this man. My father used to do the same with him also.

"Another man with whom my father joked sometimes was also a clan brother of his and belonged to the nādōts'āsn clan. One time my father joked him by pretending to drive him out of his local group. It happened this way. This man had come to father, saying, 'My brother, I want to go back to my farm and plant it.' 'All right, get out of here and don't come back any more,' father said, pretending to be mad. The man walked out of our wickiup, making believe he was wiping tears from his eyes. The people standing about laughed, because it was funny. Some time after this, he returned from his farm. He rode up to
our camp and dismounted on the far side from us. He peered over the neck of his horse at father who was sitting there, pretending to be afraid to come any closer. He was kidding father, and father laughed when he saw him. My mother said, laughingly, 'My cross-cousin, what are you scared of? No harm will come to you here.' ‘I have come to get some food and also some cloth, because I heard that you had acquired some recently,' he replied."

An old man, A, had a field which he lent to a distant parallel cousin in a related clan, B. He received a share of every crop harvested. A third man, C, a member of a clan related to that of both A and B, decided to play a joke on them. He went to A soon after the harvest and asked him if he had received his share of the crop, at the same time telling him that B had made one hundred sacks of grain on the field, a highly exaggerated amount. A began to wonder if B was being honest with him, for his share had been only a few sacks. To further the joke C told B that A was mad at him because he thought he had been cheated out of his rightful share. The two men took the issue seriously, and it finally was necessary to adjust the matter in a reservation court.

The instances quoted above were given as examples of joking between parallel cousins by clan, but, in every case, one of the men who joked was married to a clan cross-cousin of the other, which would give them the right to use a joking relationship. Therefore, the origin of the joking is not absolutely certain.

_Distant cross-cousins._—Any member of the father's clan or related clans may be addressed as "cross-cousin" regardless of age, but usually most clan relatives who treat each other as cross-cousins are likely to be fairly near of an age. Obligations and economic affiliations with distant cross-cousins show the same marked decrease as those with other distant relationships, but the distance of the relationship seems to increase the likelihood of cross-cousin joking. The cross-cousin joking relationship is the most outstanding one among these people. Whether it is used or not depends on personal relations and characteristics, that is, whether both feel inclined to joke; and probably the average Apache has as many distant cross-cousins with whom he does not joke as those with whom he does. In the instances of cross-cousin joking given in the following pages, all except the third, fourth, and sixth examples, where data are lacking, concern distant cross-cousins:
A man of forty-five says, "I joke with A [a member of his paternal clan] all the time. I always call him gá:n shaman." This man once asked me for a copy of A's ritual prayers which I had recorded, saying, "I'll learn it and spring it on him sometime. He'll wonder where I got it." The same man says of another distant cross-cousin, "He grabs me sometimes and says he is going to put me in jail."

A middle-aged man is called ná:ye'nèz γá:nèe' by all his cross-cousins who joke with him. This is the name of the culture hero, Slayer of Monsters, and the presumption of using it for a mere mortal appeals to the Apache sense of humor. The man himself usually laughs at it.

A and B, grown men, were in the habit of joking. A's father was a member of B's clan. At one time, a new religious cult which claimed it would raise believers from earth to sky was causing considerable excitement among the people. A was attending one of the cult's great dances when B approached and, seeing him, said, "When you are risen into the air, I'm going to run underneath you and shoot you down just to see you drop." B's brother used to joke A also. One time when A was running behind the girl in that part of the girl's puberty ceremony during which she runs to the four cardinal points, B's brother stuck his foot out and tripped him as he rushed by. A fell sprawling to the ground but took it all good-naturedly.

A asked B, a member of his father's clan, how much he was being paid for work he was doing at the time. B replied by telling him he was getting a far larger sum than he actually was. I later asked him why he had misinformed A. The answer was, "Oh, it doesn't matter what I tell him. He is my cross-cousin. We always joke together."

An elderly man went to play cards at a large game. He found a seat beside a matron who was his cross-cousin. While he sat there this woman thrust her hand into his trousers pocket and, without his knowing it, pulled out his purse. Later, when he reached in his pocket, it was gone and he thought he had lost it. But he soon found out that she had taken it, and she returned it to him amid much laughter.

Once a very powerful gá:n shaman, A, was taking a sweat bath. After the bath he lay in the shade. Another shaman, one of the most powerful of his time, was also present. Speaking in a loud voice so that the reclining A could hear him, he said, "Hey, A's gá:n used to descend on top of a certain hill, but I don't know what has become of them now." He meant that A's power was not what it used to be and that he could no longer make the supernatural beings, the gá:n, appear as a
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shaman of his type should. Under ordinary circumstances such a remark might have been resented, but A could only take it good-naturedly.

A very powerful lightning shaman was intoxicated and lying in a stupor. Some of his cross-cousins finding him thus, filled his hair full of cockleburs, and he awoke to find his head matted with them.

Often joking between cross-cousins is one-sided, one doing the joking and the other merely laughing at it. In such instances the one doing the joking may be more given to funmaking. Supposedly, cross-cousins are on good terms when they joke each other, but this is not always so.

A, a man of forty or fifty was clan cross-cousin to B, a man of eighty. A's father was of B's clan and B's was of A's clan, so they were cross-cousins both ways. Slight family differences and some jealousy caused occasional friction between the two. A was somewhat aggressive, and apparently B felt that he did not show as much respect for his influential social position as he should. A was conscious of this, and so when B showed signs of anger A used to suppress them by joking him on the cross-cousin basis. This made the old man laugh, and he could no longer continue to be outwardly disgruntled, although inwardly he might retain some ill feeling.

Joking usually results in both participants laughing, but not always, and the one being joked occasionally shows little, if any, amusement, though he takes it good-naturedly. It is not a sign of resentment but more of a cautious reserve.

A man and his wife and children had been visiting relatives at Fort Apache. While they were sitting in the car ready to return to their home on the San Carlos Reservation, an elderly man came in sight. Walking up to the side of the car, the oldster took the man's head between his hands and gently rocked it from side to side, at the same time smiling and saying, "Hello." The man hardly smiled and only spoke a word or two, but his wife laughed, and, as we drove off and the two men said goodbye, she made a joking remark to the old man.

A common and effective method of joking a cross-cousin is to address a third person in his presence.

An old woman, A, was walking along a path when she came on an old man, B, her cross-cousin by clan, who was sitting and talking to a
member of his wife's clan, C. A spoke to C, whose clan was related to hers, saying, "What is the matter with your eyes? Didn't you have any eyes? It must be that you could not see well when you picked this man for a husband. There are lots of better men about than he. He doesn't look good to me. It is too bad that you got him." C, of course, was not B's wife, and all B could do was laugh at the old woman's prank.

Joking about pretended love affairs is very common.

A man of forty-five was in the habit of joking with a much older man because the two were cross-cousins from both sides. The old man had been staying at a relative's camp, but only a day or so before had moved to his daughter's camp. A Chiricahua widow woman visiting in the same camp, on the old man's departure moved to a camp close to his daughter's. The younger man noticed this and chidingly remarked to the other, "She followed you up here when you moved. You ought to marry her, for she has come to be near you."

Grown girls and women are very likely to feign flirtatiousness in joking with male cross-cousins. The men, in turn, play up to this, but there is no serious intent back of the joking on either side.

A married man with several children is in the habit of joking with a young woman who is separated from her husband. The two are cross-cousins by clan from both sides. One day, knowing that the man was visiting in a certain camp, the young woman came there with an unmarried girl of her clan who was her almost constant companion and also a cross-cousin of the man. The two stood outside the door of the wickiup in which the man was sitting and laughingly called to him to come out and talk with them. When he went out, already smiling, the young woman amid much giggling and bantering, invited him to come to her parent's camp, saying she would have some tulibai for him. Later, when he went as invited, he found several other people attending the party. The young woman joked him as he entered the wickiup, saying, "Come on, we will build a wickiup for ourselves, and just we two will live in it [marry]." The man and the others who were present laughed at her.

This same man when in the presence of several members of his father's clan—clan 2—sometimes makes fun of the clanspeople as a whole, calling them "wild white horses," the word "white," of course, alluding to the name of their clan. One time when he had several cans of tulibai to give away, he spoke to a number of these people who were gathered about, saying, "Come on you wild white horses, and drink." Some laughed and others did not like it, but all drank.
In our own society men often good-naturedly tussle or put their hands on one another's shoulders, and it is hard to realize that among the Apache physical contact of this kind is considered the height of familiarity and may be resented promptly. Only in the strongest of the joking relationships, that between cross-cousins, is it permitted, and here it is limited to those of the same sex. Between young men who are joking cross-cousins there is an evident rivalry, and they often wrestle and race one another as part of their fun. Boys who are close blood cross-cousins wrestle also, but on reaching manhood they usually discontinue it, feeling that the relationship is too serious. Occasionally, boys of the same or related clans wrestle one another, but men so related do not, as it is considered improper.

A matron of forty-five went to a party at another camp. A girl of about fourteen came by leading a horse. This girl was a cross-cousin by clan, and feeling in a playful mood, the older woman ran at her and tried to catch hold of her. The girl dodged and gave her a good-natured push. She rolled down the bank into a ditch, hurting her back. No one was to blame, and no resentment could be openly shown, but the woman's husband was slightly annoyed that it had happened.

One morning a man entered the trader's store. An old man was standing at the counter with his back to him. He wore a headband and had long hair just like a cross-cousin in the newcomer's father's clan whom he was in the habit of joking. Mistaking the old man for this cross-cousin, he walked up behind him and grabbed him by the shoulders, shaking him very hard and mussing him up. When he let go, the old man turned about and faced him. The younger man looked at him and, with an expression of astonishment and confusion, backed away. It wasn't his cross-cousin at all, but another old man with whom he had no right to joke. He was so frightened that he made his exit as quickly as possible. The old man did not get angry, because he understood the mistake.

A favorite joke is for one cross-cousin to bear false tales between two other cross-cousins to make one think the other has been talking about him.

Two cross-cousins by clan who had always joked each other, discontinued this when one married a member of the other's clan. In place of the old status, an affinal respect relationship like that between father and son-in-law was established between them. However, this did not
prevent the conniving of their cross-cousins, who delighted to go between them, saying one had said this and that about the other. Both men refused to be taken in and would answer such remarks by asserting that they could not have been made because of their respect relationship.

The following joke indicates, perhaps better than any other recorded, the lengths to which cross-cousins may go. Knowing the Apache horror and fear of death or any mention of it, one can readily comprehend the enormity of joking about it:

A woman who was very tall used to be called jokingly 'i\há·dók'è·hè' ("cut in two") by her cross-cousins, who, because she was so tall, used to say of her, "When she dies we will have to cut her in two to bury her." They used the name so frequently that it became her nickname.

Child or parent terms are properly used only between parents and their children. But they may be employed by individuals for the offspring of male members of their clan or related clans when there is no close blood relationship. Thus, men term such offspring "my son," "my daughter," and women may address them as "my child," "my boy," and "my girl." Those for whom the terms are used will answer with "my father" or "my mother." This is done purely as a joking medium and therefore seldom occurs between cross-cousins closely related by blood where it could be considered improper. In any event, it must be discontinued by the father's clansmen on his death, for to use child terms for his children after that would make the children feel bad. The relative age of cross-cousins who use parent-child terms jokingly is not important, but such joking is more common when the father's clansman is old enough to be parent of the one he addresses as his child. The practice derives apparently from the established concept that one is a member of one's own clan but a "child" of one's father's clan.

There are limits to the liberties that cross-cousins may take with each other. If someone sees that joking is going too far, he may admonish the one doing it, by saying, "Don't joke too much; someone might get mad." A tragedy which was the outcome of joking between cross-cousins has become almost proverbial in warning young people against the dangers of overjok-
Two youths, cross-cousins, were fooling together. One grabbed hold of the other's gee string, which gave way, exposing his privates to the view of two girls standing not far off. So mortified was the youth with the broken gee string that he drew his knife and stabbed the other in the belly, killing him.9

There are indications that the familiarity of a cross-cousin relationship may be taken advantage of in a brazen request which under ordinary circumstances might be refused.

An old man in describing a raiding party to Mexico in which he took part said, "We had captured two horses with saddles on. I was about to take one for myself when another man said, 'Give me that horse and saddle, my cross-cousin.' So I gave it to him."

During an attack on a hostile Chiricahua camp a scout captured a small boy. A second scout soon approached him and offered eighty dollars for the boy, saying that he was the son of a Chiricahua friend and that he wished to care for him. The boy's captor refused. Later on, the second scout came back to make the request again, saying, "My cross-cousin, give me that boy as I asked you. I want him and will buy him from you." But the first scout was adamant in his refusal.

There is less restraint with cross-cousins than with any other class of relatives. Because of this, cross-cousins of the same sex seem to share a feeling of camaraderie, and it is true that those members of the opposite sex with whom the average individual is most at ease are distant cross-cousins. This leads to making use of cross-cousins in certain social situations. They are frequently go-betweens or companions for a couple during courtship, carrying messages from one lover to the other, and, when of the same sex, they are favorite companions in social dances where two girls or two boys dance together. In former times, when parents decided to make a direct marriage proposal for their daughter, they sent her unheralded to a youth's camp for the night with a girl companion who was ordinarily her cross-cousin. Similarly, a newly married young couple might have two cross-cousins, a boy and girl, as companions during the first days of their marriage to relieve their embarrassment.

9 Exposure of privates, even in the presence of other men, was avoided, particularly by youths, in whom it might cause the greatest embarrassment.
The mention of personal relations and characteristics in observance of various joking relationships may need some explanation. As the Apache says, "There are some people you can joke with and some you can't. Some people become embarrassed or angry when joked, even though their relationship to you gives you the right to joke them. But others are jolly and take joking good-naturedly." Any joking relationship hinges on this, and such joking does not take place where it is unwelcome, not only out of consideration for the other person but also to avoid trouble. Long and continual acquaintance is another important factor, and, in mentioning a certain cross-cousin, an Apache may say, "I always joke with him. We have known each other for a long time."

Relative age also affects joking with cross-cousins, those near of an age being more likely to joke than those who are not. However, acquaintance and relative age do not control joking entirely, for the mere relationship carries with it a certain joking precedent, and, because of this, strangers who find out they have such a relationship sometimes make use of it. If one should be unacquainted with the connection and seem to resent the familiarity, the other will hasten to tell him, "I joke you because we are cross-cousins." If one of two relatives who have a joking relationship should wish to be rid of it, he may say to the other, "nidi'nis'" ("you shall be respectful"), which amounts to a request that the joking relationship be permanently dropped. Cross-cousins who do not joke each other, however, may laugh at jokes played on each other by other kin. In spite of the fact that joking ordinarily makes for camaraderie and lack of restraint, it is interesting to note that at least two informants insisted that they were just as fond of those relatives they did not joke as those they did.

There is hardly an individual in his society whom the Apache may not address, if he so desires, by an affinal or kinship term based on blood or clan connection. These people take pleasure in discovering the extended relationships they may bear to each other, and not infrequently old relationships observed by parents,
but which have lapsed, are again revived in a succeeding generation. The following is an excellent example of this:

A young man had the job of running the flour mill at San Carlos. He accordingly came in contact with many people and says:

When I ran the flour mill at San Carlos, I learned who a great many of my relatives [by clan] were among the San Carlos people, because when they came to get flour they would tell me, “You are such and such a relation to me,” and from that time on we would call each other grandfather, uncle, or whatever it happened to be. As I am a White Mountain man I did not know who were my relatives [by clan] among these people before that time. But they all knew my father and mother, and that’s how it started up with me again. One man there, Wolftrack, called me grandson, and I called him maternal grandfather. That was because he used to call my mother’s mother his sister, as his clan was related to her’s. I didn’t know about this until he told me.

In such instances as this, it is usually the older person who reinstates the relationship, because the younger one very probably is ignorant of it. Notice that these San Carlos people were typically careful to establish relationships with this young man, who, because of his responsible position, might be of service to them at some time.

For reasons already described, extended blood, clan, and affinal relationships are utilized and observed far less than close blood and affinal relationships. Nevertheless, such extended relationships are working somewhere every day, as in the following examples, and are vitally important when society is considered as a whole.

Two men are planning to give a puberty dance for their daughters this spring. Although not close blood relatives, they are both of the same clan and therefore are combining in this undertaking. These dances are costly affairs, and, if two families give one together, one must be able to count fully on the co-operation of the other. A relationship bond such as membership in the same clan more or less guarantees this.

A man had an unfortunate series of tragedies in his family. His oldest brother died after a severe illness. Only one week later his next oldest brother died suddenly of a heart attack, leaving this man, the youngest
brother, the sole surviving sibling. Any series of misfortunes occurring
in the same family meant that something was wrong. A powerful
lightning shaman heard about it. He was living about fifty miles away,
but he sent word down to this man that he had dreamed of him, and
if he did not come up and let him hold a ceremony to set aright the evil
force at work, something else terrible might happen. This had a deep
effect on the poor man. He had a car, but no gas to run it on. The trip
would take some expense money, and besides he might have to fee the
shaman. He had no other choice but to appeal to some of his kin. He
approached three men, all extended kin. The first was a wealthy family
head in the community, a man of his father's clan, who, because of
his wealth, his responsible social position, and his kinship by clan was
likely to help. His request was granted, and he next approached a local
shaman whom he knew had a government pension. The shaman was a
kindly old man, but, what was most important, he was of the same clan.
The man came with his wife and the two stood there a few minutes
without saying anything. Then the man spoke to the shaman quiet­
ly, and in a dignified manner told him he had come to ask for help;
that he needed money; that he had been to see one old man already
about it and had obtained some aid; that this money was to help buy
gas for a journey to see the distant shaman and to pay him for singing
and finding out what had caused his two brothers to die. The old
shaman pulled out his purse and handed over some money to the rela­
tive, who walked away without further comment.

A man with a wife and children to feed, but with no job and in ill-
health, had run short of food. He had to do something to feed his family.
He knew of an older man who was receiving a government pension and
who was of a clan related to his own. So in the evening he went to see
him and said, "I know that you have money, so I want you to help
me out and give me some food. I have nothing to feed my children. For
this reason I want you to come up to my camp tomorrow morning." The
older man knew this meant that his clan relative would probably
have a can or two of tulibai ready in his honor; that he would present
these cans to him in return for the food which he hoped to get. He could
not refuse the appeal, and he felt complimented at the honor of being
asked to help. In the morning he went to the store, bought a sack of
flour and several other bundles of food, in all about three dollars worth,
and took it to this man's camp. On the way he picked up his daughter
and her husband, his son, and two other men to whom he wished to give
some of the expected tulibai. They went to the camp, leaving the food
they brought in the car. In about fifteen minutes the older man came
for the food and carried it into camp. Soon the party was over and the
guests of honor left. The poor man had obtained food for his family.
A man sent for another to come and sit beside his dying son because the second man was of a clan related to the first.

A man and woman were summoned to come and sit at the wake of a dead person because they were of the same clan as the deceased.

Anna Price related the following about her father, a chief, who had just returned with a huge number of captured Navaho sheep. There were so many that he did not know what to do with them, so he decided he must give them away. His disposal of them affords an excellent example of the kin by clan and affinity who might expect to share in a chief's good fortune:

"My father said, 'I have a lot of relatives in this valley of the White River. If any of them want any of these sheep let them come to me. I am in good shape now; I have lots. So let them come, those who have heard of me.' Soon some of his relatives came to him. When they arrived, he gave twenty to thirty head of sheep to each four or five men. These were to take home with them. The people he gave to were of the 'iyå"átyé clan, that of his wife and his father, and the nadöts'ås' clan, his own clan. He also gave to those whose fathers were of the same clan as his father. Because of this some ná'ndé'n clanspeople got some of those sheep.

"Then my father said, 'My father was of the 'iyå"átyé, but I have raised many 'iyå"átyé myself in this valley [his children by his 'iyå"átyé wife]. Only from one place my relatives have not come to receive sheep.' This was nágínl't'a' ("he scouts ahead") and his people down around Graham Mountain. So father sent a man down to this chief's country to tell him to come up and see him and to bring cooked mescal with him when he came, as he wanted some. The man father sent came back bringing the mescal. Father wanted this chief to come up, not only because he was of the same clan as he but because his wife was of the same clan as my mother. Besides that, this chief's father belonged to my father's father's clan.

"When nágínl't'a' came, he brought his wife and his relatives with him. They were happy when they saw the sheep which they were to be given, and this chief's wife sang a song honoring father, as if the sheep had been given to her at a victory dance. It went like a victory dance song:

\[
\begin{align*}
hàyólá & \quad 'adé & \quad dibè-\text{it}' \\
\text{What} & \quad \text{I am going to do} & \quad \text{sheep} \\
ciyil' & \quad cähídjä & \quad hüt'í' \\
\text{My brother-in-law} & \quad \text{he gave to me} & \quad \text{already} \\
cill'ihl'd'ñák' & \\
\text{I am confused with them [unable to count them].}
\end{align*}
\]
"They tied the legs of the sheep they were given and took them out of the herd. When they were ready to start home, na·gí·nî·t'â' spoke to his people, saying, 'Help me my brothers, my cross-cousins, my maternal uncles and nephews, my maternal aunts and nieces. Help me to drive these sheep back over the Gila Valley.' He wanted to take the sheep back to Graham Mountain with him, so he spoke to my father, 'My brother, let me have some of your boys.' Father let him take some of the boys from our encampment, relatives of ours, and with them and his own people he drove the sheep off. His wife was very happy. She said, 'I had no meat at our home. I would have liked some, but there was none. Now I am going to have meat. I feel the need of it. When I ate mescal, I used to wish for meat, but now I have it.'"

There is a marked tendency to class clan relatives in the same clan or related clans according to their relative age to the speaker, as siblings, uncles and aunts or nephews and nieces, and grandparents or grandchildren, but the same cannot be said of the paternal clan and its related clans. Here, although kinship terms denoting difference in generation may be used, it is done with only a few, and the general practice is to address all as cross-cousins, regardless of age. There seem to be two reasons for this; first, paternal relatives not being as closely affiliated as maternal relatives merit less interest and careful terminological distinction, and, second, to address anyone not closely related by blood as "cross-cousin" immediately creates an easygoing relationship. However, when under emotional stress such clan relatives are likely to use the correct kin term according to their relative age, or one derived by tracing through an intermediate relative. This happens particularly in cases where one goes to the other with a serious request for help or during a maudlin state after drinking. If the two are of the same age, the cross-cousin relationship may be their only connection, but in this case the true cross-cousin term, sîzé·dé", is used in place of the more slangy one, cînâ·t'ê·c. The immediate effect is to eliminate for the time being any joking which may have existed and to put the relationship on the most serious basis possible. When it occurs, the individual addressed is at once aware of the mood or purpose of the one addressing him. The following is an example of such a serious moment between two joking clan cross-cousins:
The two men were camped a short distance apart. One day one of the men, after drinking some tulibai, happened to ride by the other’s camp and, seeing him there, stopped his horse and told him to mount behind, that they would go together to drink. The first man was feeling in a serious mood and did not joke. They rode to a camp where a party was in progress and drank there together. The first man suddenly said, “Now we have really found each other out. We know each other.” He meant that possibly for the first time they had had a serious contact during which there was a chance for one to know the other as he really was.

It is true that joking relationships, familiar though they are, can be imposed which actually may hinder the possibility of deep intimacy, though they permit mention of the most personal matters. In serious moments such as those just mentioned, men may also use sibling terms denoting age difference for a sibling or parallel cousin, where ordinarily they use only the common sibling terms. This emphasizes and strengthens the relationship bond and is a direct appeal to kinship loyalty and obligations which cannot be ignored.

The kinship terms which an individual uses for distant and clan relatives supposedly should be consistent with the kinship terms that his parents used for them. That is, if his mother addressed such a relative as “sister,” he should address her as “aunt”; if his mother termed her “niece” (sister’s daughter), he should address her by a sibling term, etc. But, in many cases, the age difference no longer warrants the use of kinship terms arrived at in this way, and so a term more fitting according to relative age is used. Thus, where such a relative is “uncle” reckoning by generation, he may be so near in age that a sibling or cross-cousin term is much more appropriate. Occasionally extended relatives who are siblings are addressed by different terms, for instance, one as “paternal aunt” and the other as “cross-cousin.” In such an instance the use of the aunt term for the first is likely to be reckoned on a parent’s kin term usage, and the cross-cousin term for the second, because he or she is of the same age as the speaker. It is by no means rare for parent
and child to use the same kinship term for a clan relative, especially for paternal clan kin where use of the cross-cousin terms is so common. However, terminology for close blood kin is always reckoned strictly along descent lines and never arbitrarily because of relative age.

Those who marry automatically drop any kinship or affinal terms they may have used for each other previously, but their marriage may or may not alter the kinship terms used for them by mutual relatives. Frequently a clan relative may be addressed properly by either a blood or an affinal term, when married to a person also addressed by a kinship term. If a reasonably close blood relative marries a member of one's clan who is unrelated by blood, the kinship term previously used for this blood relative is retained. If the clan relative married to should be fairly well known, generally the kinship term previously used is kept also; but, if he is not well known, an affinal term is likely to be introduced because it is more formal. If kinship and not affinal terms are used for both man and wife, there will be a choice of kinship terms for their children. Those reckoned through the mother are the usual ones taken if she is the blood relative. But if the father is the blood relative, terms for the children may be derived through him.

The use of a sibling term for a parallel cousin by clan on the paternal side is still continued if this clan cousin marries one's blood relative. The terms for offspring of the marriage will be reckoned through the blood relative, unless the cousin is a man, when they may be reckoned through him. A cross-cousin by clan who married a blood relative may still be termed cross-cousin or addressed by an affinal term. Here the choice rests on previous personal contacts more than in any other selection of terms. If the cross-cousin is one with whom a joking relationship has existed over a long period, generally, though not always, an affinal term which would prohibit joking is not adopted and the cross-cousin term is retained, or an affinal term such as sá’itsá-yá or câ’γé is adopted, which will allow for continued familiarity. But if no former joking relationship existed, an affinal term, whether entailing respects or not, is usually adopted for the
cross-cousin. The terms for offspring of these marriages are reckoned through the parent who is the blood relative.

When people marry, one being of ego's paternal clan or its related clans and the other of ego's clan or related clan, and neither of them is related by blood to ego, the offspring of the marriage are addressed by terms reckoned through the parent in ego's clan or related clan. The terms for the offspring of two distant blood relatives of ego who marry are usually reckoned through the mother.

From the foregoing it is clear that kinship terms reckoned by clan may conflict with those reckoned by blood. Close blood relationship has precedence over clan relationship, but, with distant blood kin, terms may be derived through either channel, depending on sentiment and closest association. Only one type of relationship may take precedence over any other kinship, namely, that through fathers being of the same or related clans. This has already been discussed in regard to close blood kin. The same thing is true for extended kin by clan or blood. Thus, two men, A and B, whose fathers are of the same clan, may address each other as brother, regardless of their relative age or any other kinship (not affinal) that they may have. In addition to this, in spite of the kinship terms A's father may use for B or B's father for A, the fathers of both A and B may use paternal grandparent-grandchild terms with the children of A and B. In the event that A is of the same clan as B's paternal grandfather, as sometimes happens, B's father and A's children could use either paternal grandparent-grandchild terms or sibling terms. A number of such combinations can evolve, giving a choice of the two kinship terms, but relative age is the deciding factor. A grandparent-grandchild term is not likely to be adopted where a sibling term would be more fitting and vice versa. Although this practice may affect kinship terms used for descending generations, sibling terms used between two men, because the fathers of both were of the same or related clans, cannot be used to reckon terminology laterally or in ascending generations beyond the fathers. In this it is unlike any other type of relationship.

10 See pp. 196-200.
KINSHIP

The reason for the tenacity of the paternal parallel-cousin relationship by blood or clan in the face of other kinship connections is difficult to explain, for no important functions exist between paternal parallel cousins. Possibly at some remote period there may have been such obligations, but there is nothing to indicate this now. Under other circumstances the presence of this element in kinship might suggest the remnant or beginning of a patrilineal element, but this seems highly improbable, considering the deep-rooted matrilineal descent apparently common to the majority of Southern Athapaskans.

The clan system functions in delineating extended kinship. It is far less important in preventing inbreeding and is only effective in kinship through matrilineal descent. Actually, prevention of inbreeding rests on observance of blood kinship exogamy, which is strict at all times. Therefore, in spite of the fact that Apache like to consider members of one clan as related by blood and that they identify in terms of clan rather than blood descent, it seems indicated that the clan system finds its most important function not in the biological sense of kinship but in the economic interdependence of kin. Thus, clan might have become important with adoption of certain types of previously absent economy, such as agriculture, which, as practiced by Western Apache, necessitated increased co-operation. Clan would allow for an increased extension of kinship on the maternal side, the side where kin were foremost in importance and most easily enlisted in co-operative projects.

Classification of affinal kin is far simpler than that of blood and clan kin. In terminology, behavior, and obligation they may be divided into four classes: (1) son-in-law, wife’s parents, wife’s uncles, wife’s aunts, wife’s nephews, wife’s nieces, wife’s cross-cousins; (2) siblings-in-law, parallel cousins-in-law, grandparents-in-law, great-aunts-in-law, great-uncles-in-law, grandchildren-in-law; (3) any of the wife’s kin not classed in 1 or 2, and the husband of any woman relative not classed in 1 or 2; and (4) daughter-in-law, husband’s parents, husband’s uncles, husband’s aunts, husband’s nephews, husband’s nieces, husband’s cross-cousins, and any of husband’s kin not classed in 2, and
the wife of any male relative not classed in 2. For the sake of clarity affinal relationships are referred to by these classes in the following pages.

Class 1. Parents-in-law and son-in-law.—From the time of his marriage on, a man is expected to help his parents-in-law. Apache speak of this as "working for" them. Formerly, the game he killed, the stock he brought back from raids in Mexico, the property he won in gambling, and the gifts he received were supposed to be turned over largely to his wife's parents. During early reservation days young men enlisted as scouts in order to earn wages, part of which they could give to their parents-in-law; nowadays they do the same with wages from other work. Men also haul wood and plow fields for them. So pressing are these obligations that a man often feels it necessary to inform his father-in-law before he leaves on any undertaking which will keep him absent several days. A man who never gives his parents-in-law anything is not only disliked by them but is also disrespected. Parents-in-law cannot compel him to live up to his obligations, but they may take their daughter from him if he does not. The man who gets on well with his wife's parents, who treats them as he should, is the good man, the one worth keeping in the family, and his parents-in-law are proud of him. After the birth of his second child, although a man still has strong obligations to his wife's parents, it is recognized that his primary obligations are to his increasing family, and therefore parents-in-law expect somewhat less of him. Besides economic support, his advice and aid in family matters may be asked, and if he is a good man his influence can be very strong, even after his wife is dead.

As parents become older, their own sons are very likely to marry and live in other family clusters. Therefore, they must count on sons-in-law to fill the economic gap this creates. For this reason an industrious and conscientious son-in-law is extremely desirable. Although a good man receives favors and considerations from his parents-in-law, their obligation to do things for him is secondary, and he receives only a part of what he gives. A man in difficulties, in need of property, financial aid, or
serious counsel may go to his parents-in-law, but he should not bother them often or with trivial requests:

The daughter of a certain shaman made a trip of thirty miles with her sick baby, in order to get him to sing over the child. But her father refused, saying she should take it to the government hospital. The daughter did not stay at her father's camp but spent the night with other relatives in the settlement. Near by was living the widower of a deceased daughter of the shaman. He heard of his sister-in-law's trouble, and so in the morning he came to see his father-in-law, asking that he do something for the baby. The shaman this time acquiesced, partly because the baby was worse and partly because he could not refuse his son-in-law.

The strictest avoidance and respect are in force between a man and his mother-in-law. They must not look upon each other, for it is believed that to do so may cause one or both to sicken or die. They must not come close to each other, and to be in the same dwelling at the same time is impossible. Ordinarily, they cannot address each other and, when talking of each other, must use the polite form of the verb and avoid its dual number. At the same time they may handle and use each other's property without restrictions, except clothing (not blankets), which should not be touched. These behavior patterns are regarded as demonstrations of the deep respect which the two are supposed to have for each other because of their affinal relationship. If one should fail to observe these respects, it would cause a serious hurt. I well remember the almost inconsolable grief and shame of an old woman whose son-in-law, in a fit of drunken temper, had entered her wickiup and, seating himself directly in front of her, openly accused her of setting his wife against him, all the while looking her right in the face.

The avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law in the same family cluster is skilfully managed. The two live in separate dwellings which are usually so placed that ingress or egress is possible without the one being seen by the other. A woman is careful to keep out of sight when she knows her son-in-law is outside, and he does the same for her. At times they may ask another person whether the other is about to make sure they will
not meet. Both usually look before going outside, and if there is danger of their seeing each other a third person may say warningly, "Your son-in-law (or mother-in-law) is here!" Sometimes it is a wife who tells the man that his mother-in-law is about. A woman who accidently meets her son-in-law will immediately put her blanket over her head and turn the other way. The man will also face away and leave at once. Although they supposedly do not see each other, it is not uncommon for one to give a furtive glance over the shoulder at the other going by, to make sure he or she will soon be out of sight. If a man should be in the trader's store and his mother-in-law wishes to enter also, he obligingly leaves by the back door, and someone tells the woman he is gone. At a drinking party a woman, knowing her son-in-law wishes to come in and have a drink, will say aloud, "I am going outside so that my son-in-law may have some of this." A mother wishing to visit her daughter's camp and knowing her son-in-law is at home, sends word over so that the man may leave. Sometimes a man wishes to consult relatives and affinal kin about an important matter. If he also desires the counsel of his mother-in-law, he may request that she come to the gathering and express her opinions. He leaves in order to permit this and returns on her departure to hear what she has said. A woman may secure her son-in-law's advice in the same way. Nowadays, with the introduction of cars, older people are often dependent on transportation in their son-in-law's car. This is made possible by hanging a blanket between the back and front seats.

In certain emergencies avoidance between man and mother-in-law must be partially dropped, but this is only temporary, as in instances such as the following:

Anna Price said: "My family was camped on the edge of Black River. The water was very high, and they had to move camp across it. The only way for my mother's mother to get over was to be taken [towed] by father. But first she tied a black cloth about her head so that she would not see him."

A man, very sick, was almost delirious and kept throwing the covers off himself in the cold of the night, attempting to get up and go out in
the freezing weather. His wife with the aid of her mother held him down, the latter sitting on her son-in-law's head. Their constant presence was necessary throughout the night.

In cases where a woman is seriously ill and her son-in-law possesses a ceremony which can cure her, the avoidance between the two is partially overlooked during the rite. A blanket is hung between patient and son-in-law, and the ceremony may proceed.

Most ceremonies include application of the hands or of ceremonial objects to the body of the patient by the shaman. A man may do this in curing his mother-in-law, but he usually prefers to have another man do it for him:

An elderly man says, "I sang over my mother-in-law one time when she was sick. A blanket was hung between us. Although she had the deer sickness [in which the shaman ordinarily applies certain paraphernalia to the patient's body] I did not touch her. I just sang."

A woman was very old. She became so feeble with age that she was unable to rise. But some said, "No, it is not because of old age that she cannot rise. She must have some sickness." So her son-in-law sang over her. They set up two poles in the ground and from them hung a blanket between the old woman and her son-in-law. But it did no good. She was merely too old.

Very often a deep mutual affection and esteem exists between man and mother-in-law. I know of a man who, on hearing that his mother-in-law was taken ill with a severe toothache, was so concerned that he left a job in the mountains to return home and stay with his wife until her mother's illness was cured. Generally, relationships between these two are the acme of respect, but this is not infallibly so, and the behavior pattern sometimes serves only to conceal an inward state of friction. The suppression of all family differences, necessary in such a relationship, may build up antagonisms within individuals which can culminate seriously. Ordinarily, in such instances a man takes his wife and children and goes to live elsewhere, but occasionally the ill feeling ends in an open clash. This is usually when one or both have been drinking, and some of the inhibitions concerning respect relationships weaken. A favorite way of venting their spleen is to shout each other's names at the top of their lungs.
This can afford great satisfaction, because under no conditions are they supposed to mention each other’s names; to do so is extremely disrespectful. The next day they usually observed regular avoidance and respect as before, and often the better for being rid of pent-up angers:

An old man, dead long ago, had a good name, but his nickname was Mountain Sheep. Sometimes he used to quarrel with his wife. When this happened, his mother-in-law, who lived in the same encampment, used to get mad and would holler over to her daughter, “What, is Mountain Sheep running [butting] at you again?” It used to sound funny, and other people would laugh.

I had opportunity to witness the growing estrangement between a man and his mother-in-law over a period of two months. The man was a leader in his community, possessed an important song cycle, and was well liked, but he had spells of drinking steadily for several days at a time. Under such conditions he was difficult, and it was extremely hard for his wife to live with him. It was said she nagged him into quarreling with her, but apparently of the two he was the more to blame. The man’s mother-in-law, a fine old woman, lived in a separate wickiup only a stone’s throw away. She naturally was sympathetic with her daughter during marital troubles, and her son-in-law, knowing this, may have harbored some resentment toward her. This, and the fact that she did not see well, seem to have made the man somewhat lax in his avoidance. He sometimes came to her wickiup while she was inside, talked through its walls to other people within, and occasionally interrupted her to speak to one of her visitors, but waiting for a lull in the conversation to do so. The old woman once remarked aloud that what he had to say could wait, and though she was not talking directly to him, she said it for his benefit. A few days later when he spoke from the outside of her wickiup, he was partly visible through the door. In his mother-in-law’s absence the man would speak of her as “that old woman.” Although this is not uncommon, it is likely to occur more frequently when there is some ill feeling.

In the weeks that followed, the man seemed to avoid his mother-in-law less than before and would drive right by her in his car. He never looked at her, but he would look at someone standing only six feet from her. At such times the old woman would hide her face in her hands so as not to see him. One day, while working on his car within hearing of the old woman’s wickiup, he joined in a conversation which she was having with visitors, concerning sterility, pregnancies, and birth. He did so purely to offer information, and although such topics are not suppressed as they are in certain white societies, under ordinary
circumstances a son-in-law would have remained silent. Not long after, the man was absent on a job for several weeks. During a visit home he came to the door of his mother-in-law’s wickiup and, standing out of her sight, talked to others within. A man owing the old woman two dollars was about to hand her the money, when she said, “Give it to him” (her son-in-law), and added jokingly, but with just the faintest hint of sarcasm, “There now, go along and buy lots of beer for the bijan [divorcees, widows].” The man exclaimed in surprise and laughingly left. Others present also were amused. This was the only time the old woman was ever observed to talk directly to him. The man had not been drinking for many weeks, and the instances mentioned above must not be taken as blatant breaches of respect. They were merely slight indications that the avoidance was not so strict as usual.

Shortly after this, the man started to drink again. In a day or so he entered his mother-in-law’s wickiup and openly quarreled with her, accusing her of siding against him. Later, he beat his wife. In a day or so he was taken seriously ill, and, although his wife and mother-in-law did what they could to pull him through, he died. The old woman was faithful to the end in her respect and loyalty to him. The day before he died she was in tears over his condition and spent a good part of her money to buy burial clothes for him. To her it was a tragedy, for he was a man with whom she had observed an exacting respect relationship over many years, and at the same time the man who had been the main provider for the family.

Under extraordinary conditions a woman may upbraid her son-in-law openly if she sees fit. This may be the result of his quarreling with her daughter or other people or of his negligence of his duty as a son-in-law. She talks to him from the outside of his wickiup where he cannot see her or from a place of concealment in the brush surrounding his camp. If he is a good son-in-law, he will say nothing and let her talk. What she says does not take long and is spoken slowly in respectful language.

A man may see his father-in-law, sit beside him, eat in his company, go on journeys with him, and talk with him, but in all the contacts the two have there is a marked respect relationship. Their conversation is limited to matters of importance, and then is brief and to the point. While talking together, they maintain a reserved manner and utter their words slowly and carefully in moderated voice. They always approach near enough to avoid necessity of raising their voices, and only under extraordinary circumstances will one shout to the other.
In conversation with each other or in mentioning each other, both use the polite form of the verb, although they do not avoid use of the dual number. The polite verb form occurs between certain affinal kin and in story-telling expressions, where it is employed for emphasis, such as in the frequent expression, “It is said.” It may be used descriptively in mentioning certain relatives-in-law. Thus the common sâ·sìlf: (“old woman she has become”) changes to sâ·ts’ìzlf: when a man speaks of his mother-in-law, and hâstj·sìlf: (“old man he has become”) is hâstj·s’ìzlf: when speaking of the father-in-law. Examples follow, showing (a) the common verb form and (b) the polite verb form.

1. a) hîndâ·llâ:  
   b) te’ôyâ·llâ’ (“Here you are!” said to an individual as he approaches; literally “Thus you come!”)

2. a) hâyùlâ· dê yâ:  
   b) hâyûlâ· te’ldeyâ: (“Where are you going?”)

3. dâ’ôs’â’ nándâ·gô’  
   b) dâ’ôs’â’ nâte’dâ gô’ (“When will you come back?”)

4. a) lj· bâhndâ  
   b) lj· bâtc’ldôyâ’ càdâni’ (“Go after the horses”)

The expression “hey” cannot be used to attract the attention of a son-in-law or father-in-law, who must be addressed politely by ñdê: (“man”) or the correct affinal term. Sometimes, in mentioning kin by blood or clan of one of his parents-in-law in the presence of his father-in-law, a man will say, for example, “our grandfather,” “our mother,” or “we t’ôgâidn clanspeople,” instead of using the second-person possessive pronoun. This is another sign of respect for the parent-in-law.

There are definite restrictions which a man and his father-in-law must observe with each other. They cannot speak each other’s names, cannot indulge in undignified or obscene talk (“A man doesn’t talk about bad things with his father-in-law”), and must not joke. The mere presence of one is enough to make the other careful of what he says. If sleeping together and sharing

11 This is not without occasional exceptions, and I have known an old man to tell an obscene joke in front of his son-in-law at which both laughed heartily; but the story was told to a third person present, not to the son-in-law.
the same blanket, a man and his father-in-law cannot sleep head to head, but instead in the reverse position, each with his head at the other's feet. A frequent cross-cousin joke is to lure an individual into speaking the name of a son-in-law or father-in-law, to embarrass him, as in the following case:

A man was mentioning something that his son-in-law, called "Chili," had done, but naturally he did not want to mention the son-in-law's name. "But what is his name?" someone asked, because he wanted to inveigle the old man into making a slip. "Mexicans always have it when they eat. They never miss it," was the reply.

"Oh, you mean beans?"
"No, not that."
"Well, what name then?"
Finally the old man became so flustered he said, "chili," and everyone laughed.

In times of crises, as in battle, a man might call out the name of his son-in-law to spur him on to further effort. Scarcely a more compelling method could be found to make him show his mettle, as in the following instance told by Palmer Valor. At the time, Palmer Valor was enlisted as a government scout. Scouts and soldiers were following a large body of Chiricahua who had rebelled and were making their way into Mexico (1881). The pursuing party overtook the hostiles, and a skirmish ensued:

While we were shooting at the Chiricahua, my father-in-law called me by my real name, even though I was married to his daughter. This was in battle. "You are enlisted as a scout, so go to these Chiricahua now and fight them." When he said that, I got up and started running for the bluff where the enemy were, as fast as I could. There were little winds around my legs as I ran. Three of us started up then, my father-in-law, myself, and another man.  

Government administration once caused a most embarrassing situation between Palmer Valor and his father-in-law. The behavior of the two men during that time illustrates the relationship between such affinal kin. Palmer Valor was then employed  

12 Palmer Valor related another instance in which, during a skirmish with Mexicans in Sonora, his father-in-law told him not to run off but to go for the Mexicans.
as reservation policeman. Because of the Cibecue outbreak in 1881, several Apache enlisted as government scouts were forced into desertion and became temporary fugitives from the authorities. Among those affected was the father-in-law of Palmer Valor, who, taking his whole camp cluster with him, fled to the hills north of the Gila River. Palmer Valor with three other Apache police was detailed to attempt contact with them and to tell them that they must return to the agency. After several days in the hills, the fugitives were finally found. Palmer Valor did most of the talking and was promised by one of the men (not his father-in-law) that the party would join them by that evening. The four police waited at a certain place, and finally the fugitives came in. When they arrived, Palmer Valor’s father-in-law talked to him: “My son-in-law, I am thankful you came to me here. I think that you keep your word and speak the truth about there being only four of you. In two days I will come in and give up at the subagency.”

The four police returned and waited for the group. They did not show up on the appointed day, so Palmer Valor went in search of them, thinking that they might be at some of the camps down the river. He found his father-in-law there, drinking tulibai. The older man said, “I have already agreed to be there and that is the same as if I gave you my head and my heart. I will be at the subagency in the morning, and I won’t try to take back what I have said. I will do as I told you I would.” The following day he came in. It is interesting to see how irrevocable a man’s word to his son-in-law was considered. Notice that the other three police left most of the negotiating to Palmer Valor, who, being the son-in-law of the fugitive’s leader, was more prepared to deal with them. Moreover, polite speech had to be used, and the two could not be angry or openly distrustful with the other. When Palmer Valor first spoke to the fugitives, the man who answered him was not his father-in-law, probably because his father-in-law would not have felt that it was proper to speak to him then. Later, when he spoke with his son-in-law, it was he who initiated the talk and Palmer Valor who listened respectfully.
The behavior of man and father-in-law usually continues placidly, and if there are differences, they should be concealed. But it is natural, considering their close proximity to each other and varying personalities, that frictions should occasionally exist. The following account concerns an elderly man and his middle-aged son-in-law. For days at a time they were most careful to observe the proper behavior with each other, but once in a while little difficulties came up, usually caused by the son-in-law's impatient nature.

Once the younger man complained bitterly that his father-in-law always wanted to go wherever he did. He and his family were going to a near-by town for the day. The old man also wished to go, much to the disgust of his son-in-law. "That old man is crazy," he remarked. His wife felt the same way about it. Their reason was a good one. The car was small, and the old man would make it more crowded. But he insisted on going. On the way back a loose wire under the hood caused the car to stall for several minutes. The younger man was ready to scold his father-in-law for coming along and causing the car to break down but refrained when the damage was quickly repaired.

At another time when there had been some differences of opinion between the two, the old man evidently used an opportunity to get back at his son-in-law (a Southern Tonto), when he said that a recalcitrant grandchild of his was "just like a d'ilje'e," a White Mountain Apache term for the Southern Tonto which they strongly resented. One day the younger man jokingly said to his father-in-law (probably with a serious hint in mind) that he ought to buy tulibai for himself and not depend on others getting it for him (meaning his son-in-law). The older man replied, "When I was young, the man who had money always did for those who had none until he spent it all. A man like that was always approached for help by other people." He was merely voicing the Apache concept of the proper use of wealth, but it was said seriously and for the benefit of his son-in-law, who had no answer.

A man who is incompatible with his father-in-law is at liberty to take his wife and children to another family cluster. Open quarrels between the two are extremely uncommon, but they do occur, and one case was recorded in which a man killed his father-in-law following a quarrel. When a father-in-law is speaking to a son-in-law, the latter is supposed to listen quietly and respectfully and not to answer back unless necessary. If a man should be at fault in quarreling with others, his father-in-
law may reproach him directly but in carefully modulated speech: "I have heard that you have been doing wrong. I don’t want you to talk bad or to quarrel with other people. You must do good, as a good man would do."

Class I. Wife’s uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and cross-cousins.—Respect and avoidance and the use of the affinal term cà·dà·nî’ are obligatory between a man and his parents-in-law, but not between him and his wife’s uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and cross-cousins. When these are observed, the behavior, according to sex, is little different from that described above. But, being less closely affiliated, these relatives are a far less dominant influence in his life. Under pressing conditions a man may drop his avoidance relationship with such female relatives-in-law, just as he does with his mother-in-law. The following is an instance of this told by a woman:

A’s wife is the daughter of my brother. A is therefore supposed to be cà·dà·nî’ [which means there is avoidance]. One time, when the river was up, his wife caught him and made him take me across, as there was no other way I could reach the other side. He didn’t want to do it, but she made him. I had a rope tied around my waist and he held onto the other end. I never looked at him, but kept my face in the other direction the whole time, and when we got across I walked off one way and he the other, without a word.

All ill feeling with these kin of the wife is expected to be carefully repressed and supposedly does not exist. Nevertheless, troubles do occasionally come to the surface, such as those already mentioned with parents-in-law:

A man had the avoidance relationship with his wife’s mother’s sister. One time this man and his wife’s aunt were drinking in the same camp. Some past difference caused them to quarrel. The woman angrily shouted out the name of the man, adding to it the word ló·kôhê’ ("crazy"). She did this twice, and then the man got back at her by shouting her name and adding nuc’d’ë (“no good”). The following day both were sober and carefully avoided each other as before.

The obligations between a man and these kin of his wife cannot be compared with those he had with her parents. He is not spoken of as “working for them.” Because of their affinal rela-
tionship to him, he may exchange gifts and other kindesses and considerations with them, but the main evidence of the relationship does not lie in obligations; instead it is in the respect and avoidance observed.

Class 2. Grandparents-in-law and grandson-in-law or granddaughter-in-law.—There is no avoidance in this relationship, and it is not uncommon for a young man to have his wife's widowed grandparent living in the same dwelling with him and his wife. The great difference in age between the two apparently does not call for any marked reserve, and the young man goes and comes in the grandparent-in-law's presence without hesitancy. However, though they may sleep and eat in the same dwelling, a slight reserve is noticeable. They do not touch each other, and they avoid unnecessary conversation. Joking or any other familiarities are absent, unless a joking relationship between them dates from a time previous to the young man's marriage, but the grandparent may joke freely with other people in the young man's presence. Ordinarily, the wife is the go-between for the two, who talk through her rather than converse themselves. A grandparent will not hesitate to scold or correct the young man's wife, but because of her affinal relationship, she usually speaks in nothing but the kindest way to him. The relationship between a young woman and her grandparent-in-law is not essentially different, except that there is less restraint, and the woman would be far less likely to use her husband as a go-between.

Class 2. Siblings-in-law.—The affinal term is the same as that used for grandparents-in-law, but the behavior may be decidedly different. A woman may or may not take a respect relationship, kāyā·nsi’", with her sister's husband. She ordinarily takes it with her sister's first husband, but, if the sister marries again, quite often she will decide not to instigate it. This respect and avoidance relationship could entail considerable inconvenience, and if it had been done for the first husband, a woman might consider she had shown enough regard for her sister and not bother with it a second time. Anna Price said, "I had the respect relationship with my sister's first husband. But with her second one
I have not taken it. This is because he is her second husband. Some women don’t even trouble to take it with their sister’s first husband, because they don’t want to be bothered with it. I should say that about half the women are this way.” Mrs. Andrew Stanley was inclined to think that the majority of women would wish the respect relationship with their sister’s first husbands. The behavior is somewhat similar to that between siblings of opposite sex, though more exacting. The two should not see each other at close range and, accordingly, avoid proximity. If the man should accidentally start to enter a dwelling in which the woman is sitting, she will call out to him, “k̓ą́ʔn̓jì’ákó.” (“respect here”), and he will avoid approaching closer. Even to play in the same large card game is considered out of the question. The woman may cook for the man, but she must leave the wickiup when he enters to eat. When a man is compelled to take such a sister-in-law across a flooded river, he tows her by a rope as already described for other female kin. The two do not converse except when absolutely necessary, and then only in the polite form, avoiding the dual number of the verb. They cannot speak each other’s name, and familiarity or joking of any kind is strictly forbidden. Exacting as this relationship is, it does not require complete avoidance, as between man and mother-in-law and those female affinal kin classed with her.

The affinal relationship between a man and his brother’s first wife is identical. Use of the respect relationship with his sister-in-law is entirely optional and controlled by the same ideas as those described above. One man said, “My brother has had three wives. The first two died. I took the respect relationship with both of them but not with his present wife. I don’t need to do it with her, because doing it with the first two was enough. It’s too much trouble.” Siblings-in-law of the opposite sex who have taken a respect relationship may never marry, but those who have not can do so. An example of respect relationship follows:

13 A shaman may touch such a sister-in-law when he is performing a rite over her.
A man was sitting in his house talking with two men who had come to see him. A car drove up outside with a man and woman in it. The man called out to the owner of the house that he had brought him a present of some meat, as he had just butchered. His wife got out of the car and came to the fence surrounding the inclosure, where she stood waiting for someone to take the meat from her. The man in the house requested one of his visitors to go out and get the meat for him, saying he did not wish to because the woman was his sister-in-law. She was his wife’s sister and he had a respect relationship with her.

When siblings-in-law of the opposite sex fail to take a respect relationship with each other, their behavior approximates that between close cross-cousins. The woman may cook for the man, eat with him, sleep in the same wickiup, and play in the same large card game. The two may speak each other’s names and converse freely without the polite form, but avoiding the dual number. At the same time such contact as this usually does not occur unless the mate of one of them is present. They cannot touch each other, and ordinarily they do not joke or indulge in any familiarity. A joking relationship between distant parallel cousins-in-law is used on occasion with a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex. It is considerably milder than that between cross-cousins of opposite sex. One of the few instances of such joking was told by a woman: “One time we were out after mescal. My sister’s husband lit the mescal pit fire for us [a second husband with whom a respect relationship had not been taken]. When we came to dig it up, it was all white and no good. I told my brother-in-law, ‘You did it [cohabited] with your wife last night.’ He just sat there and laughed.”

A man’s contacts with his wife’s sisters may be definitely limited because of avoidance relationships, and, even if these do not exist, the difference in sex still has somewhat the same effect. However, because he is most commonly a member of the same family cluster as well as a close affinal kinsman, he is obligated to help these women when they request it. Such requests usually come through the wife of the man, who is likewise her husband’s

14 The allusion is to the rule against sexual intercourse during cooking of mescal.
mediator in any voluntary kindnesses he wishes to show her sisters. His wife's sisters may also help themselves to meat that he kills. A woman seldom lives in the same family cluster with her husband's brothers, and so their economic interests may be somewhat divergent. She is not obligated to serve them in any way, but she should treat them kindly because of their relationship to her husband.

A mild joking relationship may exist between siblings-in-law of the same sex which does not permit physical contact of any kind. Unless it is instigated immediately after the marriage, this relationship does not usually materialize. It is often reserved, however, for parallel cousins-in-law, and ordinarily true siblings-in-law consider their connection far too serious to permit joking of any kind. Brothers-in-law are expected to maintain a reserve with one another and act in a dignified manner, but they do not use the polite form and may employ the dual number of the verb. Unlike male affinal kin of the first class, they may sleep with heads and feet in the same direction when sharing a blanket. A man is obligated to treat his wife's brothers well, and the latter may expect presents from him occasionally: "When your wife's brother asks you for something, you should give it to him."

When game is killed, some should be given to the wife's brothers, and they may even help themselves without asking. These same men expect to be offered tulibai when their brother-in-law has it, and, should he be attending a party when they arrive, it is up to him to treat each one. It usually costs him about twenty-five cents apiece. The obligation toward a wife's brothers is somewhat the same as that which a man owes his father-in-law, but it is not spoken of as "working for"; and, if the wife's brothers are too demanding, they may be refused. Brothers-in-law are often companions on war parties, raids, and hunting trips, and a man owes it to his wife's brothers to help them when he can in such undertakings. Being of another clan, he is not included in their blood feuds unless at his own wish. Brothers of a woman should treat her husband well, stand by him in emergencies, and grant what requests he may make of them, but the exchange is decidedly one-sided, and they do not
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bear the same obligations to him as he does to them. The following are examples of brother-in-law obligations and behavior:

A had a deerskin. His wife wished to have it made into buckskin but was not expert in the process herself. So one day when on a visit to A's sister and her husband, B, both excellent workers in buckskin and moccasins, they took the deer hide with them. After a half-hour talk concerning local matters, A mentioned the deer hide in the car, saying that his wife wished to have it made into buckskin for moccasins, because she did not like store shoes. The work would be done by both B and his wife, but the request was directed to B. A's wife kept silent. B mentioned payment for the work in a polite but frank manner, to which A replied that he had no money then but would pay for the work when he received the check for a sale of his cattle. B agreed immediately, without stipulating a price.

Some weeks later when the hide was tanned, A and his wife were surprised to see that it had come out brown and stiff, like an old hide. For a moment he thought that possibly B had changed hides and given him one of inferior grade, but on second thought he said, "No, that could not be, for he is my brother-in-law and he would never do that to me!" thus dismissing it completely. [Notice that A did not hesitate to ask B to do the work and that he dealt through B rather than his own sister, as otherwise B might have resented it. A's wife left it entirely up to her husband, knowing that, as the relationship came through him, he was the logical one to make the negotiations. The payment mentioned by B seems definitely derived from white contact, the Apache realizing that whites seldom do any work unless paid for it.]

The interest and affection between brothers-in-law may be very marked. Once a man was desperately ill with pneumonia in the hospital. The same day the husband of his oldest sister, knowing that I had recent news of the sick man, stopped me on the road and anxiously asked about his condition. He asked especially to be kept informed of progress. "He is my brother-in-law, you know," he added, by way of explanation. Not long after that the sick man's family went to visit him in the hospital. On their return, the first thing done was to send the eldest son to the brother-in-law and his wife with word that the patient was improving.

Behavior between sisters-in-law is much the same as that between brothers-in-law. Usually they maintain a reserve which is fairly noticeable. Their obligations to one another, however, differ. A woman who marries into a family is under no special obligations to work and provide for any of her affinal kin. If
sisters-in-law live in the same family cluster, what they do in the way of helping each other in such things as housebuilding, food-gathering, and agricultural work is more because of common economic interest and good will than from recognized obligations.

Class 2. Parallel cousins-in-law.—Affinal terms and behavior patterns for parallel cousins-in-law are practically the same as those described for siblings-in-law, except that there is much less likely to be the respect and avoidance relationship between individuals of opposite sex, and the joking relationships are found oftener because the connection is more distant and less serious. There is some obligation for these affinal kin to treat each other well, especially on the part of the man married into the family, but it is not to be compared with that of siblings-in-law.

In the following example an old man is speaking of a war party about to leave for Mexico:

On the fourth day these men started off. I was at my mother’s camp, and I saw them go by with their bundles. The last man in the party was my brother-in-law [man married to his mother’s sister’s daughter]. My mother said to me, “There is your brother-in-law coming.” I was wearing a pair of moccasins that reached to just below my knees. They were dyed red with alder bark. I had a blanket also. My mother took it and cut it in two, at the same time hollering to this man as he went by [she apparently did not have an avoidance relationship with him]. I ran over and gave him the half of the blanket and the moccasins. He said, “My brother-in-law, take the blanket back. I will take these moccasins along. I wish I was bringing some horses from Mexico. I wish I could do this for you.” He always used to give me horses when he got back from Mexico.

The narrator was a boy of about fourteen at the time. Quite obviously the gift to the departing brother-in-law was made not only out of regard for him but in hopes that, if he returned successful, he would not forget this family.

In the following excerpt from a woman’s autobiography the influence of a parallel cousin is well illustrated. But, more than this, the participation of the parallel cousin’s husband in a family affair is of value in showing how, under certain circumstances, such an affinal kinsman may function. At the time the woman was a young widow living at San Carlos with distant blood rela-
tives. Her immediate blood relatives were sixty miles to the north, on White River, and so her parallel cousin at Bylas, near by, felt more concerned about her. A young man, very much interested, was seriously courting her, and in connection with this she says:

One of my relatives, the daughter of my mother's blood sister, and her husband, who were living up at Bylas, heard it, and they were worried. I called this woman my sister. She sent her husband down to San Carlos to see what was going on. "If that man is good-looking it will be all right, but if he doesn't look like much don't allow the marriage," she told him. So he left Bylas in the morning and arrived where I was staying at noon. About the same time A [the man who was courting her] rode up, and so I cooked for both of them. Then that man said, "My sister-in-law, why don't you take this man? He is a good man and you ought to have him. I have ridden a long way to see you, so you should heed my words. Do as I say. That is what your sister told me to tell you; if he was a good man to take him." Then I began to cry and said, "Well, if he wants me, all right. I will marry him. I used to have a good husband down where I was living, but he was killed. I don't think this man will do by me as he did." Just before he left, my brother-in-law said, "You mind my words after I am gone and from here on, my sister-in-law. Take this man. He is a good man, so I want you to do as I say." Then he went home.

Soon afterward she married the man. Apparently she had no avoidance and respect relationship with her parallel cousin's husband.

Class 3. Man and wife's kin not placed in class 1 or 2.---Customarily, a man and his wife's close blood kin are in class 1 or 2, but sometimes, excepting for her parents, the looser designation of class 3 is used. This indicates lack of respect or avoidance relationships, no use of polite speech, and the increased possibility of a joking relationship closely resembling that between parallel cousins-in-law. Nevertheless, a man married into a family who is classed in this way is considered one of its providers and can be occasionally approached for aid or gifts, such as meat. At times he can go to kin of his wife for aid, though they are far more likely to come to him with requests. If he shows judgment and ability, his counsel may be sought in family matters.
Class 4. Parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.—There is no avoidance between a woman and her husband’s parents, and they may sit, cook, and eat with one another. They do not use the polite form of speech, but they refrain from talking roughly, abruptly, or in a loud voice. They may converse freely but do not joke or show other familiarities. Sometimes an aging couple with no daughter on whom to depend will promote a marriage for their son with the idea of adding a woman to their camp who can help them and do the cooking. Under these circumstances they may expect a good deal from the young woman, but under ordinary conditions a woman is under no obligation to serve her parents-in-law, except in the sense of their being her husband’s parents—individuals whom she wishes to treat well on account of him. At all times parents should treat their son’s wife well, and this is especially stressed in the period immediately after marriage. Thus, when a young man takes his new wife to visit his family, he may say to his mother, “Do not send this woman for water. Don’t ask ask her to go for wood. I don’t want her to do these things yet,” or his mother may show these considerations herself and tell her daughter-in-law not to bother with such work while she is there. Because of predominant matrilocal residence, a woman is less likely than a man to be in the same camp cluster with parents-in-law.

Class 4. Woman and husband’s kin (other than parents) not placed in class 2.—Between a woman and her husband’s uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, cross-cousins, and those of his siblings or parallel cousins who do not choose to address her by the more exacting sibling-in-law term are employed the same affinal terms used between her and her parents-in-law. The behavior differs from that with her husband’s parents in its joking relationship. The joking is mild and never permits physical contact, and there are indications that the close blood kinship of such relatives with the husband can be a deterring factor in this joking. Whether it exists at all depends on the personalities of those involved. The woman has no obligations with such kin beyond treating them well because of their relationship to her husband.
She does not usually live in the same family cluster, but when she does, she is economically associated with them just as any other member of the cluster is and may co-operate in women’s tasks. Whether she lives with them or not, she may be included in social undertakings where the labor of many women is needed, as in the preparations for a feast.

A woman is supposed to treat all her husband’s kin graciously, but there may be exceptions to this. When a woman cannot get on with her affinal kin, she often makes her husband move with her to another family cluster. Respect relationships, avoidances, and polite speech, though they may conceal, cannot prevent the irritations felt by varying personalities when thrown together.

The respective relatives of man and wife have no social responsibilities toward one another after the marriage. A mutual esteem may grow, however, because of their exchange of gifts and friendly considerations during the marriage negotiations and the months following, and later if the parents of man and wife are congenial they may even visit one another on occasions. The expression "rika dalldel" ("relatives they have become") is used to describe such ties between families.

Affinal terms and behavior patterns may be extended to the mate of any distant blood or clan relative who is addressed by a kinship term. The affinal term chosen is controlled by the kinship term used for the relative as well as by the personal relations involved.

*Wife’s distant uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces.*—A man and his wife’s distant uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces are not often associated in the same family cluster. By far the most common affinal terminology and behavior patterns used between them are those of class 3, and along with these a mild joking relationship may exist, similar to that between parallel cousins-in-law. It may be employed irrespective of sex and age.

A was married to B’s maternal uncle by clan, who died long ago. A never married again, and now as an old woman she often jokes B, saying she and he ought to get married because he has a remarriage claim on her by clan (levirate by clan). B always laughs at this.
Occasionally, for some reason, such relatives of the wife may choose to use the term and behavior pattern of class 1 with the man. In such instances the avoidances and respects are exactly the same as with the wife's close blood kin of similar type.

Man and distant cross-cousins-in-law.—A man and the distant cross-cousins of his wife most commonly employ the terminology and behavior patterns of class 3 for one another. A mild joking relationship like that described above may exist, regardless of sex.

In a few instances a peculiar misuse of the affinal term, ca·da·ni', proper in class 1, is encountered between male cross-cousins-in-law which may be termed a distinct type of relationship. It was not recorded between distant cross-cousins-in-law of opposite sex, and it is doubtful whether it exists for them, because avoidance with a woman related affinally is too serious to be used as a joking medium. When correctly used, this term, as already described, is accompanied by a marked respect behavior, but when misused and the correct accompanying behavior pattern is not observed, a mild joking relationship is indicated. When they are not together, the two men may mention each other's names in funmaking violation of etiquette. In the same way they do not use the polite form of speech unless in a serious moment or as a medium of funmaking.

The husband of a female cross-cousin with whom this relationship exists may be addressed by a joking slang term, dōs’a’ts’iz̲-gīhī ("he never gives me a drink"), said to be of recent origin. It alludes to a pretended failure of the man's part to treat his affinal kin as generously as he should. But in spite of the joking which goes on between two such cross-cousins-in-law, there is an underlying feeling of respect which use of the term ca·da·ni' creates, even when employed jokingly. This, at times, seems to overcome the joking relationship, and all the normal respects which usually accompany the term are in force, excepting polite form of speech. One such relationship which was closely observed is described below:

A was of clan 21 and B of clan 30. B married a woman whom A addressed as cross-cousin because she was of a clan related to that of his
father. For this reason A started jokingly to use the term ca·da·ni' for B, who good-naturedly reciprocated. An undertone of respect was quite evident, especially on the part of A, who was some fifteen years the younger. They never sat close together, and, whenever one of them wished to spit, he carefully walked to the edge of the inclosure and politely spit over the brush windbreak. On some days they refrained from joking, spoke carefully and respectfully in modulated voices, and, in conversing on delicate and personal matters, did so as tactfully as possible. But on meeting each other two or three days later, they might feel in a joking mood and tease. Once B made fun of A, saying that because he had talked to so many shamans lately, he must himself be becoming a shaman.

At another time B had asked A to tell a certain man to cut and bring him a load of wood. Shortly after that someone else brought him a load of wood, so he told A not to bother about giving his message. But A laughingly said that, as he had been asked to do it, he was going to, whether B wanted him to or not. The two had a standing joke to which B loved to refer. Some years past B had presented A with four cans of tulibai. It is customary to return such a gift in like manner, but for some reason A had failed to do this and so B said to A, with much glee, that he had told a certain man to whom he owed two cans of tulibai to get them from A, as he already owed him four cans. The two laughed heartily at this. A was never observed to joke his cross-cousin, the wife of B. She was a rather forbidding woman, but B was stout and genial with a keen sense of humor.

Distant grandparents-in-law and grandchildren-in-law.—Customarily, distant grandparents-in-law employ the terms and behavior of class 3 and class 4. There may be a mild joking relationship. Infrequently distant grandparents-in-law and grandchildren-in-law use the same affinal term as employed by close relatives of this kind.

Distant parallel cousins-in-law.—It is common for distant parallel cousins-in-law to use the terms of class 3 and class 4 behavior patterns according to the sex of the person married into the family or clan. The class 2 term is used almost as often, making the relationship somewhat more personal, though the respect and avoidance relationship between members of the opposite sex is uncommon. With use of this term there may or may not be a joking relationship. Behavior, when the joking relationship is absent, is much like that with a close parallel cousin-in-
law. Certain slang terms denoting joking may be applied by men and infrequently by women to the husband of a distant parallel cousin. These are 'it'ü'icdlä'ągéht ("the one whose soup I drink"), meaning it is customary for him to feed you, 15 ci'ké di'c'-édigéht ("the one without my stockings"), implying stinginess in making gifts to his affinal kin, and da'ni'nc'tc'c't'i'ągęh ("the one from whose camp I return afoot"), meaning that this affinal kinsman is so stingy that he never gives a horse or anything else to his siblings-in-law. These are all plays on the obligations which a man owes to close affinal kin, and these are no counter-terms for them. The fact that they cannot be applied to a woman illustrates her lack of such obligations toward her husband's kin. Several examples of joking between parallel cousins-in-law follow:

A married a woman of B's clan. She was not related by blood to B. A and B sometimes joke. Once A had some tulibai which he was selling to other people who came to the inclosure inside which he kept it. B rode up and saw what was going on. As he came he said, "Co, co, co! I'm not going to wait to drink some of that tulibai. Neither am I going to pay for it, because you are my brother-in-law." So he walked right into the inclosure and helped himself. A didn't mind his doing that because the two joked together. Another time B went to A, who is a shaman, and placed a turquoise on top of his foot, the conventional offering when a request is made that the shaman perform his ceremony. When B did this, A kicked it off, the method sometimes used to show refusal. But he did it because the two were in the habit of joking. Later on he performed his ceremony as requested.

Once my father was out hunting not far from his camp. He claimed the land about there as his own. On his way he came upon an old man of a clan related to that of his wife. These two men used to call each other brother-in-law on account of this. When father saw the old man, he had with him a lot of turkeys that he had killed near by. Father pretended to be angry because of this, and shouted at him, "Hey, you better get out of here and leave those turkeys right there." The old man replied, "No, my brother-in-law, I was not afraid to kill them because you are my brother-in-law and I knew it would be all right." He presented father with four of them. Father was just joking him.

15 A man thus addressed and recently separated from his wife may retort by saying, "The soup is all poured out."
Two men, A and B, call each other brother-in-law because B is married to a woman of the same clan as A whom A calls his sister [not related by blood]. These two men joke each other, and A calls B *it'ü*icdlqː-gêhî. Early one morning B took A's horse and led it out in the brush, where he hid it. He kept it tied there for three days, feeding it and watering it. A looked everywhere but could not find it. Finally he told B about it. "Hey, brother-in-law, I cannot find my horse. I have looked everywhere for him."

"You ought to try someone who knows a divination ceremony used in finding lost objects."

"Yes, that's a good idea. I will do it. I wonder who has that ceremony?" said A.

"Here, I am the one who knows it. I will do it for you," B told him, though actually he did not know the ceremony at all. So A agreed and B went ahead, pretending to give the ceremony. Then he told A, "You will find your horse on a grassy open place, right above here, feeding, early tomorrow morning. Some of the school children must have taken him up there."

"No, he could not be there, I have looked all over that place," A said.

"You go there tomorrow and you will find him."

The next morning, early, B slipped up and turned the horse loose, close by the place he had mentioned. Two girls passing that way saw the horse and told A about it. He went there and got it. On his way home B passed him and said, "Hey, my brother-in-law, I see that you have found your horse. Some of the school boys must have taken him."

"Yes, and maybe it was you who did it," A answered him.

Later on he found out. This is probably rather an extreme case of joking.

This joking could sometimes be carried to decided extremes. The following is such an instance, abnormal because of the physical contact entailed:

A youth had a distant woman parallel cousin-in-law who always joked him. One time this youth was at a hoop-and-poles game. The husband of the woman sent him to bring some water from his camp. When he got there, the woman gave it to him, but just as he was leaving she jokingly grabbed him and pulled him inside the wickiup as if she wanted intercourse with him. She was only joking, but the boy thought he would try her out. He would soon know if she did not want him, for she would grab hold of his privates. She started to holler, saying, "This boy is cohabiting with me," but no one paid any attention because they thought she was joking him as usual. Nothing was ever done to the boy because no one would believe her when she told about it.
Husband's distant uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, cross-cousins.—The terms and behaviors used between a woman and her husband's distant uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and cross-cousins are those of class 4. A mild joking relationship may exist and is more common with these distant affinal relatives than with close kin of the same kinds. A favorite joke is for a man to ride up to his cross-cousin's camp and order the cross-cousin's wife to start cooking for him, just as if he were her husband. In doing this he is joking not only the woman but also her husband. Sometimes such kin of a woman's husband teasingly addresses her as sā'tsa·γá', the proper term for a man married to a kinswoman. A typical instance of such joking follows:

A is the maternal uncle by clan of B. He and B's wife joke together. One time A came to the place where B and his wife were camped. B's wife said to him, "You better stay and I will cook you a really good meal," as if he did not customarily get good meals. A laughed about it but did not remain. A day or two later while watching a baseball game from a car, A was accosted by B's wife, who had come up to him alone. "I have not seen you for a long time. You used to know me when I was a kid," she said. "Yes, now you are grown old," A responded, teasing her.

The affinal terms and behavior patterns between ego and his or her mate's kin, whether including avoidance, respect, or joking, are always instigated by the mate's kin, never by ego. Once they have been initiated, the man or woman thus addressed and treated must reciprocate. Only one affinal relationship comes automatically into being without formal establishment—the one between man (or woman) and the parents-in-law, which begins immediately on marriage. It often starts one or two months before the marriage, while negotiations are still going on. Thus, the girl's mother is careful not to pass too close to the young man, and the girl's father will treat him with consideration. Polite form of speech, however, does not appear until after marriage. Persons who start this avoidance and respect before marriage use the term caya'nain ("to me respectful") for each other descriptively, though never in direct address. An instance follows in which avoidance began before marriage:
An old couple had a daughter whom they wanted to marry to me. My mother was dead then, so they sent eleven cans of tulibai as a gift to my oldest sister. My sister had told me nothing, so when I saw the crowd at the camp I thought it was just a drinking party and went over to it. The girl’s father was there and thought that my sister had told me what the meaning of the party was. When I arrived, he spoke to me, saying, “You see these cans? They are all for your sister.” I thought no more about it and drank with the other people. In a little while the girl’s mother arrived. She sat down at a distance from the rest of us, and, though she wanted to get a drink, she would not come nearer. It was then that I realized what all this meant, for they sent me out of the camp. A man who was married to a parallel cousin of mine, told me, “That was a bad break on your part. The woman is like your mother-in-law. That’s why we sent you away.” This was how the avoidance started between us.

Affinal terms and behavior patterns with other kin of the mate come into use only after the marriage. The establishment of the more specialized relationships such as joking or respect and avoidance depends on five things: relative age, behavior patterns and relationships before marriage, personalities, whether the relative has been previously married, and, last, whether or not the marriage is approved. When a man marries into a family, some of his wife’s relatives with whom he can observe the class 1 relationship may be too young to request it of him. If they are thrown into close contact with him, they may never adopt this relationship even when old enough to, because they already feel familiar with him. The same may be true in adoption of the respect and avoidance relationship between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex, although the class 2 term without avoidance is ordinarily used when the children are older. The following is an example:

My wife’s sister has a daughter who is a grown girl now. She has never called me čà-da’ni’ nor I her. She often comes to visit my wife at my camp when I am there. We look at each other and talk quite naturally, just as anybody would. One time she said, “You ought to have been čà-da’ni’ long ago, but we have seen each other so much that I think it will never be.”

In some cases, however, a respect and avoidance relationship is established by the younger person on reaching puberty or just
previous to it. The individual may commence using the term and behavior without any formal establishment of it or, on the other hand, may go to the man or woman for whom they intend to take the term and say, for example, "You are my older sister's husband, and so from now on you will be cìγì'." The establishment of an avoidance relationship between members of the opposite sex is done through a third person, usually the one through whom the affinal connection comes.

I was a little boy when my mother's mother's sister's daughter married. For several years I did not know that her husband would normally be ca·da·ni'. When I was old enough to understand this, my mother told me to address him as ca·da·ni'. Ever since that time I have used this term and its accompanying behavior for him.

There was one woman distantly related to me by blood whom I called cìdà'á' ("female parallel cousin's child"). She was of my clan. When I was old enough my mother told me to call her husband ca·da·ni'. He knew that I was going to take this relationship with him, and so I am not sure which of us used the term first. I just started using it when I saw him, and he did the same with me.

More than any other affinal relationships, joking relationships depend on personal characteristics and contacts. This is exactly the same as in the joking of blood and clan kin. Those who are naturally given to joking each other do so, and those who might resent joking are usually left alone. When affinal joking relationships occur, they almost invariably date from the beginning of the affinal connection. They should not be brought into play indiscriminately at a later date, as this may be offensive. In other words, the joking is usually a long-established habit. Another important point in joking between affinal kin of opposite sex is that ordinarily it takes place only in the presence of the person through whom the affinal connection comes, a husband or wife. To joke one of the opposite sex when alone or without the intermediary connection is thought crude and is liable to cause resentment or embarrassment.

The fact has already been mentioned\(^\text{16}\) that avoidance and

\(^{16}\) See pp. 261–63.
respect relationships are customarily not observed with siblings­in-law of the opposite sex when they are not the first mate of the sibling in question. The same is true of the whole class I affinal relationship when the relative through whom the affinal connection comes has been previously married.

Generally families are agreed on the desirability of a marriage before it takes place. But when parents do not approve of the marriage a daughter makes, they may fail to take the class I relationship with her husband, which means ordinarily non­recognition of the match. The failure to establish class I or class 2 terminology and behavior pattern on the part of the woman’s other close blood kin, though not so important, can also sometimes denote disapproval of and disrespect for both relative and mate. Affinal avoidance and respect relationships are mainly established to show esteem and liking. They are a decided compliment, a seal of strong approval, not only for the affinal kin but for the relative. The Apache likes to take such relationships with the mates of those relatives for whom he has a marked interest and affection; but, if an exacting avoidance relationship seems impractical or unnecessary, the individual may politely explain to the relative that he or she does not intend to take it. It is apparent that the most stringent respects and avoidances occur only with the opposite sex, strongly suggesting a precaution against sexual interest between such close affinal kin. Although this may be an underlying reason, the Apache does not think of it as such except in certain instances.

Those of a woman’s kin (other than parents) who wish to establish class I relationship with her husband do so shortly after the marriage. Women kin, because they must not see this man, have to establish it through his wife, saying that they intend to address her husband as ca·dà·mí'. The wife informs her husband of this, and he accordingly avoids them from then on. Male kin start the relationship personally by addressing the man as ñédé' ("man"), or saying káyá·nsj'ákó' ("respect here"), or ca·dà·mí' gúlt n'ákó' ("ca·dà·mí' it becomes here") on their first meeting after the marriage. This immediately indicates that the class I relationship is to be used. The establishment of avoidance
and respect between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is done in somewhat the same manner. A man takes the first opportunity to inform the brother that he wishes the avoidance relationship with his wife and asks him to tell her this. A woman instigates avoidance with her sister's husband in the same way. If the avoidance has not been established before these siblings-in-law see each other, it may be done immediately by the proper one saying, "kàyásnsié'ákó." When no avoidance relationship is intended or possible, use of class 2 affinal terms needs no formal introduction. A man or woman just married is always careful to watch the affinal kin and determine what sort of relationships they intend to observe.

A serious affinal relationship once established continues through life, and even after death an affinal kinsman is ordinarily mentioned by the term formerly accorded him. The same may be true after divorce. White Mountain Apache insist that an affinal respect or avoidance relationship could never be officially altered. Only one case was known in which such a thing occurred:

A White Mountain man and a San Carlos woman, the first parallel cousin of his wife on the maternal side, had a respect and avoidance relationship which this woman had instigated. Both man and woman liked to gamble and went to the card games in the afternoon, but on account of the avoidance only one could play in the game at a time. As the woman usually got there ahead of the man, he frequently could not play. He therefore wished to have the relationship annulled to eliminate this inconvenience, and so sent word of his desires to the woman. It was arranged for them to meet. On coming together they shook hands and called each other by name. Then the man gave the woman a gift of money, and the avoidance obligation was abolished. Thereafter they often played in the same game. The procedure apparently followed a recognized pattern, and since the Southern Tonto practice this, it is probably also present among the San Carlos people, though not among the White Mountain Apache.

The connection between cross-cousin joking relationships before marriage and the affinal joking relationships which come after marriage is important. We know that it is possible for cross-cousins to continue joking after a marriage which makes
them affinal relatives. A strong tendency to marry cross-cousins by clan is also shown. If the fact that the cross-cousin joking relationship is more firmly established indicates that it is also older, affinal joking relationships may have been derived from it. At present, affinal joking is sharply distinguished from cross-cousin joking in that it does not permit physical contact between members of the same sex, and it may operate entirely independently of cross-cousin kinship. Therefore, if the former grew from the latter, something must be found to account for its being distinctly modified. Most Southern Athapaskan divisions seem to share in deep-rooted respects and avoidances for affinal kin, and it is to be expected that, if cross-cousin joking were the forerunner of affinal joking, it would have to become milder in form simply because it was used with affinal kin. It is possible that intermarriage between distant cross-cousins may have been sufficiently accelerated by adoption of the clan system to create an affinal joking pattern previously absent. However, more definite genealogical proof is needed before such a hypothesis can be proved.

The slang terms for affinal kin given on pages 270 and 272-73 are of especial interest because of their recent origin. No slang terms such as these were recorded for aboriginal times, though they may have existed. If none was used then, their appearance would now seem to indicate a social change or acceleration of some kind. The natural conclusion would be that affinal joking was increasing, but without comparative data for this a definite statement is impossible. Certainly, those Apache consulted during field work said nothing to indicate such an increase.

Besides the affinal terminology and behavior patterns already described, there is another grouping also based on marriage. Any men and women who are married into the same or related clans, regardless of sex or relationship between them, may use sibling terms and behavior for one another. According to how seriously they take this connection when not closely related by blood, they may drop kinship terms and behavior, even joking relationships previously existent between them, as in the following
case: A used to joke many of the members of his paternal clan. Among them was a girl who later married. When she did this, A ceased to joke the girl and started using a sibling term for her because his wife and her husband were brother and sister and therefore of the same clan.

Very often two people connected in this way with a previous cross-cousin joking relationship may continue to use it except when they feel inclined to employ sibling terms for each other. On the other hand, individuals of opposite sex married into the same clan may even go so far as to include such sibling respects and avoidances as eating apart and not sitting close together. Occasionally, these connections are used as an excuse for gift-making, a drink of tulibai, or a sum of money, and one man was given a sack of corn by another because the wives of both were members of one clan, though not related by blood. The chief Diablo made a point of inviting those chiefs to visit him who were married to women of his own wife's clan, "because they were all like brothers to him." Siblings often marry into the same clan, but this does not seem common enough to have created the sibling status between unrelated individuals married into the same or related clans. Such a relationship may be explained best by the fact that the affinal obligations and many of the economic efforts of these people are directed in common to one clan or to related clans. They often live in the same family cluster and have close economic and social affiliations.

Persons married into the same clan may speak of one another singly as bi'itsâ'ic'â-cî ("with him we two go as 'itsâ'") or in plural as bi'itsâ'ickâyi'i ("with them we several go as 'itsâ'") and bitdâ'icxi:yâ'. The first two terms allude to the common remarriage obligation ('itsâ') which all share for the same clan or related clans. Two individuals who are married to blood siblings are spoken of as dâlahî'yî?ryê', which signifies that their siblings-in-law are mutual. Because sibling terms can be used between all such people, they may base on this their choice of terminology for each other's children and their descendants. The following is an example:
Two brothers and a sister of clan 20 married, respectively, a woman of clan 2, a woman of clan 30, and a San Carlos man of clan 41. The mates of the three siblings all address one another by sibling terms, and the wives of the two brothers address each other's children as "sister's child." The San Carlos man addresses the children of one of the wives as "sister's child," and she terms his children "brother's child," but in this case the usage can also stem from the man and woman being of related clans.

Since the kinship terms are reciprocal in all but one case (children-parents), this means that individuals addressed by the same term may differ in age and sex. At the same time the kinship system allows the same term to be used for individuals of varying biological relationships as well as varying degree of blood relationship. It is natural, then, to expect the functions accompanying usage of a kinship term to vary accordingly. Both behavior and obligations may be controlled by the following factors: (1) degree of existing blood relationship, (2) relative age, (3) personality, (4) sex, and (5) type of biological relationship.

Close blood or affinal relationships are far more exacting than distant ones. The relative age of two people who address each other by the same kinship term is most important, for it is not the grandchild who tells his grandparent stories, nor is it the young nephew who sends his maternal uncle out after his horses, etc. Personality is vital in controlling kinship functions, for those who are uncongenial and dislike each other are far less likely to observe exacting behavior and obligations than those who admire and like each other. Again, joking relationships depend greatly on character and whether an individual can be joked or wishes to joke. Obviously, sex is very important in limiting kinship functions, even though kinship terminology often fails to make any sex distinction. The joking between cross-cousins of the same sex is different from that between those of opposite sex, and a sister's daughter is unable to aid her mother's brother in the way a sister's son can. The fact that the same kinship term can be addressed to certain paternal kin as well as to maternal kin, may not be inconsistent with a differ-
ence in function. The strongest ties and obligations are with the maternal lineage, and it is the male relatives of this lineage who stand back of the individual in times of feud and other troubles, not members of the paternal lineage.

In spite of the fact that kinship function is not controlled by terminological use, it is true that, when a certain term is employed, it carries with it an associated feeling, regardless of the individual addressed. To call someone "my maternal grandmother" immediately creates an accompanying emotion, whether the person so addressed is actually a maternal grandmother or not. The extent to which this emotion materializes into actual behavior and fulfillment of obligation is vitally affected by the five factors mentioned above which cause differences in kinship function accompanying the same term. These same factors have been present in every society since time immemorial and will remain, despite kinship terminology, which is powerless to alter them. Kin terms may be used to a certain extent irrespective of them, but kinship functions cannot ignore them. It is apparently the degree to which people make their kinship terminology conform with these factors that in part causes variation in kinship systems throughout the world.

The material already presented on kinship deals with both past and present. Older people like to attribute modern breaches of social behavior to the laxity of the younger generation and white contact, but kinship practices have not yet been much affected, and terminology, behavior, and obligations remain much the same as they were sixty years ago. It is probably true that affinal avoidances are not taken quite so seriously as they were in former times, though they are still carefully observed. The following is an example:

Two girls in their middle teens had spent several years at a nonreservation boarding school in close contact with white instructors and Indians of other tribes. These girls once talked about the mother-in-law avoidance and said they did not like it. They had jokingly asked their mother not to take it when they got married. They said they did not want it because it would make it impossible for their mother to be with them when their
husbands were present. Their mother, who wished them to marry before they were much older, told them jokingly that, if they got married right away, she would not take the avoidance relationships with their husbands but that, if they did not marry until they were older, she would take it. It is fairly certain that, when the girls do marry, their mother will avoid their husbands as is proper, but nevertheless the mere fact that they even thought of nonavoidance is important.

Perhaps the change in economic interdependence within the last sixty years has been the most important factor affecting kinship practices. Where in former times it was almost impossible for a man to live without the good will of his close relatives and affinal kin, today there is an alien system of wage-earning which gives the individual an economic independence never known in aboriginal times. An alien system of law has had similar effects, for the Apache can now take his troubles to government employees who care little or nothing about the concepts of his own people. In spite of this, public opinion and the good will of relatives and affinal kin are still vitally important—so important that in most instances the individual is careful to adhere to tradition.
Marriage was essential for the mature man or woman. Its importance is well indicated in folk tales where incidents relating to it are usually unduly stressed. A man without a wife was only half socially and economically potent. He had no one to cook for him, no one to bear him children, no one to gather and prepare wild foods and agricultural products, and he was therefore greatly to be pitied. The same was true of a woman without a husband, for she had no one to hunt for her, no one to bring her horses and other booty from raids, and no one to give her children. It was said that men and women could not get along without each other. Failure to marry was rare and considered decidedly abnormal. A widow or widower still young enough to remarry and produce children might choose to remain single, but rarely did this happen.

The material obtained on sex knowledge and play among Apache children is exceedingly limited. It seems inconceivable, however, that children, living in a society where life-crises are taken as a matter of course and where animals such as dogs, burros, horses, and cattle were continually present, could be long ignorant of facts concerning reproduction. Today, births are freely discussed before younger members of the family, and children may hear talk concerning sexual intercourse, although this is usually in the form of joking or gossip. The ages at which children begin to comprehend the meaning of such things may vary. Once one little girl of three came running back to camp terrified, to report that a strange burro was trying to sit on top of her grandmother's burro and in tears asked that he be driven away before he did any damage. She thought that the animals were fighting. Her family, particularly her maternal grandparents, laughed until they cried, but they did not give an ex-
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Small children of opposite sex played together up to the age of eight or nine, but, by eleven or twelve, boys and girls were usually playing separately. At twelve to fourteen, girls reached puberty and began to show an interest in the opposite sex. Youths showed a similar interest at sixteen or seventeen. From these ages on, girls and youths had social contacts which might grow into courtship and marriage. Girls usually married between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, but occasionally a girl's family married her off shortly before she reached puberty. Youths usually married between twenty and twenty-five. Old people often mention the period of their lives just before marriage and recall the good times they had.

The extreme self-consciousness of youths and girls begins to show itself a year or so before puberty and on up to the time of marriage; a year after marriage much of it has disappeared. Girls seem bashful in the presence of the opposite sex, particularly strangers. If addressed by a man or youth, a girl may refuse to answer or to look at him. Girls often refrain from eating in the presence of the opposite sex when not members of the household and in company may be reluctant to perform a household task if they feel that it will call attention to themselves. When passing a group of young men, they may look down or in another direction and may avoid facing a young man when touching him on the shoulder in invitation to dance. But personalities vary, and some girls can be even flippantly bold and quite composed in the presence of men. Youths are still more self-conscious and may even be restrained in the company of older men. When spoken to with strangers about, they may be slow in answering or even fail to make any response. They often show unwillingness to do something which would make them conspicuous, such as getting up and fetching an article, even when their parents ask them. At first, this gives the impression of sullenness, but it is really self-consciousness.

In former times youths often refused to eat in the presence of strangers. When together, young people of opposite sex even
refrained from scratching their bodies, and both (especially boys) would rather sit in great discomfort than excuse themselves to urinate. It is said that some waited so long that they were made ill. Youths often dislike to enter a crowd where there are girls they know, and John Rope tells how, as a boy, he sent a relative into a throng to get his ration ticket for him, rather than go himself, because he saw some girls there he knew. In the old days some girls and boys avoided working in the fields for fear of getting their hands rough and red and being seen thus by young people of the opposite sex. Anna Price mentioned working in the fields with youths and girls all day under the hot sun and being too embarrassed to leave for a drink of water.

Both boys and girls avoid looking at each other while dancing, and some boys are very reluctant to dance at all. The extremely self-conscious who consent to dance may do so with bowed heads and dragging feet. On the other hand, some youths show little self-consciousness at such times and dance gracefully. One young person who is not self-conscious may be made more so by another who is. Thus, a girl with an embarrassed youth for a partner is likely to drag her feet just as does he, whereas she would not if her partner danced with assurance. Closer acquaintance does away with some of the self-consciousness between two young people of opposite sex, but, at best, their public contacts would seem restrained in comparison to our own. No wonder, then, that the lack of restraint with joking cross-cousins of opposite sex comes as a relief.

Self-consciousness is a normal characteristic at this age, and we find it considered so by the people themselves, who point it out with some amusement. Training to overcome it is apparently thought unimportant, except for children of wealthy parents, who, in former times, were at least taught to show assurance with older people. Sometimes older people played on the self-consciousness of youths and girls purposely to embarrass them and now often delight in telling instances of youthful discomfitures. Some of the social dance songs contain ribald lines alluding to a boy going off in the bushes with a girl, and one song has as a theme the necessity for washing gee strings, stiff from long
wear. These songs may be sung with glee by older men, who
well know the embarrassment they are causing, and young people
sometimes leave the dance in confusion until the song is over.
The following examples of embarrassing situations were invari-
ably told as funny stories:

A shaman was conducting a curing ceremony. Several youths and
girls were in the crowd helping him sing. They carefully followed him,
but in one of the songs a word occurred which they accidently mispro-
nounced, giving it an entirely different meaning: to pull the foreskin
back from the penis. Immediately the shaman shouted at them, telling
them they had made a mistake. Realizing what they had said, they
became very embarrassed. The shaman pretended to be angry, though
he keenly enjoyed the situation.

One day an unmarried youth went into a clump of bushes to defecate.
He brought with him a new buckskin on which he was working. As he
squatted there he had the buckskin spread in front of him. Just as he
had finished and before he could get up, he saw two girls approaching
who had already seen him. As he wanted to conceal what he had been
doing at all costs, he remained squatting, pretending to work on the
buckskin. They asked him what he was doing. He said he was working
on the buckskin. The two girls, ignorant of his dilemma and wishing to
tease him, said to each other, “Come on, let’s get it away from him,”
and grabbing one edge began tugging, the youth wishing desperately
that they would go away. They pulled one way and he the other. They
were too strong for him and pulled him halfway up on his feet. Then
they let go, and he fell back into his own feces. The girls grabbed the
buckskin once more and pulled him up only to let him go. He fell back
again. After doing this several times, they must have realized the
situation, for they abruptly turned about and walked off without saying
a word. The youth carefully avoided them for several months after-
ward. In later years he used to tell the story on himself.

Once on East Fork, long ago, two boys and two girls were drinking
tulibai together. The two boys drank a lot, and soon they had to
urinate. Both of them started off up the hill to where there was a
juniper tree. One of the boys was full of stomach gas, and all the way
up the hill he broke wind; dzi’, dzi’ it sounded. The two girls heard it,
and the boy knew they did. When he got behind the juniper tree, he
just kept on going he was so ashamed. The other boy soon returned,
and the girls called to his mortified companion to come back, that he
had done nothing wrong, but he paid no attention. He remained away
for two months in order to avoid meeting the girls.
A boy was sitting in a wickiup. It was evening and he heard someone approaching outside. He jokingly said to the rest of his family, "This must be a girl who has been sent to me (in marriage)!" It happened to be two girls sent over to spend the night there, and one of them was to marry him. He was so embarrassed at his remark that, when the girls walked inside the wickiup, he rolled over on his bed, face to the wall, and remained there, without saying a word.

Once when I was a big girl, a cross-cousin of mine was courting a girl. This girl had come over to our camp to visit me and was sitting just inside the door of the wickiup. The youth did not know she was there. He had a popgun and was planning to scare me by jumping inside the door and shooting it off. This was because I was his cross-cousin. He crept up to the doorway, then suddenly leapt inside and shot his popgun off at his sweetheart, thinking it was I. She was frightened, and said, "yé." He was mortified when he saw his mistake and immediately walked off. The girl stayed a little while, but she was so embarrassed that she soon left. The next time mother saw the boy she asked him in fun, "Why did you shoot your sweetheart?" "I didn't know she was there. I thought I was going to shoot your daughter," he answered.

Casual social contacts between young people of opposite sex came mainly during large dances or ceremonies where crowds congregated. In social dancing girls selected their partners, and there was ample opportunity to talk and flirt in the dark as they danced. Youths who were not too embarrassed to do so, helped girls they liked in planting and harvesting. Sometimes four couples worked abreast down the field, talking and laughing. A youth would say to his girl, teasing her, "When this corn gets a little bigger, water it for me," talking as if he, and not the girl's family, owned the crop. Young people made up parties to go after wild plant foods, the girls inviting those youths they liked best. On such outings, when poppies were in bloom, some girls picked bunches of them and, placing a thistle plant in the middle, gave them to youths to take to their mothers. Youths helped the girls they liked on mescal-roasting excursions, carrying wood to the roasting-pit for them. When the mescal was done, they sometimes worked together pounding it into a pulp. Certain games such as shinny, quoits, spinning tops, and the four-base game could be played by boys and girls together. There was some opportunity for visiting between young people, and two or
three girls might call on a camp where boys lived, to spend an hour story-telling with the older people. It is common to find a cross-cousin relationship between a young couple who are especially friendly, as it allows for more freedom in their social contacts.

Members of the opposite sex under ordinary conditions carefully avoided physical contact. A man had to refrain from touching certain parts of a woman not his wife, at all costs, unless in the course of love-making: the breasts, shoulders (for the breasts come from the shoulders), the legs, and especially the heels (for, when a woman squats, her heels come in contact with her private parts), the private parts, buttocks, and abdomen. Unwelcomed familiarities of this kind could be recognized social offenses if reported by the girl to her parents. Sometimes such advances frightened the girl into telling even though she had not repelled them. Under these circumstances the girl’s family could exact a fine from the man, the nature of which is discussed later. Such liberties were generally considered improper, and girls who permitted them were thought wild. Older relatives not infrequently cautioned young people, and the following bit of advice, given by a mother or maternal grandmother to a girl, is typical:

You are that age now and getting old enough to marry. We want you to behave and not act crazy, running about after boys. If you don’t do this, you won’t be worth anything. But if you behave yourself, then some man, the one who will marry you, will treat you right, and you will have plenty in your own camp and live well. This is what will happen if you do as I tell you and do not let anyone touch your body.

The average girl probably prevented such familiarities as those mentioned, even from a young man whom she intended to marry. But there were exceptions, and during courting a suitor’s attempts to touch the breasts or even squeeze the thighs were sometimes permitted. However, these were the only types of secondary sex stimulation recorded for courtship.

The Apache distinctly disapproved of premarital sexual intercourse, but they admitted its occurrence and said that, because Coyote stole off in the bushes to lie with a girl in the beginning, there were still some crazy girls who hid out in the brush with
youths. Such girls were spoken of as "not good," and there is a term for boys and girls who have experienced sexual intercourse. The fact that inexperienced youths and maidens were requisite in certain ceremonies where the participants had to be as pure as humanly possible serves to indicate association of virginity with purity in both sexes. Girls with sexual experience, and even divorced young women without children, were likened to "a secondhand article," and, because "she already had a brand on her," her desirability and the amount of gifts given for her in marriage were appreciably less. But it is said that such girls and women, even though having a bastard child, could find husbands, for "there is always some youth who wants a wife badly."

Opportunities for promiscuousness might come at social dances, and while dancing with a girl a youth could suggest a rendezvous in the dark. Dance bosses policed the outskirts of dance grounds to prevent such clandestine adventures and, on finding couples too far from the light of the fire, drove them back into the crowd. In their haranguing of the crowd, they warned young couples not to try leaving the dance place. It is said that a few girls had indiscriminate experiences with youths, but ordinarily such meetings outside the firelight were between true lovers. Girls sometimes refused to reveal the identity of their lover even when pregnant. But if a girl did inform her family she usually blamed the boy in spite of what her own actions might have been at the time. Occasionally, parents ignored the happening if no pregnancy resulted, but the more common procedure, whether pregnancy occurred or not, was to compel the youth to marry their daughter. Some girls used this method to catch boys they wished to marry. It is impossible to estimate the amount of sexual experience among young people before marriage, but probably this, as well as experience in physical familiarities of any kind, is lacking among the majority.

In public advances made to the opposite sex girls took the lead. It was they who invited young men to dance or to accompany them on food-gathering parties. Likewise, it was the girls who were likely to say something or smile to attract attention when passing. They usually took the initiative in visiting with
the youths also. However, both sexes might show almost equal initiative in those aspects of courtship carried on in private or in the presence of a chosen friend. Seemingly physical advances were made by the boy, not the girl. It was he who suggested meeting in the dark, who wished to touch her, and who was considered the aggressor in sexual intercourse. This was probably also true of married couples.

Young people were reasonably aware of those who were eligible for marriage among their contemporaries. When they were old enough to marry, parents sometimes told them what members of their units were socially desirable. Anna Price says: "In our family cluster my mother's parents used to talk to us from their wickiup in the early morning, saying, 'I want you to understand me. I don't want any of you young people to flirt with your own relatives, because that is not right. That way you will become poor and won't be able to make good marriages [lose caste].'" Thus, a girl never chose boys as dance partners or as companions on wild-food-gathering parties who were ineligible in marriage. Girls also were accompanied by some older relative at social dances, usually a mother, mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, and were closely watched to see that they acted properly. Such duennas often indicated which young man, because of family and promising character, should be chosen for dance partners. But, more often, girls selected partners to their own liking—youths that they already knew, though strangers might also be favored.

A girl may show her liking for a boy by saying something to him which in itself is commonplace enough but which by the tone of her voice indicates her emotions. A more obvious gesture is to admire some belonging of his and demand it of him or request one like it. In former times, if he had a top, she might ask him to spin it for her. It is said of the buzzer toys made by boys that flirtatious girls used to tease to be shown them. "Let us hear your buzzer toy. We like the sound it makes." "No, I don’t want anyone to hear it," would be the answer. "Oh, it must sound too nice. That is why he doesn’t want to let us hear it,"

1 A dish-shaped piece of bone strung on a strand of buckskin.
the girls would say and laugh. A girl can invite a man’s attention in the way she answers a question. Thus, “Where do you live?” may be flippantly answered, “I live where the wind takes me.” Nowadays, slang expressions are favorite mediums in flirting. The word doxa·da (“it doesn’t exist, I don’t have it, it isn’t so”), coined at Fort Apache only a few years ago, spread quickly among the young people and became a favorite smart response to questions. Within the last two years a set repartee has become popular. One says, nzį (“you think so?”), and the companion answers, nsį ka·dndi· (“certainly I think so”), to which the reply is, nzįla ya· (“you think so, do you?”). One type of coquetry used by girls is to mention loudly a like or dislike of something in the presence of youths and thus attract attention. Youths, to a lesser degree, use all these methods of flirting except that of showing marked interest in an object or stating violent likes and dislikes, which, from observations, seem peculiar to girls.

A girl may show strong liking for a youth by inviting him to dance repeatedly, song after song. If he should not desire such attentions, he may leave the group of young men about the singers, and the girl will be unable to find him. In the early morning hours toward the close of a dance some couples do not bother to separate between songs but stand waiting for the next song to begin. The youth may put his arm over the girl’s shoulder and draw his blanket around them both while they dance slowly, as if reluctant to lose a minute’s happiness. In such instances the two young people are well along in courtship. These were the only times youths or men were seen to take the initiative in public demonstrations of affection.

There are other ways in which young people may indicate interest in each other. A youth seeing a girl whom he likes at a tulibai party will hasten to bring her a dipperful, and at her own camp a girl may do the same for a boy. When small trade mirrors became procurable, young people used them to flash at each other, undesired attentions being totally ignored but pleasing ones reciprocated with a return flash or a personal visit. In former times youths helped the girls whom they liked with farm work. They also hunted rabbits, wood rats, or other small
game for the girls and left them outside the girls’ doorways. If a girl or her family disliked a boy, his game was not touched, and the youth knew his attentions were unwelcome; but, if she liked him, she and her mother might cook the meat for her to take to his camp. Both girls and youths placed objects—a couple of stones, a twig, burrs, cactus leaves, or a piece of rag—in a trail often used by one of the opposite sex whom they admired, remaining hidden to see what would happen when this person found them. If the admirer was disliked, such signs were ignored, but otherwise some notice was taken of them, and the watcher was encouraged. When the admirer was a boy, he might take the first opportunity to intercept the girl on some trail. Sometimes a youth did not wait to test his welcome in this way, but, if the girl did not like him, she would ignore him or tell him to go away.

Any of the foregoing might be preliminaries to courtship or occur in advanced love-making. But it was not until the couple recognized mutual interest in each other that they began to arrange meetings where they might talk without interruption. Contemporaries of either sex who were close friends or relatives, such as parallel cousins, an older sibling’s child, or more often cross-cousins, because of lack of restraint with them, used to carry messages back and forth and arrange meetings. Thus a girl in love with a youth could ask two of his female cross-cousins to mediate for her. The cross-cousins would inform him of the girl’s interests and might give him a bead she had sent as token of her feelings. If he liked her, he would send a return message saying where and when he would meet her. Often the go-between was brought along to the meeting place, for the presence of a third party somewhat relieved the tension. But after standing there a few minutes the friend tactfully left, even though one or both of the lovers in a spasm of embarrassment might ask him to remain. It is said that three together is not good and that they should be evenly matched to prevent the single boy or girl from feeling ill at ease.

Often two couples combined on such meetings. They might do this regardless of kinship, but a favorite combination was for
the boy in one couple to be a clanmate of the girl in the other couple, and vice versa. This was likely to include a cross-cousin relationship, and the couples used each other in arranging rendezvous. On meeting at the appointed place for the first few times, both couples usually remained together, but when the lovers were better acquainted they might separate to talk alone. Afterward the two boys departed in one direction and the two girls in another. Such youths sometimes called each other by the affinal terms c'i-yf' or c'a-da-ni in fun, and the two girls termed each other c'i-yi in the same way, basing their terminology on clan and the possibility of really becoming affinal relatives, which often happened.

During the first few meetings the lovers sat about ten feet apart and might do no more than smile at each other, self-consciously avoiding showing their teeth. Sometimes they tossed little pebbles or sticks at each other playfully. As they grew to feel more at ease, they sat closer together, talking of commonplace things and, if not too embarrassed, might mention themselves and the possibility of marriage. A form of flirtatious amusement was for one to take a pinch of skin on the back of the other’s hand, the partner in turn doing the same until all four hands were one above the other. Some with sharp fingernails used to pinch until they broke the skin, just for devilment. Such lovers’ meetings took place during day or evening in some secluded place, but even about the outskirts of a dance ground couples were sometimes to be seen standing a few feet apart, talking intently for fifteen or twenty minutes.

When well acquainted, either might visit at the other’s camp, and a girl sometimes entered the youth’s wickiup in the presence of a female member of his family. A youth was not likely to go inside the girl’s dwelling because of his shyness in the presence of her family or the wish to avoid her mother. Instead he sat outside and waited for the girl to come out to him. If she did not appear, he might ask someone to tell her he was there. When the girl was alone in camp, she usually remained inside and the youth sat outside the door; but, if there were other people in the wickiup, she would go out to him to avoid embarrassment.
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Young divorcees as well as young widows who are not desired in remarriage by their deceased husband’s kin are termed bijā·n. Formerly, when without children such girls often returned to the maiden’s style of hairdressing and went about to social dances like unmarried girls. Promiscuity is usually associated with such girls, and young men out for a good time seek their company. Being already experienced with men, they are more receptive to male advances. Their often noticeable gaiety and flirtatiousness earn them the jealousy of other women, who at times call them “bad,” though as a class I have never heard women speak of them with downright dislike or disrespect, and socially they are not ostracized. In prereservation times their status did not leave them unprotected from undesired male attentions, and unwelcome physical liberties with them might be penalized almost as readily as with a more staid woman or unmarried girl. On the return of a victorious war or raiding party, such girls and women sometimes danced in the ensuing victory dance wearing nothing more than a gee string. This was an extreme exhibition of their joy and gratitude for the success the men had brought them as well as a gesture to gain the warriors’ indebtedness. Conventional married women and unmarried girls would not do this, but neither they nor anyone else could publicly condemn such behavior, for these young women were bijā·n, and this conduct was to be expected of them at times. They were considered fit for marriage if capable of women’s work and had no great difficulty in getting husbands, though they did not bring a large marriage gift. Some young men preferred them to inexperienced girls, as their boldness was intriguing. Certain love songs emphasize the desires of a young man for them, stressing the fact that they have already been used and thus are easier to talk to.

The reminiscences of an old woman who was married off by her family in her middle teens only to lose her husband two or three years later and remain a young widow for several years illustrate the experiences which such a person might have. Of a spirited nature, she ran away from an impending marriage with an old man, a kinsman of her deceased husband, who had a claim upon her. She was captured soon after by a small party of
hostile Chiricahua, who took her into Sonora, but she managed
to escape and, after a remarkable journey, reached Fort Apache.
There, an older man already married to two of her maternal
aunts, made three unsuccessful attempts to marry her, but she
would have none of him and finally, to prevent further trouble,
was sent to San Carlos, where she lived with distant kin. She
must have been extraordinarily attractive, and this, added to the
fact that she was living unassociated with near relatives, made
her the frequent target of men's advances. The following ad­
ventures occurred while she was staying at San Carlos:

I was staying in a camp not far from the San Carlos Agency, and I
was supposed to be under the care of the commanding officer there. One
day a man of the 'iyä''diyé clan came to see the commanding officer
about me. Being of this clan [that of her first husband], I was 'itsda'
[could be claimed in remarriage], but he told the officer that I was his
younger sister and that he wanted to take me home. The officer believed
him and told him it would be all right, so he came for me and took me
back to Dewey Flats with him, where he was living. I spent the night
in a camp there. This man was not my relative, and what he really
wanted was to give me away in marriage to a Chiricahua who lived close
by. So the next morning I talked to the people there: "I am not going
to marry anyone. Why did you take me up here? If I should marry
anyone, we would both die." While I was telling them this, a White
Mountain scout rode up. The officer had become suspicious and asked
him if the man was really my brother. The scout told him the truth,
and so he had sent him after me. I got my horse and rode back to San
Carlos with him, returning to my camp near the old schoolhouse.

I had been staying there a long time, when one day I went to the
store. There I met A's father. He was a scout then. He bought some
calico and, putting a five-dollar bill on top of the bundle, he tried to give
it to me. But I would not take it and gave it back to him. "Why don't
you like these things? I just want to give them to you," he said. But I
told him that the officer had told me not to let anyone bother me.
"Then tell the officer about what I just offered you," he answered. I
said, "I don't want your gift. I did not come down here to look for a
man or to marry one," and walked off.

I stayed on at San Carlos. One time the Chiricahua chief, tl’ahe’è-z,
sent for me. I went there, and he told me that there was a man called
yá’’líkó who did not believe that I was a good runner. This chief had
told him that I could run. The man was coming over to where we were.
The chief wanted me to race him. He put five dollars on me. The father of
A bet some on me and another man did also. Altogether about twenty-
five dollars was placed on me to win. A lot was bet on the man too. They marked out the course and stretched a rope across right at its end, over which we had to jump. We stood together at the start. When we got off, I let him get ahead a little way, but when we came close to the rope I really started to run and jumped over it ahead of him. The men hollered because I had won. Those who had bet on me thanked me.

Some time after this, one of my brothers came to the officer several times and talked to him about me, trying to persuade him to let me leave the agency. But the officer said “No,” that one man had posed as my brother but had not told the truth, and so he was not going to trust another. My brother went to see him so often that he finally believed him and let me go. I didn’t leave there but just stayed at my brother’s camp, as he had told me not to go off anywhere else. After a while B [her present husband] came there and tried to flirt with me. He said, “You have beaten a man once, but I don’t think you could beat me.” “Are you going to try me?” I asked him. “Yes, I don’t think you can beat me,” he said. I put up five dollars, and the officer put ten dollars on me. We went over to the same place I had raced before and raced again. The man I had run against first was a better runner than B, and so I won right away.

I had been at San Carlos for two years now. There were a lot of single men living there then, and many of them came to where I was staying almost every night. They came to visit me, but I didn’t want any of them. I was then staying with the daughter of a chief of my clan. I told these men who came to see me that they might just as well cut me up in little pieces and divide me among them. One time the father of C’s wife went to see the officer about marrying me. But the officer told him, “No, you can’t do that. You already have two wives.” The officer sent for me soon after and asked, “Do you want to get married?” “Whom will I marry?” I answered. He told me about the man who had asked for me, but I knew that this man had two wives, so I said, “No, I don’t want that man.” Then I went back to my camp.

Some time after this I went to where a card game was going on. When I got home in the evening I found this man lying close beside my belongings. My relative was cooking and wanted me to come in and eat, but I told her to wait, that I had something to do. I went over to a camp where a lot of Chiricahua girls were staying. I went right in the middle of them and lay down there to sleep all night. I did not like that man. In the morning when I got home he had gone, but before leaving he had said, “I am going to get her. She can’t get away from me.” My relative told me this. Later D’s father, who was camped on the opposite side of the river from Natchez, was going to hold a ceremony. He sent a man over for me to ask that I come and help sing. He had done this two or three times already. I told the old man whom he
sent, "Don't come after me any more. I am not a woman shaman. If I were, you ought to bring something [ceremonial offering] to request my help in the proper way. But I am not that kind of woman. I did not come down here to marry someone. The officer brought me here so don't come back to me again if that man sends you." The old man came back once more, "I told him what you said, but he said that he would get you all the same. He knows all kinds of power and he has love power. He will use it on you sometime and make you like him. Then you will go crazy and run after him." "Well, even if he is that kind of man, I will not marry him," I replied.

I used to go to gamble with one old man who lived down the river. One day I won a bundle of calico and five dollars from him. It was a large bundle of calico. The next day I went to him, saying, "Yesterday I won some stuff from you, and so I want to give this bundle of cloth back to you today." But the old man did not want it and said that he had lost it to me fairly. So I kept the winnings. On the way home at the top of a hill a man stopped as I went by. He asked me, "Why don't you want to get married? How about me?" "You look all right, but I don't want to get married," I told him. A Chiricahua girl was with me at the time, so I told him if he wanted to get married he could have her. "There are lots of Chiricahua girls living below here. You might be able to get one of them also," I added. This man wanted to take me to the store and get five dollars for me, but I walked off home.

One time when I had gone off to gamble, B brought some cloth to my camp and put it in my sack. He placed some money with it also. A Chiricahua woman saw him do it. When I got home, I found his gift. I got mad right there and said, "I wish that a coyote would eat up the one who did this" [a common expression]. The Chiricahua woman spoke to me, "What's the matter with you. You ought to realize that a woman cannot do without a man. You ought to get married. A nice boy left these here for you." But I replied that I had not come to San Carlos to get married.

Later on, one evening B came to where I was staying. "What did you come here for? You had no business to come here. Why did you put those things in my sack? You ought to have given this calico and money to some of these Chiricahua girls. I won't be staying here much longer. I am getting tired of you men hanging around. I don't eat well when anyone is watching me. You men come here every evening so that I am unable to eat in peace," I told him. But B had done this because gusi\-y\-u\-n, a man who had been a captive among our people, had told him, "Get that woman. She is a good woman." He had known of my

2 This is illustrative of her courage, for according to Apache belief such a threat might have dire consequences for her.
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stay among the Chiricahua near the Rio Grande, and he wanted B to marry me. Later on gūsiyú:n and B came to my camp together. "I told him not to come here any more," I informed both of them. After that B used to come to see me almost every evening. [At this point some of her relatives heard of B's attentions to her, and a brother-in-law came to talk to her about it. She finally accepted B.]

About three days later B came to my camp and stopped there. I tried to send him away, but he would not go. He remained at my camp that night, and we slept together for the first time. The next morning I took him with me to see the officer, as he had told me to do so whenever such a thing happened. When we got there, the officer said to B, "She tells me that you are at her camp most every day, so it is all right if you want her. Marry her and stay with her as long as you can." That is how we got married and lived together from then on.

Flute music was considered particularly seductive to women and was frequently used in courting. Many flutes have a butterfly drawn on them, as butterflies are important in love ritual. Women's minds are as flighty as butterflies and must be attracted by something beautiful, just as a butterfly is. Sometimes a youth adept at flute-playing concealed himself near a girl's camp to play. If a mother should ask her daughter what the obvious sound was, the daughter would coyly answer that she did not know. Later, she might go out to meet her suitor.

A certain type of social dance known as 'ildac'i'ndá'ildá' ("they repeatedly stop before each other") was usually accompanied by songs known as síná-ndiː-he ("song spreading out and over") which means that the song spreads and is known far and wide. During a night of social dancing, this dance started about midnight and continued until the early morning hours when the dancing broke up; or, it might come at the beginning of the evening and again at the end, next morning, to remind the young people of their sweethearts. It could also be given following the appearance of the gá:n dancers during a curing rite and even in the course of a war dance or lightning dance. When girls and young men were getting sleepy and losing enthusiasm for the dance, a dance boss would call out, "It is time to sing síná-ndiː-he and liven up these girls. They are getting too sleepy."

The girls chose their partners, and two or more girls might
dance with the same number of boys. Boys danced side by side facing girls in the same formation, the two lines moving to and from each other repeatedly. In another style boys danced away a few steps while girls followed them, and then back while girls danced away. A leader well versed in the songs led the chorus, aided by a drum. Girls and boys might sing the songs to each other as they danced, often improvising words flirtatiously.

People sang these songs on other occasions as well, when lonely or returning after a night of dancing. Men sang them on the warpath when far from home, and, regardless of other people, a girl or boy might sing snatches about camp because they felt gay or were thinking of someone they cared for. Many youths were too shy to use these love songs in courting, but others, when alone with a girl, would sing to her, and at the end she would sing an answer. Words can be improvised, but it is said that the tunes are very old. New ones were learned from the Chiricahua Apache when these people were living on the Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations, and today a few from the Navaho are also used. Certain love songs became extremely popular and were widely sung. A few men make a specialty of love songs and are famous for the number they know. Such men are in great demand for leading singing at social dances. They learn from hearing others sing. The songs contain no holy power and are not acquired ritually. The following ones are typical:

I

a) ca·'ágyá
   to me he goes
   [my lover]
   ni'
   you

b) stze·ge'nt'ald6
   my cross-cousin
   á·cndì·d6
   I remember continually
   ni'
   you

The first part is sung by either boy or girl, and the second is sung in response. The song opens with a chorus of meaningless phrases.
The singer, a girl, sings as if she hears that a man with whom she has had intercourse has told someone else about it. This is a comic song. John Rope gave the same song and said it originated in the following way:

A man from Cibecue visited with some White Mountain Apache while they were making Goodwin Springs their headquarters after the peace of 1864. They held a social dance and this man, whose name was 'áyánácù hé, danced with a certain girl. The following morning he started home for Cibecue, but on this way he stopped on the side of a mountain and sat under a big pine tree. He looked back over the valley to where he had been dancing, and it made him cry because he was sad at leaving the girl behind. Right there he made up the words to the song and sang it.

A youth would not sing this song in the presence of a young divorced woman for fear of angering her, but this type of love song, known as bijá·nsf (divorcee's or widow's song), could be used at social dances where a chorus did the singing.

The same as Song III. In this song the youth insinuates that he is going to marry the divorcee the next afternoon.
The cross-cousin term sizë·gë' is fairly common in love songs. It does not allude to an actual cross-cousin relationship so much as to a lover or sweetheart. Youths and girls in love with each other may say ya·lân sizë·gë' ("goodbye my cross-cousin") on parting, regardless of existing or nonexisting kinship, and formerly at social dances it was customary for both boys and girls who danced opposite each other to use the expression dâ·ndë·sizë·gë' ("that's right my cross-cousin!") at the end of each song. The occurrence of the cross-cousin term in this context is apparently an outgrowth of frequent marriage between cross-cousins by clan. Other terms for sweethearts used by both sexes are cîc'î'njô·nî ("the one who likes me" or "is good to me"), cîc'î'bînî·î ("the one whose mind is on me"), cîc'î'tëdjiît ("the one who flirts with me"). One who flirts is called têldjiîtî and the same may be used for a lover. Of two people in love with each other it is said, ñtêc'î'bînî·î" ("their minds [are] toward each other"). The terms cî'dë·kë'ë ("my friend," "my partner") and sizë·gë' ("my cross-cousin") are the only ones used for sweetheart in direct address.

Looks and personality had much to do with selection in marriage. Women seemed to prefer men with erect posture,
supple body, absence of corpulence, and long, straight hair, well groomed and hanging to the middle of the back, just above the belt. The expression should be pleasant and open, with a nice smile and bright eyes. Wrinkles are considered ugly. The following statement is from a woman:

Women think of men in this way. Some men have pleasant, easy-going faces, and you can tell that they are nice to talk to. Others have mean faces and get mad easily. Some men have smiling faces. Some are good looking; some are not. A man with short hair didn’t look well. We liked him to have nice, long hair, well cared for. A big nose and mouth are ugly. Small, finely cut features are handsome, with small nose and mouth. A broad face with high cheekbones is ugly. The most handsome face is an oval-shaped one, without bony angles at the cheeks or about the eyes. Some men have very deep-set eyes with large eye sockets. That doesn’t look very well. Men with popeyes and eyes close together don’t look well either. Eyes should be set wide apart. We don’t like a man’s hands and feet to be large, and again they should not be too small. They should be just medium [somewhat smaller in proportion to the body than among whites]. These are the things a girl goes by when she picks out a young man for herself. They used to say, “The man you love a great deal you should take. Never let him get away from you.”

Men desired the above-mentioned face type in women, with pleasing smile and nice eyes. Long, well-kept hair was much admired. A tall woman was thought grotesque, and those of medium stature about right. Thinness and corpulence were both undesirable and ugly. The taste seemed to run to buxom plumpness. Erect carriage was essential. Large buttocks were considered ugly, as were very narrow or very wide hips. “A woman should have hips of just the right width,” which means slightly wide according to white standards. The Apache also says, “A flat chest and flat breasts are not nice. Some women are like this, but they don’t look well.”

Young people of both sexes took pride in their appearances, especially during courtship. They wore good clean clothes and bead ornaments when they had them. Plants with an aromatic scent were sometimes worn, especially by girls, to attract the opposite sex. The face was often painted in designs, sweet-smelling flowers and herbs being ground up with the paint.
There is a distinct power and ritual for creating love impulse in the opposite sex. Its name, *biłgo’dzo’* ("with him *go’dzo’*") signifies power to attract some living object: "Fire is *biłgo’dzo’* because people can’t do without it, and everyone likes fire because they sit close to it in cold weather. Moths are fascinated by it and fly into its flames to be consumed." Mythological heroes are often mentioned as having *dzō’* with them, sometimes in the form of a fly behind the ears, which acts as a monitor in overcoming grave dangers. In this more fundamental sense *go’dzo’* means a supernatural guiding power, but it has come to be mainly used in connection with attracting living things. The holy power known as *biłgo’dzo’* is used only for humans, deer, antelope, and mountain sheep. Although it is especially for humans, it may be used in conjunction with hunting power as an added tool to secure success, but generally this is only when the hunting power is not sufficient in itself. Certain hunting powers contain a type of *biłgo’dzo’* of their own, which, though similar to the true *biłgo’dzo’* or love power, is distinct from it and could not be used for humans. Because of this connection, it is not always certain whether the real love power is meant or merely the *biłgo’dzo’* of hunting power.

*biłgo’dzo’* is used by both men and women, primarily for attracting the opposite sex, but it can also be used to make one’s self liked by people in general. A man knowing this power, while walking among the camps, may say to himself, "Let everyone be good to me this day"; or, as in former times, if on his way to gamble at hoop-and-poles, a game in which strong power of another sort was used in disabling opponents, he might say, "May everyone feel good toward me when I play today," and thus make his opponents like him so well they would not want to use their gaming power on him:

A man who knows this power can go about among the people and get anything he wants. Everyone laughs with him and likes him, even if he is not known locally. Such a man can get a drink of tulibai anywhere he wants, for they will always offer it to him. He can hold back witchcraft from himself, for he can make all the shamans who know and use it like him, and they will not want to hurt him. He is always being given a horse or gun, because everyone is drawn to him.
If applied to a person in overdoses, the power can cause insanity, and occasionally this is done for malicious purposes by a man or woman who has been jilted. If the individual does not know the power, someone who does may be hired secretly. In prereservation times care was taken that the victim did not find out, for he might say, "You have made me crazy. There is nothing left for me, and so I might as well kill you." If he should carry out his threat, the general sympathy would be on his side. Insanity caused in this manner can be cured only by someone knowing the same power, and if the victim's family should unwittingly hire the one who brought about his condition, the cure is effected more easily.

When used to attract the opposite sex, the power is said to overcome previous indifference or strong dislike and within a few hours to create an overwhelming desire to see the person who has employed it. This individual's every word, gesture, and action is vividly recalled, these thoughts boring into the mind until they become an obsession. Women are more vulnerable to it than men, and, if they receive an overdose, they may pursue the man or run wildly off into the brush never to return. Although it may be used in promiscuity, it is often employed in intended marriage also. An estranged mate can be won back with it as well. Old women sometimes offer to use it in getting young men for their girl relatives, and a girl once described such an offer from a male relative as follows: "Once I was visiting some relatives. I didn't know the young people very well there. One of my relatives asked me, 'Would you like a boy? I can get one for you.' 'How will you get him for me?' I asked. 'I will make him come with the wind,' he told me."

When a person fails to make an impression on any of the opposite sex, the power can be used on them, a little of it each day, and some of its songs sung, until gradually those it is used on begin to respond. Frequently young girls of marriageable age avoid older men said to have the power, lest they use it on them for spite or to obtain them as wives. Formerly, some aggressive and unscrupulous men used it as a threat to get their way with a girl. This was not approved. This power was considered simi-
lar to witchcraft but was not identical with it. The uninitiated who tamper with it may cause insanity not only in others but also in themselves, and for this reason those who know it are loathe to talk of it. When used on someone of the opposite sex, the power must be removed after having taken effect, and, if the user should not know how to do this, the victim is likely to become insane.

The summit of a cone-shaped hill just west of Cedar Creek Crossing, known as Sugar Loaf, is especially associated with \( \text{\textbf{\textit{bitgo'dzdz}}' \) If one is able to run to its top at a good pace without stopping, the imaginary \( \text{\textbf{\textit{bitgo'dzdz}}' \) plant will be found growing close to an anthill there. This is plucked up by the roots and helps one to get the power. Because of the hill’s rocky slopes, it would be extremely difficult to run up, and it is said that to walk up, swinging the arms as if running, also works. No cases of the power being thus acquired were recorded. Those who have climbed up the hill out of curiosity say that butterflies of various kinds are to be seen fluttering about or sitting on the rocks at the summit. Many kinds of plants are also growing there. A hole in the side of a stone bluff, not far southwest of this place, is also said to have \( \text{\textbf{\textit{bitgo'dzdz}}' \) inside it, for many dead butterflies and other insects, bright-colored flowers, and even small birds are to be seen lying within, drawn there by its power.

Most of the following ritual details were obtained from CF3 (adopted Eastern White Mountain band). It is possible that information from other sources might vary. The power comes from butterflies at a place where the Butterfly People are said to live. This place is known to those having the power. No particular species is associated with the power but rather all kinds of butterflies. The butterfly’s aimless fluttering from one flower to another suggests the wandering of a feeble mind, and it is said that the insects cause insanity. It was denied that parts of butterflies were used in the ritual: “Too likely to make the person the power was used on go crazy.” The ritual must be learned from one already knowing it and cannot be acquired by personal experience. A relative may be willing to teach it without a ceremonial offering from the pupil, but ordinarily a special ritual
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gift is necessary. A pinkish mineral paint called tci·dùlji ("blue-red paint") is ground up, moistened, and molded into a disk with a hole through the middle. Through this hole is passed one end of a section of horsehair rope. The paint is a necessary ritual item of the power and is always carried by those knowing the ceremony. The offering is placed on the foot of the person knowing the power, and, if accepted, instructions proceed in secret. No further payment is necessary.

Without any set prayers the rite includes several songs known as biła gå'daš'tę. The words of one of them are said to describe the singer's clothing, beginning at the feet and going to the head, each piece of clothing being mentioned as da'ídžít ("making love"); thus, da'ídžít ké ("making love shoes"), etc. Besides the songs there are set sentences containing power which can be repeated. John Rope claims that the power of sun and wind are also incorporated in the rite. The power is always employed in private, during either day or night. Sometimes it is aided by securing a hair from the person's head, although clothing and other properties are not used in this way. To remove the power, the above-mentioned disk of paint is moistened and a bit rubbed off on the finger and applied to his or her cheeks. Recovery is almost immediate, although the aroused interest and affections remain.

Several instances of suspected or known use of love power follow:

A, a married woman, was camping fifteen miles from their home. She happened to go to the spring for water, where she met a youth. The woman attempted to flirt with him, saying, "Give me some water." But he said, "No, I don't want you to talk to me. You are a married woman." The woman answered him, "You don't like me now, but very soon, today sometime, you are going to like me," and with that she got her water and walked back to her camp. Not long after she went to where people were gambling. Almost immediately the youth came along and stopped close to where she sat. He spoke to her, "Are you going home tomorrow?" He had heard that she was going home with her husband.

"Yes, I am going," she told him.

"No, I don't think you are going," he told her. Already he liked her. The next day the woman and her husband left. The youth saddled
up his horse and followed. As the woman and her husband were crossing
the Gila River near their home, she saw the youth running his horse
along the bank on the opposite side. She went on to her camp. In a
little while someone told her that the youth was over by the river, so
she went to him. She got up behind him on his horse, and they rode
back to the mountains. This is the way they were married. Before then
he did not like her, but she made him love her. She learned the power
from her mother.

This happened long ago. A youth of the t'udítxílí clan was in love
with a Chiricahua girl, but the girl did not care anything for him. When
the youth came over to see her, she would not talk to him. After
he had gone, she would say, “Oh, I don’t like him. I don’t want him
bothering me.” Then one time over at the youth’s camp they had a
tulibai party. He sat there that morning and flashed his mirror at the
girl in her camp. She remarked, “Oh, I don’t like him at all. I don’t
want to ever see him.” But a little later on she said to another girl,
“Come on, let’s go over to that boy’s camp and see what they are
doing.” So they went over there. The youth saw them coming, and,
when they got there, he gave the girl a cup of tulibai to drink. Then the
girls left. Not long after, the girl said, “I think I will go over and see
that boy again. I feel as if I would like to talk to him.” So she went
over, and that night she remained, sleeping with the boy at his camp.
The next day she married him. He must have used biłgő’dzó’ on her.

A man was married to a woman. The wife died, and later on the
family wanted to marry her younger sister to him in order to get him
back. The girl had never been married before. They arranged to do
this without consulting her. Her mother made a new wickiup for her
not far from the family camp, and, when it was ready, they sent the
girl over with another woman. When she got there, her father told her
that the wickiup was to be her home from now on and that she would
live there. After he had gone, the girl asked the other woman who the
man was to be and was told that it was the husband of her dead sister.
This was the first she knew of the plan, and, as soon as she heard of it,
she walked out of the wickiup and home, saying that she would not
marry the man. When he later arrived at the new wickiup, she was not
there, and he didn’t get her. She later married another man, her present
husband. Some years after this the girl became ill and at times was not
sane. She would hold her head and rock from side to side. She became
so weak that she could not walk about. A lightning shaman was hired
to sing over her and found out that she had ga’n sickness. However,
other secret opinions were that her illness might have been caused by
the man she jilted, who quite possibly hired someone knowing biłgő’dzó’
to use this power on her.
Once a young man was attracted by two girls and wished to flirt with them, but they would have none of him. They disliked him so much that he decided he would try using some $\textit{b\text{"i}_{\text{"g}}\text{"o}_{\text{"d}}\text{"a}_{\text{"o}}$' power which he knew, just to see if it would work. Every time he attempted to be friendly with the girls, they would tell him to beat it. Once when they went down to the river to get water, he followed them and asked them for a cup of water, but they said, "Go on, get out. We don't like you at all." Then they became furious at him because he tried to pluck a hair from one of the girl's heads. He succeeded in doing this and took it off to where an $\textit{'i}_{\text{"g}}\text{"a}_{\text{"y}}\text{"e}_{\text{"\dot{s}}}_{\text{"t}}\text{"s}_{\text{"\dot{\text{"o}}}$ [a species of yucca] was growing. Here he pulled off one of the white fibery threads from the edge of a center leaf of the plant and tied it about the girl's hair. Then he thrust them back together, in between the leaves of the plant.

The power worked immediately, for soon the two girls came, following after him. He told them scornfully, "Go on, I don't want you at all. Beat it." But they kept chasing him, and soon the one whose hair he had taken put her arms about him, trying to embrace him. He had a strong power all right. Seeing that the power had worked and as he did not want the girl to lose her mind through it, he took some of the paint for this power which he always carried with him and painted her cheeks. This cured her, and she was all right again. The young man felt badly about what he had done and did not like it. He had just tried it out on them. He did not want to use it again on anyone, but he often used to tell of the incident and how much those girls liked him after that.

Trying out a newly acquired power to see if it works is not uncommon, and young people have told me jokingly that they wished they knew some love power, just to see if it really was effective.

Clan and blood kin exogamy is the most important factor governing choice in marriage, for it sets definite limitations: "People do not fall in love with members of their clan or related clans, because they know it is impossible for them to marry." In spite of the strong feeling against it, on rare occasions members of related clans have married. This type of marriage is considered "crazy," and, when out of earshot, the couple are ridiculed: "Look, that man is married to his own relative." It is said that children of such marriages are likely to show deformities or be insane, the results of bad blood in the child caused by the mixture of the related parents' blood. However, where similar misfortunes occur in nonincestuous marriages, they are at-
tributed to other causes. Marriages violating clan and related clan exogamy, or that of blood relationship, are thought to cause the death of one or both persons if the man and woman remain living together; therefore, few have the temerity to disregard the scorn of their society and the fear of its beliefs.

Bonney (Eastern White Mountain band) states that members of clan 5 sometimes married into clan 3, because it was not so closely related to it as to other clans in its phratry. However, he added that the permanence of these marriages depended on whether the families involved were willing to accept this as sufficient reason for allowing them. He also mentioned one or two marriages of clan 5 with clan 2 but said that they occurred through ignorance of the relationship between the two clans and were broken up as soon as it was realized. The following are two cases of marriage between related clanspeople:

A man of clan 3 married a woman of clan 1 living in a community sixty miles or more distant. He went to live with her and her family and only returned at rare intervals to visit his old home. People said that this was because he was ashamed. It was said that he did not go about much among the camps near his wife's family cluster for the same reason. People laughed about him because he had married his own relative, and men said he was not a real man. The couple had only two children, and this was pointed out as proof that such an incestuous marriage could not be normally productive.

A woman of the Western White Mountain band and clan 21 married a man of the San Carlos group and clan 28. Both families were ignorant of the relationship between the two clans, which were probably seldom if ever in contact with each other prior to reservation life. The relationship was traced through intermediary clans which were related to both clans 21 and 28 and in contact with them. Several years later they discovered the relationship, but the couple did not separate, because their marriage was a happy one and the clan connection was not very close. This case is of interest, as it demonstrated how clan relationship may be established on a basis other than that of previous marriage restrictions.

No close blood relatives (those directly related within the first four descending generations) should marry. As far as could be determined, this applies equally to all types of relatives. One
instance was mentioned in which a man married the daughter of his father's brother. People talked of it with disapproval, but his father said, "I can't help it. They both are in love, so there is nothing I can do." When the girl died, not long after, people were quick to point this out as the result of marrying a blood relative. John Rope says that marriage restrictions with blood kin are becoming lax because of changing ways and that now it might be possible for second cousins to marry if they are not of the same or related clans. However, coming from one of the older generation, this statement concerning the waywardness of the younger generation may show a slight prejudice.

The social criticisms resulting from marriage between blood and clan relatives are always pointed out as the horrible consequences of such unions. Formerly, chiefs and subchiefs spoke of these marriages to their people in early morning harangues, particularly if some misfortune had befallen the couple: "You have seen what has happened because of this—all the trouble that has arisen because relatives have married each other. Then let it be a warning to you not to do the same yourself."

Family status was an important consideration, and marriage ties with a large, wealthy family were generally sought. Such a family was able to make sizable marriage gifts, which was especially important to the girl's family, and moreover alliance with a powerful family had decided social and economic advantages. Just as typically Apache was the opposite viewpoint that marriage into a small and poor family could be desirable because the husband or wife would not have many blood relatives to make demands and so could more directly help their parents-in-law.

Proved ability was not necessarily a criterion in selection, for often a young man might be totally inexperienced in raiding and hunting of large game before marriage, and girls were frequently unskilled in women's tasks. However, parents wishing to make sure their son would get a competent wife, sometimes married him to an older woman, a widow, knowing that she was a good worker. Likewise a daughter might be married to an older, experienced man, sometimes already with a wife who could help in
the performance of household tasks. Laziness, bad temper, and physical inability to perform expected labors were vital hindrances to marriage. Good looks and magnetism were somewhat less important than among ourselves, for the economic aspects of marriage were uppermost in parents' minds, and in many cases parents arranged the marriage.

The Apache says that, if one is a member of a small and unimportant clan, it is desirable to marry into a large and powerful clan and establish connections with an extensive number of affinal kin who can help in times of need. Even members of large clans may seek marriages in other large clans for the same reasons. However, as one old man put it, "it is good to marry into a large clan, but if you fall in love with a person in a small clan you should not let the size of the clan stand in the way of marriage. The one you should marry is the one you love."

One man stated:

The easiest girls to get acquainted with are your cross-cousins, and because you are likely to be on familiar terms, talking and joking, it also makes them the easiest ones to marry. But you never know what girl will make you the best wife until after marriage, when she starts to cook. Sometimes cross-cousins turn out all right as wives, sometimes not. Some women are no good. They fight their husbands, and they have to be told to do everything. They are not efficient and won't do things on their own. But others pitch right in and work, cook, and wash without being told to. That's the kind to get. The best girl to marry is the one you know well and are in love with, regardless of any relationship she may have to you.

In spite of this statement, extended clan (not blood) kinship does enter into or affect marriage selection, a fact amply borne out by marriage statistics.3

Males tend to marry, first, clan cross-cousins on the paternal side and, second, clan cross-cousins on the maternal side. Females tend to marry, first, clan cross-cousins on the maternal side and, second, clan cross-cousins on the paternal side. Both sexes tend to marry, third, clan parallel cousins on the paternal side (individuals whose fathers were of the same or related

3 See Appen. L.
clans). Undoubtedly, the familiarity and lack of restraint which can exist between clan cross-cousins is conducive to marriage. As far as could be determined, the lack of restraint and the right to instigate it belong equally to both types of cross-cousins, and, therefore, predominant marriage of males with clan cross-cousins on the paternal side cannot be attributed to a difference in behavior pattern between the two kinds of cross-cousins. Men marry clan cross-cousins on the paternal side more often than those on the maternal side, and women do the opposite, apparently because of a fundamental pattern of marrying into the paternally related clans and also because the boy's family and not the girl's usually initiates marriage proposals.

A study of known close blood cross-cousin sets revealed that the great majority of blood cross-cousins, regardless of sex, tend to marry into unrelated clans, as would be expected, and that men tend to marry into the paternal clan or paternally related clans more than women do. Even though females show a predominant tendency to marry cross-cousins by clan on the maternal side, they do not necessarily show a tendency to marry into the clan of their close blood cross-cousins on the maternal side. This would indicate that marriage between close blood cross-cousins was probably never an institution, though marriage with distant blood cross-cousins on the paternal side may have been.

The clan system and clan representation among the White Mountain Apache was such that clan combinations in marriage were definitely limited. Among the Western White Mountain, where only three sets of related clans existed, it meant that, for each individual, marriage was possible in only two of them, one of which would necessarily be composed of clan cross-cousins on the paternal side and the other contain many who were clan cross-cousins on the maternal side. The presence of clan 6 among the Eastern White Mountain, forming four clan sets, did not give an appreciably wider range of choice, as it was a small clan and principally localized in one area. Thus, one could say that predominant “cross-cousin by clan” marriage was stimulated by these clan limitations, if it were not for other evidence confirm-
ing its real existence: the already mentioned lack of restraint between “cross-cousins by clan” and the use of the cross-cousin term in love songs and for “sweetheart.” The frequent cross-cousin joke, feigning desire for marriage or sexual intercourse, also seems significant. Thus, regardless of whether or not predominant “cross-cousin by clan” intermarriage grew out of automatically controlled marriage choice, the Apache themselves have recognized it as a definite pattern.

It is possible that predominant “cross-cousin by clan” marriage derived from the clan system, for frequently two clans well represented in an area tended to intermarry continually, and therefore marriage into the paternal clan was the common thing. On the other hand, if marriage with distant blood cross-cousins on the paternal side was an established pattern before acquisition of the clan system, it could cause preponderances of marriages between two clans and tend to associate these clans in one locality. The cross-cousin joking relationship is a deep-rooted one, and it would be rash to surmise that it originated in clan alone, without further evidence. Whether predominant “cross-cousin by clan” marriage is an outgrowth of an old cross-cousin joking relationship or whether the joking relationship is an outgrowth of it, such marriages have at least been accelerated by the present clan system and the availability of mates which it permits.

Apache emphatically deny that there are any marriage preferences, apart from size, between certain clans, saying all unrelated clans are equally desirable. This is borne out by marriage statistics which show more marriages between certain clans, but this may be explained by absence, presence, and size of clans in the areas from which the data come. Thus, the largest unrelated clans in a given area seem to show the greatest number of intermarriages, the smaller unrelated ones proportionately less. Likewise, a small clan will show more intermarriages with large clans in its area than with small ones. Another factor which apparently affects preponderance of marriages between certain

4 The Jicarilla have a somewhat similar joking relationship between cross-cousins, but they have no clans.
clans is the predominant "cross-cousin by clan" marriage, already mentioned.

Marriage statistics also offer some light on the marriage choices of siblings. Siblings of the same sex show a slight tendency to marry into the same or related clans, especially into the same clan, and siblings of opposite sex an equally slight tendency to marry into unrelated clans. The same is true for half-siblings and maternal parallel cousins. This is apparently a further reflection of the already mentioned tendency for males to marry cross-cousins by clan on the paternal side; females, those on the maternal side.

From other marriage data it is apparent that the grandfathers' clans have no important influence over the marriage choices of their grandchildren. It is fairly common for two successive generations of women in a maternal lineage to marry into the same clan, but it is less common for three successive generations to do so.

Marriages which were the outcome of courtships were probably no more common than those arranged without any preceding courtship. The latter type of marriage is said to have been satisfactory and lasting and shows the influence which parents and older siblings had in the individual's life. The young couple were sometimes ignorant of the arrangement until the girl was sent to the boy's camp. She might object in tears, saying that she wished to have nothing to do with the youth or man and that she loved another. Young men could seriously object also, but the insistence of relatives usually overcame the resistance of young people who found themselves compelled to marry. Occasionally, a young person was able to resist; a girl might refuse to be sent to the boy's camp for the night, or the boy refuse to have anything to do with the girl chosen for him.

Sometimes a young man in love with a girl asked his family to arrange a marriage with her. If the family approved, they would take the matter in hand and proceed. When a boy asked a girl to go home with him (marry him), she might inform her parents of this. But usually young people in love with each other were too shy to mention such matters and left it entirely
to their families, who, if they approved the match, would arrange a marriage and start the exchange of marriage gifts. The young couple were quick to notice this, and it is said that it often made them too self-conscious to continue their courting.

Several recognized methods of marriage proposal were used to varying degree: (1) proposal by a member of the boy's family followed by the initial marriage gift to the girl's family; (2) marriage gift taken to girl's family by a member of the boy's family without previous notification of intentions; (3) girl sent by her family to the household in which the boy lives without previous notification; (4) gifts sent to boy's family by members of the girl's family without previous notification of intentions. The first of these was by far the most common, and usually the others were employed only when the girl's family particularly desired the marriage. Besides these, there were a few irregular methods, as when a girl led a boy's horse home and tied it up outside her wickiup, thus indicating her wish to marry him, or a girl lured a young man into committing some indiscretion with her, later reporting it to her family, who would force him to marry her. One instance was recorded in which a young man raped a girl who would not accept him in marriage, well knowing that her family would then probably force him to marry her. Elopement in the face of family objections was practically nonexistent, for in this the young couple cut themselves off from the aid and support of relatives and so were in danger of becoming socially and economically impotent.

In the first of the methods mentioned above, a member of the boy's family was sent to speak with the girl's closest relatives. This was often the father, but, if he was not a persuasive speaker, he might ask a kinsman to do it for him. It was not thought proper for a man personally to delegate one of his wife's relatives as intermediary, but he could get his wife to arrange this for him. Often the boy's mother or maternal grandmother, sometimes both, acted as the negotiators, and not infrequently an older married sister or brother was employed. Ordinarily, it was the parents of the girl who were approached; but, if they were too old, absent, or dead, one of her adult siblings or her maternal
uncle or aunt would do. The intermediary for the boy stated his mission without any formalities, saying, for instance, "We wish you to be our friends. We want your girl for one of our kin. From now on we will help each other. From now on you can help us, and if we have anything we will help you also." The visit was not prolonged, and the girl's relatives might reach an immediate decision in favor of the proposal, replying, "All right, you can have her. She can go with your relative." If acceptance of the proposal was impossible or undesirable, this was stated at the time. Possibly the girl's parents had already been approached by another family wishing their girl and might answer, "We have already accepted gifts from these other people, and so we cannot do as you wish." On the other hand, they might want time to consider the matter.

Unless the proposal was definitely turned down when it was made, the boy's family continued with the marriage arrangements. Nominally it was the boy's parents who had the final word in any arrangement made, but often they consulted other relatives before going further, which automatically enlisted their aid in helping with the marriage gifts. Word was sent out requesting the presence of the family members, usually the youth's older married siblings, maternal aunts and uncles, sometimes their children and the maternal grandparents. The mates of these kinsmen were often included also. The participation of paternal aunts and uncles and paternal grandparents of the young man was invited to a less degree because they were not considered so closely affiliated with him. Any member of the boy's clan might be invited to state his opinions if his help with the marriage gifts was particularly desired. When these kinsmen came together, usually the day following the proposal, the boy's father might speak to them, saying, "There is a good girl living over here. I have asked for her for my boy. You all know this girl. What do you think of her?" If the kin approved, they would answer, "You are the head of it. That girl you mention is a good girl. It's all right. You have done a good thing." Those who disapproved stated their reasons and at the same time made it clear that they would not aid in the marriage undertak-
ings. Usually such objections were not effective unless coming from two or more people, who by their refusal to aid in the marriage gifts could put a serious obstacle in the way of the marriage.

Having the kinsmen’s approval of the marriage, the boy’s parents might ask each of them what they would contribute in the way of gifts for the girl’s family. One might volunteer a horse, another a gun, a third a blanket, etc. These could help to make up the initial gift to the girl’s parents, which consisted of two to six horses, some with saddles and bridles, and at times with a gun or blanket tied to the saddles. If the girl’s family should not consider the gifts sufficient, they could say so. Occasionally, gifts were sent back, much to the chagrin of the boy’s family, as this meant a definite refusal of the marriage.

Following the proposal made to them, and either before or after receiving the initial marriage gift, the girl’s parents, or whoever was responsible for her at the time, might ask their kinsmen to come together and give advice on the matter. These relatives corresponded to those conferred with in the boy’s family. The girl’s father would say to them, “I received gifts from such and such a man. He wants my daughter for his son. You know this boy. What do you think about it?” If the relatives approved, they could say, “You have done well. You have chosen the right family. The boy looks good and strong and he is a good worker. His family are nice people.” Here, again, it usually took the objections of at least two relatives to prevent a marriage, although one instance was recorded in which an old woman, the sole objector, was successful in preventing the marriage of her granddaughter. It was important to obtain the approval of all relatives, not only because it meant their aid in making return gifts to the boy’s family but also because it insured good relations with them for the future. A young couple encountering misfortunes in later life could not very well turn to relatives who had been aloof at the time of their marriage, for they might say that the troubles were not their responsibility. They could even hold it against the parents for permitting the marriage against their advice. Older relatives used to say to a
youth or girl, "If you marry the way we tell you to, then we will help you. But if you don't, we will not help you."

In spite of their influence, relatives other than the parents could not seriously object without good reason. This was especially true of a girl's older brother or maternal uncle, who, if objecting on insufficient grounds, ran the risk of having their actions interpreted as secret incestuous desires toward the girl. If relatives' objections were strong enough to prevent a marriage, the initial gifts from the boy's family were sent back; but, if the union was approved, these gifts were distributed among the kinsmen present, thus obligating them to contribute return gifts. The girl's parents were careful to distribute only to those whom they knew were capable of reciprocating the gifts. A horse went to a man known to have horses of his own, a gun went to a good hunter who could help kill the deer which would soon be needed, a blanket to a woman with blankets or a plentiful supply of food, etc.

Because of the desire to involve wealthy and influential people and to acquire their help in collecting marriage gifts, if possible, a father consulted a local chief with whom he felt he had some kinship bond, concerning his son's or daughter's marriage. He would say, "I have sent gifts to such-and-such a man. I want his daughter for my son. What do you think about this?" or "I have received gifts from this man who wants my daughter. What do you think about it?" The chief ordinarily answered, "This is your child. I have nothing to do with it, so go ahead and do as you think best," which meant approval and that material aid could be expected from him. Each family would have wealthy relatives whom they might approach in this way, and the same man was never used by both the families negotiating a marriage. If the chief were of the same clan as the young person whose father consulted him, his objection to the marriage is said to have been sufficient to stop it, for no one would wish to risk losing such an important man's favor by proceeding against his advice. However, Anna Price claims that, if he were not of the same clan, he would not feel it his place to attempt prevention of the marriage, even though he did not approve.
The authority of a girl’s relatives is seen in their right to arrange her marriage, even in the absence of the parents, as in the following instance:

We had been living down on the Gila River because my brother had killed his wife, a teá-tci’dn woman, at Fort Apache. Fearing revenge from her kin, our whole family had to leave the vicinity of White River. After a while, I and my husband went back to Fort Apache to live, but we left my oldest daughter staying with my mother and father on the Gila. While we were gone, an old man of the btszahé clan came to my father’s camp. He called father his brother, because he was of related clan and said, “I have come here to ask you about your granddaughter who stays with you. Send her over to my camp this evening. There is another girl who is being sent to me this evening also, but she is of the t’e’na-dölja’ge’ clan, and they are a mean lot of people. I want one of the ‘iyà’qiye clan [the clan of her daughter], for they are good people. This is why I want her to come over tonight.” My older brother, who was there at the time, spoke to my daughter saying, “All right, you can go over. Some soldiers might catch you and put you in school, so you are better off married.”

When I got back, my daughter and her husband had their own new wickiup beside my father’s place and had been living in it for quite some time. I had known nothing about it. The day before we came back the youth’s father had driven a beef to my father’s camp and killed it there for him. That was the first time he had given anything to us, for he had made no gift when he asked for my daughter [an uncommon practice]. Two days after I got back, the youth’s father came to see me. “I got your daughter for myself. I gave her to myself,” he said, meaning that we had not been there at the time, and went on to say, “I know that you ‘iyà’qiye people are good people. The first time I married, long ago, I became the relative-in-law of the ‘iyà’qiye clan.”

It is interesting to note how this man tactfully avoided directly refusing the unwelcome girl who he knew was being sent for his son.

Within two or three days from the time the youth’s relatives were consulted, his parents would request the male members of the family to go hunting for the girl’s family. The deer meat and hides obtained were sent in a lot to the girl’s parents, who distributed them among their kin whom they knew were good hunters. It was usually from two weeks to two months before the girl’s family made their first return marriage gift. Those who
had received deer meat and hides were asked to hunt. "We are men also; let us go out and hunt deer," they would say. At the same time the girl's mother would ask help of her kinswomen in preparing baskets full of food of all kinds. When all was ready a line of about twelve women, each carrying baskets full of food, walked in single file to the youth's camp, where his relatives would be waiting. Gifts of blankets, horses, and the fresh deer meat obtained might also be brought. The contents of the baskets were transferred to others belonging to the boy's family.\(^5\) The food and other gifts were distributed among those of the boy's relatives who had already contributed toward the marriage negotiations or who would do so in the future. Nothing went to those who refused help or who were too poor to be able to help, nor would these people attempt to take part in the feast, for to do so meant they would be obligated to aid in the future. Poorer women members of the family, unable to contribute, often came to the feast to look on. More fortunate relatives, in a generous mood, would give them some of what they themselves had.

The gifts of both families were called 'ide' or 'idif', but the term applied especially to those made by the boy's family. They were expected to make the largest gifts, and to a certain extent this was considered to be a price paid for the girl, whereas the gifts made by the girl's family were not thought of as a price for the youth. As Apache sometimes remark: "In those days you couldn't get a girl for nothing. You had to give something to her family first, and it could be an expensive undertaking."\(^6\) Several interchanges of gifts might take place, lasting over a period of from three months to a year, but after the first time the presents consisted principally of food and pots of tulibai. When a youth from another locality married a girl relative, often it was not until the young couple made their first return to his home that

\(^5\) John Rope claims that basketry and pottery were not marriage gifts, but Anna Price says that sometimes basketry was included.

\(^6\) For an excellent description of marriage negotiations see G. Goodwin, "Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache," Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, XXXIII (1939), 73-76.
any marriage gifts were sent. Then the young people were loaded down with meat, hides, and food to be turned over to the young man's parents.

This exchange of gifts, besides being a social affair, gave an opportunity to exhibit family industry and wealth and also gave the important satisfaction of "getting even." When a relative of a girl or youth wished to show marked satisfaction at the gifts he received, he put back twice the amount he was given when it was his turn to help. This splurge naturally caused gratifying attention from others. The elaborateness of gifts exchanged depended on the social status of the families. Those described above concern wealthy families, but poorer people often had to satisfy themselves with a single exchange consisting of no more than a horse or steer. The initial marriage gift made by the boy's family was supposed to be in accordance with the social status of the girl's family. That which was deemed sufficient for a poor man's daughter was not fitting for a chief's daughter, and failure to allow for this could constitute a social slight. Details concerning exchange of marriage gifts were favorite subjects for gossip and seldom failed to arouse the curiosity of neighbors. Serious differences sometimes arose between families when relatives of the girl felt they had not received as much as they had given the boy's family. These might even result in the parents' forcing their daughter to leave her husband.

Sometimes a girl did not go to the youth's camp until after the first interchange of gifts, but ordinarily the latter's mother or one of his sisters came for the girl on the evening of the day the initial gift was made to her family. Less often she was taken home by female relatives of the boy who made the proposal for him, and occasionally she was sent to the boy's camp by herself. Upon her arrival at the boy's camp in the evening, she was at times sent to sleep with the youth from the first night on if she were not too shy, but usually she slept with his mother or sisters for the first three or four nights. A female cross-cousin was often sent with her for the first few nights to relieve her timidity. At dawn, before the boy's family arose, she and her companion
usually left to avoid embarrassing contacts with the boy's family. She ate and spent the day at her own home for the same reason. This continued for four or five nights, after which the young couple might remain at the boy's parents' wickiup for as long as a month, until a wickiup of their own was built. Usually the girl's mother lost no time in constructing a new wickiup for the young couple at her own family cluster. Less frequently a wickiup was built for them in the boy's family cluster. During the four or five days when the girl came only at night to the camp, the boy's mother sometimes made a complete buckskin dress for her, and his father a pair of moccasins. She usually removed these clothes later and gave them away to one of her relatives.

The second method of proposal (i.e., sending initial gifts to the girl's family without a preceding proposal) was less common, for there was danger of the mortifying return of the gifts if the marriage was not desired. Before undertaking such a proposal, the youth's parents consulted with their relatives, and, when a sufficient number of gifts had been gathered, some close relative of the boy, an older sibling or maternal uncle, a member of his clan, took the horses and other gifts down to the girl's camp. On arrival there this man would merely say something such as, "We want to become one with you very soon. That is the way it will be good. I do this because we have done it from the beginning of time and so I have to do likewise." If the girl's father or another relative approved of the proposal, he could answer, "That will be all right. That is what I am here for." A flat refusal by the girl's family was seldom made at the moment, but, if they were already involved in marriage negotiations concerning their daughter, they would gracefully say, "We have already eaten another man's food and used up his property, so you better take all this back with you." However, the horses were always left tied up outside the girl's camp regardless of what was said. If her parents definitely decided to refuse the proposal, her father would soon tell her mother to lead the horses back and tie them up outside the boy's camp. If the gifts were not returned, it signified acceptance, and the marriage negotiation proceeded as al-
ready described. This method of proposal is said to have been exceedingly harrowing for a youth, as the return of the gifts, indicating a refusal, was seen and noticed by all. It affected the parents' pride similarly, and to cover their mortification and to feign unconcern in such circumstances, they sometimes sent the self-same gifts immediately to another family in which there was a desirable girl. An older man negotiating his own marriage might do the same when repulsed. A girl who was consistently refused in marriage by her parents was termed dàte'ó'ke'dé. The same word can be used of any object requested and refused several times.

When parents initiated the marriage themselves by sending their daughter to a youth's camp at night, it was considered a great honor to the youth as well as to his family, for it meant that the girl's parents held them in high esteem. Sometimes the boy's family knew beforehand that the girl was being sent to them, but ordinarily they did not, and the girl was merely told to enter their dwelling and spend the night. The girl's parents might previously consult her other relatives, who, if approving, would say, "That boy seems to be nice and he has a good family. Let's send the girl over tonight. If they take her, it will be good. If they don't take her, they can send her home and that will be all right too." Girls often tearfully remonstrated with their parents when told to do this, not only fearing the ordeal but also dreading that they would be sent home in refusal by the boy's family. Apache themselves say that refusals could be a cruel blow to the girl's pride. To lessen her embarrassment another girl—a sister, parallel cousin on the maternal side, or more often a particularly intimate cross-cousin—was frequently sent with her. Usually the two girls went obediently, but on rare occasions they secretly spent the night elsewhere, as in the following instance:

A father wished to send his daughter to a man past middle age whom she disliked intensely. He sent a companion with her. The two left home in the evening, but after they had gone a little way, the girl said, "Come on, let's not go over there. Let's go out in the brush and spend the night. I don't like that old man." Her companion willingly
agreed, as she felt so sorry for her. They slept in the brush and returned home in the morning. The old man, knowing that the girl was to be sent to him, after two or three nights of this asked the father directly why he had not sent the girl over. The father found out, much to his surprise, that his daughter had been sleeping out in the brush. The marriage did not materialize.

Under ordinary conditions, when the two girls arrived at the youth’s camp, they stood in the doorway, and the one who came as companion spoke to his mother or, if she was not present, to one of his older female relatives, merely saying that they came to spend the night. If their presence was not welcome, they were told, “Don’t stay around here tonight. Go back home.” They would leave immediately. On reaching home, both might berate the parents, “I told you not to send me over there, but you insisted. Those people sent us home because they did not want us. You have shamed me.” If the girls were welcome, one of the boy’s parents would say, “All right,” and without further talk they entered. The youth’s mother would tell them when it was time to go to bed. The father, who ordinarily slept with the mother, would shift to the son’s bed, lying in the head-to-foot position. The two girls would sleep with the mother, between her and the wall. If there were girls in the household, the visitors might sleep with them. Sometimes the two girls were told to sleep with the boy, and, if so, they slept between him and the wall.

Early in the morning they returned to their own camp. When the youth arose, his father would say to him, “That’s the way I have thought about you, that if ever anyone wanted you in this way, I would give you to them. Now I see a girl has spent the night here.” If the youth’s father should be absent on the night the girls first arrived, his mother could take the responsibility of letting them remain or sending them away. After two or three nights spent at the camp, when some of the embarrassment of the situation had worn off, the girl’s companion no longer accompanied her. The boy’s parents would inform their kin, “We did not ask for this girl. They sent her to us of their own accord, but we are going to take her.” The relatives might politely re-
mark that they had seen two girls "backing out" of the wickiup that morning and knew that this must be the case. The proceedings following acceptance of the girl in such instances were identical with those already described. This method of proposal was termed $\text{nt'\d'a.'d}y\d'$ or $\text{bi'd\d'a.'d}y\d'$. 

At times a family with a desirable youth in mind for their daughter consulted their relatives about making a proposal. If their plan met with approval, they prepared a quantity of food, which three or four women in the family carried in baskets to the youth's camp. The youth's family could not fail to realize the significance of this gift, even though they were not told. If they could not or would not accept the proposal, they returned the food untouched at the end of the day, but, if they intended to accept, they used the food. The girl's family might send gifts of food two or three times, after which the procedure was that already described.

On rare occasions a father could be very direct in offering his daughter in marriage to a man whom he liked, as in the following instance which took place some twenty-five years ago:

A tulibai party was going on inside a man's wickiup. Many people were gathered at the camp, some sitting outside, some inside. Among those outside was a young man. The host within called out to him, "You can have my daughter." He felt good. The other answered, "All right," because he thought it was a joke. But that night when he rode home the girl rode up behind him. She became his wife and is still married to him.

In any kind of marriage proposal the proximity of encampments and the knowledge of each other's marriageable members made it unnecessary to designate which son or daughter was intended or desired, and therefore the young people were never mentioned by name.

A youth might add a horse or some other property of his own to the gifts that his family was making to the girl's parents, but the bulk of the property was supplied by his relatives, and often he had nothing to add to it. He did not help in obtaining the deer meat and hides necessary, for even if he were a good hunter he would feel too self-conscious to go out with the other men.
Likewise, a girl had no part in the preparation of foods and other property given to the youth's family. During negotiations the young couple remained in the background and did not show themselves except when necessary. They were not among the crowds at the feasts or present when the gifts were distributed, for they were far too shy. They received none of the gifts themselves, though a mother might set aside some of the choice food for them to eat when the company had gone. Preparation of marriage gifts was a serious economic undertaking, and, if a youth's family did not have enough horses and other necessary property on hand, they might even organize a raid into Mexico to procure what they needed. However, the contributions of kinsmen left neither boy nor girl indebted, for these kinsmen were compensated by receiving return gifts. The young couple and their parents might be called on in later times to help certain of their kin in like marriage undertakings.

The complex marriage ritual of the Navaho in which the young couples wash each other's hair and eat from the same basket is totally lacking among White Mountain Apache, who listen to descriptions of these customs with incredulous amusement.

Owing to the restraint of young people, the first month of married life was difficult. Finding themselves married and alone made them all the more self-conscious. Some young couples were sent to sleep alone in their new wickiup, but it was also a common practice to send another boy and girl along to spare them the discomfort of being alone until they were more used to each other. The companion couple were not married, nor were they necessarily courting. All four slept in the same bed and might continue to do so for several days to two weeks. The companions were generally selected because of their kinship to the young married pair; usually the boy was a cross-cousin of the groom and the girl a cross-cousin of the bride. Siblings and other closely related blood relatives including first cross-cousins, with whom either bride or groom was likely to have affinal respect relationships, were not selected, as the intimacy of sleeping in the same bed would be improper. When the four slept together, it was usually arranged so that the bride slept next the
wall, her girl companion beside her, then the groom's companion, and, finally on the outside, next the fire, the groom. This kept the newlyweds from embarrassing closeness.

No sexual intimacies of any kind are said to have occurred between either the companion couple or the married pair while the four slept together. It was not ascertained how soon after marriage a young man attempted to touch his bride when sleeping alone with her. Parents advised their son not to try this for the first few nights but to wait until she was more at ease with him. Both would be almost paralyzed with shyness, but it was the youth who was expected to attempt the first advances and who was advised concerning them, not the girl. One old woman keenly recalled the first night she slept with her husband as a young girl: "I lay there stiff with fright and embarrassment, hardly daring to breathe. I was cold all over and my body shook. My heart was beating very fast. I don't think I moved the whole night long. I guess my husband was the same way." This description is not exceptional, and, moreover, the narrator, both in her youth and in her old age, was well known for her outspokenness and self-confidence. Those previously married did not suffer such discomfitures, however, and became accustomed to each other more readily.

Marriage immediately changed a young couple's status from youth and maiden to man and woman, and as such they began to participate more fully in adult life. Young people who married for the first time were said to alter in appearance and character, and it is stated that young men were so absent-minded during the first few months of marriage that they were of no use to anyone. For some time after marriage a young woman ordinarily counted on her mother or her husband's mother to do the cooking, depending on where the young couple lived. She brought the prepared food to her husband in their new wickiup, but she was far too shy to cook, and for several days they might even refuse to eat with each other. The girl was particularly shy about it. The companion couple who ate with them helped to overcome this, and older relatives advised them to eat together and not to be ashamed, saying that they would grow used to
it. After they had been married for some time they might recall their embarrassment with some amusement: "I never thought I could bear to have you watch me while I ate, but here we are looking at each other and chewing at the same time. We used to be so self-conscious that, when lice bit us on the legs or head, we let them bite, not daring to scratch."

From two to five months after marriage the wife's mother would tell her, "You are married, and from now on I am not going to cook for you. Take this food over to your camp and cook for yourself." In one case recorded the young wife did not start to cook for two and a half years; but this was exceptional, since she was considered lazy and overindulged by her mother. After a year of living near her mother, her husband suggested that they join his old family cluster. They did, but there was no one to cook for them, and within a day the young woman said, "I'm not going to cook for you. I didn't come over here for that," and so they went back to her mother. Finally the mother grew exasperated and forced her to start cooking. Occasionally, a young couple, if living permanently with the husband's family cluster, stayed in the husband's parents' wickiup, but unless the parents were aged and the young woman was doing the cooking for them this might be criticized. Ordinarily, when two married couples shared a wickiup, it was said that one of the women must be too lazy to build a dwelling of her own.

The first few months of married life spent in the girl's family cluster were often followed by a visit of several months to the husband's family, frequently at the wife's request because she wished to become acquainted with her in-laws. During the first visit the young man's relatives were careful to treat his wife with consideration and not ask her to do burdensome tasks, unless the husband's parents were an old couple who perhaps had promoted the marriage in hopes of gaining a younger woman who would cook for them. A common custom was the testing of the bride by her mother-in-law, to see if she was strong enough to do the work expected of a woman. The young man's mother would bring a handful of corn kernels with her and, placing them on a metate, tell her daughter-in-law to grind them to
meal. If she could not break the kernels in one down stroke of her mano, she was considered a disappointment, and the young man’s mother would say to him, “What did you marry this girl for. She is weak and lazy. You had better leave her and find another woman.”

Several taboos applied only to newly married couples when neither husband nor wife had been married before. Some claimed that newlyweds could not enter a field of growing squash plants, lest the fruit shrivel and die on the vine.\footnote{Others said that this taboo applied only to nursing and pregnant women.} This restriction is said to have continued for a year or until the first child came. Francis Drake asserted that during this same period the couple must not eat the leg muscle meat in either fore or hind legs of any game animal, lest the woman have cramps in her first pregnancy, causing the baby to tense and relax within her womb. The restriction continued for the woman throughout her childbearing period, although he says that it ceased for the man after birth of the first child. The same informant said also that young people, whether married or not, should refrain from eating quail eggs or jack rabbit meat, the first because it would give their children freckles, and the second because it made the children of the individual susceptible to a certain kind of sickness said to originate from jack rabbits.\footnote{Anna Price denied the existence of any food taboos for newly married people.} However, the husband might eat jack rabbit meat after his first child had been born. The extent to which these taboos were observed varied from family to family.

The following is Anna Price’s account of her courtship and early married life:

When boys and girls were working in the cornfields together, they used to flirt with each other. One spring it was this way with me and a certain boy, while we were planting corn. In the field together we used to talk. That boy always promised to come back and work for me again, grubbing up the earth with a hoe. It was hard work to make the holes to plant the corn in and then to cover them over again. We girls used to get thirsty and want a drink very much, but we were embarrassed to go, and I guess the boys were the same way also. That day we worked all day, and then in the evening we had to hire the boys and girls to
help us on our farm again the next day. While we were together, working, we talked with each other and got well acquainted. We didn't talk for other people, but only talked for ourselves. Then that boy said to me: "We are working on this field together. We are together. When you come to cultivate the corn, after it is planted, if you need me to work again, I will come back and we will work some more. No one needs to tell me about this. If I see the corn is getting dry, I will come by myself. What I do here in the field is for no one else but myself. When the corn gets taller, we will both go and cultivate it. When it gets dry, I will irrigate it again. While we are working here, I want you to tell your mother. When the corn is getting ripe, we are both going to eat it together for ourselves." This is the way the boys and girls talked with each other.

When we were like this, we girls used to feel lonely, and the boys must have been lonesome, too. Later on, after the corn was up, we had to cultivate it again while it was starting to form ears. When we were all finished, the boy asked me, "What is the matter with you? I'm lonesome about you all the time. I am always thinking about you and what you say. I think there must be something you have put in your words." When the corn was getting dry, we stripped the ears off and while he was working I kept thinking, "I do this work. When we first planted, I was thinking about it. It was this way in my mind." I worked with that boy for four days. When all the corn was stripped, we packed the ears back to camp. Then that boy said, "I promised you that I would work in your field until the corn got up and was harvested. So now my work is all done." That evening he wanted to go home with me. "No, I am going my own way. I have a father and mother at home, and I have to do as they say." I told him.

I was the daughter of a chief, but this boy wanted me. When he got to his home, he complained to his parents that he wanted to go home with me, but I wouldn't let him. "Why did you do that?" his father and mother said to him. "That girl is the daughter of the chief. You ought not to talk that way to her. You have to give a present to her people." Later on his family gave eight horses to my father and took them to his camp at Trail between the Rocks. One man had already come to father to ask that the young man might marry me. This was the young man's maternal uncle. He was a chief also. He drove a lot of cattle to father's camp. When these horses and cattle had been given to father, I felt sorry and cried, because the others told me that after I got married I wouldn't be able to flirt with other boys. We moved our camp to Soldier's Hole. After we got there I went over to that young man's home. This made me cry, because I was going to him. That's the way it used to be.

It was hard to get married in those days, but now these young people
do it right away, like sugar. When we lay together in his parent's camp, we never moved, scratched ourselves, or drank, because we were embarrassed. The relatives took food to us, and the young man wanted me to eat with him, but I wouldn't because I was still bashful. Later on I ate with him. At first, when I couldn't eat and wanted to go away, he grabbed my hand and made me stay with him. "You have to stay all day, you can't go back to your camp. If you eat, then you can go home. But if you don't eat, you have to stay here," he said to me. When he held on to me that way, he made me cry. Later on, as we lived together we got to know each other, and we lived as man and wife.

Some time after this we went off on a deer hunt alone in the mountains. During the day while he was off hunting, I wanted him to come back right away. While we were camped on the mountains this way, I pretended I didn't know how to cut meat. "Only the men know how to cut the meat and not the women," I said. When he brought meat to camp, he wanted me to make dried meat of it, but I told him I didn't know how to do this kind of work. Then he said to me, "I think you must have known how to cook meat when you were living with your father. That's the way you will know it." Then I said to him, "I know how to cook meat, but how to cut and dry it I do not know." We had lots of meat now, but he wanted to hunt for one more day and then go home, because we had been there five days. While we hunted there we always ate together, and he brought a great deal of meat for me. But he had to do all the cooking. We slept together, but we never had intercourse because, if you do that, the deer will smell the man and he will never kill any. When we started for home, he had to pack the two horses, and, as he finished, he told me to sit on one of them. This way we went home. All the poor people felt good, because we brought lots of meat and hides and gave some of these away to them.

A man made and cared for his own clothes and sometimes those of his children; made and repaired the tools, weapons, and accoutrements which he used. He hunted game, skinned and butchered it, and transported home the meat and hides. He raided enemy peoples to secure such things as livestock and blankets. In times of war and feud he fought. It was his continual duty to guard the safety and health of his wife and children. Besides these things he might be left in charge of the children when his wife was busy elsewhere. In the building of wickiup and ramada, principally woman's work, he might help erect heavy frame poles or cross-beams. In the same way he could be called on by his wife to help in packing heavy loads on horses, and, if
without horses, he, like his wife, must carry his full share of the family property on his back. Men did the digging in the preparation of ground food caches. In preparation of mescal, digging the pit and laying the stones and fire in it was man’s work. Cattle were always handled by men, as were unruly horses or mules. Wealthy men seldom did farm work, but others helped their wives in digging ditches, making dams, clearing fields, and planting.

A woman made and cared for her and her children’s clothing; made and repaired the household utensils such as baskets and pottery; gathered the material for wickiup and ramada; made and repaired these; and kept the camp swept. She gathered and prepared wild plant foods; cared for all meat brought into camp; attended to the storing of foods in caches; cooked, cleaned up after eating, and brought in the necessary supply of wood and water. She ordinarily did all the work in preparation of skins. In moving camp, she gathered and bundled the family property. To her fell the care of the small children. Gentle horses, mules, and burros were often handled by women, and when the animals were grazing fairly close to camp women might bring them in and saddle them for use if they did not have a boy to do it for them.

This division of labor meant that women were more continually occupied than men, and it was said of a good woman that she was never still but always doing something. In fact, she had little spare time if she was a conscientious worker. Men’s work was more dangerous and entailed great physical hardship at times, but it left them leisure for relaxation at sweat baths, gambling places, and parties.

A man owned his clothing, tools, and weapons, his blanket, saddle, and his ceremonial paraphernalia. Any property which might have been presented to him by his wife or other individuals was also his. He might own some livestock. A wife or family could show some jealousy over the way he disposed of his property, but they had no right to interfere with this. A woman owned all the things such as clothing, household utensils, and blankets which she had made or which her husband and others
THE WESTERN APACHE

had given to her. Occasionally a woman owned a few horses or cattle which she had been given or had inherited. The ramada and wickiup were hers, and today a husband may even refuse permission to photograph a wickiup if his wife is not there to sanction it.

Farms could be owned separately by both husbands and wives, but the farm used by a family was generally spoken of as belonging to the husband because he was the head of the household, regardless of actual ownership. Food on hand and stored away was generally considered as belonging to the wife, because she had gathered and prepared it. A husband could make no disposal of wild plant foods without consulting his wife, as he had had little or no part in gathering them. However, he might give away farm produce, for he often helped in the farm work. Meat brought to camp by the husband became the property of both him and his wife, and either could dispose of it without consulting the other. In her husband's absence a wife could use any of his personal property that she needed (excluding ceremonial paraphernalia) and, if she wanted meat, could even have one of his animals killed without his permission.9 If he were at home, she could request him to butcher his horse or steer so that the family might eat. John Rope says:

A man always used to give something to relatives who visited him. If he didn't have an animal to butcher for them, he would give them a gun or buckskin. When he was going off somewhere, he would say to his wife, "I will be gone for so many days. If any people should come to visit me while I am away, do not let them go without giving them something." Thus, if visitors came the woman would kill her husband's beef or horse for them, as she would know his mind.

A husband might make the same sort of disposals of, or requests for, stock that his wife owned. However, under no circumstances

9 Anna Price says that a woman could not have her husband's livestock butchered in his absence, although a man might kill his wife's stock even when he had others of his own. As she puts it, "A woman didn't have much to say about these matters. When a man came to visit another's camp, he called out the name of the husband, not the wife. The wife wasn't the head of the camp." But she went on to say that a man was more likely to butcher one of his own animals than one of his wife's because he, being the host, should use his own property.
could other personal property be disposed of without consent of the owner.

Nominally the husband is the head of the family, but the extent to which a husband or wife dominates in the household may vary according to personal characteristics. A wife is supposed to do as her husband tells her: to cook, to get wood and water, to wash, to go after his horse, to go after wild plant foods, not to dance, not to gamble, etc. A woman may ask her husband to help her on the farm or to go hunting, but she would not command him to do any of these things as he would her. This constitutes the essential difference in the status of man and wife.

To some extent, a woman waits on her husband. As she does the cooking, she also sets the food before him at mealtimes. A man, seated, may ask his wife to bring him something, such as a drink of water or his coat, rather than get up and get it himself. On the other hand, a woman seldom if ever makes similar requests of her husband and gets what she wants herself or sends a younger person after it. However, if she is employed in some heavy task, housebuilding or packing a horse, she may ask her husband to help if he does not offer of his own accord. A man may send his wife on an errand to another encampment, and she usually goes willingly if not busy. A wife does not so often ask her husband to go on small errands for her, but, if he is going to pass the store, she may ask him to buy her certain supplies needed in camp. Men are usually careful to buy exactly what their wives tell them to. I have never known of a man who refused to help his wife in a task requiring his strength, but I have seen a woman refuse to fetch something for her husband when he could get it just as well himself or if she was otherwise occupied, piqued at him, or of a disagreeable nature. A refusal of this kind in the presence of others can cause a man considerable embarrassment, and he may exclaim in surprise; on the other hand, if he is prudent, he says no more. Only within reason can he command his wife, and if she is too busy to get things for him or does not wish to, he cannot force her to comply with his requests.

A woman who refuses to perform the acknowledged duties of a wife and mother, such as preparation of food, cooking, fetching
water and wood, and caring for the children, may be admonished by her husband for her laziness and negligence. He can sometimes beat her because of this, and, if the woman is at fault, even her own kin will hesitate to interfere. A husband who does not show willingness to earn wages or otherwise support his family, who is left in charge of children and fails to keep them out of harm or maltreats them, can be given a tongue-lashing by his wife which he will not soon forget, but she has no way of inflicting physical punishment on him. Short-tempered individuals given to unnecessary quarreling and falsely accusing their mates are criticized, and men with this fault are termed 'ihatq'. One woman was described as a chronic trouble-maker, it being said of her: "She was a mean woman. She had several husbands, but none of them was able to stand her. When she got mad it was as if she went crazy. She beat herself on the head and body and threw rocks at the person she was fighting, until, if this was a man, he beat her, sometimes so that she could not walk." When a woman is beaten by her husband, she is likely to leave him temporarily, in which case he may send one of the children to tell her to come home again. A few couples have periodic quarrels during which they separate, later managing a reconciliation.

Like other fallacies of the past, there has been a wide misconception in the belief that true affection is lacking between Indian affinal and blood relatives. It is true that open demonstrations of affection between an Apache man and wife are not like those among whites, but it cannot be said that affection is totally lacking. Absence of kissing as a native practice is not from lack of ardor but because it is considered disgusting and repulsive. Holding hands and embracing in public are avoided because of embarrassment and the fear of appearing ridiculous. A man does not exhibit affection or use endearing terms for his wife, as he is brought up to think that such weaknesses should not be shown. A woman refrains from similar public behavior with her husband because she knows that it would shame him. Man and wife do not dance together, as it is considered improper: "Like dancing with one of your close blood relatives," and people would say: "Look at that man, dancing with his wife."
Ordinarily, a man and wife do not use each other's personal names, either in direct address or otherwise. This is a sign of respect, and among the Apache respect between kin can correspond to affection among whites. Terms for a spouse are not often used, but, if a husband must designate his wife, he says ci'á:d ("my wife"); a woman calls her man ci:kq' ("my husband"). If the couple is elderly, they may call each other, respectively, ci:sq' ("my old woman") and ci:hastq' ("my old man"). A spouse may also be termed bitná:nde:hn ("the one to whom I am married") in direct address, though this term is not commonly used in referring to the person. A slang term for wife, bitná:tsq' ("I lie with her"), is sometimes used in fun. It may also be used for any woman with whom a man has cohabited and is an impolite expression. Occasionally, married couples mention each other as ci:ná:l'á:d' ("my messenger") for fun, but they do not do this in front of each other, because it can suggest a subservient position and arouse resentment.

Any public demonstration of marital affection is limited mainly to newly married couples or older individuals about to be married, who are sometimes seen walking close beside each other. Occasionally, the woman puts her arm about the man's waist or rests it on his shoulder. If the man submits to this, he does so in a rather pleased but embarrassed way. It is always the woman who makes such advances in public, and a man would not be seen putting his arm about his wife or attempting to stand close to her. Women might be more demonstrative in public if men permitted it, but the latter are careful not to let a wife make them appear ridiculous by such actions. Apache say that ordinarily a woman does not mind if her husband sings a love song at home unless she thinks that he is daydreaming of another woman but that a man quite often objects to his wife's singing like this, merely because it embarrasses him. However, occasionally when man and wife drink together and feel gay, the husband will say, "Come on, I'm going to sing a love song I used to sing to you long ago." When he has sung, his wife may sing it back to him and then cry because it reminds her of her courting days.

When a husband or wife has to go on an extended trip, there is
no leave-taking comparable to that among whites. The one who is going merely says where and when he or she expects to return. When they meet, even after an absence of weeks, there is usually no demonstration of emotion between mates; it even seems to be carefully avoided. At the same time the one who has been away may pay attention to the smaller children under ten, calling them by name and even fondling them. The avoidance of showing feeling at such moments can indicate a profound emotion. Under abnormal stress, however, emotions may show themselves, as in the following instances:

Papagos and Mexicans raided an encampment, killing several and capturing some women whom they took to Tucson. In this way two men lost their wives. Later, these two men with two others were on their way to raid in Mexico. Near the Gila River they discovered the tracks of two women. One of the men whose wife had been captured related the story. "I was coming behind the others, and A was a little ahead of me. We had both lost our wives. He happened to look on the ground and saw some fresh tracks made one or two days ago. He called me over. 'These are my wife's tracks,' he said. He knew them. I replied, 'That's impossible. There are many people about here and one of them could have passed this way. Poor, poor fellow, don't say such things. How could they ever get out of prison in Tucson?' Then we rode on and overtook the other two men. We felt badly about our wives, so they used to jolly us and call us bijān [widowed or divorced men who gad about]." The party continued on its way, made its raid, and was returning when the same man goes on to say, "It was dark when I got near home. As I came close above the creek, there was a light right at the foot of the hill. I got home and there was my wife. I was bashful at seeing her again."

Several White Mountain women were captured by Chiricahua Apache, who took them down into their country to the south. This happened while one of the women's husband was away on a scouting campaign, but he received news of it, nevertheless. Later on, these women escaped and made their way home. When the man returned, he found his wife at home, much to his surprise, for he had never expected to see her again. He was greatly moved and wept over her: "I heard that you were captured by the Chiricahua. That is why I feel badly. But now you have returned."

The husband of Anna Price, who was enlisted as a government scout, had been absent for months on a military campaign. He was about to depart on another, when she grabbed hold of him and said that she did not want him to leave her again.
The grief of both men and women after the death of a mate can be very revealing. One old woman told how, after the death of her first husband, she visited her brother and his wife. They made her a fine new buckskin dress and moccasins to replace the shabby widow’s clothes she was wearing, but she could not put her husband out of her mind when she dressed in them, and her thoughts of the good times they used to have together made her miserable. Other similar instances might be related, and it is not unknown for an older woman deeply attached to a husband to pine away and die after he is gone.

It seems safe to say that, discounting those marriages arranged by family without preceding courtship, the Apache marry for love just as often as whites do, and marital affection, though not always obvious, is present. As one old woman put it, “When a man and woman get married, from that time on they should talk well with each other and not quarrel. That’s the way they love each other. Sometimes when a man shows that he loves his wife too much, or a woman her husband too much, a few people will talk about it and say it is not nice. But most don’t think anything about it, for it’s not their business.”

Marital jealousy is a common source of trouble and seems to be equal in both sexes. Most men do not like to see their wives dancing with other men, though some good-natured husbands pass it off as a joke. Sometimes a man invites his wife to participate in a game of hidden-ball where many men are gathered, but if she should do so without his encouragement he may scold her and warn her to keep away from such places. In extreme cases of jealousy objections may be raised to a wife’s presence at any place where a large crowd is congregated, even though it is composed of both sexes. Some wives accept as a joke their husbands’ dancing with other women; some resent it, and women have been known to drag their husbands out of a dance. This applies to the type of social dance where partners, generally young unmarried people, dance side by side. Married women dance the social dance termed ‘ildáci’nmá’ilda’, the same one danced to love songs, in which the partners face each other a few feet apart. They usually invite elderly men to dance, often making a joke of it, and, because the men are old, husbands do not become
jealous. Social dancing with a cross-cousin, regardless of age, is to be accepted as an evidence of the joking relationship and should not arouse the jealousy of husbands or wives. Formerly, in a war dance where many girls were needed to dance with the fighting men, it was often necessary to call upon married women. To avoid jealousies, the dance leader, local chiefs, and instigator of the dance, while speaking to the crowd, stressed the fact that men seeing their wives dancing with other men, laughing and having a good time, should not be angry, for their women would be returned to them undamaged. Women might object to husbands frequenting gambling places if they thought it was done with an eye for other women, but a woman could not keep her husband from going, as a man might forbid his wife.

In former times, when men were absent from home for weeks and even months on raiding and war parties, a jealous husband could instruct someone to watch his wife secretly and report on her conduct when he came back. Such a spy was termed ba·sitf: ("he lies beside it"), and the same term could also be used for any person left to guard property. Only men used this method of watching a mate, and there was no payment for such services. Close blood relatives of either maternal or paternal clan, such as sibling, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, or cross-cousin, were employed, but not parents or offspring or members of the wife's family. Children could not be expected to tattle on their mother. Likewise, any relative having respect and avoidance with the wife could not perform this service, as it would be a violation of the affinal relationship. However, a good friend bearing no relationship, and even boys and girls of only fifteen or so, could be used. The best choice was a woman relative, for she could accompany the wife without creating suspicion. An amusing incident follows in which a man employed as a watcher revealed his position in a careless moment.

A was a very good friend of B. The latter was sentenced to a term in jail and requested A to be ba·sitf: for him and keep an eye on his young wife. A consented and faithfully performed his task. But one

10 John Rope says that paternal relatives could not be employed.
PLATE V

a) Girls at a Dance

b) Carrying Water
day when he was at the same tulibai party with the woman and his tongue was loosened, he said to her in a confiding mood, "You don't know it, but I am ba·sit·v." The woman laughed but said nothing.

A man or woman, knowing of a mate's infidelity, reacts according to character and feelings, either withdrawing completely and telling the mate to go his or her way or hanging on in the hopes of winning back the spouse. A woman often fights with her husband in such instances, accusing him of philandering and trying to make him give it up, and a husband may beat his wife when he finds she has been with another man. In former times he might even attempt to kill her and her lover if the affair was serious. A woman could not beat or kill her husband if he were guilty of infidelity, but if she were very angry she might throw rocks or even go after him with a knife. A husband could punish his wife's unfaithfulness by cutting off the end of her nose, then telling her to do what she wanted, well knowing that other men would not desire her. This extreme punishment was rare, judging from the number of times that it is mentioned. Wives had no such recognized method of punishing a husband and relied on their own devices for dealing with his unfaithfulness, as in the following account:

A woman and her husband were living on Turkey Creek. The husband had fallen into the habit of going off on what he said were tulibai parties. Sometimes he did not return all night and occasionally even stayed away for two days. His wife would cook his supper for him at evening, but he would not be there to eat it. This made her mad. She was cooking for nothing. Then she heard that her husband had another woman some place. The next time he told her that he wanted to go off to a tulibai party, she said to him, "Why don't you come back every night?"

"I stay down there at night just to drink," he replied.
"I have heard that you have a woman down there."
"No, I am just drinking."

Not long after this, some relatives of the wife prepared a lot of tulibai. They were all gathered at their camp—many men and women. One of the wife's relatives invited the husband to come over and have a drink. He accepted, but, as he walked up to the pots of tulibai, he saw his wife standing there. She jumped at him, catching hold of his gee string. In the ensuing struggle the man's belt broke, and his wife
grabbed hold of his penis. A man tried to make her let go, but she held on tightly. Other men there told the woman to let go or else she would kill him. So she let go. Her husband was so exhausted that he just covered himself with a blanket and lay down. This is how she punished him for running about with other women too much. She shamed him in front of all those people. Then she ran off.

When the man recovered, he looked about for her. He sat on top of a hill and kept watch. Soon he saw her walking down a wash, escaping to the camp of her parents. He ran after her and caught her. He tore off all her clothes and put sand in her mouth. He tried to choke her, and he would have if some other men returning from the party had not happened along. They saved her life. Thinking that the man had killed her, her kin got out their guns and almost started a fight. Afterward the woman stayed with her family. Her husband came to them four or five times to try and get her back, but they would not let him have her. Finally they agreed to it. He said to her, "We are even now. You pulled my clothes off me before lots of men and women, but there were not many men where I pulled yours off." They lived together again after that. This woman's family did not advise her to do what she did. She must have done it of her own accord.

The case is an unusual one. Two facts help to explain it. First, the husband was a San Carlos man, living far from his own kin, with whom the wife might have had to reckon if they had been present; second, the woman had a most determined character, for she later committed suicide over the loss of an only son, the single instance of a female suicide obtained.

It is said that, in former times, a woman sometimes ignored the attentions that a husband paid to another woman, fearing that if she objected she might lose her man, her only means of support. Again, a man's wealth and social prestige kept people from interfering with, or criticizing, his attentions to other women, for no one would wish to risk angering him. The custom of a husband giving his wife property or money to patch up a quarrel, as mentioned for the Navaho,11 was not practiced by the Apache.

The term for divorce is y6·'d·tltc`oldl t ("they two wish to separate"). There are several causes for divorce: laziness, incom-

petence or unwillingness to perform expected duties, failure of a
man to observe respects and avoidance with his wife's kin and to
help them as a son-in-law should, continual quarreling, maltreat-
ment of a wife, jealousy, and infidelity. A man may give as his
reason for leaving a trifling wife the fear of losing his temper
some day and killing her; a woman may claim as a reason for
leaving a jealous husband the fear of being killed by him.
Formerly, a man on returning from a war party sometimes left
his wife when he discovered that she had been going about to
tulibai parties in his absence. Sterility is greatly lamented and
probably could be a factor in an already impending divorce, but
Apache claim that alone it is not, and never was, ground for
divorce. Several cases of childless marriages were recorded in
which the couple remained living together happily. In one in-
stance the husband was thought to be sterile, and a cross-cousin
of the wife said jokingly to her older brother, "What's the matter
with you? You should take your sister away from her husband
and give her to a good young man who could make her have
children. He has never given her any babies. If you give her to
a good man, you could have nephews to help you out and do
things for you later."

Divorce was not difficult to obtain, and there was nothing to
prevent either husband or wife from marrying again, sometimes
almost immediately. Most divorces came about at the end of a
quarrel, when husband or wife walked off in anger, never to re-
turn, or when one told the other to go his way—that he was no
longer wanted. Sometimes a man returned from the warpath to
find his wife living with another man. If he seemed unwilling to
accept his loss peacefully, his parents might reason with him,
fearing that he would attempt to kill the interloper: "Don't
mind what has happened. That woman must have known the
man long ago, before you married her, and this is why she has
gone back to him. Don't do anything foolish now. Just let her
go. You will have many other women in the future."

A woman could steal a husband during his wife's absence in
the same way. If it was a joking cross-cousin who stole the
mate, anger might not be shown because of the joking relation-
ship. A man would go to the camp and say, "citna a·c ("my cross-cousin"), you ought to have married this woman long ago if you wanted her. Why did you wait until now to do it? Well, you can have her, you have got her. I am young yet, and there are lots of women ahead of me." This mate-stealing must not be confused with the Jicarilla form of mate-stealing practiced between cross-cousins, which is totally absent among the White Mountain Apache, where a cross-cousin was no more likely to steal one's mate than any other individual. When a person stole another's mate, the couple moved out of the old camp and did not retain the former dwelling or former husband's property.

In a more subtle method of divorcing a wife the husband informed her that he was going hunting and that he would return in three or four days. Intending never to come back, he took with him only his essential clothing, knife, bow, arrows and quiver, and ceremonial property. All his other property, including the horses and cattle that he might have, was left behind in order that the wife might not be left destitute. A woman, wishing to be rid of her husband, went to the camp of her parents, or some other close blood relative, while he was away, and remained there with her children. Realizing the state of affairs when he returned and finding that there was no one to cook for him, the husband could visit the camp where his wife was, after dark, and from the outside of the wickiup talk to her and her kin, asking her to come back. If he met with refusal, he would remove his own property from his home and go to live with a relative. When the wife knew that he had vacated the camp, she might return to live there with her children. A woman owned the dwelling and therefore could not be driven out by her husband, but she could force her husband to leave it, placing his personal belongings outside. However, it took a woman of determination to do this, and her ownership of the dwelling was never absolute enough to permit her remaining there while her husband was in the process of moving out. Instead, she stayed temporarily in another camp until she knew that he had gone.

A woman sometimes purposely created an excuse to leave an undesired husband by nagging him into frequent quarrels until he lost his temper and beat her, upon which she left him. This was considered mean and underhanded, but sometimes it could win the sympathy of her family and influence them into forcing a separation. Men occasionally used the same tactics. In one case recorded a woman got rid of her husband by plucking out her eyelashes and making herself so ugly that he left her.

Divorce left neither husband nor wife obligated to remarry into the same clan, and, because the marriage had been unsuccessful, they were likely to find mates in other clans. It is said that a good man or a woman worth keeping in the family who had been deserted without fair reason was sometimes given a new husband or wife by the family-in-law. Respect and avoidance relationships with the mate’s kin ordinarily continued after divorce, especially those with a wife’s parents, but all obligations to the mate’s relatives ceased. Under no conditions could a man demand return of the property that he or his family had given to his wife’s relatives. Ordinarily, the children remained in the mother’s care after divorce. It very rarely happened that a mother abandoned her children to run off with another man, but, if this happened and the mother failed to return later for her children, they remained with the father, who looked after them with the help of some of his own relatives.

The following are fairly typical cases of divorce:

A man lived with his wife and seven children on the Gila River. He used to tell her that he was going off to play hoop-and-poles, and then stay away for two days at a time. He had another woman with whom he stayed. His wife found him out, and the next time he said he was going off to play hoop-and-poles she spoke to him, “All right, you always say that you are going off to play hoop-and-poles, but I know that you just go and stay with some woman. For this I am going to put your blankets, saddle, and other things out under the mesquite tree.” That is just what she did, and in the morning she left for B— with the children. Later on her husband married again.

One time he left this second woman and went up to B—, thinking that he had a wife there also. When he arrived at his former wife’s camp, he found the children alone. Their mother was irrigating on her farm, but someone told her, “Your husband is up there at your camp.”
When she heard this, she dropped her shovel and went right up there. "I have come up to see my children," the man said.

"You like your children. You have seen enough of them. I don't want to see you here again." Then to her children, "Did you cook any of my food for him? I don't want anything out of my camp to go to him. He better go down below here and stay with the biszáhe clanspeople. He belongs to them. He is not your father at all. He is biszáhe [his second wife's clan, not his]."

Then, turning to the man again, she said, spreading her fingers apart and holding them up before him, "You have ten fingers. You must have picked me off, so I'm going to do the same with you. I'm going to pick you off with these ten fingers. I don't want you to stay here tonight. If you do, I will kill your horse." Then she started back to her work in the field, but, as she was leaving, one of her sons spoke to the man, "Well, father, you better go back. She will kill the horse."

"Don't call him father. Don't let him come close to you," his mother told him. Then she said to the man, "There is a camp of t'í:šé:dn̄'í:dn people [man's clan] below here. Go and stay there tonight." That is what he did. It was his fault, and he had this coming to him.13

My father's first wife was a t'úágáidn clan girl. They had a wickiup of their own, but with them was living one of my father's sister's sons, then a boy in his teens. He slept in a bed on one side of the fire, opposite my father and his wife. One day when father returned from hunting, carrying a big load of deer meat, he walked into the wickiup to find his wife and nephew playing together on the bed. They had their arms about each other and were apparently roughhousing. Father was angered. He said to his nephew, "You can have this woman. I'm going over to my mother's camp. I don't think you have been playing. You must have done something together already." He walked out, saddled up his horse, and left. His mother's camp was not far off. When he got there, he told his mother to go after another girl. She advised him not to be so hasty, but he said to her, "My nephew was playing with my wife. He has lain with her, so I want to marry this other girl immediately."

His mother went over to the girl's camp and said she had come for her. "Why, your son just got married a little while ago!" the girl's mother said.

"Well, my son's nephew played with his wife, so he quit her as soon as he found out, and now he wants to marry your daughter at once."

13 The placing of the husband's belongings outside the wickiup, making it clear that he could no longer remain, is in accordance with female ownership of the dwelling. The woman's allusion to her former husband as the property of his second wife's clan was a sarcastic reminder that all his affinal obligations were directed toward that clan and not hers, thus declaring that she would have nothing to do with him.
"This is too quick. He might not like her after he married her," the girl's mother said.

"No, it's all right. He sent me for her."

"Good, I'll send her over in the evening," the girl's mother answered.

The following day my father took a horse over to the girl's camp. This was the marriage gift. That is the way my father married my mother.  

In the early reservation days every so often the government issued forty head of cattle to each chief, for distribution among his people. They were butchered and eaten. A certain chief, when issued his lot of cattle, used to drive them about among the camps, allotting one head to each family. He always went to the other camps before his own. Once his wife was at home when she saw him go by with the cattle. It made her jealous, for she thought he was neglecting his own family. She shouted after him, "Don't come back here again. I don't want you. You never bring meat here until long after the other camps have had theirs. Now you are going around among your women friends, I guess, giving them the best of it. I don't want you to come back here." The chief did not reply, but when he had finished he went to his camp. Without speaking to his wife, he picked up his saddle, blanket, gun, clothes, and buckskins, put them on his saddle and rode off. He went to someone's camp, and the same evening he took another wife. He never returned.

My father's brother had three wives. After the peace was made at San Carlos [1873], his first wife ran away from him and married another man at San Carlos. Later my father's brother happened to go down there and was playing hoop-and-poles. The man who had married his wife walked up to him and said, "I didn't know that she was your wife. She told me that she was not married, so I married her." My uncle answered him, "Don't be afraid of me. I don't love her any more. Live at peace with her and tell her to live at peace with you!"

A man, his wife, and her mother were living in the same camp. The wife and her mother came from another settlement twelve miles away. She did not like her husband, and one day after they had a quarrel she and her mother prepared to return to their home. Collecting all their...

The excuse for leaving the first wife may seem inadequate, but it must be remembered that physical contact of any kind between members of the opposite sex usually occurred only in love-making.

Chiefs, being men of influence, were less likely to put up with a wife's bickering than others, for they could more easily obtain another woman. In both this instance and the last the hasty marriage following the separation was quite evidently caused by pride and done as a gesture of indifference.
property, the cooking outfit, sewing machine, and clothes, they loaded it into a car. The husband stood there, not knowing what to do. Then he tried to get his wife out of the car, but his mother-in-law ran up behind and held him about the waist, talking to him, "I do not want my daughter to remain married with you any longer! We are going back home. I don’t want you any more!" Then they got in the car and drove off.\[^6\]

Very often it was the husband’s or wife’s family who encouraged or forced a divorce. When divorce was brought about in this way, it was called bā-nāgūdīlī ("from one he takes him [or her] back"), and "He has taken his daughter back" is a common expression in connection with divorces. A man’s family was less likely to interfere than a woman’s, because a man was better able to settle his own difficulties. Parents ordinarily undertook such actions, but a woman’s brother or maternal uncle, seeing that the marriage was not going well, could mention this to the parents, saying that they ought to take their daughter back. The parents were in authority, and if they did not agree with the suggestion the matter was likely to be dropped. A brother or maternal uncle was loathe to push the matter in the face of the parents’ indifference, for fear of being accused of more than a kinship interest in the woman. People might say, "He must want that woman for himself." Again, if the brother or uncle insisted on the divorce, the parents might put the responsibility on his shoulders, saying, "All right, you insist on this separation. Then you can take care of this woman and support her. Don’t bring her here. You want this, so it is up to you to look after her when you take her from her husband," and to the daughter the father would say, "You had better go to that man. He is the one who wants you to leave your husband. Let him feed you himself." Under these conditions, the relative of the woman would have to support her and her children until she married again. When she came to his camp he would tell her, "Your father sent you over here to me. That is all right. But when you find a good man and marry again, I want you to

\[^{16}\] Notice that in this crisis the mother-in-law dropped her avoidance of the man.
think only of me and not about your mother and father.” Thus, all the benefits and gifts her parents would ordinarily receive from her future husband were given to the relative who had cared for her when she was in trouble, as in the following example:

A maternal uncle broke up a woman’s unsatisfactory marriage when his niece’s parents refused to let her come to them or do anything about it. The woman lived with her uncle’s household some years, but later married another man. Not long afterward her mother visited her camp. A family row ensued because the woman said bitterly to her mother, “Do not come here to me. When I came to your camp, you sent me to my uncle’s camp to live. You didn’t help me.”

Sisters and maternal aunts could also advise divorce or help to bring it about, but their influence in these matters was limited because they did not control property to the extent men did and were less in a position economically to back their opinions. They could not ordinarily force a divorce against the parents’ wishes, because they were unable to speak for their households and freely assume the responsibility of looking after the divorced woman. However, when it was decided to compel the separation, ordinarily some female relative—sister, mother, or maternal aunt—was sent to bring the wife and her children and belongings back to the family. It would be less fitting for a man to go after her.

Three instances of divorce brought about by family follow. In all of them a brother or maternal uncle was the most active, but apparently the parents had observed the unfortunate situation also and were of the same opinion as their kinsman. The woman’s father’s participation is not stressed, an indication of the important dominance of kin on the maternal side. The father is actively concerned in the matter not so much as a father but as an individual married into his daughter’s clan and maternal lineage.

Once my paternal aunt’s daughter married a man, but he was not much good. They were married two or three years and had two children. He fought with her all the time. He talked badly to her, and sometimes he beat her with a stick. My aunt’s brother and her mother’s brother came to her [the woman’s mother] about it. Both these men
had seen the husband fighting continually with his wife. "You gave your daughter away to a man who is not much good. You had better go over there right away and bring her back here." So my aunt went right away and brought her daughter and the children home with her. For a while, almost every night, the husband came up outside the wickiup and talked to his mother-in-law inside. "Why have you taken my children from me?" he would say to her. But she would never let him have her daughter and grandchildren back again, because she knew that her brother and her mother's brother did not approve of it.

My sister married a man of the i'ísléntìdn clan up at Turkey Creek. Though our family had sent this man's family a gift of deer meat two times, they had sent nothing to us. The man had given us nothing either. My mother's brother came over to our camp. He was angry about it: "Why did you give the girl to that man. We have received nothing from him as yet." Not long after that my mother's brother, the same one, went to join in a sweat bath. While there he heard some of that man's kin talking about my sister and mentioning her by the nickname kówà"'ígádn'á" (''she stands above [higher than] a wickiup''). When my uncle heard this, he knew they were ridiculing his niece, and so he immediately jumped on his horse and rode over to our camp to tell us about it. "They make fun of my niece over there, so you had better go this very day and bring her back home." When my parents heard this, they would not leave my sister there any longer. The same day they sent my mother over after her. She brought her and all her belongings home.

The next day that man's mother came over to our camp. He must have sent her. She sat down outside the door. "I wonder why you have taken my daughter-in-law away. I was out after acorns yesterday when it happened. You gave her to me so that I could have her as long as I lived. Now why do you take her away?" My mother answered, "You know that my daughter has a name. Why have you given her another? Doing it has made this trouble come up. We are both here [she and her husband]. You had better not try to talk to us. My brother went over to where they were taking a sweat bath and he heard them call my daughter kówà"'ígádn'á'. That is why I have taken her back." We never gave my sister back to them.

One time a man came to see his mother. It was about his sister and her husband. "Mother, I want you to go and get my sister and bring her back here. We never have received anything from her husband. He has never helped us out. You feed him all the time, but he should feed you. You have always sent meat to his family, but they never have given you any." Because her son told her this and because it was the
truth, the old woman set out immediately and brought her daughter back with her. For two nights the daughter’s husband came to the outside of the wickiup and called to his wife, “Come here, come here.” But the old woman would not let her go. “You never give us anything. We do not like it that way,” she told him. After two nights the man left and never came back again.

In prerreservation times and during the early reservation era some men had plural wives, usually not more than two or three. A few men had four, and one living on East Fork of White River had six. Only one man was mentioned as having more than this: an individual on North Fork of White River, reported to have had fourteen, but no accurate check on this information was obtained. Because a poor man, or one of average situation, would find it difficult to support more than one wife, polygyny was almost wholly confined to the wealthy, such as subchiefs and chiefs. However, many wealthy men were content with one woman even though offered a second one by families desirous of gaining an affinal connection.

Polygyny was accepted as a rich man’s prerogative and the outcome of personal desires. The institution was not disrespected, and it somewhat amused and intrigued the Apache, who are given to making jocular allusions to it, especially when men had four or more wives. Anna Price described with some humor a childhood visit to the camp of a chief of clan 30 who lived with his four wives on the Gila River. She asked her mother what people were living in all these wickiups. Her mother answered, “Only one man, but four wickiups!” later explaining to her daughter’s wonder that this chief had four wives. Anna Price also related how her mother, on a visit to the encampment of a man with six wives, each living in a different wickiup, asked some of the women in fun, “What kind of people are all these living here?” She spoke of them as if they were a whole local group or band. “Oh, they are all kinds mixed together; ná́dōts’ušn clan, San Carlos band, Chiricahua, every kind,” the woman answered her in similar tone.

The old man, the husband of these women, was sometimes joked by other people. He used to decorate his face with brown
mescal juice, and when he did this people would say, "Well, you must be out after another woman again," to which he would good-naturedly answer, "The time was when I visited all six wickiups every night, but now I only visit four. I am getting old. I'm sort of going downhill now. I'm staying with my Chiricahua wife. She takes good care of me and makes all my clothes. The others won't do that for me." Because each wife had a separate wickiup of her own, and what was really only one family looked like a whole family cluster, a man with several wives was sometimes jokingly alluded to as "The chief of his wives," or "His people [following] are his wives."

In conjunction with polygyny there could be important economic advantages. A wealthy man who periodically brought in game and booty from raids was extremely desirable in marriage, and more than one set of parents-in-law could be partly supported by him. At the same time more than one wife in the family meant that certain economic duties could be shared and lightened. It is said that a man who still loved his first wife would sometimes take a second one to spare his first wife the burden of all the family tasks. Some women were reconciled to this, since it lessened their labors.

Of the twelve polygynous marriages recorded from the period before 1880, in all but two the husbands are known to have been wealthy and influential men, and in five of them they were true chiefs. Of these marriages, eight were with two women, two with three women, one with four women, and one with six women. In those with two women, two were with blood sisters, two with maternal parallel cousins, two with women of the same clan related by blood (the exact relationship unknown), one with two women of the same clan (blood relationship, if any, unknown), and one with two women of related clans—clans 1 and 3. In one of the marriages with three women, the wives were of related clans: the first of clan 4, the second of clan 13 from the Cibecue group, the third of clan 1. In the other the wives were of three unrelated clans—clans 21, 30, and 57, the last being from the Cibecue group. In the marriage with four women, two of the wives were of clan 3 (relationship, if any, unknown), the
third was of related clan 2, and the fourth a woman from the San Carlos band. In the marriage with six women, the first was of clan 20, the second of the same clan, and later on, becoming very wealthy, the man married the other four, respectively, of the Pinal band, San Carlos band, Chiricahua Apache, and one a Mexican captive.

It is evident that the majority of polygynous marriages were, first, with women of the same clan and matrilineal lineage; second, with women of related clans; and, last, with women of unrelated clans. In marriages with three or more wives, though two or three were likely to be of the same or related clan, the remainder were likely to be of unrelated clan and frequently from an outside people. It is not clear whether this is because of difficulty in obtaining more than two or three wives locally or because the husband wished to avoid extra affinal obligations by marrying women whose relatives were very unlikely to live near him. The obligation to remarry into the clan of the first mate did not rigidly apply to polygynous marriages, nor did the husband necessarily have to make a gift to his first parents-in-law and gain their consent before he took a second wife who was unrelated by blood or clan to his first wife. Being a wealthy and influential man, he was more in a position to do as he wished. However, in almost every case the first two wives were of the same clan, and usually, if the husband was taking another wife of unrelated clan, he at least notified his first parents-in-law and sometimes gave them a blanket or horse to placate them.

A man could obtain an additional wife either by being offered one or through his own negotiations. When he was a good son-in-law, successful and wealthy, his first wife's family might offer him another wife in order to strengthen their ties with him. In this they showed their respect and esteem for him. Occasionally, a man whose interest in his first wife was beginning to lag was offered a second wife by his family-in-law to prevent him from leaving the family entirely. In such a situation the first wife might even ask her parent to do this. No actual cases were obtained, but it is said that a few men intentionally showed interest in girls of other clans to frighten their parents-in-law into
giving them a second wife. When an additional wife was offered to a man, whether she was of his first wife's family or not, there was no feasting or exchange of gifts. The offer was usually made by the girl's father or older brother. If accepted, the girl was sent alone to the man's camp without further formalities, but if she was not wanted the man could gracefully say, "I am satisfied with my wife now and do not wish another."

If a man should undertake to procure an additional wife on his own, he made a gift of a horse, blanket and gun, or something of similar value to the girl's parents, whether they were already his parents-in-law or not, and stated that he wished another wife. If they liked him and he was able to support another wife, the gift was accepted, and the girl sent to his camp to remain there. No gift exchange or feasting took place.

The average Apache woman seems to have resented her husband's taking another wife, and, as the Apache say, "She doesn't like her husband getting another woman, because she wants to be his only wife." Accordingly a woman, whether past the menopause or not, did not intentionally aid in the procuring of another wife for her husband. Sometimes the first she knew of his having taken another wife was the woman's appearance at the camp, but usually a man would tell his first wife, "I want to marry that woman." She would answer, "Don't ask me about it. Go ahead and do what you want." This was ordinarily not an expression of approval but one of submission. If he intended to stay with his new wife in her parents' encampment for the first few days, as was often the case, he would say to his wife, so that she would not think that she was being deserted, "I will leave now, but all this property here is yours; all this of mine is yours. There is lots of work to be done about the camp, and the other girl will help you to do it."

Regardless of relationship between them, wives of the same man commonly called each other by the sibling term s'ik'is'n (sibling of same sex). As they were often of the same or related clan, they were likely to be at least clan siblings or aunt and niece, and, if related by blood, the most frequent combinations
were sibling, maternal parallel cousin, or aunt and niece.\textsuperscript{17} It is said that wives unrelated by blood or clan were likely to fight and that the best arrangement was to have two sisters or first parallel cousins on the maternal side. Nevertheless, close blood relatives married to the same man fought at times, as in the following instance told by Anna Price:

Once, when I was young, a man had two wives. Both of them were of my clan and were my maternal aunts. They were living together with their husband. One day the two women had a quarrel about which was to cook first. One got the other down and put a lot of dirt in her mouth. Their husband took his rope and tied them together, so that they could not get apart. Then he whipped them. I was standing off about sixty yards at the time and saw it all. My father was with me. He told me, "Go over there and whip that man with your quirt." I said, "No, if I go over there and do that he might get mad at me and whip me." But father said, "No, go over and whip him. He will not do anything to you." So I rode up to him and lashed him all over with my quirt, on his face, neck, and body. He stopped whipping his wives and said to me, "My cross-cousin, the reason that I do this is because they are always fighting each other, every day. This is how I am trying to make them stop it." He was laughing about it.

I went up to the women and untied them, saying, "Are you hurt, my maternal aunts?" They said, "No." Then the man and his wives went back to their camp. In a few minutes the two women were at it again. This time the man roped them from his horse, tied them together, and took them to a tree, where he threw the end of his rope over one of the limbs. Then he tied it on his saddle horn and pulled the women up off the ground so that they swung there together. He left them. My mother ran out with the ax, cut them down, and chopped the rope to pieces. That night both these women ran away from their husband.

There was little or no courtship in taking an additional wife. If the girl was sent to the man's camp, for the first few nights she slept with the first wife, separate from her husband, until she was used to her new surroundings. If the first nights were spent

\textsuperscript{17} The type of marriage in which a man married a woman with a maturing daughter by a former husband and later married this daughter was known to the White Mountain Apache but is said not to have occurred among them. They attribute it to the San Carlos group and consider it improper and approaching incest. A more practical objection was that, in marrying the girl, the stepfather lost the chance of securing a helpful step-son-in-law. The term for this kind of marriage is bijå jébik'ènà s'dà: ("she is replaced by her child").
in the encampment of the girl’s parents, the couple usually slept together, and when more accustomed to each other the man might suggest that they go to live in his own camp. In either case the couple did not have sleeping companions to relieve embarrassment, for the man’s marriage experience helped to overcome this. For ten days to a month the new wife lived in the first wife’s wickiup. When she was well acquainted with her husband, the first wife might tell her, “It is time that you built your own wickiup and cooked there.” The building of the new dwelling was done with the help of the first wife. John Rope claimed that a new wife did not start cooking before she had her own dwelling, but Anna Price said that she began all a wife’s tasks immediately. Probably either way was done.

Each of a man’s wives and her children had a separate wickiup and usually cooked apart. Ordinarily, the man slept, ate, and kept his personal belongings in the first wife’s dwelling, visiting the other wives for a few nights at a time. The first wife was recognized as the female head of the encampment and directed work to be done, such as wild-food-gathering and farming. She maintained this position until her death, when the second wife nominally took her place. Succession could vary, however, according to personalities of the wives. The fact that the husband made his home with one of his wives sometimes caused jealous quarrels, the other wives charging that he was being kept from them. Again, a jealous wife might quarrel with the others, merely because the man walked by her wickiup without coming inside. The first wife was termed ‘itsé:sídá:hi (“first she sits”), the rest, ‘ik’inázdá:hi or ‘iké:gésídá:hi (“next she sits”). A man termed his several wives ñá:ki (“my wives”). The children of co-wives, regardless of relationship or nonrelationship of their mothers, used sibling terms for one another. The behavior and obligations between them were the same as those between true siblings, and marriage with a half-sibling was impossible.

On losing wife or husband, a person was under definite obligations to the deceased mate’s family, first, to observe a proper mourning period and proper behavior during it and, second, to remarry into the maternal lineage of the former husband or wife.
Mourning consisted of cutting off the hair, wearing old clothes, taking little or no interest in the gaieties of life, generally remaining away from crowds and parties, and avoiding outward interest in the opposite sex. A husband mourned from six or eight months to a year, and a wife from one to four or five years, depending on how long it took to recover from grief. Mourning indicated bereavement over the loss of the deceased, but it also showed respect for the deceased's family. A man sometimes remained in mourning until a brother of his deceased wife came to him and said, "My brother-in-law, you had better wear good clothes again and go about as you used to," which meant that the family-in-law considered that he had shown sufficient respect and grief.

If a widow or widower did not observe a proper period of mourning and ran about to parties, joked and talked freely with others, and showed interest in members of the opposite sex, it was a direct affront to the family-in-law, and people might say, "That man didn't care much for his wife, I guess. It looks that way because he is running around now and not thinking of her." Not only was it a sign of disrespect, but it was openly flaunting the remarriage claim which the family-in-law had on the individual. Because of this, the family-in-law kept close watch of a widow or widower. If a widower showed signs of such conduct, his family-in-law might remonstrate with him, and, if he started living with another woman, the female relative-in-law who would properly claim him in remarriage could be sent to drag him away from her. If he should persist in his conduct, his family-in-law could not prevent his doing so, and their only recourse was to have nothing further to do with him. However, if a widow (who was more carefully watched than a widower) showed similar disrespects, her deceased husband's brother's or sister's sons might catch her, cut off the end of her nose, and tell her to go about as much as she pleased, that they no longer wished to keep her. If they wished to keep her in spite of her misbehavior, she was not disfigured.

A family-in-law's attitude toward the misbehavior of a widow or widower really depended on how much they valued the indi-
vidual. They paid less attention to one who was not greatly de­sired in remarriage, and it might be said of a widow or widower seen going about to parties, "Their relatives-in-law do not care much about them. They have let them go." On the other hand, a family-in-law, observing that a widow or widower whom they wished to retain was beginning to go about more than was proper, hastened the remarriage to one of their number, thus preventing what might be a loss to themselves.

An individual having a claim to remarriage with a widow or widower could speak of him or her as ci'tsá' ("my 'itsá' "). The term 'itsá' signified a person with definite obligation to remarry into a certain family and clan, that of a deceased mate. How­ever, this family was not obligated to claim the person if they did not wish to. Widows or widowers who were not claimed within four or five years were fairly sure that they were not wanted and would feel free to marry whom they desired. At times the family-in-law had no one whom they could marry to such individuals and therefore would say, "My brother-in-law [or whoever it might be], we have no woman to give you, so you are free to go your way and marry whom you please."

When, as sometimes happened, a widow or widower, in spite of having faithfully observed the mourning period, fell in love with someone outside the family-in-law and wished to marry, the matter could ordinarily be arranged. A widower in this posi­tion had to approach his father-in-law and brothers-in-law, say­ing that he wanted to marry, at the same time making them a gift of a horse or something of similar value to compensate for his actions. If they were sympathetic, they would be satisfied with the respect that he had shown them and would permit him to do as he wished. A widow in like circumstances did not make a gift to her family-in-law, but she asked for their sanction. The man she intended to marry might also speak to them, and he often made them some gift, such as a horse. The following is a case in which a breach of such formalities occurred, showing what might happen under these conditions:

Anna Price said that a widower with cattle jointly owned by him and his deceased wife must give half the stock to her family in such instances.
A widower had remained single for five years, living with his children in the camp of his deceased wife’s family. Finally he remarried, taking a woman in a different family, though of the same clan as his first wife. He apparently failed to consult his former wife’s family about this move. His aged mother-in-law, especially angered at this slight, soon found opportunity to go to his home, now in another encampment, and with an ax destroyed all the cooking and household utensils. In this way she “got even” with her son-in-law. He complained bitterly that she was an evil-tempered old woman and should not have done this. He even thought of reporting her to the police. Nominally, she had the right to do what she did, but others criticized her at the time for her meanness.

Before a family-in-law claimed a widower in remarriage, they met and talked over the matter. They might say, “He is a good man. He is wealthy. We don’t want him to marry into some other clan. We must keep him.” Then they would send him the girl or woman whom they intended him to marry. The same procedure was followed in regard to widows, except that the widow’s mother-in-law or sister-in-law usually brought her to the man she was to marry. The logical member of the family for the widow or widower to marry was an unmarried individual or one already widowed, ordinarily the deceased’s sibling, parallel cousin on the maternal side, or sister’s child. There was often considerable disparity in ages in these marriages. If this family member should not wish to go through with the marriage, another person in the family would be sought. A man selected to remarry a widow and told to go and claim her might say, “No, there are lots of other men here. Let one of them take her.” Sometimes when there was no one available in the maternal lineage, a blood cross-cousin of the deceased could be used to “catch” the widow or widower. Although this was far less desirable, at least it maintained a partial connection. Widows or widowers had no recognized part in bringing about their own remarriage into a former mate’s family, but, if desiring the remarriage and wishing to hasten it, they might feign some interest in individuals of the opposite sex who were not members of their families-in-law. Apprehensive of losing a good man or woman, a family-in-law might not care to risk delaying remarriage.
Remarriage obligations concerned not only a maternal lineage of the deceased mate but also the clan in which this lineage existed. Thus, widows and widowers might be spoken of as having remarriage obligations to a whole clan and were frequently mentioned as the 'itsa' of a certain clan. This was because all members of one clan were considered relatives on the maternal side, and therefore any lineage in the clan might claim individuals who were the 'itsa' of their clan. But in doing this they were supposed to consult first the lineage having the prior claim and obtain their sanction. Just as a widow or widower might be "caught" with a blood cross-cousin of a deceased mate, so could he or she be married to a deceased mate’s clan cross-cousin on the paternal side.

The term 'itsa' is not properly applied to older widows and widowers already past the age of marriage. Likewise, the term bija·n is used only for younger widows or widowers and divorced men or women. Its use for prostitutes will be discussed later.

Genealogical material yielded twenty-five cases (most of them between 1890 and 1925) of either a widower's or widow's remarriage to a second or third mate. Three of these which were with a third mate are as follows: (a) A woman of clan 3 married successively into clans 30, 4 (considered incestuous), and 45. Her first and third husbands were of related clans, but the latter was of the San Carlos group. (b) A man of clan I married, first, a woman of clan 46, whom he killed by accident, the act almost precipitating a feud between the two clans; second, his father’s sister’s daughter of clan 20 (considered incestuous); third, a woman of clan 21. The clans of the last two wives were related. (c) A man of clan 21 married successively into clans 1, 2, and 30, the first two being related.

The remaining twenty-two marriages were all with a second mate. Of the eleven concerning widows, in one, the widow married her first husband’s brother; in one, the second husband was of the same clan and maternal lineage (blood relationship unknown) as the first; in one, the second husband was the son of the first husband’s sister; in four, the second husbands were of the same clan as the first husbands (blood relationship, if any,
unknown); in four, the second husbands were of clans unrelated to those of the first husbands.

Of the twelve cases in which widowers were concerned, in two, the second wives were blood sisters of the first wives; in one, the second wife was of the same clan and maternal lineage (blood relationship unknown) as the first; in one, the second wife was of the same clan as the first but unrelated to her by blood; in one, the second wife was of a clan related to that of the first; in six, the second wives were of clans unrelated to those of the first wives.

The material would indicate that the sororate and levirate by clan or blood, although well-recognized institutions, prevailed only slightly in these marriages.

In the twenty-five above cases there are thirty-one combinations, and, of these, fourteen are unrelated clans, five are related clans, six are the same clan, and six are the same clan and blood lineage. The instances of sororate and levirate reckoned by blood, clan, and related clan slightly outnumber the instances of marriage into unrelated clans, but the latter also slightly outnumber the instances of marriage into the same clan. 19

Actual cases of remarriage into the same family and clan follow:

A man of clan 3 was married to a woman of clan 21. She died leaving no one in her family to reclaim the man. Later, another family, the husband of clan 1 and the wife of clan 21, neither related by blood to the widower's first wife, married their daughter to him, claiming him on the basis of his marriage relation to clan 21.

A woman of clan 20 was married to a man of clan 30. He died and she later married another man, also of this clan but not related by blood to her first husband. Although the first husband had three brothers, they were living too far away (sixty miles) for any of them to claim the widow.

A man first married a woman of clan 30. She died, and he later married her sister's daughter. She died also, and he has remained single since, for there is no woman of clan 30 to claim him.

19 If the cases where there was no person available as a second spouse, or where the son-in-law was not considered desirable by the family, were taken into consideration, the results would be more clear cut.
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A man of clan 20 married a woman of clan 2. By her he had five children. She died, leaving him to care for them. He remained on at his wife's family's encampment for five years rather than go elsewhere or return to his own family, located not far off. The reason was that he wished to remain with the children, who might otherwise have been taken by their maternal grandmother or maternal uncle and his wife. This man even cooked for the children, at times, though his eldest two daughters did most of the household tasks. These two girls later married and lived near by. They still helped to care for their three younger siblings. There was talk of a divorced young woman of clan 2 reclaiming the widower in marriage, but someone said jokingly that, although she was the logical one, she would not take him because he had so many small children. Not long afterward the man married another woman of his former wife's clan and unrelated to her by blood.

The following are cases in which a widow or widower was reclaimed in marriage by paternal blood or clan kin of the deceased mate:

A man of clan 3 was married to a woman of clan 30. When she died, her family "got the man back" by marrying him to the daughter of his first wife's father's sister, who was of clan 21. The family was particularly anxious to keep him because he was wealthy and influential.

A man of clan 21 first married a woman of clan 3. After she died a woman of clan 2, related by clan to the first wife, claimed him. She also died, and the man later married his present wife of clan 30. She was not closely related to either of his other two wives, but her father was of the same clan as the second wife, and the second wife's father was of clan 30, making the second and third wife cross-cousins, reckoning both ways. It is probable that some members of clan 2 arranged the marriage to his third wife, claiming the man through a cross-cousin relationship.

A man of clan 30 married a woman of clan 20. When she died, he later married a woman of clan 3, the daughter of his former wife's first or second male parallel cousin on the maternal side.

A woman married a man of clan 3. After he died, there was no one of his clan to claim her, and so she married a man of clan 20. The first husband's father was of this clan, so the two husbands were cross-cousins, though not closely related by blood.

The brother of the first husband in the above case, also of clan 3, died, leaving his wife with no one of his family or clan to claim her. She finally married a San Carlos man of clan 26, this clan being related to the paternal clan of her first husband.
A woman married a man of clan 3. When he died, there was no one of his family or clan to reclaim her, so she married a man of clan 21, the son of the first husband's mother's sister's son.

When a remarriage claim on a widow or widower was enforced, it always was a matter of great social interest to neighbors, who eagerly watched the proceedings. "Look, she is sitting behind him [her new husband] already, and only the other day she was taken back!" is a remark sometimes heard. The couple immediately started normal household life, and there was no exchange of gifts or feast-making, for these social gestures which established a friendly and close relation with affinal blood and clan kin would have already taken place when the first marriage was arranged. However, if a widower married a woman in another family and clan unrelated to that of his deceased wife, he ordinarily presented his new parents-in-law or siblings-in-law with a horse or two. The gift was usually not reciprocated, and there was no feasting. In these marriages, though some flirting might occur, there was no marked courtship period as among young people previously unmarried. Older couples might make presents to each other; and a man might leave meat at the woman's camp. If a woman accepted gifts, she was considered more or less under obligation to marry him and might be criticized for not doing so.

A ruse attempted by one elderly widow to get the man she wanted offers an example of flirting among older people. She was about fifty, and the man was about seventy. He was a shaman and had been a widower for some years. She tried to encourage his interest in her and once gave him an unmistakable hint when she asked him to perform a ceremony over her knees, which were paining her. The cure would have necessitated the shaman to pass his hands over the afflicted parts, but he was too wary to be caught. He refused to perform the rite. Some years later the woman told him jokingly, "If you had worked on my legs as I asked you to, we would be married now."

On the death of her husband, a woman without children ordi-

20 While visiting a camp, a woman often sits on the ground behind her husband.
narily lived with her parents or, if they were not surviving, with a married brother or maternal uncle. A married sister was less desirable to live with, for she would not be in a position to undertake easily the support of the widow. If she had neither maternal or paternal blood kin, she might live with her parents-in-law, who would feed and clothe her. In cases where she and her husband had been living with his parents, she usually stayed on with them for two or three months, as her presence is said to have somewhat comforted the bereaved family. For the same reason, a childless man living near his parents-in-law, on losing a wife, might remain there for from three to fifteen days or more. After that, he ordinarily went to the same blood kin mentioned above, but his dependence on them was not to be compared to that of a widow. Such a man rarely if ever remained living near his family-in-law. At all times a widow’s or widower’s residence depended largely on personal relations.

Widows or widowers left with small children were pitied because of the burden of raising the children and the future hardships they would have to undergo, and the Apache is likely to say of a widow, “Poor woman, what will she do without a husband to help her and the children!” It is said that childless widows and widowers, or those with children old enough to be of some help, recover from their grief sooner than those with small children. A widow left with children ordinarily stayed with the blood kin mentioned above; but, if this were not possible, she might live near her parents-in-law or siblings-in-law, who would help her in caring for the youngsters. If she had grown and married children, she would choose to live near one of them. A widower left with small children sometimes took them to live near blood kin or occasionally alternated between these kin and his family-in-law. But ordinarily, if he kept the children, he remained in his wife’s relatives’ encampment, where his mother-in-law and sisters-in-law would help with the children. In any event, he would continue to hunt and help to support them in what ways he could. In most cases the widower chose to leave the children in the care of his family-in-law because of their closer affiliation with maternal relatives. A few days after his
wife's death he might say to his father-in-law, "I am going back to my relatives now. Take care of my children and feed them the same as I have fed them." He would come to visit his children occasionally, for, as the Apache put it, "A man loves his children, and he would not want to leave them for good. That is why he goes back to see them from time to time."

Orphan families which were too large to be cared for by one side of the family alone were sometimes divided between paternal and maternal relatives, as in the following case: "A woman died, leaving her husband with two sons and a daughter. The man's parents-in-law took the two youngest, but, because they were unable to support all, the oldest, a boy, lived with his father and paternal grandparents."

On remarriage a widow usually kept her children regardless of the relationship between her first and second husband. But whether or not a widower kept his children with him depended to great extent on the kinship between the children's mother and his new wife. If the latter was related by blood or clan to the first wife, the children were likely to come and live with their father; but, if she was unrelated to the first wife by either blood or clan, the children usually remained with the relatives caring for them at the time and only visited their father's household occasionally: "It is hard for a man to keep his children then, for the second wife will not want the children because they are not the same as herself. But a woman who is of the same clan as the children, or related to them by blood, will be a real mother to them." The following are instances regarding widowers' children:

A widower was left with several small children. He kept them and cared for them with the help of some of his kin. While they were still fairly young, and before the eldest had married, he married a second woman, of the San Carlos group and of a clan related to that of the first wife. She proved a kind stepmother and took an interest in the children. Her husband attributed this to the clan relationship.

A widower was left with a son and daughter. He later married a widow, the sister of his first wife, who had three children by her first husband, a man of the same clan as the widower. As the children were
of the same clan and were first parallel maternal cousins, and as the clans of their fathers were the same, it has helped to make a united household.

A widower was left with two girls by his first wife, a Chiricahua without any surviving close kin. He turned them over to his mother and sister to raise. He had no brothers, and his father's kin were of another group. His second wife belonged to a different clan. The girls did not live with their father after the marriage, supposedly because his second wife did not want them.

A widower had two sons. On his marriage to his second wife, a woman of unrelated clan to the first, his two sons did not live with him but remained at the camp of their maternal grandparents. They rarely went to see their father. It was thought that the second wife could not have wanted them, because she already had four sons of her own.

A widow with children, on remarrying, might send them off to stay with relatives during the first month with her new husband, wishing to have them out of the way until she and the man were accustomed to each other, as in the following case: “A widow had one child, a boy of ten. When she took a second husband, she sent the boy to stay with his married sister in another community some fourteen miles away. At the end of two months his mother sent for him, and he came home again. She knew the man well by then.”

Ordinarily, the terms by which stepparents and children address one another are the kinship terms, if any, that they used before the marriage took place. When asked what a child calls its stepparents, the Apache usually answers that the maternal aunt kinship term is used for stepmothers and paternal uncle term for stepfathers. This, of course, relates to the practice of the levirate and sororate. It is said that sometimes when stepparents are really attached to the children they use offspring kinship terms for them, and at least in one instance a man referred to his stepfather as cità'nádlí'ní (“my father he has become”). Some say of a grown stepchild, “He is just like my son, for he gives me money whenever he works,” or “She is just like my daughter, because she always helps me.” In those cases where stepchildren are addressed by child terms, their mates will
be addressed by the same affinal terms as would be used for mates of actual offspring. The stepchild of a man may be descriptively termed by adding the suffix $kè$ to "son" or "daughter," thus $biyè'kè$ ("his stepson") or $bitsi'kè$ ("his stepdaughter").

Modern courtship and marriage practices are much the same as they were formerly. In the following pages are discussed only those aspects which have changed.

Age of marriage for boys and girls is probably later than it used to be, and marriage before puberty is prevented by government regulations. Both sexes are supposed to attend school until completion of the eighth grade, but individuals who have not graduated by the age of sixteen may be excused from further school attendance. Girls of eighteen and boys of nineteen are past school age. A girl may marry with consent of parents at sixteen and of her own volition on reaching eighteen. Although a few girls still marry as young as fifteen, most of them marry between sixteen and eighteen. Some do not marry until twenty, but to wait as long as this is not approved. Youths generally marry between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-eight.

Embarrassing incidents that used to befall young people are now told as curious anecdotes of the past, and old people point out changes that have taken place by such remarks as, "Nowadays, some of these young fellows will excuse themselves to go off and urinate right in the middle of talking to a girl." Nevertheless, the restraint of young people is still present, though probably less marked. School has brought them into a type of close association not experienced in the old culture. Dining-room and classroom afford some opportunities for contacts, but it is usually on the grounds surrounding the school buildings that an older girl and boy are to be seen talking to each other, sometimes in company of a second couple. School friendships are often lasting ones and may lead to marriage. Younger Apache have adopted letter-writing, and a boy or girl at Bylas may write to a school sweetheart at San Carlos, saying, "There is to be a dance here. Come up for it." A girl must obtain her parents' permission before accepting such an invitation, and even then
she goes under the care of some family with whom she remains while there. Social dances are still the greatest opportunities for courtship.

There are no longer the wild-food-gathering parties, and youths do not help their sweethearts with farm work. The old games where both sexes participated are completely out of style, and though baseball is popular the girls merely cheer the boys whom they like from the sidelines. The use of mirrors in flirting is not so common as formerly, and boys no longer hunt game for girls. Instead they make a gift of money, when they have it, five or six dollars, which the girls use to buy food or calico. Just as in former times, a girl's acceptance of such gifts from a youth means that she favors him and will sooner or later marry him. Sometimes a young man may say, "I give this to you because some day I want to marry you." Placing objects in an admired one's trail is probably not done to the extent it was formerly. Meetings between boy and girl are more easily arranged, and taking along companion couples or a third person to relieve embarrassment is not so common as it used to be. The flute has all but disappeared, and, with it, flute-playing in courtship. Apparently, because of a growing consciousness of the cultural differences between Apache and whites, young people are ashamed to sing love songs as they dance and rely on the song leader and chorus for the music. Face-painting and the use of sweet-scented plants have gone, and scented soaps and cheap perfumes have taken their place. It is said that today only a few people have complete knowledge of love power; nevertheless, it is still employed. Attitudes toward physical familiarities and premarital sexual intercourse remain the same. In the event of pregnancy, marriage can be enforced at the parents' demand.

Young people seem to have more part in arranging their own marriages, and probably there has been a decrease in marriages arranged by family alone without preceding courtship. A young couple who fall in love may inform their parents that they intend to be married, or perhaps that they have been living together for the last three or four days. Sometimes a girl sends for the young man, and from that time on the two will live together as man
and wife. The following is an example of a modern self-arranged marriage:

A young man was working for a cattle ranch. He left to attend a social dance at some distance, for he knew he could dance there with his sweetheart. He rode his horse to the dance ground and tied him up. All night he danced with the girl. The following morning she led his horse to her camp and tied it up outside. When the young man looked for his horse, it was gone, so he followed the tracks near to the girl's camp and concealed himself. There he saw his horse, and, knowing what this meant, he went to live with the girl. She became his wife.

The knowledge that native social practices and beliefs are no longer all-powerful may strengthen the resistance of young people to an undesired match. Sixty years ago defiance of family desires might prove an economic misfortune; today independence is made possible by wage-earning from an alien people who care little for old Apache social norms. In spite of this, family ties remain all-important to the Apache, who is seldom willing to destroy them permanently.

Marriage in the face of family objections is easier than formerly for the same reasons, and the following case affords an example of the slowly changing attitude toward independent marriage:

A young woman with one child, divorced from her husband and living with her parents, married a second husband, a man younger than she. The next day the young man's parents came to argue about it with her family. They did not like the marriage, but the young woman's father silenced them by saying, "You should not come here to talk to me. Those two are grown and have minds of their own. If they loved each other, they should have married."

The old marriage proposal method in which the young man's family made a verbal proposal to the girl's family and followed it up with an initial gift is still common, but the sending of the girl, unheralded, to the boy's camp is rare now, and only one case of the kind has occurred in Bylas during the last eight years. The proposal methods in which the girl's or the boy's family send initial gifts, without previous notifications of their intentions, are seldom if ever seen at Bylas, though they may occur about Fort Apache.
In marriages which the young people arrange themselves, the parents of the youth sometimes fail to make any gift to the girl's family, but ordinarily they give them something which may or may not be reciprocated. The following case affords an example:

A youth and girl had been courting for a year or more. The youth was working for the government and from time to time gave his sweetheart five or six dollars from his wages. With this she bought things at the store. Finally, during a time when the young man was absent working in the mountains, the girl spoke to some of her friends and family, saying, "He has given me much. I have no way to pay this back, so the only thing I can do is to go along with him." She sent word to the young man, telling him to come to her home. When he arrived they were married, and shortly after he took her back to the mountains with him. Later, he presented his father-in-law with a new stock saddle valued at approximately sixty dollars. His father, two unmarried brothers, and his maternal grandfather helped him to purchase this, as well as a quantity of food supplies given his parents-in-law. The same summer his sisters and mother busied themselves making several dresses which the young wife was to present to her family. These dresses were distributed among those of the girl's women relatives who later made dresses to be presented to the young man's women relatives.

Gift exchange between families during a marriage is no longer so important as formerly, and now the initial gift of the boy's family may be only a horse and saddle and very often only a steer. Often it is a sum of money, from thirty to seventy-five dollars, and at times presented to the girl's father by the young man himself. Other gifts exchanged between families are store materials: men's clothes, shoes, calico, sacks of flour, sugar, bread. One marriage was arranged as follows: The boy's mother and elder sister went to propose for him. Their offer meeting with acceptance, the two women immediately gave the girl's parents thirty dollars and took the girl home with them the same evening. Two days later, the boy's family purchased eight sacks of flour and sent them to the girl's parents. This flour was distributed among relatives living near by, and in two weeks a return gift, consisting of a load of food supplies from the trader's store, was sent the boy's family. Among the more wealthy families, such gift exchanges may take place two or three times. The same kinsmen participate in them as formerly, and there
have been no changes in the ways their co-operation is invited. Deer meat and deer hides, or prepared foods of the old kind are no longer ordinarily an integral part of the marriage gifts at Bylas, though they may be in the Fort Apache region.

The Apache, now required to comply with state marriage laws, must procure a marriage license and be married by one of the reservation missionaries or by someone qualified to perform the ceremony. But these alien laws are merely formalities and supplementary to the really important part of the marriage, which is its arrangement between the couple and the respective families.

As far as it is known, companion couples do not remain with newly married young people for the first few days. It is still common for a young wife to let her mother or some other woman do the cooking and other heavy camp work for her during the first month or so of marriage, but this is often impractical when the husband has a job away from home. The absence of family and relatives leaves no one to perform this work for the young wife, and she is forced to do it herself. Grinding of wild seeds and corn on the metate is no longer such an important woman’s task, and no modern instances were recorded of a mother testing her son’s wife’s ability to grind corn. The observance of the taboos mentioned for newly married couples is fast disappearing, at least on the San Carlos Reservation.

Obtaining a secret watcher for one’s wife is said to be no longer practiced at Bylas, though it may be done in the Fort Apache region. Cutting the end off a woman’s nose as punishment for infidelity or for failure to observe proper mourning behavior after the death of a husband disappeared years ago. Legally, a husband has no right to kill a man who steals his wife, and if he does so he is tried for murder in a federal court.

The divorce regulations affecting the White Mountain Apache community are controlled by the reservation courts and the agency. An individual wishing to obtain a divorce must state his complaint before the Apache judge presiding over the court. If the judge feels that the complaint does not warrant a divorce, he recommends an attempt at reconciliation; but, if divorce
seems the logical course, he imposes a six months' separation on
the couple. If they remain separate during this time, the divorce
is recognized. A wife abandoned by her husband retains the
children and receives a percentage of her husband's income,
sometimes amounting to almost his total earnings. If the wife
abandons her husband to marry another man, a part of her
former husband's income is attached for the support of his chil-
dren, who usually remain with their mother; but it is stipulated
that none of this is to go to the woman. If a childless woman
should leave her husband under similar circumstances, none of
his property can be attached for her use. All other elements in
divorce remain the same as in prerescension times.

Perhaps the greatest change has been in the division of labor
between man and wife. Hunting, raiding, and warfare are gone,
and wage-paid jobs, cattle work, and farm labor have taken their
place in men's activities. Farming with team and plow and use
of the harrow and occasionally of mowing machine and mechanici-
al thresher have drawn men into farming more than in the past,
for such methods and the handling of machines are considered
too complicated for women alone, though they may work in con-
junction with them. However, irrigating, harvesting by hand,
and weeding are still performed mainly by women, but, even
here, men are more active than in the past. Flour, sugar, coffee,
and other foods sold in the trader's stores have taken the place
of the arduously prepared wild plant foods, and metal pots and
pans are used in place of baskets and clay pottery. Women make
their clothes of store-bought cloth and often sew them on a
machine. Ordinarily, all these commodities are purchased with
the husband's wages. Such changes have lightened markedly
the incessant work which women were obliged to do in aborigi-
nal times.

Property division between man and wife remains the same.
In recent years some wooden houses have come into use as
family dwellings. Since the men now build these houses, it will
be interesting to watch for possible changes in houseownership.

Without comparative data it is impossible to say whether
observances of remarriage obligations for widows and widowers
have altered. In the Bylas area it is said that they are not adhered to so much as formerly. Widows or widowers, when wishing to marry an individual outside their family-in-law, may sometimes go to these affinal kin and say, "I want to go wherever I like," and if the in-laws do not wish to cause trouble, the family will acquiesce. Gifts to the family-in-law at such times are not always made. One interesting aspect of modern life is a widow's occasional unwillingness to remarry when receiving an army pension through a deceased husband, since remarriage automatically cuts off the pension.
CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

Property, other than animals and land, was termed *cinà:te’* ("my goods"). Personal property included articles made by a person and kept in his possession as well as those purchased or received from others. Ceremonies and ritual knowledge were personal property and could be owned and sold just as other belongings. Return of gifts could never be demanded once they had been accepted, and the same was true of articles purchased and fairly paid for. Only ceremonial objects could be governed by restrictions. Thus a shaman might instruct that the ceremonial object which he had made be used in a certain way, and he could force the owner to dispose of it or return it to him when he saw fit. However, this was done for religious reasons.

Except for land and for food stores, property was owned individually almost without exception, and therefore the Apache was likely to use the first-person possessive in the singular and not the plural when speaking of it. It is true, however, that ceremonial objects such as a set of *gā:n* masks were referred to occasionally as "our holy things," in the sense that, ceremonially, they benefited everyone in the locality. Actually, they were the property of one man. A dwelling was sometimes spoken of as "our wickiup," because several lived in it, but it really belonged to the woman who made it. Persons, chiefs, relatives, and clansmen might also be termed "our." Farms could be owned by several people, and this seems explained by the fact that it usually took more than one person to operate them. Even so, almost every farm was spoken of as the property of one person. Ditches and dams irrigating several farms were the communal property of the farm owners. There was no such thing as clan ownership of property beyond that mentioned in connection with

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1 Anna Price denied that eagle aeries could be owned.
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farming sites, but the concept which prevented certain types of gambling between members of the same clan is interesting because, as the Apache explain, “to win property from your clansman in gambling is like winning it from yourself, and therefore there is no point in it.” The same attitude was found in connection with a type of voluntary property exchange (explained elsewhere) from which members of the same clan were barred. Such concepts applied, however, to close blood and affinal kin as well and appeared in connection with clan merely because members of the same clan were considered blood kin.

The personal property of an individual, except that of a husband or wife, is not used or otherwise disturbed without permission. More than once I have seen a man refrain from borrowing an absent sibling’s or sibling-in-law’s property. “It is his and does not belong to me. He might not like it if he came back and found that I had used it.” Nonvaluable utensils, however, such as cooking pots and baskets, might be used by all members of the household and close relatives and friends, regardless of ownership. Kin most likely to use each other’s property without consent of the owner were children and parents and grandparents and grandchildren, for the relationship meant very close daily associations and few formalities.

Clothing was considered very personal, and the only women who handled a married man’s clothing were his wife, mother, either grandmother, and occasionally his daughter. If another woman did this, it might anger his wife. “It looks as if she is having an affair,” people would say. Before marriage a man’s sister might handle his clothing occasionally but not after marriage. Today washable clothing is usually washed only by a man’s wife and sometimes his daughter. If another woman is seen doing it, people would say, “Has that man no wife?” The same was true of a woman’s clothing, and the only men who handled it, besides her husband (and then only when she was confined to bed and could not get it for herself), were her father and grandfathers, who were beyond suspicion of having sexual interest in her. General dislike of having one’s clothing handled by anyone not a close relative, even when of the same sex, is still quite evi-
dent. However, this does not apply to bedding or any other type of property.

The Apache did not mind loaning property, and people who often refused such requests were considered stingy and mean. People were most likely to borrow from the close kin living in the same or neighboring family clusters. In borrowing, a person stated what he wished to use the article for, and on returning it he might mention the progress made in the work he had been doing, but he rarely if ever gave any verbal thanks to the owner. An unrelated person who borrowed a valuable belonging might recompense the owner by doing him a similar favor at some time or by making him a small present in the future, such as inviting him to drink tulibai. This was a gesture of appreciation. It is said that, when a buckskin dress was borrowed for a girl who had none to wear during her puberty ceremony, a gift was made to the owner of the dress. David Longstreet claimed that it might be as much as a buckskin or even a horse. However, this was done only when the owner of the dress was not a close relative.

A person, whether child or adult, had sole control over the property he or she owned. I have seen a family await the return of an eight-year-old daughter before they would think of allowing something of hers to be sold. Although onlookers might give suggestions about the price of an object, the owner had the final say. The same was true if the owner was a child, and a parent was usually careful to ask a child if he was satisfied with the price before parting with the object. Too much stress cannot be placed on personal control of property. A youth given a horse by his father might even kill it for the meat if he wished. His father would not be likely to interfere.

Ownership of farms will be completely described in connection with agriculture, but a few remarks may be added to those given earlier. Farms were inherited, loaned, or given away, but they were never sold. The possession of a farm included not only the right to plant there but also the right to everything on the land—trees, bushes, stones, clay. One had to have the owner’s permission to take wood from another man’s farm, and Anna Price
even said that the owner was within his rights in refusing to allow others to get water from a spring on his land, though such stinginess was unheard of. But, in spite of these concepts, probably only the planting rights were jealously guarded.

Inheritance, other than that of farms, was unimportant, for a person left little or no property when he died. Personal property was completely destroyed, put away where it could not be used again, or buried with the deceased. Only occasionally was something considered very valuable kept, such as a rifle, blanket, or saddle of foreign make. Immediately after the death of a common man, ordinarily, one or two animals were killed as part of the death rites, and as many as eight head were sometimes killed when a wealthy man died. Nevertheless, a rich owner might occasionally leave part of such stock to be inherited. Stock-breeding is recent among the Apache, who formerly obtained all their stock from raiding enemy peoples and only made small attempts at raising it. The animals were killed off as their meat was needed for food. Those owning the greatest number of stock were the wealthy men of the leader class, and among them occurred the few aboriginal attempts to raise cattle and horses. During the period of intense Western Apache hostilities with whites (between 1860 and 1870) these men lost most of their stock. Probably no man ever owned more than fifty cattle at a time, and it is doubtful if any of the herds were kept longer than five or six years.

Inheritance data on former times come almost entirely from John Rope and Anna Price. The practices seem to have been clearly defined, and neither of the above persons had any difficulty in describing them. Inheritance problems may have been few, but when they arose they could be handled according to established property concepts and rights of blood and affinal kin. On the death of an unmarried young man, his property, if not destroyed, went to his parents, who might say, "We still have our son, for we still have his saddle and blanket, his horse and steers." If the parents were dead, it was evenly divided among his siblings, usually by the eldest surviving brother. When neither siblings nor parents survived, the property might go to
his parents' siblings or his sister's offspring. The same procedure was followed on the death of an unmarried girl, widow, or widower with property not inherited from a former mate.

John Rope claimed that a married man's property went to his wife and children and that, when the time came to distribute it among his children and other relatives, the wife was completely in charge. Anna Price said that the property went to the wife and children but that some blood relative of the deceased usually made the final distribution of it, unless the deceased had stipulated that he wished his wife to have sole charge of it. Beyond this difference the information from the two sources agrees. Probably both statements are correct, the procedures being governed by circumstances. A widow with a strong character might dominate the situation, whereas one less forceful would be more likely to leave the property distribution in the hands of others.

Dying individuals occasionally left instructions concerning property. A man could send for his close relatives, parents, siblings, the children of female siblings, or even the siblings of his mother, to come and hear what he had to say. He would speak to them, "I sent for you to come here and see me. I am not going to say more than a few words to you." Then, pointing to his wife, "Here is this woman; here are the children. When I am gone don't talk about any of my property or about my wife. It all belongs to her. Don't bother any of it. When the children are old enough, they can arrange the division of the property to suit themselves. If this woman has a good mind, she may give you a part of the property. But it is up to her. Don't you say anything about it. She has done well by me, fed me well, so I am leaving these animals for her. I am not going to come back to her again, but do as I say. She is just as I am, rich, so don't say anything about her property." His relatives would reply to him, "All right, we will do as you say. We know it belongs to your wife. That is what you gathered it together for."

Likewise, a dying woman with property to leave behind might talk to her assembled relatives in the presence of her husband. "This is my man. He has done well and given me all I
could want, so now I do the same for him. I have always brought water (supplied the camp) to my husband because I like him." Then turning to her husband, "You are not old yet. You will marry again. When you marry again, get your children back and stay by them. In this way no one will be able to talk to our children. You can look after them well then." Her reference to getting the children back meant to get them back from her family, who would be the logical ones to care for them until the man was married once more and in a position to keep them. Verbal wills such as these were made to eliminate bickering among relatives, who were likely to be jealous when property was left to the mate of the deceased rather than to themselves.

Occasionally, a man on his deathbed was even more explicit, and in the presence of his kin instructed his wife as to the division of his property, saying, for example, that he wanted so many horses and steers to go to his brother, so many to his parents, so many to his maternal uncle, and all the rest to his wife and children. The fact that a dying person should feel it necessary to leave definite instructions when desiring that a surviving mate have charge of the property indicates how readily the deceased’s kin might dominate the situation.

A man or woman leaving property behind might instruct a grown son, "I am leaving this herd in your care. Look after it well. It is yours now." This meant that no one else could rightfully dispute the son’s control. The following is an example:

The head chief of clan 2 in the Western White Mountain band was a very wealthy man. He possessed a herd of cattle which he had accumulated over a period of years. Suddenly he was taken desperately ill and on his deathbed sent for his oldest son, then a grown man, and told him, "From now on you take good care of these cattle. I have saved them and raised them all for you." The son killed a number of the cattle after his father’s death, in conformance with death customs. Later, when it came time to make some distribution of the property, he killed one steer for his father’s brother, one for his father’s mother’s sister’s son, and the rest he kept. Throughout his life he cared for the herd, and it increased. He became the wealthiest man among his
people. He never made any distribution of the stock among his several brothers and sisters and always kept complete control, his relatives merely benefitting by living with him and depending on his generosity.

Grief caused the mate, children, and blood relatives of the deceased to wait at least a month and sometimes several months or even a year or two before discussing distribution of the property. If the deceased left children too small to receive their share, the property might be administered for them until the oldest son was mature enough to care for it himself, when it was distributed. Occasionally, the part of the property to go to the surviving mate and children was merely set aside at this time and that for the deceased's blood relatives apportioned. An example given by Anna Price follows:

This happened on the east side of bé'cli'ji'ni'tco' ("big black metal"), close to Black River. I was a girl then. I did not go over to where it was taking place but watched it from a distance with my mother and some other women. There was a herd of cattle over at the camp, and I could see quite a crowd of people gathered about them. I heard a woman wailing and asked my mother who it was. She told me, "It's that woman whose husband died quite a while ago. The cattle are to be divided now. That [thinking about her husband] is what makes her feel bad and so she cried." It was spring then. My father went over to look on and, when he got back, he told us about it. The man who had died was brother to the nádötsi'ásn clan chief náts'i'd'ilic ("he fails to do what he claims he will"). So it was this chief who was making the division of the cattle. The dead man had several brothers, and this chief gave two head of cattle to each brother. Then all the rest were kept for the widow's children. There were five children, two boys and three girls. That chief dividing the cattle spoke to the eldest of these children, saying, "When you get big, you can divide them among your sisters and brothers, so look after them well. When your little sisters are older, they can have some of these cattle."

As a widow left with small children could not care for her deceased husband's stock, some man would have to do it for her. If the property had been left in her charge, she might ask one of her husband's kinsmen to do this, usually his oldest surviving brother, or, if a brother was not available, one of her husband's maternal uncles or his sister's son. Whoever this man was, he
was usually the one who distributed the property when the time came, if the woman did not do it herself. He was not paid for looking after the stock, but the widow would tell him, "When you need meat, kill one of those steers for yourself." If the widow herself needed meat, she could send word to this man by one of her children, asking him to butcher for her and keep half for himself. The meat which the man got he distributed among the deceased owner's blood relatives. Sometimes a widow, wishing to show consideration for her family-in-law, would send her eldest child to the man, saying, for instance, "Go to your paternal uncle and tell him to kill one steer for us and two for himself." The man who helped with the cattle was not necessarily the one to claim the widow in remarriage.

When a woman died and left cattle, the same arrangement might be made as that described above—one of her relatives caring for the stock. If this were done, it meant that the distribution of the property was not in the widower's hands. The widower could also be the one to care for the stock until his small children were old enough to do it themselves. In such cases the widower and his sons were careful to present half of the meat from each animal that they butchered to the deceased mother's close blood relatives, thus avoiding any ill feeling or jealousy on the part of the maternal kin.

Property not left expressly under the control of a surviving mate or some other individual was ordinarily administered by the eldest or most influential living brother of the deceased, or, in the absence of brothers, by a maternal uncle or a sister's grown son. When the time came to distribute the property, the man in charge of it sent word to the widow or widower and the children and had the cattle rounded up. He gave so many head to each relative entitled to and desiring a share, at the same time setting aside a slightly greater portion for himself. The remainder, forming the largest part of the property, was turned over to the widow or widower and the deceased's children. In dividing the property, it was common to apportion it by means of twigs or strips of yucca leaf, each standing for one animal.

If a widow had been left in control of the property by her
deceased mate, she brought about its division by dispatching her eldest child to the man who had been looking after the stock:

My boy, go to your relative and tell him to round up those cattle. Tell him that you want him to round up the cattle for you. What is left is all to go to you children, after he has taken some for his people. You boys are big enough to look after the cattle now. You might get lazy. No one should do your work for you.

When the cattle were rounded up, the family met for the distribution, which was carried out either by the widow or, on her request, by the man who had looked after the stock. If she did it, she was careful to see that her deceased husband's close blood relatives were at least offered a fair share in order to prevent their saying that she had kept all for herself. She might say, "I don't want to keep all these horses and cattle. I want to give some to you people." If one of her dead husband's brothers wished some, he would answer, "All right, I will take two head of cattle and catch up one horse. The rest you and your children keep."

If there should be other property to dispose of, the widow might tactfully say to her deceased husband's kin, "You have two saddles here. What are you going to do with them?" thus giving them the chance of retaining them if they wished to. If they were generous and well disposed toward her, they would answer, "Those saddles don't belong to us. You keep them for yourself and the children." It was considered improper to show displeasure over a division of property, and influential men in the deceased's family quelled it, saying, "Don't let me hear such talk. It is not right. You should not grumble."

Most of the deceased's kin would be present to watch the distribution of his property, but only the immediate maternal blood kin received anything. Very often, relatives who were entitled to a share turned it down magnanimously, saying, "He did not put this up for me. He put it up for the use of his own children. It would not be right for me to take it," but this was usually when they were already well off. However, the deceased's mother, regardless of her economic status, might say, "I don't want any part of these cattle. When my son was alive,
he always saw that I got some meat whenever he butchered, so now I want my grandson to do the same way for me. I won’t take any of them.”

In the distribution of property among the children, the oldest child is said to have received the largest share, and, according to Anna Price, the reason was that parents were likely to think most fondly of their first-born. They liked to recall those days when they were young and newly married. A more practical reason was that the eldest child, if a youth, would have helped to care for the stock more than the others. The youngest child is said to have received the least, and daughters were given less than sons, because in the future they would have husbands to obtain stock for them. The mother’s or father’s share of the property was unimportant, because they would benefit from the property that their children received. In cases where there were co-wives, the first wife and her children received the largest share of the property; if the distribution was not carried out by the deceased’s kinsmen, the first wife did it. Co-wives are sometimes said to have quarreled over the division of their husband’s property.

Remarriage of a widow or widower to a blood relative of the first mate, or to an individual of the same clan, meant that the second mate and his or her children might share in property that the wife or husband left. But if the second mate should be unrelated by blood to the first, and of a different clan, he or she, as well as the children by the marriage, had no part in the property inherited from the first mate. Likewise, widows or widowers who married second mates unrelated by blood or clan to their first mates no longer had a share in property formerly owned by their first mates and must relinquish it to their family-in-law and their children by the first marriage. This concept is definitely at odds with white inheritance laws, the imposition of which has caused dissatisfaction in recent years.

John Rope said that farms were not verbally willed as far as he knew, but at least one case was recorded in which a dying woman told her husband: “I have this farm. Keep it. I have brothers and sisters. Don’t let them have it. Keep it for your-
self and my daughter." She took this precaution because the land was considered as belonging to her clan, and her relatives might have objected to the husband's retaining the land since he belonged to another group. It was generally understood that the farm owner's children inherited the land, and, if they were not living or did not want it, close maternal kin of the owner, occasionally paternal kin, might get it.

Theft was uncommon, and it is said that only those who were poor stole. When this did occur, it was usually a case of one woman stealing from another's food cache, or occasionally one woman stealing corn from another's farm because the crop ripened before hers or because she had no farm. John Rope says that, at times, even members of the same clan in one locality might steal from one another's food caches, knowing better than anyone else where they were. As food matters were generally controlled by women, such things were considered women's quarrels, and, as Anna Price said, "No man wants to enter a woman's quarrel." When one woman found out that she had been robbed, she would accuse the thief, who almost invariably denied her guilt. The owner kept on quarreling until the stolen food was returned. Only rarely did a matter such as this become serious enough to be taken before a chief. In his absence, a sub-chief or other influential man might attempt to settle it if asked to. "Our chief would not want you to do that way. If you need something, you ought to ask for it, and then it would be given to you. You should never just take it," he might say. On rare occasions the arbiter might offer to replace the stolen food, just to dismiss the affair.

The Apache say that boys were naturally given to filching corn from the fields. Sometimes owners merely asked the parents of the offending boys to tell their sons not to steal the corn, but, if they caught a boy, they might whip him. In such instances a boy's parents would not be likely to sympathize with him. "That's what you must want, swellings and bruises all over your body. It's your own fault," they would say.

Stock-stealing was the only other type of theft recorded. When the thief was from another group, he was likely to meet
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Death if apprehended, as in the case mentioned above of the Arivaipa men who stole horses. An offender of the White Mountain group who killed the stock he stole might meet the same fate, as in the following tale from Anna Price. No other case like it was recorded, and the fact that the thief was guilty of many such offenses is probably the reason that his was a capital punishment. Theft of stock within the White Mountain group itself was extremely uncommon:

One of my father's maternal [female] parallel-cousin's daughters was married to a certain man. While we were camped to the south of White River one time, this man stole and butchered a good black horse that belonged to my father. He and his wife ate the meat up. Not long after this, we moved back to White River. My father had some cattle there, and this same man went out at night and killed one of them. That made two things belonging to father that he had killed on the sly. It snowed during the night. The next morning one of my maternal uncles happened to be out and came on the place where the cow had been butchered. Nothing except the head was left, but he could see blood on the snow where someone had carried the meat off. As soon as he saw this, he came back to our camp and spoke to father: "My brother-in-law, someone has killed your cow, and only the head is left there."

My father had a Mexican boy whom he had taken captive and raised. He was grown now. He sent this captive with one of his own maternal parallel cousins, hàčí nà’ínla’ ("angry, he offers something slender"), a subchief, to find out who had done this. It was easy to trail the man in the snow. They followed the tracks right to his camp, and just as they got there the meat was being taken out of the kettle on the fire. As the two men walked up, this man and his wife eyed each other hostilely. I guess she had not wanted him to do what he had done, and now there was trouble coming over it. Some of the meat was still left in the pot. My father's cousin walked up and kicked the pot over. Then he searched about the camp and found more meat with lots of fat on it. In a little hole dug in the side of the hill close to the camp they found the rest. Then my father's cousin turned to the man and said, "Did you kill that horse also?" "Yes, I did," he answered. The woman spoke up and said, "That horse belonged to my uncle. I told him that, but he killed it all the same."

Then they hung the woman up to a tree by the wrists in order to make her tell more. "You men don't have very good heads. You have missed your horses. My husband here has killed about five of them," she confessed. Her husband sat there, watching her. "We have killed

See pp. 55-57.
four animals of my uncle’s [Diablo’s],” she added. The blood was running down her arms where the rope had cut into her wrists, but no one made a move to take her down. As she hung there she told them how her husband had stolen lots of horses and cattle from the other people. Then her brother happened to be passing by. He saw her and immediately came over and cut her down. She must have been hung too long, for she fell down almost dead.

Now hacki’ na’inla’ talked with the other subchiefs in our local group who were under my father. They agreed to carry out a punishment which he suggested for the man. He could not have done it without their approval, for it would have been taking too great a responsibility upon himself. He and some other men brought this man down near Chiricahua Butte [about twenty miles south of White River]. When they got him there, they burned a hole through each wrist between the two arm bones, stood him up facing a pine tree, drew his arms about it, and pegged them together. Then they tied him up and left him to die. That’s what he had coming to him. hacki’ na’inla’ said, “My cousin always used to keep a bell on that black horse when he rode him. Now the bell is without a horse. It is not much good that way. We will leave him tied up here to die slowly. It will be harder for him that way.” So they did. Other people had told the man, “You should have asked your uncle-in-law [Diablo] for meat before you killed beef that way.” hacki’ na’inla’ never got permission from my father to carry out this punishment, nor did anyone tell father about it until it was all over. They were afraid that father would stop it. Whenever there was anything ticklish, such as this, which they [subchiefs] wished to carry out, they never told father until after it was all over.

Probably the man would not have received such drastic punishment if he had stolen from any other than one of the most respected chiefs among these people. The severest punishments were usually meted out to those who offended chiefs. In this case the thief’s affinal connection to the chief failed to save him.

Ordinarily, when one man stole another’s horse and did not butcher it for meat, the owner would try to get it back. The quarrel which might ensue was considered a personal affair and left to those directly involved. This general attitude was maintained in all minor bickerings of the kind, and only occasionally, when it was impossible to settle them, was some chief or other influential man requested to arbitrate. Anna Price said that because her father was a great chief, whenever possible, he avoided becoming involved in such affairs and left them to his subchiefs.
She insisted that, if one of the contestants in a quarrel asked a subchief to intervene, the latter would consult other subchiefs in the local group before attempting to settle the difficulty. On the other hand, John Rope stated that chiefs and subchiefs settled such difficulties and that it did not take more than one of them to do it. Probably both procedures were followed depending on the circumstances, but in any event a wealthy and influential man whom others respected could be the only successful arbiter, and even then his word was never absolute.

Damage to farm crops by another's livestock was settled according to a recognized code. The usual procedure was to catch the animal which had broken into the field and to send for the owner to pay damages. The fine exacted could be a blanket, buckskin, or some such thing, depending on the amount of damage done. It is said that owners of animals were usually willing to pay the fine, because they knew it was fair and would want to retrieve their animal. John Rope says that a horse, mule, or burro which had broken into a field was too valuable to kill as recompense for the damage that it did; on the other hand, Anna Price claimed (and there is good reason to believe her) that a horse or mule which had offended often before might be killed in the field by the farm owner and the meat used for food. She said the animal’s owner could not rightfully quarrel about it, because corn was very valuable in those days. In any event, the farm owner could not keep the trespassing animal alive for his own use. John Rope said that, if the owner of an animal refused to pay damages, the farm owner might cut off the animal’s ears or tail instead of exacting the fine. Anna Price said this was done only with burros. If the animal breaking into a field belonged to a poor woman,—was perhaps her only valuable property—the farm owner, unless he was a mean person, would probably release it without exacting damages. Only on rare occasions, when the owner of an animal refused to pay damages, was it necessary to take the matter to an influential man for settlement. He might say to the recalcitrant stockowner, “You should pay this man for the damage to his crop. He has worked hard to raise his corn.” Property given as payment for damages done in
such instances was termed nālē ("property"), and the action of paying, 'ite'ñad'hi'di-t ('to him several things are given').

Disputes in regard to ownership of farming land almost invariably occurred at new sites where ownership had not long been established. The individual who first marked out a plot of ground, stamped the grass down, and started to clear off the brush was considered as having prior rights. But, occasionally, some aggressive person arriving on the scene later might attempt to take part or all of it. Such troubles were usually settled on the spot, and only once in a while, when they ended in a real fight, did a chief or subchief interfere. Theft of irrigation water was the only other cause of agricultural disputes, and, since women did most of the irrigating, this was usually a woman's quarrel. If it could not be settled, the chief, or most influential man owning a farm on the same ditch, might intervene, and, if he should fail to stop the wrangling, he might even break the conversion dam and turn the water out of the ditch entirely.

Certain physical aggressions on girls or women, the most serious of them being rape, could constitute punishable offenses. They have been fully described. A woman or girl thus offended, and wishing to call attention to the insult, cried out immediately so that others hearing her might guess what had happened. This corresponded somewhat to a public slap in the face as used in white society and was not a call for help. Young men are said to have been careful to avoid making unwelcome advances, fearing this mortifying hullaballoo. Younger divorcees and unmarried girls were those most likely to be involved in such troubles and, upon informing their parents, might even demand that they take steps to obtain some redress. Whether or not the parents or other close blood relatives decided to do this depended on the circumstances. Unless actual rape had occurred, the offender was not usually made to marry the girl; but recompense could be exacted by the girl's father or mother by destroying some piece of his property, such as a blanket or buckskin, or even by killing one of his horses. The owner of the property ordinarily

3 Similar to the term used of one's belongings, mentioned on p. 374.
4 Cf. pp. 389-94.
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permitted this vengeance, but sometimes he objected, thereby causing serious trouble. The following incident, told by Anna Price and occurring about 1883, shows with what gravity attempted attack upon girls could be considered:

I was living on White River at our farm. My daughters were with me. One day my oldest daughter and some other girls were playing together, quite a distance from the camps and close to the edge of the woods. Some Arivaipa men were lying hidden back among the pine trees, watching the girls. They had come up from their own country, bent on some mischief. When the girls got fairly close to them, they ran out and chased them. They grabbed my daughter and tore off her dress. The rest of the girls got away and ran home crying. The dogs started to bark. One of our men was fairly close and saw what was happening. He had a sling and sent a rock at the Arivaipa man holding my girl. The stone hit him on the head and he let go. She escaped from him.

I shouted to a man who was just leaving for a tulibai party. He and some others returned, got their guns, and started to search for the Arivaipa, who by this time had disappeared. They could not find them, so they returned and saddled up their horses. Just then they heard a stallion neigh over in the direction of Turkey Creek. They went there and found the tracks of the Arivaipa. They followed them to Black River, found where they had crossed, and proceeded south on the old trail. It was night by now, but it was moonlight, so they kept right on. Somewhere to the south, near the Gila River, they overtook them and killed two of the three men in the party. Then they came home.

If the attackers had been men of the White Mountain group, they might not have been killed; but, as they were outsiders, there was no hesitance in doing away with them.

When a victim of rape became pregnant, her parents ordinarily insisted on her marriage to the guilty man, whose own family would be likely to back them up in this. But whether or not a marriage took place, the girl's parents, reacting on their first impulse, might go to the offender's camp and destroy property of his as already described. Such property could not be retained by the girl's family for use, though the meat of a horse that had been killed might be eaten. The following case, occurring about 1860, describes the rape of a girl and the bloody quarrel which ensued when the offending man was not willing to accept destruction of his property:
We were camping at Ash Creek so we could gather the lily bulbs which were sprouting at that time. We used them for food. There were a good many of us camped in several places, a short distance apart. A young girl was living there with her maternal uncle and grandmother. Her parents were dead, and these two were the closest relatives she had, so they had taken care of her a long time. At another place not far off, called gâcâbâ·né dâsdjhâ ("sotols growing in a clump"), a man was living with his wife. She was jealous about him and had been accusing him of fooling with this girl. One day the girl and three others went out together to gather lily bulbs. The man saw them start off and said to his wife, "I'm going to follow that girl and do something with her, because you are always talking about her and me, even though I have never done anything with her at all." So he rode off, following the girls.

After they had been gathering lily bulbs for a while, the other three were called back to camp by their mothers. Then the man rode up. The girl wanted to go home also, but he wouldn't let her. The three departing girls called to her to come on. She wanted to, but the man said, "Come on, ride double with me and I will let you off at your camp." The girl finally got up behind him. As soon as she did, he whirled his horse and started off with her for a place west of Indian Springs as fast as his horse could go. After a while, as they were going along the side of a hill, the girl jumped off. As soon as she did so, the man jumped off also and grabbed her. Right there he raped her. Late that night the girl got to her camp. She was crying as she came. She told her grandmother what had happened. "My grandmother, you have raised me because I was poor, and you have done your best for me. Also my uncle has done lots for me, just as you have. Now this man has done this way all over my body, and it seems as though there is nothing left of me."

When the girl's uncle heard about it, he took his gun and started off for the place where that man was camped. When he got there, he saw a horse tied up, the very one on which the girl had been carried off. Immediately he shot and killed it. Then he started home. That man came out and shot at the girl's uncle as he was walking off, wounding him. The uncle turned around, shot the man and killed him. When the man's relatives saw this, they killed the uncle in retaliation. The relatives of the two dead men took sides and started to fight each other right there. About six men were killed over that girl. The man who raped the girl should not have done as he did. He ought to have let the girl's uncle kill his horse and go on his way. He already had a wife, and no one could see why he should bother another woman.

One of the men related to the girl and taking part in the fight made his escape the same day down into the San Pedro country, where he stayed for three years. At the end of that time he came back to his old farm at Turkey Creek. Just at the foot of the hill in the canyon some
relatives of the man who had raped the girl were at a tulibai party and saw him ride by. He had come to take his wife back to the San Pedro country. He found his wife working in the corn. She said to him, "I don't want you to come to me, because you have killed lots of men, and some of their relatives are still mad about it. That's why I want you to stay away. I don't remember you and you don't remember me, and that's the way it is."

Later he met a girl, one of his cross-cousins. She asked him when he was going back to the San Pedro country. "I'm going back in two days, and I want to take my wife with me, but she won't go," he said. A man related to those whom he had killed in the fight overheard him and told other relatives. When he left for the San Pedro country, these relatives followed him. At noon, by Salt Wash Mountain, near the Gila, he stopped to eat. The men following saw and got around in front of him. Near Stanley Butte they waited, thinking they would ambush him, but he never showed up. Somehow he had got ahead of them again. On seeing this, they rode as fast as they could and got ahead of him again. On a ridge where a lot of blue oaks grew close together they hid themselves and waited. Old Man Fat who was there said, "We must get this man sure because he killed my only brother. That is why I came along."

There were seven of them waiting. Finally they saw him, riding along toward them. When he got near enough, four of them shot. Three missed, but the fourth man hit him. The wounded man made a run for it up the hill, got off his horse, and crawled behind a bush. Two others shot at him, but he still lay there. One of them went up to where he was lying, "You have already killed me, so leave me alone," the wounded man said. "I don't think the others will let you go. They are going to kill you when they get here," was the answer. While he was still alive, the rest got there and spoke, "We came here to kill you. You thought you were a man up at gādts'āgina-dūl'ì' ("junipers growing down hill in line"). You ought to have stayed on there after the fight or you should never have come back to the farms again. Why did you kill our relatives that way?" The wounded man said, "My brother killed that man's horse, and he should not have bothered my brother after that. After my brother killed that man, you fellows killed him. Then I killed you. You are the ones who started it." The others replied, "That man ought not to have killed the horse. He ought to have asked for the horse. Also he should have asked the man to marry the girl. He ought not to have killed the horse as he did."

While they were talking to him, the wounded man died. They cut his head off and took it with them. One of the men was married to his parallel cousin. He felt badly over his death and cried. He belonged to my clan. The man whom they killed was of the nādōts'ūsīn clan. The

5 The place where the fight occurred.
brother-in-law buried the body in a crevice in the rocks and covered it over with sticks. He killed the dead man's horse at the grave. This made his companions mad. Taking the man's head, they started for home going by the place where the fight had been three years ago. When they came to this place, Old Man Fat took the head and threw it on the ground, saying, "Now go and kill some more people. You lie there where you killed those men." Then they rode on to Black River, where they stopped to wash the blood from themselves. Old Man Fat's saddle was all bloody where the head had been hanging from the saddle horn. He had to wash it off with yucca roots. The dead man's brother-in-law, the one who buried him, said to himself, "I wish I could see my little brother [paternal parallel cousins by clan] again." It was he who told the story to me.

The following instance, already mentioned,\(^6\) concerns a young man who purposely raped a girl who would not accept him in marriage and thereby was able to marry her. Few young men would have had the audacity to use such a method to gain their ends, and it should be added that the young man in question later became known for his exceptional initiative and ability, great bravery, ceremonial knowledge, and keen sense of humor:

Once something happened to a man we all know of. He was a young man then and unmarried. It was during acorn time and the people were camped at sắːt á́ːdígáː́í ("sand in a line of white"), in Blue River Canyon. A certain girl was living there whom he liked very much. The father of the girl had wanted to give her to him in marriage, but she would not consent to it as she did not like him. The young man knew this, so he planned to do something. One day the girl went in company with some women relatives to gather acorns. The young man knew which way she had gone, and so after a while he saddled his horse and rode after her. When he reached the place where she was gathering acorns, he spoke to her, "You had better get up behind me, and I will take you home. The river has risen too high to cross." Her camp was located on the opposite side of the river. "No, I have some relatives here with me. I can't do it," the girl answered. "Just bundle up your acorns in the burden basket and hang it on the side of the saddle," he told her. So she did. As soon as she was up behind him, he ran his horse up into the canyon, not across it to her camp. He kept the girl with him up in the canyon all evening.

The girl's mother was angry when she heard that he had stolen her daughter. She swore at the other women who had been with the girl,

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\(^6\) See p. 316.
saying, "Why didn't you help her?" Then she went to the young man's mother's camp, where he was living, to see if her daughter was there, but neither he nor the girl was to be found. In the middle of the night he brought the girl home. A little way from her camp they dismounted, and, handing the reins to the girl, he told her to lead the horse to her home. She did. He knew that he would have to make the forfeit sooner or later. When the girl got to camp, she spoke to her mother, "My mother, kill this horse. That man has done something all over me, so you better kill the horse."

The next morning, the young man sent his mother over to see what had happened to the horse. She found out that it had been killed already. When she arrived at the girl's camp, she said, "I hear that you people have killed the horse already. Thank you. That's what my son wanted. It's the only horse he has, but that's what he wanted." They had butchered the horse without even bothering to skin it. My mother was given a piece of the meat, because she was of the same clan as the girl and her mother.

About two months afterward the girl's mother came to the young man's camp. She spoke there with his mother, "My daughter is pregnant now, so I think I will give her to him. It will be all right that way." "All right," the young man's father said. This was what the young man had wanted. He had planned it out because he thought it was the only way he could get the girl. That is how he married her.

In spite of the fact that cases of rape were settled by the aggressor, the girl and her parents and other close blood kin of the same clan were watching, and, if anything went wrong, they were quick to take sides. The giving of part of the horse meat to the narrator's mother in the above incident indicates the interests that more distant clan kin had in such affairs.

Unwelcome advances or rape committed on a married woman were usually reported by her to her husband. She would not be held to blame for them, but the sooner she reported them to her husband the less likely he would be to suspect her of any complicity. The husband in all probability would attempt to kill the other man, and, in doing so, public sentiment, excepting that of the offender's relatives, would be with him. However, his actions could cause a feud between his clan and that of the man he had killed.

The established custom of compensation payment for unwelcome physical liberties with a woman or girl was sometimes
made use of unscrupulously. Thus parents with a divorced young daughter would single out a young man whom they knew had a good fat horse and tell the girl to lead him on into making advances to her. Sometimes the young woman did this on her own initiative. The young man, complimented by her seeming interest, might think she was in love with him. If he grew bold enough to venture to touch her body, she immediately reported it to her parents, and her father would kill his horse, taking the meat for the use of his family. On finding out that he had been duped, the young man might say to himself, "I thought that girl was being good to me, but she just did it." Angry, but loathe to let others know of his foolhardiness, especially other girls whom he liked, he could only accept the consequences. Such abuses of social practices were highly disapproved, and those who committed them were considered "bad people." Only young divorced women, some of them with small children, did these things, and they usually chose young men from another locality who were unlikely to have many close relatives living near by. A rather amusing incident of this kind is the following:

Two young White Mountain men left Chiricahua Butte to visit a San Carlos band chief named hâckí-nâ-zke'z, living on the San Carlos River where Peridot now is located. They had only one horse between them, and so rode double. While they stayed with this chief, they used to ride about double on their horse. There were some young divorced girls living in the camps near by. The two young men, being unmarried, would smile at these girls as they rode about, but because they seemed ugly and poor the girls would not smile back at them. The chief found out that the boys were trying to make friends with these girls, so he warned them to stay away from them. "If you go near them, even though you meant no harm whatever, they might complain about you to their families, and then your horse that you have ridden down here would be killed for it," he told them. When they heard this, the boys were scared and stayed away from those girls. They took good care of the horse, because they didn't want him to get killed. When one of them had grown to be an old man, he used to tell this story on himself and laugh about the situation in which he and his friend might have found themselves.

A person injured accidentally by shooting, or from being thrown or kicked by another's horse, or from other causes might
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attempt to get even for it at some future time. To avoid this, a compensation payment could be offered voluntarily, or upon demand of a brother or some other close relative. He might say, "My horse had nothing bad in his mind. He just did it. But even so I have to pay for it!" A dog that bit a child was sometimes dispatched immediately by one of the child's close relatives, and an adult who was bitten might kill the dog himself. Usually the owner, glad to have the affair settled so easily, said nothing about it. When the individual who was responsible for another's injury did not offer to pay for it, one of the injured person's relatives might come to him, saying, "You had better pay for it. That way it will be all right and no trouble will come." According to the circumstances, the payment could be a buckskin, blanket, quiver, or some other such article which the relative took to the injured person, saying, "This is what I have asked for you, so you had better make up your mind in a good way toward this man."

Intentional injury to another, such as might occur in a fight, could also be atoned for by payment. If an adversary failed to pay, the injured man might later attempt to kill him. One old man used to say, in brooding over wounds which he received—three in the arm, one in the leg, and the lobe of his ear shot away—when wantonly attacked by some Chiricahua Apache: "Some day I am going to kill those Chiricahua. Every time I see these old wounds on my body, it makes me mad." When two men fought and one was wounded, the relatives of both would counsel them separately: "Don't make anything of this. Just let it go." Quite often the close blood relatives of the man who had caused the injury, either voluntarily or on demand of the wounded man's kin, immediately offered to pay for the damage.

Compensation payments for either accidental or nonaccidental injuries were not always made, however, and, if thought unnecessary, could be omitted entirely, depending on the disposition of the two families concerned. In all compensated cases the relatives of the injured person made the demands and accepted the payments, the injured one never dealing directly with the individual causing the injury. John Rope thought that
accidental injuries brought smaller compensation payments than nonaccidental injuries, and Anna Price said that injury resulting in loss of consciousness, because it was considered temporary death, might deserve as much as a horse.

In cases of accidentally caused death, unless atonement payment was made, there was danger of a retaliation killing by the deceased’s brothers, maternal uncles, or sister’s sons. To avoid such trouble, the most eloquent of the close maternal blood relatives of the man who had caused the death talked with the relatives of the one who had been killed. Because she was his closest relative, the mother of the man in trouble might play a prominent part in such negotiations. Any chief or subchief related by blood to the man might also be asked to lend his influence. If a compensation were acceptable, the two families met, and the goods to be offered in payment were set before the deceased’s family. If they were not sufficient, more were demanded. When the payment was concluded, speeches were made on both sides, stating that now the affair had been settled and no one should harbor further enmity. The payment was either burned on the spot or taken home and used. If the horses which were given as part of the payment were killed, their meat was eaten. The following description of an atonement-paying for an accidental killing was given by John Rope, who witnessed it about the year 1864 as a boy of fifteen or so:

A nádóts’úsě clansman called ták’i:ye’ killed an iyá’qiye clansman accidentally. He shot him with an arrow. The man he killed was the son of the blood sister of the iyá’qiye chief, nabá:nét’íné (“he talks against someone”). The nádóts’úsě did not want any trouble over the killing, so they sent two men, close relatives to the man who did the killing and of the same clan as he, up to see the family of the dead man. They chose these two men because they were smart and good talkers. They got the dead man’s family to say they would accept a payment. Then the close relatives on both sides came together and talked it over. The iyá’qiye clanspeople were all lined up on one side, and facing them were the nádóts’úsě clanspeople who were involved, a whole bunch of them. The men in each group were armed with their guns or bows and arrows. It had been agreed that, whatever the dead man’s family asked for, the others must give. The mother of the man who had done the killing was called ná’ł:diyélé (“round maiden”). She was there.
Whatever the 'iyà'qiyé clanspeople asked for, she brought down and placed before them. Horses, saddles, a gun, blankets, some pitched water bottles, burden baskets, all were brought. That is the way they made peace.

When enough had been paid, the man's mother made a speech. She was the first one to talk. After her the 'iyà'qiyé chief, nàbà'nèt'ìnè, who was closely related to the dead man, spoke for his clansmen. Immediately following him an influential man of the 'iyà'qiyé clan, called nant’a’ils-he, spoke also: "The 'iyà'qiyé clanspeople are my relatives. You talk all right. I am satisfied about this because you have given us these things. We are friends now." He wanted to throw in a good word for the nadots’usn clanspeople because he was married to a nadots’usn woman. Following this, various women and men made talks on both sides. Then the nadots’usn chief, Diablo, spoke: "From today on we are all at peace again. Neither side will try to kill with their weapons." Then the 'iyà'qiyé chief spoke again, "You heard what this chief has just said. From now on we are at peace. We will take your words and listen to what you say." Then it was all over. The women relatives of the man who had been killed gathered up the property and carried it off to their camp. From then on there was no trouble.

Note the part that chiefs played in this arrangement. As men of importance and good talkers, they were valuable as mediators. Even if a chief were not closely related by blood to those involved, his clan relationship to them would more or less necessitate his helping.

Arbitration of an accidental killing depended on the circumstances. If the happening was unavoidable or both parties involved were equally to blame, no one could be held responsible. Thus, in one instance recorded where a boy accidentally shot and killed two companions, no compensation payment was made because the fathers of the boys, all enlisted as scouts, had carelessly given their rifles to their sons to take home while they went to a drinking party. The boys were pretending to shoot at each other, and, when one pointed his gun at the other two standing together, it went off and killed both. The term for "he kills or injures someone accidentally" is 'agòdìnèdzà.

Murder is alluded to merely by the common term for killing and resulted from such things as gambling quarrels, jealousy.

7 The head chief of clan 1 among the Western White Mountain people.
over women, and rape. Most of the killings recorded seem to have occurred during or following drinking parties, when slightly intoxicated men were likely to become argumentative, recall old grudges, and pick a fight. These encounters were not the rough-and-tumble brawls so common to whites, for when the Apache fought he usually fought to kill, and serious wounds or death were very likely to be the outcome of the struggle. Certain men of unsteady temperament, under the emotional stress of having killed or badly wounded one adversary, went berserk and might kill any of the victim's relatives whom they chanced to meet immediately after the fight. In one case later mentioned, a man did not stop until he had killed four, three of them as he was making his getaway. Knowing his desperate plight and that he was at odds with his society, such a man did not care what he did and would say to himself, "I am tsét'á gò' ("outlaw") now and must go out alone into the hills, so I have to kill anyone I meet from this time on." The term tsét'á gò' means "among the rocks" and alludes to the places of refuge sought by outlaws.

There is a well-known tale concerning a renegade wanted at the San Carlos Agency for the killing of two Apache and a white man. When two Apache were sent to get him, he made his escape to the hills after killing one of them. The same day, a youth sent out after horses met him accidentally. Because the boy came of a poor family, the renegade pitied him and merely gave him a message to take home:

Today I killed a certain man below here. I used Jaguar power on him, grabbed him like a jaguar and killed him. I was like Jaguar. This belt and gun I took from him. From now on I am going to kill everyone I meet, whether they are my relatives or not. I know about you, boy! You have always been very poor and have had a hard time. I don't want to kill you, so go home. But if I meet you again, look out for yourself, because I will kill you.

Although certain individuals reacted to killings in this manner, the usual outcome was for the murderer and all his close blood kin in his clan to flee to the hills together until a compensation payment could be arranged or until the danger of a retaliation killing was over. It depended on the circumstances whether
or not the family chose to attempt arbitration for what one of them had done. If the murderer was to blame, his family would be more likely to try to effect a compensation payment, and even in those cases where the fault was not entirely his, his family might do the same in order to avoid danger of a feud. But often a family was under such emotional stress that they could not think beyond the fact that one of them had committed a killing, that any of them might fall victim to a retaliation, and an arbitration was not effected until a blood feud had taken its toll of several members on both sides.

Atonement payment for murder was carried out in exactly the same way as that already described for accidental killings, except that it was a more serious affair. The murderer's siblings, mother, maternal aunts and uncles, children of married sisters, the father, and even close paternal blood relatives helped in the negotiations. Affinal kin residing in the same encampment might also be included, as well as members of the murderer's clan not closely related to him by blood. However, the burden of the payment rested with the immediate maternal kinsmen of the murderer, and others were not obligated to help. The best talkers were sent to contact the murdered individual's family, sometimes bringing the compensation payment with them, one or more horses, saddled and bridled. "Let us straighten this thing out. Don't let there be trouble," they would say. Whether the murdered individual's family were willing to accept such compensation depended on the size of the payment and how wrought up they were. If they refused it, they might say, "Let's fight as long as you last," in which case a feud resulted.

Occasionally, when the killing was brutal and inexcusable and the family of the murderer could not sympathize with him, they gave him up to the family of the murdered person, meaning that this family could kill him on sight. This eliminated the danger of other members of his family being killed. The mother of the murderer was apparently the one among his relatives who gave him up, but, if she was no longer alive, his sister or some other close kin on the maternal side could do it. Cases in which the murderer was given up also included accompanying payments to
the murdered person’s family, and it seems that the murderer’s life alone was not sufficient compensation. Two cases of that kind follow, one concerning the rape and murder of a girl, the other the death of two men at the hands of a third strongly suspected of using witchcraft. Both killings were inexcusable.

Once a young man who was married and living on East Fork of White River caught a young divorced girl out alone, took her off, and raped her. When he had finished, she caught hold of his penis because she was angry, and would not let go. This made the man mad also. She must have held on tight and hurt him. He told her twice to let go of him, but she would not, and so he grabbed his knife and stabbed her two times, killing her. This girl was of the *t'é'ná doljà gé‘* clan. The young man’s father was of the same clan also, so the *t'é'ná doljà gé‘* were the murderer’s paternal clan kin. Everyone said that he should not have done what he did. He already had a wife, and no one could understand what made him want another woman.

I was a little girl then. I had not heard of the killing when I noticed a large crowd of people gathering. I asked what it meant and was told that one girl had been killed and that the murderer’s people had gathered together to pay her family for it. I was not told more than this, because I was too small to understand. The mother of the man who had killed the girl was there, and it was she who was doing the talking. It was through her that the payment was being made. She piled up property in front of the girl’s people: pitched water bottles, burden baskets, tray baskets, blankets, buckskins, moccasins, and some clothing. Four horses with saddles and bridles on them were brought also. The relatives of the man who had done the killing contributed, and even boys of twelve years old or so, standing there, threw their bows and arrows into the heap. When they thought that the amount was sufficient, they stopped of their own accord.

Then the mother of this man stood up before the people and stripped herself of her clothes, throwing them into the pile, saying, “These clothes, these four horses, and other things I have paid. I have paid them for my children: my sons, my daughters, my daughters’ children. There are many of them. They are paying this, and I am paying for them. You can have my son. He is the one who did it, but he has run off. You can have him whenever you see him. But these, the rest of my children and grandchildren, I don’t want you to bother them. If you see any of my children on the way for water or to get something else, just leave them alone, please. That is what I am paying you for. I don’t pay you for my son [the one who killed the girl]. You can have him wherever you see him.” After this talk I thought the dead girl’s family would take all that property home with them, but instead of that
they set fire to it and burned it all up right there. Only the four horses they led off.

The young man who had run away knew there were people living over on Eagle Creek, so he headed for there. When he got there, he went to a camp, thinking that he would spend the night. The news of what had happened had gone before him. When he came, the woman started to cook for him right away. He was carrying a pistol. After the cooking was done, the man of the family called to him to come over and eat. “You must be hungry, for you have come a long way,” he said. He must have been very hungry, for he started eating right away. Shortly after that, someone, a relative of the dead girl, walked up behind him and shot him in the head with a pistol. They didn’t bother to bury him but just tied a rope around his neck and dragged him off some place. Nothing was said by his family, because his mother had given him to the girl’s people. In that way there was no further trouble over the matter.

Once a man of the ndĩndẽ zn, called ḥąčę’ásît’e’, had a fight with two other men at Ḣį’k’i’dăstę: (“one [hill] on top of another”) on White River. Then he ran off. He came by the place where my husband and I were living and stopped there to tell my husband what had happened. He was my parallel cousin-in-law [he was married to a woman of the narrator’s clan]. “My brother, I have killed two men up above here. They beat me all over the head. Now I am going to be like a coyote [turn renegade]. But I have not killed them, I have just fought them,” he said to my husband. I saw the blood on his head myself, where the other men had hit him. He must have been a witch, for, though he had only fought them with his bare hands, both men died, one about midnight that night and the other in the morning.

In the morning, a big party of Western White Mountain people, relatives of the dead men, came to our camp because they knew the man had been there. They were after him. Though he had been at our camp, we told them that we had not seen him at all. gótcă-hă’ (“big one”), a nădăt’s’ăsn [clan] chief, was living not far off. His wife was the blood sister of this man, and so she spoke to the relatives of the two dead men, “You can have that man wherever you find him, but I am going to pay you two horses for the sake of my children [so that they would not kill any of her grown sons in retaliation].” She did this.

Her brother fled to the country of the San Carlos people on the San Carlos River. These people who had heard of the killing sent word up to the dead men’s relatives that he was living among them. The dead men’s relatives sent word back, “You can kill him for us. We will pay you for killing him.” His sister had given him to them. When the San Carlos people received this message, they said they would do it, and it would not be difficult, for the man was not on his guard.
Whenever one man has killed another, he continually carries weapons with him, is wary, and stays out of crowds, but this man didn’t do so because he thought the San Carlos people had no feelings about what he had done. So these San Carlos people laid a plan to get him. They had two cans of tulibai prepared, and then sent for the man. “We have made two cans for you, so let’s drink them up. You have been here a long time among us.” The man started to drink inside the wickiup where the cans were, but the people said, “Don’t let’s spoil the wickiup. Let’s take it outside and drink.” So they took one of the cans out into a wash close by, and left the other in the wickiup. They drank and they must have felt pretty good, for they sang. Then one of the San Carlos men sang about the man among them they were going to kill, hàcké-’àsíts’ì na’ ñirjálè (“he passes by”). Others joined him in the refrain. They meant that soon he would be gone, and it was as if they were saying goodbye to him. But the party was in his honor, and he did not realize what was up. Then one after the other the men got up and walked off, until he sat alone. Right there he was shot and killed. I don’t know of what clan the San Carlos people were who shot him, but I think they just did it because they were friends with some of the murdered men’s relatives and were being paid for it, not because they were kin to them. When the news was brought to White River, old women who were related to the two victims danced about just as they would in a victory dance. They felt good about it.

Following are cases of other atonement payments for murder, in which the murderer was not given up:

The tcátcì’dn clanspeople paid Diablo four good horses, all with bridles and saddles, for the slaying of three of his sister’s sons. This occurred during reservation life, and the payment might have been larger in aboriginal times.

Following the murder of a náádats’ású clansman by a t’óágaí’dn clansman, the murderer personally led a saddled and bridled horse with a big buckskin placed over the saddle to the murdered man’s parents. His family accompanied him and did the talking.

A man was paid two horses, and possibly more, for the death of his wife, a Carrizo woman, at the hands of a White Mountain man.

In one instance recorded the mother of the murderer, as a final gesture, placed a grass hairbrush on the pile of goods, but whether this was of special significance or not was undetermined.

The act of making an atonement payment for loss of human life is termed ñnàì’lzá (“he makes an atonement payment”).
Social status and sex of the individual murdered had a good deal to do with the size of the payment. The death of a poor man brought considerably less compensation to his family than that of a wealthy person. His family were also more likely to accept payment, because they might not have the backing to attempt a retaliation killing. The economic and social importance of a wealthy man, as well as the fact that his family were able to make forceful demands, necessitated a larger compensation for his death. Consequently, it was considered a more serious offense to kill a wealthy individual. Anna Price said that the death of a woman brought a larger compensation payment than that of a common man, because the fact that she bore children made her worth more. The extremely large compensation paid for the rape and murder of a girl would indicate that this was so, but John Rope thought that sex made no difference in the amount paid. Probably the murder of an important chief with a large following would bring the highest compensation, if one could be arranged at all.

In the event that compensation failed or was not attempted, a retaliation killing was extremely likely. This was done by ambush, picking a quarrel which would offer excuse to fight, feigning lack of intention to retaliate, and then killing when the victim was off his guard, or by a large number of men going to the murderer's camp when they knew none of his male kin were about. Inviting the murderer or one of his close kinsmen to a tulibai party given in his honor and killing him when he was off guard was a favorite ruse.

If possible, the victim of a retaliation killing was the murderer, but if not, the killing of his brother, sister's son, or mother's brother would suffice. However, the person killed must be of the same clan as the murderer, and blood relatives of his in other clans were not legitimate prey. With certain exceptions, all members of the murderer's clan and sometimes of the ones related to it were considered involved and might be killed in retaliation. But those in the greatest danger were close maternal relatives in the murderer's clan and others of his clan living in his

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8 See p. 400.
local group, who, if compensation was not arranged, immediately fled in a body with their families, seeking refuge in some remote part of the country. Often the man who had committed the murder stayed in the middle of the fugitive encampment, as he was the one most in danger. Although he had jeopardized the lives of others in his clan, his relatives were ready to stand by him without criticism, unless his crime was inexcusable; and, if one of them was killed instead of him, this was accepted as the natural outcome of feud. Too much stress cannot be placed on the clan nature of feuds. The opposing party was not spoken of as the enemy of a family or maternal lineage but as the enemy of the clan in which the maternal lineage involved belonged, thus "bizsáhe bi'inda" ("the enemies of the bizsáhe clan").

Uncommon though it was, occasionally blood and clan relatives outside the clan to which the involved lineage belonged were drawn into feuds. Anna Price claimed that parallel cousins on the paternal side had the right to avenge a murder, and one instance was recorded in which a man entered a fight merely because a member of his father's clan was killed before him. The following concerns a father who drew his sons into a fight, and an innocent bystander who was killed because he was of a clan related to that of some of the contestants.

A drinking party had been going on all day at bizhátei. One old man drinking there, the nádös'usn [clan] chief called hàkí bitcȟótlh'á, got mad at the younger brother of Coffee Chief, a t'udítixíí [clan] chief. Because he was angry, several of his sons who were present became angry also. The brother of Coffee Chief went for his gun and came back and killed one of the nádös'usn chief's sons. Many of the náyódèsgííjn clan were present, the clan to which the nádös'usn chief's sons belonged. One of this chief's sons, knowing that he had backing, shot Coffee Chief through the thigh with an arrow, wounding him badly. Then the t'udítixíí clansmen killed another of the nádös'usn chief's sons. Thus, two men had been killed on one side, and one wounded on the other. My wife's maternal uncle, a t'ágáídn clansman, was standing there with a quiver of arrows on his back. The náyódèsgííjn clansmen, seeing him, started for him because he was of a clan related to that of Coffee Chief's brother. He tried to get away, but two of them jumped on him and killed him. They blamed the whole affair on the nádös'usn chief, saying, "It is all your fault. You started this, and so two of your sons
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have been killed." They hated him because of this, but there was no further trouble. Coffee Chief died of his wound and this made two killed on each side. They were even.

Individuals married to clansmen involved in a feud and living with the implicated family did not enter the feud ordinarily and were in no danger. They accompanied those who fled to the hills after a killing but did so merely because they were a part of the social and economic unit. When necessary, they could be sent back to the home locality for stored supplies, where members of the murderer's clan would be afraid to go. Sometimes they acted as go-betweens in arranging atonement payments. As far as could be determined, even when affinal kin were of the enemy clan, they were not in danger ordinarily and might remain with their households. In one instance a man who saw his brother-in-law killed by members of his clan was so incensed that he threatened to kill some of them.

The choice of victim in a retaliation killing depended to some extent on the age and sex of the individual murdered. Thus, if the victim were a man, his relatives would attempt to kill a man in revenge, not a boy. If the victim were a woman, either a man or a woman might be killed, but not an immature girl. No cases of the kind were recorded, but there is some indication that a girl might be killed for the murder of a girl, and the same may have been true of boys. Men carried out the retaliation killings in feud because the women were physically incapable of doing so, but both sexes shared the emotion of revenge, and women might urge the men on.

As before mentioned, families implicated in a feud might gain safety in the local group of a powerful chief on whom they had some kinship claim. The cases recorded all concerned the great Eastern White Mountain chief, Diablo, whose protection was sought in one instance because the leader of the fugitives had married a woman of a clan related to Diablo's, and in another because the fugitives were of a clan related to Diablo's clan. These people were safe only as long as they stayed in Diablo's encampment, where his men could watch over them.
Two tales of feud follow, each of them typical of such incidents. The first was related by Anna Price and probably took place about 1850, among Eastern White Mountain people. It is of interest because several related clans were involved:

Once some men were playing hoop-and-pole at te'idi'di'yésikà'd ("walnut tree growing"). There were many men on both sides, and they shouted as they played. Then the hoop fell on the pole; some said the beads lay all over the pole, and some said they didn’t [a question of scoring]. This is the way the trouble started. Two men commenced to argue over it. Then they began to fight. Someone else went to help one of them. Then one of the fighters was stabbed with a knife. The man who knifed the other jumped on his horse and ran away. Some ran after him, but he killed one of them. Now this man had killed two. The fugitive rode on, and right where the trail came out of the brush he met two men riding double. He shot at them and hit the first man. The bullet passed through his body and killed the second man. Now he had killed four.

Some men living on East Fork, lower down, were on their way to the games. They caught the fugitive when he met them. Then all the men present took sides with their relations, and the two parties fought at xà'gô'bi'icj·hé ("dove’s salt"). Twenty-two men were killed on our side, and only one of our men escaped. This was my uncle, and he was shot in nine places: in the chest, in both arms, and in the legs. When they found him, they made a stretcher and carried him back to our camp. Some shamans came there to sing over him, and, while they were doing this, the women were building a rock wall about the camp to defend it in case our enemies should try to come back and fight some more.

My father was away hunting at the time and knew nothing of what was going on. So they sent three boys to tell him that the men had been killing each other at his camp. When they reached his party, father left them to bring in the pack horses, and he and the men with him rode home as fast as they could. Father was very mad about what had happened. "When I leave my place, they always start some kind of trouble in camp, but when I am here nothing ever happens. I wish I had been here when this trouble started today," he said.

The men who killed our people had run away to the south. They were made up of two or three different clans, one of which was the t'ágàidnu. Our men searched in their camps but could not find them. All had left. The corn in their fields was getting ripe, so we destroyed it. Two of my father's brothers had been killed in the fight, and that's

9 On East Fork, White River.
why he was so mad about it. For this reason he said that all the things found in the deserted camps should belong to him. If he found nothing, he said he would take a party of men and search for the ones who had killed his relatives.

Soon he was ready to go. He said he would first go to Carrizo, then on to Cibecue, and from there south to the mouth of the Gila Canyon and then straight for Mount Turnbull, because he thought that these men might have joined in with people living in that region. He told his men to leave their families behind to take care of my uncle, and left instructions that as soon as they were able to move him to shift the entire encampment to a level site at tl’ùk’à·yà·hí·kiṣj (“canes sloping down spotted”), which could be defended easily. He also left instructions to fell some small pine trees and set them up for a defense around the camp [like a snake fence]. Everyone was to sleep inside of this. Only the men in the camp were to get water, and only men were to go to the farms to bring in the corn which was ripening. Then my father’s party left.

When my uncle was able, all of us moved up to tl’ùk’à·yà·hí·kiṣj and did as my father had ordered. Soon some of the men went to the farms and brought back a few ears of corn. It was still small and there wasn’t much of it. We divided it up evenly among us. They kept on bringing in more corn every so often. Now the corn was really getting ripe, but only men went to the farms because we were still afraid of attack. We spread our corn to dry in the sun, and in a couple of days we husked it.

My father and his party looked everywhere for the men who had killed their relatives. They surprised a woman swimming in Black River and caught her. She had run away from the people they were searching for. She told them, “I had a fight with my husband and he almost killed me. So I ran away and was trying to get home. I used to live on East Fork near you. Don’t kill me, because you knew me before. At the place where those people you are looking for are camped, there is only one way to get in to them and only one way out. When they go to sleep at night, the men all come into that place and sleep there also. During the day the men always hide out in the rocks.” Now that woman led my father’s bunch to where the camp was, way up on a rocky point of the mountains at tse’its’os (“asbestos”). Just before they got to the camp, they hid themselves. The woman said she thought the people must all be in camp, as when they came in they whistled to each other. They must have been asleep, because everything was quiet. A rock wall was built around their camp where necessary.

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10 This means that people of clans 1 and 20 had been attacked, and so people from both clans joined to avenge the death of their relatives.

11 Near East Fork.

12 South of Black River.
with an opening in one side. Across this were laid some poles. One
wickiup stood inside the inclosure and all of them slept in it. From
where my father's bunch lay they could watch the whole camp.

Early in the morning one of the men inside the wickiup awoke. My
father could hear him telling the others to get up. "We better get up
and leave camp, because that woman who ran off might go to Cibecue
or some other place and tell where we are. They might be looking for us
now. We better get out before any trouble comes." My father and his
men were lined up close behind a big rock. Some men came out of the
wickiup and started to leave camp to post guards. My father told his
men, "Point your guns and arrows at all those men and don't miss any.
Kill them all at once." Some had guns and some just bows and arrows.
The arrows had poison rubbed into a notch on the foreshaft. The seven
men who came out of the wickiup were shot down and killed right there.
The rest were still inside, and they hollered to each other not to go out,
but to stay there and do their best to kill the ones who were attacking
them.

Finally they ran out and got into the rocks. When they ran out, one
of the women with them who was related to father shouted to father,
"My uncle, I think that is you, so I am going to you," and she ran over
to where father's men were. At the same time our men captured another
woman who tried to escape. Seven men and women of the enemy got
away. The women related to father said, "Those men are all in behind
the rocks. Don't try to go to them because they will kill you if you do.
Don't bother them, just leave them. You can't get close to them. Why
don't you go home now." As father's party had killed seven men and
captured three women, with only seven escaping, they were satisfied for
the present and started home with the three women. On their way,
they caught up all the enemy's horses and killed one at a time as they
went. They traveled very fast in case the others should follow and try
to fight again. The three women rode on their own horses.

My father and his party had been gone about a month when they
finally got home. My father's two maternal nephews, both young men,
had gone with him. One of them was married and the other married on
returning. The women in our encampment cried over the three women
brought back [because related to them]. No one knew where the re-
mainning renegades had gone. After about two years they got in touch
with us and said they wanted to be friends again and come back to their
old homes. "All that trouble we had at the hoop-and-pole ground was a
mistake, and we didn't mean to do it," they said. But my father
wouldn't say anything.

Later on, two of their old men came to father's camp and stayed all
night, trying to get him to talk about those people who wanted to come
back. They said, "We want you to be friendly again and let us live
close to you. We don’t want any more trouble.” But my father just wouldn’t speak to them. They kept on talking this way to him all night, and in the early morning father finally said, “Very well, it will be all right that way.” Then the old men told him, “We have come here to tell you about it. We are liable to fall sick or get into some other trouble because we are old men. So you ought to make up your mind to let us live here. Some of these young men die before they have time to make tracks, and some women do the same way. We don’t know ourselves, when we will die, and this is why we want you to be friends with us again.” When the old men heard father say, “All right,” they were very glad and hollered. They said, “We are very glad we came here, and it is as if you had given us new life.”

Those people came back to their old homes. Their farms were still at k’is’d:e:ci (“willows in a red strip”). They sent a man up to our farm to get father to come down to where they were camped, but he would not do it. After quite a long time, those people sent some men after father again to ask him to go down to their camps and join in a tulibai party, but father wouldn’t speak to them. They told him they had made tulibai for him and wanted him to come down there, but father answered that he had some of the same thing cooking for him at his own camp.

Once, long ago, just about the time of the peace [1864], there were two young men who were cross-cousins and close friends. One was of the btszáhe clan and the other was of the t’e’na:dóljágé clan. The former was married. One day they were jokingly playing together. They wore only gee strings. The t’e’ná dóljá-gé by accident pulled the other’s gee string off and exposed his privates. Because of this, the other got mad and killed him right there. Fearing trouble, this young man and some people of his clan all left White River, where they had been living, and moved south. They crossed the Gila River close to Nachez and went on south to lj’istcj (“horse is born”), where they stopped to roast some mescal so they would have food to travel on. From there they moved over to tséhidzj-s (“lime rock”) and made their camp just over the hill. They planned to stay for a while and so they fortified the place by making a low wall of stones about it. They kept two men continually out on guard to watch for attackers. The man who had killed the t’e’ná dóljá-gé used to leave camp every morning to watch and did not return until night. In the encampment, besides btszáhe people, there were some members of the iyá’aiyé and t’e’ná dóljá-gé clans who were married to btszáhe men or women.

After some time three men related to the murdered youth planned to revenge his death. They trailed the people who had run off down to

13 At Canyon Day.
where their camp was located. There they stopped to form a plan of action. One of these men was called gölzánē. His mother had been raised among t'e'ná dółjā'gé clanspeople as she was of this clan. That was why he had come to revenge the killing. They decided what they would do. There was a long ridge overlooking the camp of the biszáhę people. The three men posted themselves along it, one at one end, one at the other, and one in the middle, to intercept anyone who might come in that direction.

The man they were after had been out deer-hunting the day before and had wounded a deer. He trailed the deer but gave it up and returned to camp when darkness came. He planned to start off again the next day and find him. So fairly early in the morning he left camp and walked up toward the ridge where the three men were hidden. Two of them saw him coming and joined to lie in wait for him. One of these was gölzánē. When he was fairly close, the other told gölzánē to get to one side and let him shoot, as he had a rifle. He shot, but the cap on his rifle missed fire. The man coming toward them heard the click of the hammer and looked up, surprised. He saw them. He had a gun also, and he shot and killed the man who had fired at him. His gun was a muzzle loader, and, as he could not reload it quickly enough, he whipped out his knife and started to chase gölzánē, who dodged about a big bush. The two ran around the bush, the man saying he was going to cut him to pieces. When they had encircled the bush two or three times, gölzánē, who had a bow and arrows with him, had time to get one of his arrows strung. He watched for a chance and then shot, hitting the man right underneath the arm, the arrow going into his heart. The wounded man walked off a little way and then fell in a heap, dead. These two men had a chance to get their man, but they made a failure of it. Two of the t'e'ná dółjā'gé had been killed now.

The other man posted on the hill, having heard the fight, came running over and said, “What is the trouble?” gölzánē told him, “We got the man we wanted, but one of us has been killed also. We are out of luck. The best thing for us to do is to go home. We haven’t time to bury him.” So they hurried back to where their horses were tied and started home. They led their dead relative’s horse behind and reached Chiricahua Butte that night. The next day they reached Turkey Creek, where their relatives were camping. As soon as they were seen approaching, leading one horse, many people gathered and asked what had happened. When they heard, both men and women began to wail and mourn.

While the fight was taking place up on the ridge, those in the fugitive camp below heard the shots. They knew something was wrong and immediately started to find out which men, if any, were out of camp. The man who had killed the t'e'ná dójjā'gé up on White River, had been
camped right in the middle of all the others. They asked his wife where he was, and she said he had left to trail the wounded deer. Thinking that he had been ambushed, some men started out after him. They came to the two dead men, lying only a short distance apart. They said, "Well, we might as well bury them both in the same grave. They have both died together, and our people and the t'ë'ná döljá:gé always used to be close friends before. It still should be that way, so we will bury them together."

They agreed that there was no use in attempting to return to their homes on White River and that the best thing for them to do was to remain down in this part of the country. One of the men was called tsèt'a'gò' ("renegade"), and he spoke, saying, "A bad thing has happened, so we had better stay here for a while. We will go to live beside the Arivaipa people." So they moved over close to the head of the Arivaipa Canyon and made their camp.

Not long after that they made a raid down into Mexico and brought back some horses and cattle. On their return they talked together: "One person has been killed on each side now, so that makes us even. But then another man was killed and we will have to pay for him. That way we will make peace and become close friends just as we were before all this happened."

They decided that the animals they had on hand were not sufficient to satisfy the dead man's relatives, and so they made another raid to the south. They told their families to wait for them at a certain place close to the head of the Arivaipa Canyon. They returned to them with several head of cattle. They posted guards to see that the Mexicans did not trail and attack them, but these guards found no sign of any pursuers. All the same, the Mexicans and Apache Mansos had banded together and started out to follow them.

About three days after that the people held a big dance. They did not know it, but the Mexicans and Apache Mansos had surrounded the place and had their guns trained on them. Right there they attacked and killed a great many of the people—men, women, and children. Those who were wounded they later killed with stones. There were a lot of Apache Mansos in the party with the Mexicans. It was a terrible thing, for they shot the people down like cattle. They caught them in a blind canyon and many could not get out. Those who managed to escape later gathered together on top of a hill. They returned to bury their dead when the enemy had gone.

Many biszáhé clanspeople had been killed, and it was all because of that biszáhé man killing the youth who pulled off his gee string. They all thought it was the t'ë'ná döljá:gé clanspeople who had brought about this catastrophe by using go'nda [a supernatural power often used on enemies] on them. They must have had men who sang and prayed
that some evil would befall them and sent their power against them to cause all this. Their power must have been strong. Because of this the bishahé people were able to make peace with the t'éná dólja·gé people. They had killed two of the t'éná dólja·gé, but in time the t'éná dólja·gé had caused the death of many bishahé by using their power on them. That is how the thing ended and those people were able to return to their homes on White River once more.

The underlying motive in compensation for murder or retaliation killing was "to get even," to make the loss equal on both sides. To get even by killing a man on the other side was termed ní·ndá·bânáná·ze', and, when an equal number had been killed on both sides, it was said, "They have become even." As is seen in the above tale, deaths in the opposing faction could be caused by use of supernatural power, and, though this method closely resembled witchcraft, it was considered legitimate.

Rarely did the Apache kill a blood relative or member of his own clan, for he looked with horror upon such a thing. If an individual murdered a close blood relative in his own maternal lineage, rightly there could be no atonement payment or retaliation killing because it would be like taking vengeance on one's self. Only when the victim was found to have committed the heinous crime of incest was such a killing excusable. No instances of an individual killing his father were recorded. John Rope thought that no compensation or retaliation could come out of such a murder because the relationship was so close. But he did think, without precedent to go upon, that if an individual slayed his father's parallel cousin on the maternal side, the killing might be avenged, though it could not be settled by compensation. Killing or otherwise seriously abusing one's own child is considered to be the height of brutality and an almost inexplicable abnormality. No instances of parents' killing children were recorded among the White Mountain Apache, but recently, among the San Carlos people, a young man killed both his wife and baby in a blind rage. Others said of him, "It is bad enough that he killed his wife, though it is possible to see how it might happen. But that he killed his own child is too horrible." The following are two examples of murder of close blood kin:
A man of the náyóòdësiín clan killed his own blood brother. He was a wealthy man, and the brother he killed was the next youngest to him. This brother hated him. Once at a drinking party on Cedar Creek, when they did not know what they were doing, they had a quarrel, and one brother killed the other. They had many close blood relatives, but none of them took sides. They could not because they were equally related to both brothers. In later years this man used to speak of what he had done, "I killed my own brother, and because of that my relatives did not say anything to me. They were afraid of me. I often think to myself and wonder why I killed him. I have doubts in my own mind if I did right." His relatives used to say to him in awe, "He has even killed his own brother, and because of this we are afraid and dare not talk to him about it." ¹⁴

One time a man of the nádöts'üsün clan attacked his own maternal uncle, also of the same clan. He stabbed his uncle to death. The uncle was also maternal uncle by clan to my father. In the fight his nephew got badly cut, but even so it did not stop him. He came to where my father was and stabbed him in the back with his knife. The blade broke off in father's back and he fell over unconscious. He did not know that this man had already killed his uncle. They all thought father was dead, so they sent word to the army post at Fort Apache to say that a chief had been killed. A big crowd of people gathered about father, but they soon moved away and left only my mother and my father's brother standing there.

My father had a Mexican captive we called 'inda- [enemy]. He had been given to father as a boy by the Chiricahua chief tci's [Cochise], and father had raised him in our family. He happened to see the man who had stabbed father running away, so he headed him off and started to fight with him. He had a knife and the other man still held the broken knife in his hand. He did not know it was without a blade. The two fought and 'inda- was struck in seven places, but it did not cut him because there was no blade. If there had been one, he would have been dead. He finally slit the other's throat from side to side and killed him. This happened close to where the first man was killed, so 'inda- dragged him over and laid the two bodies side by side. After a while some soldiers arrived with the doctor from the post. The doctor gave something to father, so he could not feel the pain and removed the blade from his back. They took my father to the fort. He didn't want to ride in a wagon on account of the jouncing, so they made a litter for him, strung between two burros.

djà.'d'áhá ("ears sticking up"), who was a chief in our local group, made a talk to the people after that: "This is all right. There will be no

¹⁴ This case illustrates the complete lack of procedure in such circumstances.
more trouble. Two relatives [of the same clan] have killed each other, so for this reason there won't be two sides fighting and killing first one man, then another. There was no further trouble. They took away the man who had stabbed father. They laid a lot of dry brush on top of his body and then set fire to it. They did not want to bury him, because he had almost killed a chief [he didn't deserve a decent burial].

When a man killed someone unrelated to him by blood, but who was a member of his clan or one related to it, there was a possibility of a retaliation killing though the clan relationship made this rather unlikely. The only example of the kind recorded occurred at Goodwin Springs, when two members of the same clan who called each other “brother” got into a fight over a gambling argument. One killed the other, but a third brother by clan came almost immediately and killed the murderer, saying, “We can't let you do that.” There was no more trouble and the affair was considered settled. Murder of cross-cousins and affinal kin would develop into regular blood and clan feuds.

Raiding and warfare cannot be fully discussed in this volume, but the social forces active in warfare deserve a brief mention here. In raiding the sole objective was to obtain enemy property, but war was primarily to avenge the death of a kinsman who had been killed by enemy people; the booty taken from the enemy was only secondary.

When enemies (not Western Apache) killed a man, it became the responsibility of certain of the victim’s kin to avenge his death by killing at least one of the same enemy people. This might be so even when the enemy killed in self-defense. Occasionally, a war party was sent against the same Mexican town where the victim had met his fate, and in battle sometimes it was possible to single out the enemy who had done the killing, but ordinarily the enemy killed in retaliation was anyone whom the war party happened to meet in the enemy’s country. Warfare was decidedly different from feud, for no compensation payments for killing were attempted, and frequently more than one of the enemy might be killed in retaliation for a single Apache death. The revenge for a chief’s death was likely to be a costly one to enemy people, if the Apache could make it so.
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The victim's kin who were members of his maternal lineage automatically became involved and shouldered the greatest responsibilities in avenging him, but a single lineage was not sufficient to form a war party, and so it was necessary to draw others into the affair. Because all members of the same clan were considered blood relatives, the aid of any member of the victim's clan might be enlisted. Members of related clans could also be counted on to some extent. Blood relatives of the deceased who were not of his maternal lineage were not obligated to help, but, if sufficiently incensed, they could do so. Close affinal kin might join the war party for the same reason. Members of the victim's local group, even though unrelated to him, might also join because the chief of their unit asked their help. Lastly, men in other local groups might come because the leader of the war party invited their chiefs to bring them and form a part of the undertaking. The primary reasons for joining in such instances as the last two were to fight a hated enemy and capture enemy property.

A war party had to be led by a man of social importance, either a chief or a subchief. Usually some member of the victim's maternal lineage was suited to undertake it and, if a very close relative, might initiate it entirely on his own. However, ordinarily the brother, sister, or mother of the victim first asked him to do something about the death of their kinsman. If no one in the lineage was capable of leading the war party, the victim's kin might approach another person who was, making their requests on the basis of membership in the same or a related clan, membership in the paternal clan, close or extended affinal relationship by blood or clan, or merely because the leader was chief of the victim's local group or that of his responsible kin. A combination of several of these social affiliations could exist, but the one most counted on, after membership in the same maternal lineage, was membership in the same clan.

The leader who initiated a war party was termed ba'zs'q ("the one with whom the war rests"), and the whole clan of the victim might be called by the same term, for the responsibility of revenging him was considered to rest with them, though only his
maternal lineage was immediately involved. The fact that the clan was stressed is again due to the custom of identifying by clan rather than by family. The war-party leader was expected to send out messengers inviting chiefs to join who were affiliated in one of the above ways to the victim being avenged. However, the aid of others was almost equally sought merely because of the size of the fighting force they controlled.

The invited chiefs came to the appointed place for the war dance, bringing their men. The war dance usually lasted two nights, and the intervening days were spent in feasting, sweat-bathing, speech-making, and planning. The principal speakers were the war-party leader and older members of the victim's maternal lineage. During the war dance each leader was called out to dance. The men who danced with a leader might be any of those living in his family cluster or local group, but the majority were usually of their leader's clan, because his was ordinarily the dominant nuclear clan of their unit. Thus, such dance groups were likely to be identified by clan, and it might be said, for example, "The biszahé clanspeople are being given a chance to show what they will do in battle." John Rope says that pains were taken to let every clan body present exhibit itself in this way to avoid slighting anyone. For the same reason, in a following part of the dance, during which twelve of the bravest men were chosen to show themselves, the participants were selected from the various clans present.

Scalping was not common among these people, but occasionally a single scalp was taken after a battle. This was usually done by a member of the maternal lineage of the victim being revenged, although one of his close blood relatives in another clan might do it. When adult captives were brought home, they were usually killed by women during the victory dance. Ordinarily, a woman in the maternal lineage of the individual whose death the war party had revenged was given the privilege of first attempting this, which gave her the satisfaction of personally avenging the death of her kinsman.

Incest was looked upon with horror and was usually referred to in a lowered voice, or else the topic was entirely avoided. The
belief that it and all irregular sex practices between members of the opposite sex were linked with witchcraft made it all the more repulsive. Being the one social offense never countenanced, those found guilty of committing it were marked for the remainder of their lives. People would say of a man who had committed incest, "He has done something bad and therefore can never be a great man. He should be ashamed and stay by himself, never go about where other men are. He is not a real man. He is bad." Nevertheless, incest did occur at rare times. The Apache lay the blame on Coyote, who was the first one to commit it when he married his daughter. Several folk tales deal with incest. "Her Brother Is Her Husband" is one of these and affords an excellent example of the proceedings in such cases.

Because of its social implications and status, witchcraft as a crime must be taken up here. Witchcraft was used to bring misfortune upon another because of rivalry, envy, or dislike. When employed effectively, it was believed to cause illness, physical disability, insanity, or death and could be used against an individual, a family, or an entire clan. Witches were feared and shunned, and one who practiced witchcraft ran the risk of social ostracism and even punishment by torture and death. Peculiar actions, though they might be perfectly innocent, were often interpreted as signs of witchcraft, and this is one of the main reasons why an Apache was trained to avoid them.

It was said that any man or woman who had committed incest was likely to lose children by a later normal marriage: "The children will die easily because of what their parent has done." Incest between close blood relatives was considerably worse than that between clan relatives. The most repugnant of all incestuous relations was that between father and daughter or brother and sister. No cases of incest between mother and son were re-

15 The material on incest in this section represents the concentrated gleanings from a period of eighty years or more and should not be interpreted as meaning that incest was common. Actually it was rare.


corded. There was no ceremony against incest or to eliminate its aftereffects, and the misfortunes resulting from it were not thought of as affecting the offender's kin.

Ordinarily, one of the offenders in incestuous relationships was accused of being a witch, usually the man, for he was likely to be older than the woman and, more often, the seducer. But if the offenders were young, under thirty, there was less likelihood of either being accused of witchcraft, since young people were not likely to have the requisite ritual knowledge. When an unmarried brother and sister committed incest, and because of their youth were not suspected of witchcraft, their offense was reported to the local chief. Instead of publicly cross-examining them, the chief might send for their parents and say, "I don't want any bad things like this going on among my people. Therefore, if you are willing, you can send this boy of yours off to another country so he will never come back again. Then you and your family can also move away from here and join some other local group." After this, the mother might speak to her offending son, saying, "I don't want you about here any more. I thought that you were my son, but you have done this thing and so I don't want you here. You might do it to me some time, for all I know. So go now and never come back." This amounted to banishment, for the youth would have to go where he was unknown, usually to people of another group such as the San Carlos Apache, and there live out his life. His family, laboring under the shame of what had happened, were probably more than willing to move elsewhere themselves. The involved daughter must remain with them, because she could not shift for herself.

In all other cases, ordinarily those accused of incest were disposed of after cross-examination by their chief and members of their local group. However, if a close blood relative and clanmate of the offenders, such as a brother, should actually see the culprits cohabiting or making love, he might kill one or both immediately. Two such cases were recorded:

A man had two brothers and one sister. One day he went off hunting. On his way home he came on one of his brothers out in the brush cohabiting with his sister. He shot them both. Without waiting he
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went home and told some people, "There are people over there who were doing a bad thing. You better go over and see about it." He didn't mention what he had done. They went over to where he pointed and found the two bodies. The woman still had her skirt pulled up. They buried the bodies in the ordinary way. Some said they should be buried together in the same rock crevice, but others said they should not, so they were buried apart. The family mourned for them, all except the man who had killed them. He said, "It's all right to cry for a person who has been killed in some way, or who has died of a sickness, but for people who did a bad thing like that you should not cry." Nothing was ever said to him, for he had killed his own brother and sister and there was no one to avenge them.

A woman of Clan A married a man of Clan B. This was a bad thing because the two clans were related. One time, this woman and her husband entered the camp of a man who was related to her by blood and who called her "maternal aunt." He was also a member of the husband's clan and therefore called him "brother." The reason they were visiting him was because he had tulibai. When the man saw them coming, he decided he would make some trouble, so he sarcastically called to the woman's husband, "Come on, my son-in-law, have a drink."

"What did you say? Say that again!" the husband replied.

He repeated it. Then the husband got mad and started to kick him. At this, the man jumped up, grabbed a knife from his belt, and stabbed him three times, killing him. He said, "That is why I spoke to you the way I did, so I could kill you." Then he looked about for the woman in order to kill her also, but she had hidden in the brush. No further trouble occurred, because people said it was all right—that this man and woman were doing a bad thing. When the dead man's mother cried over her son, other people told her, "You should not cry for him. He was doing a bad thing." Though he had been living with a brother and maternal uncle, neither of them attempted to avenge his death.

When incest cases were tried publicly, the chief of the local group in which they occurred usually summoned the subchiefs and influential men living under him and informed them of what had taken place. The culprits were then sent for or, if necessary, brought by force. They were flatly accused of their crime, and if they denied it, as they were likely to do, they were strung by the wrists from the limb of a tree, just high enough to permit their toes barely to touch the ground. Culprits who would not talk could be left hanging all day, and a fire might be built under the
man. They were questioned searchingly as to why they should have done such a terrible thing and whether or not witchcraft was involved. If the woman responded that the man was a witch and had been killing people, they would try to find out where his witch medicine and paraphernalia were kept. Ordinarily the woman was not killed for the offense, because she usually saved herself by confessing. The man might be put to death whether he confessed or not, but sometimes his threat to retaliate by using his witchcraft upon those who were trying him was sufficient to obtain his release. It is probable that confessions at such times, particularly those of women, were made up on the spur of the moment to gain mercy and to satisfy the expectant crowd. In the local chief’s absence, trials could be conducted by any influential man. The relatives of the guilty couple would not dare to intervene, for public opinion was against them. Very often the chief who conducted the trial and punishment was of the same clan as that of the victims and might even be a blood relative. The following are two tales of incest, the first occurring approximately in 1870, the second about 1875:

A man had an unmarried daughter on whom he had designs. Once he told her to go to a certain place to gather acorns. “There are many women gathering acorns along the way, but don’t stop where they are. Go on to this place I am telling you of. There are plenty of acorns there,” he told her. So she did this, but she could not find any acorns where he had told her. The man circled around the other way in order to meet her. When she saw her father, she said, “I don’t see any acorns here. Where do you mean?” “Over there, a little further yet,” he told her. He went with her, and when they had gone a little way he grabbed her. He already had his gee string off when the girl hollered. Some women not far off heard and came to her aid. The man ran off.

They reported what he had done immediately. The local chief sent some of his men out to catch him. They got him and brought him in. Even though this chief was a clan brother to the girl’s father, he ordered his men to hang the man to a tree by the wrists. They pulled him up off the ground, and as he hung there they tied heavy stones on his ankles to make him hang all the heavier. Then they asked him why he had done it. They brought his daughter to the place and questioned her, “How many times has this man done it with you?” “It is the first time it has happened. When he grabbed me I struggled, and so he told me
that this was the way every man did with his daughter. Then when I hollered, he put his hand over my mouth," she told them. Some said they ought to build a fire under the man, but others said not to. As he hung there he told them, "If you build a fire under me or kill me, all of you will go." Because of this the people were scared and did not kill him. They turned him loose, for he certainly must have been a dangerous witch. When he reached his camp, the chief came and talked with him, "Leave here and never come back again to your children. Go down there to the Arivaipa country and stay. Your children should be to you as your own heart. Why did you do this thing?" So the man left and never returned to his wife and children.

A man of the biszáhl clan living on the Gila River had been committing incest with his sister. He was called a chief, but he had only been made one by the government. Once, while he was gone to San Carlos, the sister told another brother about it. She did not wish to submit to it any longer, as her husband who was sick at the time was being killed by her brother's witchcraft. So the brother whom she informed called together all the people and held a sweat bath where they talked the matter over. This brother was not a chief. While the meeting and sweat bath were still going on, that chief came home. He saw a sweat bath going on across the river and so he thought he would go over and join it. But when he got there, his brother came out to meet him, saying, "You are not going to take any sweat bath. There is one bad thing you have done which I have heard about. Here is a rope for you." The chief said, "All right, hang me up." So one man climbed up a cottonwood tree and passed the rope over a limb. They pulled the chief up with his wrists tied together. They pulled his sister up beside him in the same way.

Every so often they would lower them, and a man would sit on their shoulders, saying he wanted to rest there. Then they would pull them up again. Finally the woman, badly frightened for she thought she was going to die, said, "Yes, I know where he keeps his witch medicine. He has killed many people with it. It is over there in an old stump across the river."

"What kind of herbs is it?" they asked her eagerly.

"It is not herbs at all. It is parts of dead people; a piece of the face, a part of the brain, pieces from all parts of the body. That is what he uses," she told them.

So they let her down and took her across the river to show them where it was, but she could not find the medicine. It had been taken from the hole in the stump. "He sometimes keeps it over there under that bluff," she said. They looked there also, but could not find it. They never were able to locate it, and they did not kill that chief, for he
held the minds of the people with his power so that they could not do anything to him. After this happening, the chief did not lose control or prestige over his people, because they were very much afraid of him and his witchcraft [also probably because he had the support of the government].

Two years or so after that, he was living on White River. The brother who had strung him up was living there also. One day, this brother went out after some horses with the daughter of one of his sisters. He tried to have intercourse with her. She came home crying and told her family. When the man came back, that chief was waiting for him with some other people. He said, "Come on over to this walnut tree." The chief strung him up with a rope to one of the limbs. As he hung there, the man insisted that he had no witchcraft power whatever. He said the reason he did it was that he chanced to see between the girl's legs once. That was what made him want to do it. So they let him down and he went free.

Because witchcraft and incest were considered almost one and the same, the procedure in trying witches was exactly the same which was observed in incest. Actually, most witchcraft trials evolved from accusations of incest or practice of sexual irregularities between members of the opposite sex. Such conduct afforded far more tangible evidence of guilt than witchcraft could. No actual cases of trial for witchcraft alone were recorded. The following tale concerns an incident which, though it may have really happened, did not take place within the memory of anyone now living.

Long ago many of the people were short of food. Game was scarce, and only the best hunters and the wealthy men had much to eat. One man was an especially good hunter, and his family fared well. A woman living close to his camp was out of food. This woman was bad. She sent her little girl to the man's camp to ask for food. The little girl went there, but they would give her none. She came home and told her mother. Her mother said, "I will go myself and ask for food once more." She went to the wealthy man's camp, but he would give her none. She was very angry because of this, and said to herself, "I will kill this man." Next day they found the man dead in his camp. The woman had killed him with witchcraft. She ran away, but some men trailed her and brought her back. They suspected her because she was the only one outside the man's family who had been to his camp lately. The men tied a rope about her wrists and hung her up to a tree. They
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had her there all day, trying to make her tell what she had done. For a long time she would not talk, but at last at the end of the day, she said, "Yes, I killed that man."

Her father came down there, but he did nothing for her because he was not angry at the people. He said, "I have raised my daughter well, have fed her on good meat, and I do not know where she got this witchcraft from. But I would like to find out, for she must have gotten it from other witches among us." Nobody knew where she had learned her witchcraft. They tried for a long time to make her tell. They even built a fire under her, where her toes just touched the ground. She would not tell, so they killed her.

If it was considered certain that one person had killed another by witchcraft, some close male relative of the victim might avenge the death by killing the witch, just as he would an actual murderer. This procedure was more common than that of public trial and punishment. The witch's relatives would seldom risk opposing general opinion by protecting or avenging their kinsman. The following are typical cases of this kind:

A man was living on White River. One of his brothers played hoop-and-pole against a man of the ndêndézn clan. He won almost all his opponent had. That night he got sick and in four or five days died. They knew he had been killed by witchcraft, for his tongue protruded and was swollen and black. That was a sure sign. As soon as he was taken sick, the man of the ndêndézn clan fled to San Carlos. Some time after this, the brother of the victim started out for San Carlos to find the witch. He only took his bow and two arrows: One of the arrows had a point, the other merely a foreshaft without a point.

When he reached the San Carlos country, he went about at night, searching in all the camps for the witch. In those days the people used thin cloth to cover their wickiups, so after dark it was possible to see through when there was fire inside. He looked for this man wherever there was a party going on. Finally, while standing outside a wickiup, he recognized the man's voice and heard him laugh. He could see his shape inside, sitting before the fire with his back to him. He strung an arrow and pulled it back a few times to make sure it was all right. There was a deep ditch behind him, so he ran back and jumped across it to see if he could make it or not. Then he returned and shot one arrow in the man's back and ran. The man just said, "'é", someone has hit me in the back." Then all the rest inside ran out and tried to catch him. They thought he could not possibly jump the ditch, but he did and made his escape. He had done a good thing in killing that witch.
One time the slayer of the witch just mentioned was attending a tulibai party at Indian Springs on Ash Flat. He had grown old but was a very powerful lightning shaman and strongly suspected of witchcraft as well. Another powerful shaman was also there. The two men got into an argument [as lightning shamans will] as to which of them had the greater power. Finally, the second old man got mad and openly accused the first of witchcraft, "You are a witch, I know it. You have killed many people in that way." Others present told him to keep quiet, but he would not. About two days after this he started to swell up all over. Before long he was gone, so everyone was saying that it must have been the other old shaman who had done this to him. When the dead shaman's son heard, he went straight to the other shaman's camp, intending to kill him, but he had left for San Carlos. He did not get him. Some years after this at another tulibai party, the old shaman met his fate. Someone angrily accused him again of witchcraft and this time killed him. No one made any trouble over it.

Incest and witchcraft were the only social offenses that called for anything like a trial. Because witchcraft was a public menace and might be turned against a whole local group, it concerned not only those immediately involved but everyone in the locality. Blood and clan kinship counted for little at such times.

Property ownership, except for a few changes, remains much the same today as formerly. Women rarely owned cattle in pre-reservation times, but they sometimes do so now through inheritance from a deceased husband or relative, because cattle-raising has become a reservation industry. Actually, the individual to whom government cattle are issued is the owner of them, but among those Apache who have come to realize the importance of building up a herd for their children the cattle are sometimes considered as a family investment. This differs somewhat from the old individual ownership concept. Loaning of property continues, but payments for this are now likely to be in cash. Sometimes a cattle owner lacking horses for roundup work borrows them and pays the owner a steer when the work is done. Ownership of farming land has not changed much, except that land at new sites is now distributed by the government. Land apparently is not rented, and one man who attempted unsuccessfully to collect ten dollars for the use of his land as a dance ground was considered stingy, since he was not using the land, and it afforded a natural place to dance.
Stock-raising on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations, and the government's discouraging the destruction of stock on the owner's death, has introduced serious inheritance problems. Inheritance is controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs rulings, which allot half of a man's cattle to his widow and half to be divided equally among his children. If one of the children should marry and die, his share goes to his widow and children if any. This is definitely at odds with Apache beliefs and has caused some dissatisfaction. Formerly, if a widow took any share of her husband's property, it was smaller than that which her eldest son received, but now she can become an important property owner with rights separate from those of her children and may retain these rights regardless of the clan to which her next husband belongs. This, the Apache regard as unjust. Some large properties are now kept as a whole, the income from them being divided among those whom the government has declared to be heirs. After the death of a cattle owner, his family wait for a month or so and then go to the agency to confer with the superintendent concerning the property. The superintendent then sends his recommendations to Washington, and when an approval is returned the cattle are distributed at the next roundup. Farm inheritance remains the same, except that, when land is apparently abandoned by the heirs, someone else may ask that it be assigned to him. The local government farmer is nominally in charge of such matters.

Law enforcement on the reservations has been entirely in the hands of the government for the last fifty years. The local officers have been the reservation police who are directly under the orders of the superintendent and draw government pay. They are all Indians, with the exception of a single white man whose principal duty is the handling of liquor cases and intoxication, although he is called in on other questions also. Government farmers and stockmen in outlying districts may sometimes act as police. Since adoption of a tribal constitution on the San Carlos Reservation, certain temporary Indian police officers have been paid from a tribal fund. Indian policemen have been chosen by the agency for their ability and willingness to carry out government regulations and not because of high social status and in-
fluence among their own people. They, as well as those whites who perform police duties, may straighten out petty quarrels or bring them to the attention of agency or reservation court if necessary. On occasions, they may make arrests and act as court witnesses.

Since the first days of the San Carlos Reservation, and for many years on the Fort Apache Reservation, there have been so-called Indian courts. These were established by the government in an effort to have the Apache handle their own petty cases. Each large community is supposed to have such a court, presided over by an Indian judge whose appointment, salary, and discharge rest with the superintendent. Before their appointment these judges are sometimes men of recognized standing among their people, but their native social status has been of no great concern to agency employees. The judgeship carries with it little or no native prestige, for it is recognized as an alien institution. In court procedure the judge hears witnesses from both sides of the case and then hands down a recommendation for settlement or punishment which must be approved by the superintendent before it is carried out. More serious offenses, such as those occurring in white communities off the reservation or murder cases, are tried in federal courts. The system is an unfortunate one. Police and judges are respected only because they have the force of the government behind them, but, at the same time, the Apache, realizing their power, occasionally use them to gain ends which they could not gain through the normal channels of their own society.

Petty theft, damage to crops by stock, and even quarrels over farm ownership are often settled, as of old, by the parties concerned. Horses and mules are not mutilated or killed for damage to crops but may be held by the farm owner until he receives recompense. Whether or not the recompense is paid depends on the disposition of the animal’s owner. Burros, if caught in a field however, are still subject to amputation of ears or tail, and within the last six years some have even been killed. One man said, “Some years ago I had a black burro. I heard that a certain man shot and killed him because he got into his field. I didn’t say anything about it, as I didn’t want to start any trouble.”
disputes cannot be settled by those immediately involved, they are sometimes taken to local men of influence, but more often the local Indian policeman or government farmer is appealed to. If he cannot solve the difficulties, the matter is brought into reservation court. Punishments for minor offenses are now fines, jail sentences, or detail at some daily labor under supervision of the local policeman.

Rape and other sexual offenses are reported by the girl or woman, whose parents may inform the Indian police. An arrest is made and the case tried in the reservation court. Punishment usually consists of a jail sentence of several months. On the San Carlos Reservation it was denied that compensation payments for such offenses are still made, although it may still be done on the Fort Apache Reservation. Adultery is handled in the reservation courts, and of recent years the offense has come to be known by the term 'utl'â'hitâ' (“under and inside”), alluding to the act of coitus.

Accidental or intentional injury is not compensated, so far as could be determined, but intentional injury cases may be taken to reservation courts. Accidental killings are not compensated, but there is still some feeling that they should be. All murder cases are automatically tried in a federal court, and the offender sentenced to a federal prison. Fear of breaking federal law and of facing murder charges prevents retaliation killings, but the concept of "getting even" has not been forgotten, although it is suppressed. No compensation payments for murder are now effected. Belief in retaliation killing by use of holy power still persists.

Incest would not be tried in the reservation courts, if the Apache wished to take any action. The Apache have given up trying to persuade government officials of the existence of witchcraft and consider the white man immune through his indifference to it. No known native trial and punishment of witchcraft, incest, and irregular sex practices have taken place in the last thirty years, and, though some say that steps should be taken against certain recognized witches, fear of government retribution prevents this.
CHAPTER VIII

STAGES OF LIFE

Six stages of life are recognized: babyhood, childhood, youth, young manhood and womanhood, middle age, and old age. These stages are sometimes spoken of as “lives.” They not only affect an individual’s physical and mental conditions but also control the attitudes of others toward him.

Infancy and childhood.—Babies, regardless of sex, are termed mé until about two years of age, when childhood terms are more commonly applied: ʾicki ("boy"), ʾicki-n ("boys"), ʾitʾē-dū ("girl"), ējē-kī ("girls"). From puberty until marriage a youth is properly termed ʾittʾādū, plural ʾittʾāgē, and a maiden nāʾill-hū, the plural being the same as that used for small girls. The term yānātci-din is sometimes applied to young people of both sexes collectively. Youth and maiden terms are used until marriage, after which men are called nādē, women ʾizdzāhū, plural ʾizdzānē. The term ʾicki-n ("boys") is often applied in a comradely fashion to men and youths collectively, and chiefs made use of it in addressing their men, especially when they wished to urge them on to greater effort. Women sometimes used the same term when speaking to a crowd of men at a war dance. No similar use of "girls" for women was recorded. The change from youth terms to adult "man" and "woman" is dependent on marriage, and the strict adherence to this custom is very evident in myths, where it is unfailingly observed. Between the ages of forty and sixty, men are additionally called mbāiyān, which loosely signifies “age of reason.” Women at this time may be called ʾizdzāhū mbāiyānē. The term mbāiyān can also be used collectively for men and women of middle age. After sixty or sixty-five, a man is termed ħāštī-hū ("old man") and a woman, sān ("old woman").

Between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, men and women are at their physical prime, and between the ages of forty and sixty, at their mental prime and contributing most in the way of
leadership and influence. The functions of the average individual from marriage to old age, as well as certain phases of the stage between puberty and marriage, have already been described. Other aspects of youth's part in the culture will be treated in the following pages.

Wherever babies are seen they are ordinarily in their baby-carriers. Because these are such an inseparable part of an infant's life and environment, they are vitally important in any discussion of infancy. Usually two carriers are made—a temporary one at the time of the baby's birth, called ts'á·t'íchjë' or ts'á·t'ójë' ("braided baby-carrier"), apparently alluding to the way the hood or frame was woven, and a permanent one three months or so afterward, termed mé's'dal ("baby-carrier") or ts'á·t'ático·hí ("big baby-carrier").

Ordinarily, the woman's mother, maternal aunt, or one of her grandmothers makes the temporary carrier for her the day after the baby's birth. If these relatives are absent, the father may do it, and sometimes the woman herself. The work is done hastily because of immediate need, and native woods, such as desert willow, are used. One of these carriers made by Anna Price, and now in the Arizona State Museum at Tucson (see Pl. VI), is constructed from tamarisk wood.¹

The frame of this carrier is formed from two lengths of unpeeled branch, one-half of an inch in diameter, bent into arcs with ends overlapping and lashed together on each side. A flat oval in shape, it is twenty-eight inches long, eight and one-half inches wide near the lower end, and eleven inches wide near the upper end. Bisecting the frame at even intervals are four unpeeled cross-pieces of stick, five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, extending to the outer edge of the frame and lashed to it at both ends. On top of these cross-pieces and running to within three inches of the upper end of the frame are thirty-three straight, unpeeled twigs averaging about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, placed as close together as possible and thus forming a flat surface which extends to the sides of the frame—the face of the carrier. These long twigs are lashed to the cross-pieces by

¹ Tamarisk is not a native wood.
continuous twining of a narrow strip of cloth. The butts are at the upper end of the carrier, and the supple, tapering ends, which would extend several inches below the foot of the frame, are bent and twined into each other, the long ends from the opposite sides being brought up along the edge of the frame a few inches. This forms a projecting lip one and one-half inches deep at the foot of the carrier, which extends one and one-half inches beyond the bottom of the frame. The twining is augmented by four additional twigs lashed in a bundle down each side of the frame, their long ends being woven into the lip which serves as a semi-footrest.

The hood is of bear grass, the weave being a continuous band of simple wickerwork technique ending at each extremity in an unpeeled piece of stick ten inches long, the ends of the bear grass being doubled back around this, tied in place, and covered with cloth to conceal the sharp, cut edges. The hood is lashed to the frame by means of the protruding ends of these two end sticks. An edging of cloth, probably to prevent danger of laceration, is sewn along the bottom edge of the hood where the sharp bear grass is exposed. Along each side of the frame, extending from the hood to the foot of the carrier, is a flap of buckskin, one edge doubled over the side of the frame and caught by stitching through the buckskin from front to back of the carrier. Holes are cut along the inner edge of these buckskin flaps, so that they may be drawn up over the baby’s body and laced together. The top of the hood is covered over by a piece of animal skin with fur on. The carrying-strap is attached to each side of the cradle frame, just below the hood. Temporary carriers are also quite often made in the same way as permanent ones, described below, except that the work is done hastily. The hoop of the frame is made with any pliable wood, such as the top branches of the mesquite. The hoods are usually made from the easily worked bear grass, constructed as already described.

Ordinarily, a baby has only one permanent carrier, but occasionally another, larger, permanent carrier is constructed during the baby’s later infancy, when it starts to crawl about. Sometimes an expectant mother has a carrier already prepared, and
a) Temporary Baby-Carrier  

b) Infant's Buckskin Jacket with Carrying-Strap  

c) Permanent Baby-Carrier
PLATE VII

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN
the baby is placed in it immediately. Making of permanent carriers takes considerable time and labor. Either the mother or the father of the child may do it, and I knew of one man who made all the carriers for his children. Often the mother's mother, maternal aunt, or one of her grandmothers does the work for her. Women known to be good workers are sometimes employed by the mother to make the carrier and are paid for it, the sum usually being between four and eight dollars. One or two women make a practice of having material for carrier frames on hand which they sell to those wishing to buy it. A modern carrier now on exhibit in the Arizona State Museum at Tucson is fairly typical (see Pl. VI).

The frame, forty-three inches long by eleven inches wide near the lower end and fourteen inches long near the upper end, is a single piece of peeled mesquite root, nine-tenths of an inch in diameter, bent into a flat oval, the two ends overlapping at the top for thirty-four inches, shaped to rest against each other and spliced at the butts with sinew wrapping. Across this frame are placed slats of sotol stalk, averaging one to one and one-fourth inches wide and one-quarter to three-eighths of an inch thick. They are just long enough to extend to the outer edge of the frame, to which they are lashed by rawhide thongs passed through holes burned in their ends. A cloth edging entirely covers the ends of the slats and the part of the frame to which they are lashed. The slats are placed as close together as possible, split sides to the back, and extend to within a few inches of each end of the frame, forming its face or front.

The hood is made of thirty-eight long, narrow, peeled twigs of cat's claw, extending the full length of its arc and placed as close together as possible. These lateral twigs are held by nine vertical twigs spaced evenly on the inner side, to which they are tied with continuous sinew twining. At each end of the hood is a cross-stick around which the ends of the cat's claw twigs are doubled outward and back, then lashed in place. The ends of these cross-sticks are tied to the sides of the cradle frame, holding the easily detachable hood in place as already described. The ends of the twigs and these cross-sticks are sewn up in cloth and
grass padding to prevent laceration from the rough edges. The edges and inner side of the hood are covered with one piece of cloth. The top is covered with the same material to keep the sun and rain out, the cloth being cut so as to form a flap about fourteen inches long which is brought through from the back between the two upper cross-slates on the frame. The inner corners are tied down to the frame, thus covering the upper half of the front of the carrier. Along each side of the frame, extending from the hood down to the bottom cross-slat, are loops of cloth taping to use in lacing the child into the carrier. The carrying-strap, absent on this piece, is ordinarily fastened to the sides of the frame just below the hood. In some modern carriers side flaps of heavy white cloth, like those of buckskin described for the temporary carriers, are used.

Another type of hood, often seen, and fastened to the frame as already described, is made of small strips of flattened sotol stalk, about three-fourths of an inch wide, six or seven inches long, and one-fourth of an inch thick. These strips are placed vertically side by side, touching each other, and lashed into place at both ends on two arcs of twig, forming braces on the inner side of the hood. The ends of the wooden strips and their lashing to these braces is concealed by an edging of cloth. The top of the hood is covered with a piece of cloth as in other types. When hoods begin to sag, they may be braced by tying a cord from the front edge of the hood, or its cloth cover, to the top of the carrier frame. In former times permanent carriers were made identical with those used now, except buckskin was used in place of cloth. This buckskin was frequently painted with a yellow ocher, as was the exposed wooden portions of the hood when not made of bear grass.

The kind of wood used for the frame must be pliable and is bent into shape while green. The favorite is ash, but Gambel’s oak and, in the low country, the long, slender roots of the mesquite exposed along the cut banks of washes are also used. The slats are made of the stalk of the sotol plant, preferably of the female sotol, as it is considered harder than that of the male. Nowadays, slats are quite often shaped from thin packing-box
wood. Cat’s claw or bear grass used in making the hood is always worked while green and pliable. There is no difference in the materials or construction of carriers made for girl or boy babies.

It was denied that any ritual was observed in the gathering of materials for the carrier, and ordinarily assembling of the cradle was without ceremony. However, there were ritual phrases for such an occasion, and if a woman knew them she might use them as prayers to punctuate the assembling of certain parts of the carrier and thus give the baby health and safety. In fastening the cross-slats to the frame, she could say, “May these be as white shell beads under our baby,” or, while fitting the hood to the frame, “Hood, white-shell-bead hood, swaying from side to side [the baby’s head] I make it.” Although there is a special ritual for making a baby-carrier, it is only employed on certain occasions mentioned later. If a mother is especially anxious for the well-being of her baby or has lost a baby or two recently through sickness, she may hire a woman who has successfully raised many children of her own to make the permanent carrier. Such women may sometimes know the ritual for making a baby-carrier, but this is not necessarily so.

No ritual is observed when the baby is first put into its temporary or permanent carrier. Formerly, to make it comfortable, a soft bedding of shredded bark or crumpled grass was placed on the face of the carrier. The shredded and pounded bark of cliff rose, called mé’ts’ádl (“baby-carrier”) because so often used for this purpose, and the shredded inner bark of juniper and sometimes cottonwood were employed, or, in their place, the grasses known as tl’ó’dlí’lé’ (“soft grass”) and nà nò tlè’gé’ tl’òhé (“saguaro grass”). At times a plant called tsè’ji’ was used as a bottom layer, and other material put over it. Over this bedding was laid the tanned, spotted hide of a fawn, the hair side up, or at times the skins of cottontail rabbits. The baby was then placed on this, and between its legs for a diaper was put soft shredded bark from one of the above three trees. Another fawn skin, hair side in, was laid over it, the edges tucked in about the baby’s body and up under its feet. It was then laced into the carrier
with a strip of buckskin passing from side to side through the loops or holes in the buckskin flaps. The baby’s head was pil­lowed on Abert squirrel fur or sometimes on a piece of beaver fur. The latter was thought to keep all sickness from the baby, for Beaver had power, and probably the use of Abert squirrel skin had a similar significance. Sometimes the pillow was a piece of fawn skin with “soft grass” beneath. Today the grass or shredded bark used for the bedding forms the stuffing for a tiny mattress made of a small flour sack which is put under the baby instead of the loose bedding. Excelsior from the trader’s store is also used for this. Nowadays most mothers use a cloth diaper for their babies and, in place of the fawn skins, large square pieces of flannelette. The baby’s pillow is made of stuffed cloth.

In former times various things designed either to amuse the baby or to act as charms were attached to the hood of almost all baby-carriers. Sometimes the beard from the breast of a turkey cock was fastened where the baby could watch it swinging back and forth, or the turkey beard, the tail of an Abert squirrel, and the stripped cones from the western yellow pine (thrown to the ground by these squirrels) were tied together and hung inside the hood of the carrier, near the baby’s head. The squirrel tail was to make the baby a good climber, like Abert squirrel, the stripped pine cones so that it would not be injured in falling from trees, and the turkey beard merely for ornament. If the claw of a bear could be obtained, it might also be tied on the inside of the wooden part of the hood. This kept all sickness away because Bear has great power. Pieces of oriole’s nest were likewise used to bring good luck, as it was believed that they were composed of every known species of tree. Anna Price said:

The bird we call mbâ’kêjù-jé (“verdin”) lines his nest with feathers and lives in it the year around. When it is cloudy and cold, he goes quickly to sleep in his little house. The father of a baby would look for one of these nests, take out some of the feathers from inside, and put them in the baby’s pillow so it would go to sleep as quickly as the bird does.

A small species of spiny ground cactus called tsè-γâ’né:lsé:hi (“it grows through rocks”), which was used for curing sprains
and broken bones, was sometimes tied to the hood of the carrier so that if the baby fell it would not suffer sprains. Other objects tied to the hood were stone arrowpoints and bits of prehistoric shell beads or bracelets, all safeguards against disease or accident. Turquoise, however, was not used on the baby-carrier, according to Anna Price. Besides these charms, beads made from the acorns of Emmory's oak, later glass beads, and now occasionally such things as strings of safety pins and small sleigh bells are attached to the outside of the hood. As these objects swing back and forth, the baby often watches them in fascinated silence.

When the end of the navel cord dried up and dropped from the newborn baby, it was wrapped in downy turkey feathers or a small piece of buckskin, later cloth, and tied to the wooden part of the hood, inside and to either right or left of the baby's head. Later, the mother unwrapped this and, if the baby was a boy, buried it in a horse track so that the child would never be lazy but always be willing to go for the horses. Sometimes she buried it in a deer track to make him a good hunter. Anna Price attributed to this practice the fact that some boys used to play at being deer. If the baby was a girl, the object was placed in a mescal plant so that she would be a good worker and prepare lots of mescal. Again, as is still done, it might be buried in the cornfield so that she would work hard at farming. These customs serve to show the relative importance of certain economic activities, as well as delineating division of labor. No formalized ritual or long prayer accompanied them, and the mother merely said, for example, "He will be a good hunter," or "She will prepare quantities of mescal."

The ceremony already mentioned for making the baby-carrier is used only on occasions when a man or woman knowing it is obtained to construct a carrier for a mother who has lost former babies through sickness or accident or for a baby that has been sickly in its regular permanent cradle. Formerly, the person conducting the ceremony was not paid if he was a close blood relative to the baby, but otherwise he might be given as much as a horse for his services. Today the payment is usually in money. Although it was stated by some that the rite is not connected
with the gojp-sf ("blessing songs"), a long and important cycle of songs used in the girl's puberty ceremony and elsewhere, and that the song sung during the ritual assembling of the cradle is not from this cycle; John Rope, the only Apache contacted who was known to have the rite, denied this. It is possible that there may have been more than one form of the rite, but John Rope claimed that only those knowing the complete gojp-sf song cycle perform it and that only one song, a song from this cycle, is used. The rite is a traditional one and cannot be acquired by personal supernatural experience. The materials for the carrier may be gathered by the person who is to perform the rite, but, according to John Rope, there is no ritual connected with this. The person goes after the wood, and his wife works the various parts into shape for him. The ritual consists simply of singing the following song once while these parts are being assembled. The song, which is also used in the girl's puberty ceremony, was recorded from John Rope:

1. 'is'á'nàyáí k'ë' gojp- 'àndá'kokús
   Long life like, good, moves back and forth.
2. 'álígái' bít'la' lédíryúd 'álzà te'índí
   White water underneath in a circle, it is made, they say.
3. 'ákó go' 'álígái bítka' nà'iljójgo 'álzà
   Then White water, on it, spread across, it is made,
   te'índí
   they say.
4. yólgái sít gauge 'ittá nèz'ágó 'álzà
   White shell curved over, beneath it rests, it is made,
   te'índí
   they say.
5. go dét'í' báxa' hálijí te'índí
   Lightning alongside dances, they say.
6. go dét'í' bëbik'è'nà'isti'go te'índí
   Lightning, by it fastened across, they say.
7. hítgál'úl bít'úl 'álzà te'índí
   Rainbow its rope it is made, they say.
8. r'áditkùl bítc'íd bít'á sîtsúz
   Black water blanket underneath rests;

Those giving this information did not know with what power or other rite the song and ceremony might be affiliated.
The second line alludes to the frame of the baby-carrier; the third, to the placing of the slats on the frame; the fourth, to the hood and the baby’s head resting within it; the fifth, to the loops along the side of the frame for lacing the baby in; the sixth, to the lacing passed through these loops; the seventh, to the strap by which the carrier is carried; and the eighth and ninth, to the baby wrappings. The whole is supposed to describe the making of the first baby-carrier ever constructed. A man performing the ritual sings the song, but a woman merely repeats the words in a speaking voice. When the song is finished, the baby is placed in the carrier by this man or woman, who may also attach a bit of prehistoric white-shell ornament to the carrier and advise the mother, “If this baby gets up and walks, keep the carrier and use it for your other babies to come. They can have it also. Don’t let anyone step over it. Always place it out of the way.” No one should ever step over a cradle which has been made ritually, for to do so is a disrespect to the power and cosmic elements in it. Some say that the rule extends to any baby-carrier, and even a child who unthinkingly disobeys it may be made to step back over the carrier to right his error. To avoid such accidents, carriers were formerly kept hung up or out of the way when not in use, but today people are said to be more lax about this.

The baby-carrier is supported on the mother’s back by the carrying-strap, which she places a little in front of the crown of her head. In lifting the carrier to her back, a mother grasps the projecting wooden top of the carrier frame with one hand and the carrying-strap with the other and lifts, turning sideways at the same time so that the carrier swings into place on her back and
she is able to pass the strap over her head. In removing the carrier, the motion is the reverse of this. A woman may walk for miles carrying her baby in this way, and sometimes while away from home she works with the carrier on her back. A relaxation from this position is to hold the carrier for a short while in both arms, or under one arm, resting it upon the hip, the hood end foremost. It may also be slung from the saddle horn while riding. A man sometimes holds a baby-carrier a minute or two for his wife while she is otherwise occupied, but he never carries it on his back, for this would be womanish.

A small baby is always laced into its carrier whenever the mother takes it anywhere and ordinarily remains so until she returns home. At her own camp during the day the mother may take the baby out of the carrier three or four times and hold it in her lap or let it kick on the bed for a short while. However, she seldom does this unless she has leisure to watch it, and during much of the time she leaves the baby in the carrier lying on the ground or bed, glancing at it occasionally to see that it is all right. At times, she stands the carrier against something so that the baby can watch what is going on. When awake and on its mother's back, or when placed erect in the carrier, the baby is looking about continually.

Much of the time the baby is asleep in its carrier, and the mother often places a shawl over the hood to keep out the light or flies. When prepared for sleep, the infant is completely laced in, with only the head out. When small babies cry, they are not taken out of their carriers unless they have wet, and the tendency seems to be to put a baby back into its carrier if it starts fretting. Although its body is held tight and motionless, I have never seen a baby show annoyance at its bindings.

Apache babies cry extraordinarily little. When they do, it is not for long, unless they are sick. But their crying is not ignored, and I have seen a husband shout at his wife when he felt she let her baby cry too long. Under ordinary circumstances the mother may let the baby cry for a minute or two; if it persists, she may merely change the position of the carrier on the ground. If the baby should continue to cry, she may soothe it by holding
it in its carrier across her lap and rocking it by first slightly raising one knee and then the other. She may also nurse it, but nursing merely to quiet a child is not often resorted to, unless in company where someone of importance is talking and silence is desired.

After the first six months or so, when the baby is laced into the carrier, its arms are usually left free, except when it is asleep. Thus, it may wave its arms about and will sometimes bat at pendent ornaments or charms hanging from the hood of its carrier. As time goes on, the baby is taken out of its carrier more and more while at home and left to lie on the bed or put to sit on a blanket outside the dwelling. By the time it is crawling, it is only placed in the carrier when the mother takes it somewhere, and normally when it starts to walk the carrier is no longer used, and the mother carries the infant about astride her hip or astride her back, held in position by her shawl, as in Plate VII.

When the baby's first temporary carrier is discarded for the permanent one, it is almost always hung up on a tree growing in thick brush, so no one will step over it or handle it. Some families, however, now hang their carriers up in the camp ramada. They are not supposed to be touched, but children occasionally play with them and sometimes break them. This is not dangerous to the baby, but the children are likely to be scolded, as the mother does not like to see her cradle harmed. She may even tie it together again and hang it back in the tree. In time the carrier rots and falls apart, but before it is gone the baby may be old enough to have the mother show it to him in the tree. She will tell him, "Here is what you were in when you were a baby." If the baby has been sick in its permanent carrier, the carrier is almost always discarded, but, if the baby has been exceptionally well, the carrier may be kept and used for as many as two succeeding babies. Discarded permanent carriers are also put away in trees. Nowadays the mother often does this without any ceremony, but older women claim that, in former times, this was not so. A mother used to take the baby in the carrier to the east side of a young tree. If the child were a girl, this was usually some food-bearing tree such as piñon, so that she would gather much
wild plant food when she grew up. The mother removed the baby and hung the carrier high up on the east side of the tree, saying, as she did so, "Here is the baby-carrier. I put this on you, young and still growing. I want my child to grow up as you do." When a carrier was made ritually, the mother might keep it for the duration of her childbearing period, if none of her babies sickened or died in it, and would hang it up inside the wickiup, out of harm's way. When she could bear no more children, she hung it up in the thick brush, praying to it, "You have raised my children safely, so look after them from now on."

A special type of little buckskin shirt was worn by infants after they outgrew their carriers. This had a long, loose belt of buckskin attached about the waist and hanging down in back, by which the child could be lifted and slung over the shoulder of the mother or from the horn of a saddle. It is said that infants did not mind this. When the child was turned loose to crawl, the end of the belt was passed about his neck. Charms which had been attached to the hood of the baby-carrier were often removed and tied to the shoulders or back of this little jacket.

A jacket, now in the Arizona State Museum at Tucson, is shown in Plate VI. It is made of two pieces of buckskin attached by several buckskin stitches over each shoulder and sewn together down the sides, leaving holes for the arms. The sewing at the sides is a binding, buckskin stitch, the edge of one piece of buckskin being doubled back, leaving a narrow strip on the outside, while the unfolded edge of the other piece of buckskin is stitched to the crease thus formed. An opening is left for the head at the top of the garment, and the turned-over edges at the collar are worn in back. The jacket is decorated with buckskin tassels and short flaps hanging down in front and back from the shoulders, and painted with native yellow ocher.

Several charms are attached: quartz crystal to protect during darkness; two pine twigs with the bark eaten off and thrown down from the top of a yellow-pine tree by the Abert squirrel, which spends his life in high trees and never falls, to protect the child from being hurt by falling; the head of a male Gambel's quail to keep away sickness, because quail is never sick; a red-
shafted flicker feather, also to keep away all sickness and misfortune; a black stone knife blade, known as "thunder knife," to protect from lightning during the lightning season; and a white chert arrowpoint with white-shell bead attached, also to keep away sickness and evil. Quite frequently hair cut from the infant's head during the spring was tied to the back of such shirts. These shirts could be used for another child when outgrown or might be put away and kept by the mother, some day to be shown with pride and sentiment to her grown child. The same was sometimes done with the infant's first pair of soft-soled buckskin footwear. The son or daughter would say, "I used to have small feet long ago!"

At times necklaces of charms were made for babies. One in the Arizona State Museum at Tucson is strung on a cord of buckskin and consists of five quartz crystals, two sections of peeled cholla stem painted red, and a loop of fourteen yellow corn kernels. One of the crystals, larger than the others and ornamented with buckskin, represents the chief of the crystals. The cholla holds back sickness and is often thus used ritually because of its many catching thorns. The corn is present, being used efficaciously in conjunction with quartz crystals in the tle'jindé ("night ceremony"), a part of the gá'n rite for curing certain sicknesses.

Ordinarily, no ritual is observed the first time that a baby sits up, crawls, walks, or talks. A baby usually sits up when about six months old, although some are slower and take as long as eight months. At from nine to eleven months old, babies usually start to crawl about, and at twelve months they start to walk, though some delay until fourteen or more months old.\(^3\) In former times parents often made a walking-bar for their baby. Two stakes were driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, protruding about one and a half feet. Between the tops of the stakes ran a slender pole about two inches in diameter, lashed in place at either end. The baby could grasp this and pull himself erect and then, by means of its support, walk along

\(^3\) Information on ages at which babies sit up and crawl comes solely from Neil Buck but was given with marked assurance and seems accurate.
for a few steps. This method is less common today, and, as in the past, the baby is allowed to experiment by himself or under the encouragement of parents. As Neil Buck described it:

Children learn to walk by themselves. They go outside and crawl about and then try to stand up. They fall over all the time. Each day the mother and father, or sometimes an older sister or brother, will spend a little time with the baby. One will stand it up and then, stepping away a few paces, tell it, “Come to me,” holding out the arms. The baby is afraid at first and may only put one foot forward. Then it will totter forward a few steps and fall into its parent’s arms. As time goes on, it will be able to do better and better.

Neil Buck thought that most children could talk when three years old, and from the small children observed this seems generally true. At two years old many children can say a few words and will repeat simple words after older children or adults. The age when a baby first shows signs of formulating syllables may vary. One little girl observed did so at eight months and one day; at ten months, as she sat on a blanket outside in the winter sunshine, a young man, her older half-brother, amused himself by repeating do-da (“no”) again and again so she could say it after him, which she did rather unsuccessfully once or twice. Another small boy of two, who could hardly walk and had only just started to talk, worried his parents and grandparents, who thought that his development was retarded. However, detailed information is lacking on this subject, and data presented here offer no more than a rough idea of the actual facts.

Neil Buck said of children learning to talk:

Anyone may teach a child to talk, but ordinarily its parents or older brothers and sisters do so. Most people start by saying, ’da’ nda (“say yes”), or ’j· nda’, another way of saying the same thing. After a while the baby will say, da’, which means “no.” That is about the first thing it learns to say, because a baby is always saying da: [meaningless sound babies make]. About the same time it will start to say ’j· (“yes”) and soon will answer da’ or ’j· to everything. Later on, parents will say other words and try to get the baby to repeat them. My baby here [eight months old] says ’é ’é’ (“yes, yes”) all the time whenever my wife talks to her. My next youngest daughter could talk a little when she
was two years old, but not very well. If she tried to tell you something, she got all mixed up. When she was three, she could talk pretty well, and now, at four, she talks well. But there are still things she cannot say properly. She doesn’t say “tomorrow” as she should. It ought to be ’iskq’go’, but she says ’iskqi’ bikëgëgò’ (“tomorrow afterward”).

The little girl of eight months old mentioned above could say a few words at the age of two years and nine months, and her older sister, then almost seven, was a fluent talker. Childish speech and mistakes are sometimes a source of amusement to adults. One of the most common modern baby words is dàn or dâm, meaning “no.”

The Apache definitely recognize the danger of retarded bodily development in infants and have established methods of overcoming it when necessary. Retarded speech may worry parents, but they have no way of helping it. Where, formerly, walking was an early requisite in mobile Apache life, early speech was less important. The first method of curing retarded bodily development is practiced only at the girl’s puberty ceremony, during which the pubescent girl is thought to have special powers that she can use to make the wishes of others come true. An infant, already one and a half or two years old, and who has not yet begun to walk, may be brought by its mother to the girl. The girl is requested to lead it to the four directions, at the same time saying, “May this baby walk today.” Sometimes she spits into the baby’s mouth that it may have good luck from her. One woman described such an incident as follows:

When my son was a baby, he was only crawling about by the time he should have been walking. A girl was having a puberty ceremony then, so I took my baby to her. She led the baby, making it walk to the four directions: east, south, west, and north, just a few steps. Then I told her, “Let him walk today. Tell the Sun to let this baby walk today,” so the girl said, “Let this baby walk today.” It was summertime, and the corn was getting ripe. I took my baby home, untied him from his carrier and left him to sit on the ground. Then I went after some roasting ears in the field. When I came back, I saw him standing up, holding to his carrier. In a little while he started to walk toward me. When he reached me, he put his arms about my neck. He has never been sick since that time, because he obtained luck from that pubescent girl.
A puny infant may be helped in the same way. Catching the infant under the arms, and holding him tightly, the girl tosses him up four times, saying, "Let this one be tall."

A special ceremony called 'idiyitá' ("he makes it walk") was for the sole purpose of aiding children who were slow in learning to walk, though it also gave them long life and lasting protection from evil. It is said to have gone out of use in the Bylas area but may still be practiced on the Fort Apache Reservation. Either men or women might perform it, and parents sometimes requested the rite before it was time for their baby to walk, just to insure their child's walking at the age of twelve months. Being traditional, this ceremony could not be obtained by personal supernatural experience. It was not ascertained if the instructor received a ritual gift of turquoise. There may have been two forms of the rite, for one man attributed the source of its power to Slayer of Monsters and said that it was affiliated with water power, whereas others denied this, saying the power came from Sun. This man quoted from a myth with which he was not very familiar, saying:

Long ago the Water People were giving a dance. All the Water People were there, the Frog People, the Tadpole People, all of them. They sang there and then all began a social dance. There was a baby tied into its carrier, leaned up against something near the dance. This baby was Slayer of Monsters. After a while, when the people sang another song, the baby came out of his carrier and danced with the girls. That is the way Slayer of Monsters could do—turn himself to anything. At the end of the song he was back in his carrier again. When they sang once more, he came out and danced as before. This is how the rite to make babies walk started.

The person performing the ceremony, if not a close blood relative, must be hired. But no ceremonial gift, such as turquoise or downy eagle feathers, was necessary, and the payment might consist of only a large pot of tulibai. The rite took about ten minutes and was repeated for four days consecutively, according to Francis Drake, who practiced it. Taking one of the baby’s hands in each of his, the shaman stood up and led the infant about, at the same time singing or repeating certain words over it. Francis Drake sang two songs and used no set prayers or
phrases. Others apparently did not sing and only muttered inaudible phrases. Francis Drake says that the ceremony originated when Sun worked over his son, Slayer of Monsters, and made him handsome as himself when the boy came to seek him as described in certain myths.4

The first song that was sung described the way in which Sun worked on the boy, and the second song mentioned his walking about as a grown man. Although these two songs are very similar in type to those of the gòjô:ì song cycle, they do not form a part of it. The following is the second one, as recorded from Francis Drake. A woman who was present at the time surreptitiously walked her baby about while the words of the song were being repeated, in order to gain any benefit possible for her baby.

\[ djuná'ai \] by, above, mirage at, he walks they say.

\[ dígùná'ai \] Sun, his doorway outside, White water, four-ply

\[ bê' dà' gûnyë' tgle' dé yà' te'indi' \]

\[ by, above, mirage at, he walks they say. \]

\[ dígùná'ai \] Sun, his child, one day he walks they say.

\[ 'icki n dálà' djal dé yà' hâ' dé yà' te'indi dû \]

Boy, one day the one who walks, he walks they say.

\[ džuná'ai bi dút'ijí bínánt'å' nânt'å' dôxâ-çô' \]

Sun, his turquoise his chief, chief never

\[ bít'ágodo'di' ti' bítóo' te'indi' \]

has he trouble with him sound approaches they say.

\[ džuná'ai bê' bò' gûnyë' tli' yë' \]

Sun by, before him mirage by,

\[ bò' gûnyë' tgo' dé yà' te'indi dû \]

before him mirage forming he walks they say.

\[ ngús'ån bika' 'iyû ndzini' dôlå' \]

Earth on top of, witches none

\[ hà'bidôlj-tgo' dé yà' te'indi dû \]

can harm him, he walks they say.

\[ ngús'ån bika' ñdl' 'ilte'q'ðåsåd'å' \]

Earth on top of, people scattered about,

bįyı́-ći'  ndjô-ń'  bỳnàtsé-kè-s  ndjô-ń'  bıdiłłık  ndjô-ń'
their talk  good,  their thoughts  good,  their laughter  good,
bỳnà-lće'  'últ' à-dá'jò  dít  dò  bè'ò-łtǝ'gō'
their property  of  all kinds, good,  uncountable.
yǝxáidèlǝ-gǝ'  dè-yà'  tc'indí-dń
Having been prepared  he walks  they say.
's'a'nàryáí  k'è'  gójó-㶐  yǝxáidèlǝ-gǝ'  dè-yà'
Long life  like,  good,  having been prepared  he walks
.tc'indí-dń
they say.

If the child were a girl, the word nà'ıllį́-hún ("maiden") was substituted for "boy." The mention of "one day he walks" meant that the child learned to walk in a single day.

Data on adult attitude toward and training of infants' and children's control of bodily functions should form a part of this section, but unfortunately I was unaware of its importance at the time the field work was done. The only information of the kind obtained is negative. On the few occasions observed, when babies and small children soiled, the Apache took it as a matter of course, and no remarks of disgust or anger were made. When one old woman, sitting on her own bed placed her hand by mistake in a mess which her two-year-old great-granddaughter had made on her blanket, she merely cleaned it off, remarking that when children were about such things happen. On another occasion, a man stepping in some human feces quite close to the door of a wickiup, attributed it to a small child, saying, "You have to watch out for this in a camp where there are small children." A little girl two years and nine months old, visiting in my house for several days, with her mother and father and two older sisters, more than once wet or soiled the floor, but when she did this she usually went behind a barrel in one corner of the room where she was partially out of sight. Her mother cleaned up after her good-naturedly and without remark, but, if she happened to see what the little girl was up to, she hurriedly carried her outside the house and let her relieve herself there, unconcealed.

Ordinarily, infants are weaned when they start to walk, and Anna Price claimed that, three or four days after a baby first
walks, it is likely to forget to come to its mother for milk. In former times mothers put native salt on their nipples during weaning, and today commercial salt and chili are used to discourage the child from suckling. "This makes the baby sort of afraid of its mother, and it won't go to her when she calls," Anna Price said. It is considered extremely unfortunate when a mother becomes pregnant again while nursing her last baby, for this greatly endangers the nursing baby's health. She continues to nurse as long as possible, but the child's vitality and development are believed to lapse. Apache say that, if the child has already started to walk, it often ceases doing so and goes back to crawling or sitting. Its bowels begin to run, and it gradually grows weaker. This condition continues until the mother gives birth to her new baby, when the older child is completely washed and is said to recover immediately. Its ailing condition is attributed to its mother's swollen figure. Formerly, the only cure was an unidentified herb given internally and known to certain men and women. Nowadays, patent medicine or doctor's prescriptions are used. Infants of this kind are called *kichëćen* ("weak one"). Nursing mothers are warned by older people to avoid another pregnancy until they have weaned their present babies, and an undesired pregnancy at such times may shame the parents, for others are likely to say, "Look, she still has a small nursing baby but already she is big again."

The average Apache parents are strongly attached to their children, as the parental suicides quoted above show. Abortions and abandonment of newborn babies occurred occasionally, but not a single case of abandonment of children over five days old was recorded. "Why would anyone wish to throw away his child? It belongs to him, and he could not do that," says the Apache. Mythology contains one or two tales of child abandonment, but the parents are always rightfully punished in the end.

A mother sometimes plays with her baby, holding it at arm's length, laughing and trying to make it do the same, or she may hold the baby in its carrier upright on her lap or on the ground beside her, talking and clucking to it. Some mothers even kiss

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their babies nowadays, but it is extremely unlikely that an outsider would see such demonstrations, which occur markedly less often than among whites. Women are interested in babies generally, but they also take them as a matter of course and seldom, if ever, group around an infant merely to admire it. A father is not likely to play with a baby as the mother does, but he will sometimes call to it in its carrier, or as it lies kicking on the bed, and try to make it smile. Children past the infant stage are never kissed, and an older person very seldom calls a child over to sit on his lap or to caress it, though it may be called to be shown or given something. A very small child sometimes lolls against a grandparent, and, occasionally, a child under seven when familiar enough with an adult of the same household will come close voluntarily, and the older person will talk to it, trying to get a response, and may even stroke the child’s head or put an arm about it. Bodily contacts such as these, however, are extremely uncommon.

Sometimes older people may ask a small child at play what it is doing to see what the answer will be. A few children exhibit unintentional wit which is thought highly entertaining. The remarks of one little girl of seven often caused her parents to laugh heartily; in spite of this the child maintained a serious face. On returning home once after an absence of several days, she exclaimed on seeing familiar landmarks, “Big Mountain [name of a mountain] is still there. But that mountain over there is not Painted Mountain [name of a mountain], because it isn’t where it ought to be.” The way in which she said it was so funny that her mother and father burst out laughing. Such attentions to small children as mentioned above vary in different families, but generally small girls seem to receive greater notice than small boys, who are more independent and not so affectionate. A few adults play with children in their families almost as much as whites do, but this is not common.

Adults seldom enter the games of small children, although they may be amused and watch them unnoticed. If a child becomes conscious of being watched, older people usually turn their attentions to something else; however, they may show their
interest if the play is especially intriguing. In a few such instances observed, a child who became embarrassed left to play elsewhere, and once or twice showed off, knowing that it had an audience, but ordinarily children continued playing and seemed to ignore the elders. The following are instances of unconcealed adult interest in small children's play.

A little girl of four, sitting outside the door of her house, was playing with her doll. She lifted her blouse just as she had seen her mother do and pretended to nurse the doll at her breasts. Her mother's sister, with husband and daughter, sitting not far off, observed the little girl and remarked laughingly, in a kindly tone, "Oh, you are nursing your baby!" The little girl continued at her play unperturbed.

A little girl of seven, playing outside the dwelling with a small black puppy, disappeared and soon returned bearing her toy baby-carrier with a silk handkerchief draped over it. Walking into the room where her mother and maternal grandparents were sitting, she placed the baby-carrier on the bed and, pulling back the handkerchief, showed the black puppy laced up in the carrier, fast asleep. Everyone laughed because the puppy looked so cunning. The little girl was delighted with him.

The same little girl mentioned above, whose remarks so amused her parents, had attended a girl's puberty ceremony two years previously. This made a strong impression on her, and immediately afterward she started dancing as the pubescent girl does. Her father, noticing this, encouraged her and sang one of the songs from the rite for her to dance to. This became a regular occasion each evening before she went to bed, and sometimes when she arose in the morning. She danced on the blankets of the bed, pretending the woman who molds the girl's body danced beside her. Then she kneeled and, holding her hands up, swayed from side to side in time to the song, as the girl does. Then she lay flat on the blanket to be molded, as in the rite. Her father told of it with pride, saying, "She puts real pep into her dancing. She isn't like some of these girls who are ashamed to dance. I am going to try and get her a pair of small moccasins so she can dance in them." This play lasted only a few months, and at
seven she had become too self-conscious, as children do at that age, to indulge in it.

Far more common are those instances in which older people are entertained by children’s play without showing it.

A little boy of five or six used to run about the camp with a galloping motion, pretending to be a mounted cowboy and pursuing two goats with a short piece of rope which he called a riata. His maternal grandfather and his maternal aunt’s husband were greatly amused by him but did not comment on the play in his presence.

An old woman, laughing until the tears ran down her cheeks, related something her five-year-old great-grandson and a companion had done the day before. The boys had seen the old woman perform a curing rite over an infant, during which, as demonstration of her power, she thrust a blazing grass hairbrush into her mouth and quenched the fire without injuring herself. Greatly impressed, the youngsters, playing outside the old woman’s wickiup later, thought that they would attempt to do the same. The old woman overheard them and waited silently. They built a fire, and, setting fire to the end of a grass hairbrush, her great-grandson tried to thrust it into his mouth. More frightened than hurt at the results, he started to cry, but the old woman only laughed at him. If he had been really hurt, she would have gone to his aid immediately. Teasing small children is rare and rather inconsistent with the general soundness of Apache treatment of the young, but nevertheless it is seen. Pointing out a white man to a child and saying, “There is a white man. You had better run; he might catch you!” may serve partly as training to observe proper caution with a mistrusted people, but it is done principally to tease. Most of those cases observed were of this kind. In one family there was a boy of two who had never seen a white man at close range. One day he entered the dwelling where I and several other adults of his own family were sitting. Without knowing it, he walked to within three or four yards of me, when suddenly looking up he exclaimed, “White man!” and toddled to the door as fast as he could. Everyone laughed, and he was made to come back be-
cause they thought his terror was so ludicrous. For the following year his family would point me out to him and say, "White man!" laughing when he cried and tried to run away.

On another occasion a maternal grandfather held his little grandson up before me suddenly, saying, "Look, here is a white man. He might get you." Of course the little fellow was terrified, much to the delight of the old man. An old woman, telling of the first time she ever saw white men, said, "When the white people first came to Goodwin Springs [1864], I went down there with my parents. Only a little girl then, I was afraid to go close, so my parents dragged me up to them." One woman with a spoiled and pugnacious son aged four or five sometimes amused herself by pushing the little fellow until he got mad and sparred at her. Occasionally, unable to stop him, she would become annoyed and slap at him. This was the only case of the kind observed; it occurred in a family where the children were particularly precocious and the adults aggressive and more than usually attentive to their children.

Children are openly considered most amusing and cunning between the ages of six months and seven years old. Past this age children grow more aloof, and parents as well as other adults are careful not to treat them as infants, as in the following case: In one family were three little girls, respectively six, eight, and ten years old, only the younger two being sisters. All were equally well treated, but the youngest received the most attention. Her mother's older brother and her maternal grandfather were particularly fond of her. Knowing this, she often came to her grandfather, lolling against him and talking with him. He, as often, looked to see what she was doing and would remark with interest and amusement on her antics. Although he was fond of the next oldest girl and she of him, the relationship was quite a different one. She did not come to him or talk with him except when necessary, for she had outgrown such familiarities. Two years later the relationship between the youngest girl and her grandfather had also changed, and she was much more aloof.

Adults respect a child as a child and do not nag it or encroach upon its domain. The fact that Apache children are not made to
feel incompetent or limited because of their age must have a profound effect on them, for it permits them to live on a level of their own which is not inferior to that of older members of the society. This becomes especially evident with children between the ages of twelve and fifteen who give the impression of being touchy or stubborn and are left alone by adults as much as possible except when compelled to do such things as harden their bodies by exercise, go after horses, and comply with other essentially important requests.

A mother or father left alone with the children is held responsible for any harm which may come to them. A man, returning to find one of his children seriously hurt through some negligence of the mother, may scold his wife severely, saying, "You had better just keep away from those children from now on." The same could be true of a husband left to care for the children, and more than one marital row has resulted from such incidents. But when a child meets with an unavoidable accident, such as falling and hurting his leg, neither parent can rightfully blame the other. Only occasionally do Apache parents disagree about the treatment and discipline of a child. If one parent beats a child and the other does not approve, a quarrel may ensue, and a man may even beat his wife because of it. The following is an instance of this kind:

A woman went out after wood. While she was gone, her husband wished to send his son on an errand, but the boy refused. His father whipped him. When the mother returned and found out what had happened, she jumped at her husband and started to fight him. She held him by both ears and he held her by the hair. They stood there glaring at each other, both refusing to let go. Other people were standing about watching them. A man said, "It's all right. If the boy had done what he was told to, he would not have whipped him. He should have obeyed." But the woman angrily said, "He [the father] never gives him any clothes. I support him alone by my gambling."

Parental anxiety is never exhibited as much as it is among whites, and it may not exist to the same extent. The unexplained and prolonged absence of a child from home worries parents but does not make them visibly frantic. The following case is fairly typical: A little girl of nine, after attending school
in Bylas, five miles distant, failed to return when she usually did, at four in the afternoon. Thinking she had stopped at another camp to play, her parents were not bothered, but two hours later, becoming worried, they made inquiries in the other camps, and, finding that no one had seen her, the father set off for Bylas in his car. During school days the little girl often took her noon meals at the camp of her father's older sister, and, knowing this, the man went there first. He found her there fast asleep and, without waking her, left her and returned home. The little girl was not scolded, though remaining at her aunt's for the night was merely a whim. The next morning her maternal grandfather visited her home to inquire about her and was relieved to hear where she had been.

A sick child causes deep concern not only to its parents but to close blood relatives, who sometimes journey quite a distance to ask about it. Parents and other relatives may go to great expense in hiring a shaman to cure a child and think nothing of sitting up all night with it. The death or permanent injury of a child seems to be taken rather fatalistically, and mothers do not wring their hands and blame themselves for what has happened. Nevertheless, parents' grief is profound. A man whom I knew well over a period of several years had several daughters but only one living son, a young man of twenty-five, suffering from an incurable malady. To an outsider the father's anxiety over his son's condition would have been almost imperceptible, for he showed it on only rare occasions in a passing remark on the young man's condition. In spite of this, he was deeply concerned, and the death of the boy left him heartbroken. "There is nothing left ahead of me now," he said.

When frightened, hurt, or angry, Apache children under eight years old will cry, but they do so noticeably less than white children of the same age. One old man's reply to the question, "What do you do to a child that cries all the time?" shows how seldom this problem is encountered: "We don't do anything to the child. We hire a shaman to find out what is the matter with it and cure it, for, if something was not wrong, it wouldn't cry that way." Crying for some trivial reason ordinarily receives
little or no attention. However, when a small child is heard crying as if really hurt, parents or other older relatives are at the door immediately. In those instances observed they were careful to take in the situation before going to the child or saying anything. Grandparents may soothe a child at such times, but others are far less likely to do so and will just make certain that the child is all right. However, if a youngster cries because of an overharsh reprimand from an older relative, the latter may speak comfortingly to it a few minutes later. A small child crying from a fit of temper may be stopped by threats of Big Owl, a mythological giant owl who used to carry off children in his great burden basket. "If you don’t behave, Big Owl will hear you. He lives near here and he will come and carry you off. You had better stop crying."

Disobedience in children is handled by direct command, threat of punishment, threat of supernatural punishment, ridicule, and actual bodily punishment, the last being the least used. The parents usually do the disciplining, and, since the mother has the small children with her more than the father does, the major portion of handling them falls to her. Occasionally, a grandparent may reprimand a child in the presence of its parents, but usually other kin who may discipline—namely, maternal grandparents, maternal uncles and aunts, or grown siblings—will do so only in the absence of the mother and father. These relatives may use any one of the above methods of discipline except bodily punishment, and they may also employ this if the child is orphaned and living with them. It is said that sometimes an ill-tempered woman unjustly beats an orphaned child in her care but that others go to the opposite extreme and cannot bear to punish an orphan because they feel sorry for it. One man stated that, although women sometimes whipped an orphaned younger brother, men do not do so because "they have him too much in their hearts. They want to bring him up to be a good man and do all they can for him!" Rarely do the Apache lose their tempers with children, for they believe that children are disobedient and make mistakes because they know no better. Pretended anger at children is a common method of gaining
obedience, and, although a child seems to sense that it is feigned, he usually heeds it, knowing that actual punishment may result if he does not.

Apache adults are extremely patient with children and never limit them to certain places of play. When youngsters run about older people engaged in conversation, laughing and shouting, passing in front of them, and even playing with toys under their feet, ordinarily it is taken good naturedly and as a matter of course; if the disturbance actually hinders what the adults are doing, it is quickly checked. Someone may turn on the children as if in anger, saying, "You're noisy!" and, if this does not take effect, add in a very angry voice, "Hey, stop that." This is usually sufficient, and the children become quiet or go elsewhere to play. Children are seldom sent away when too noisy; instead they either are allowed to remain if quiet or are taken off by their mother on some errand of her own.

Older children are generally prevented from seriously bullying or teasing younger ones, the parent either speaking sharply or making an exclamation of surprise or disapproval. In one family were two girls, respectively five and nine years old. The older was quite a teaser and stubborn enough to persist in annoying her younger sister when her mother told her to stop. After playing peacefully together for half an hour or so, the older girl would do something purposely to make the younger one angry, such as taking a toy from her. This sometimes made her cry. The mother, sitting close by on the bed, usually ignored such things the first time or two but later would tell the older girl to stop. If she persisted, she sometimes slapped at her. Once the mother slapped her hard enough to make her cry and retire to the back of the wickiup, where she moped for fifteen minutes or so. Another time she got the best of her mother by dodging out of her way and laughing at her attempts to slap her. Her mother finally gave it up. The only other case observed in which a child purposely tried to annoy its parent was the small boy mentioned on page 451 who, without provocation, sometimes sparred at his mother and even kicked at her. Apache children are generally well behaved and do as they are told. Not being demonstrative
with elders after they are seven or eight years old, they appear almost sullen at times, particularly the boys. This is because they are likely to be quiet and retiring, except when associating with those of their own age.

To correct a child, a parent or some other close relative may either merely call it by its English name or tell it to stop what it is doing, as in the following example: Exposing private parts is strictly avoided, and even small girls and babies of no more than a year and a half are taught not to do it. One day a small girl of five was playing with other children of her own age. Her maternal grandfather happened to see that she was lying on her back with her feet in the air so that her underdrawers showed. He called her name in a stern voice, and the little girl, knowing instantly what he meant, changed her position.

A child who disregards an older person's request is sometimes completely ignored. This often results in the child doing what it is told to of its own accord. Dora, the youngest of the three girls mentioned on page 497, refused to enter the wickiup when her maternal grandmother called her from within. She stood stubbornly near the entrance while both her grandmother and her grandfather talked to her quietly, telling her she should do as told. After being spoken to two or three times, she still refused, and so the old people paid no further attention to her. In five or ten minutes she went inside by herself, and nothing further was said to her.

If a child persists in refusing to do something that it should, it is ordinarily threatened with punishment: "I'll whip you!" or more forcefully, "I'll take you down to the river and throw you in the water and whip you at the same time!" The clown appearing with the masked gá:n dancers is the special bugaboo of small boys, and sometimes a parent may say, "If you are bad, Clown will hear of it and come to whip you. He might cut you in pieces with his knife!" It is a common sight during a gá:n dance to see several small boys half-terrified, half-defiant, in full flight with the clown at their heels. Children under six or seven are also controlled by mentioning Big Owl, as already described. It is a great temptation for children to grasp the pole at each side
of the wickiup entrance and swing themselves backward and forward, but it is also liable to weaken the wickiup construction. A standard saying is used to prevent children from doing this. One day a man and an old woman were in a wickiup when a boy of eight or nine entered the open doorway and did this. “You had better not do that. Big Owl is liable to hit you from behind,” the man told him. The boy promptly stopped and left without saying a word.

The following is an example of threatened punishment: During the threshing of his father’s wheat, a boy of about twelve, who was supposed to stay and help by riding his horse over the grain on the threshing floor, sneaked off to another place where his paternal uncle’s wheat was being threshed, because there were more young people there, and it was fun. His father found him and chased him on horseback with a rope, saying that he would lay it across his shoulders if he caught up to him. He shouted at him, “I’m going to break your neck and throw your head outside the wickiup!” He chased his son home. The next day this boy with another lad of his own age came down to the camp of an old woman, his maternal grandmother by clan. She and another man there joked the boy about what had happened. The old woman said, “I heard that your father said he was going to break your neck and throw your head outside the wickiup door, so I looked for it this morning, but it wasn’t there.” The two boys, who were looking at a magazine, looked at it all the harder and never smiled or spoke.

It is extremely uncommon for an Apache child to talk impertinently to an elder, particularly to a parent or one of its kin. However, on rare occasions this does happen. The following are two instances: A small boy of five or six came over and sat down beside his maternal grandfather and his maternal aunt’s husband, as they sat talking under a ramada. After a minute or two, his grandfather turned to him and asked him to get something. The boy paid no attention. His grandfather spoke to him a second time. He retorted with an impertinent remark. His grandfather jumped up, grabbed a switch, and chased him. The boy ran around behind a wickiup and escaped. The old man did
not try to pursue him further and returned to the ramada, where he remarked that the boy was very stubborn, would not mind, and that he was like a *dilje’ee* (Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto). His son-in-law, who had remained there the whole time, said nothing.

This same old man also had a granddaughter of nine or ten, his daughter’s child. One day she came down to where her grandfather and her father were sitting together under the ramada. She was whistling. She sat down not far off. Her grandfather said, “You should not whistle. Only boys whistle. You act like a boy.” He said this in a teasing way because it is not considered proper for girls and women to whistle. But the girl, after waiting a minute or two, retorted in a quiet but determined voice, “You have many wrinkles in your neck.” All the old man could do was laugh and make an exclamation of surprise; “hec’i’,” he said. Nothing more was done about it. The girl’s father did not smile or say anything.

Physical punishment of children is rare and seems to be used principally for boys, who, being permitted to roam farther afield, are more likely to get into serious trouble. The whippings that boys sometimes received when they stole corn have already been mentioned. Older men say that when they were boys their parents sometimes took a stick to them when they ran off to hunt and play all day and did not return until nighttime. One man told of being sent by his father after a horse. The horse was wild, and each time he was about to catch him the horse would turn and run off. Finally he got mad and shot an arrow at the horse, hitting him in the rump and making him jump and run. Frightened at what he had done and knowing that his father would whip him if he saw the arrow sticking into the horse, the boy was greatly relieved when another horse happened to kick the arrow loose.

An old woman related a childhood escapade in which she and her younger brother ran away from home. She was twelve or thirteen at the time, and, having been orphaned at the age of eight and cared for by harsh blood relatives, her lot was decidedly harder than the average. The two youngsters managed to go
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quite far before their absence was discovered. A maternal uncle who started after them on horseback overtook them and made them turn back. She says, "He had a rope and hit first one and then the other, driving us along like burros. About midnight he let us stop, and the next morning we started on, the same way. When he got us home, another maternal uncle, the one with whom we had been living, said he was going to tie us up to the limb of a tree by the wrists and let us stay there all day because we had done a bad thing by running away. But a *icah-teh-dn* [clan] man persuaded him not to do it." Probably the uncle was only threatening them.

Girls and boys over fifteen cannot be disciplined effectively by threats, and the principal method of correcting them is through ridicule. After the ages of eight or nine, they have sufficient knowledge of their cultural norms to make ridicule one of the strongest methods of control that can be used over them. Public disapproval is feared and avoided above everything. As these people themselves point out: to laugh at a man who takes another's horse when he should not and to say, "Look at that man! He doesn't know any better than to take the horse! What's the matter with him anyway?" makes the erring individual disagreeably ashamed of what he has done, and he will not risk being laughed at again. "Laugh at a child when he does something bad. Make fun of him and say, 'Don't you know any better than to do that? Other people don't do such things.' That is the way to prevent him from doing it again; to teach him what is wrong and what is right," an old man once said.

Several methods of child control recorded for neighboring peoples were disclaimed. The making of a bugaboo of yucca leaves, or other material and hanging it in the dwelling,6 or threatening a child with letting the maternal grandparent castrate it or cut its throat,7 were both unknown. The prominent

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part that Jicarilla Apache grandparents play in the discipline of children is also unparalleled.\textsuperscript{8}

Formerly, during the early life of every child, certain customs were observed. Because of their ritual cast they might readily be discussed in another context, but, as they deal implicitly with child life and development, they should be included here.

When a child was two or three years old, for several consecutive years (four according to Anna Price) the hair was cropped close in the spring so it would grow long and thick. This was done because everything starts anew in spring. The hair was either completely cut off or cut to leave a single long tuft on the crown of the head or merely to leave a fringe over the forehead. Into the fringe or tuft were tied the wild poppies which bloomed profusely in the low country hills at that time of year. This was to make the child look pretty. Any close blood relative might cut the child's hair, but ordinarily the parents or maternal grandparents did it. If the child did not want its hair cut off, the parent respected its wishes. According to Anna Price, who did not know the reason for the practice, the hair from the first two cuttings was kept in a little buckskin sack and tied to the back of the child's first small buckskin shirt. After that, the hair was disposed of elsewhere, as an older person's trimmed hair would be. When the child was grown, the mother might bring out this little shirt with the hair on it and say, "This was your hair when you were little."

Small hands and feet are admired, and long fingers and toes thought ugly. Formerly, small children were told to run their fingers and kick their toes against a certain kind of grass called \textit{it'didjōlē} ("round grass") which grows in little round clumps. This was half-playfully, half-seriously said to prevent the fingers and toes from growing too long. "Be careful and don't kick too hard or your foot will go through it and grow too long," the children were cautioned. A nickname for this species of grass is \textit{biyātc'idēliₜ啊¡} ("he kicks over it").

Various amulets were put on children. Formerly, almost every child wore a prehistoric stone arrowpoint about its neck to

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., pp. 219 and 220.
keep off sickness and lightning. Small children sometimes wore the tips of bear’s ears or dried bear’s kidneys strung about their necks to bring them good health from Bear. When still fresh, the kidneys had holes for stringing pierced in them with a stick. About the age of puberty, girls were sometimes given necklaces or bracelets of the claws of the adept tree climber, Abert squirrel, to prevent their falling from trees when gathering certain wild foods. Gopher claws were used in the same way, so that the girls might have strong arms and be able to dig and work hard like Gopher; a woman’s tasks almost necessitated strong arms.

From the age of eight or ten on, children were physically toughened by being made to swim and run in the early morning. They were roused at dawn by their parents and forced to go with children from other households. Running to the river, they jumped in and had to remain there, splashing about for several minutes. While sitting in the water, they made a peculiar and unmistakable sound by raising the elbows at the sides and bringing them down on the surface of the water with a slap which could be heard at quite a distance. The bathing continued through summer and winter, and often in cold weather the children had to break the thin ice before they could swim. As the sun rose they came out and ran about to get dry, girls and boys together, shouting and laughing. Sometimes their parents told them to roll in the snow to harden themselves, and boys used to put a snowball under each arm, holding it in the armpit until it melted. They were told that if they did this, no hair would grow under their arms. After the swim, a father would tell his son, “Let’s see you run to the top of that big hill and back without stopping.” Frequently older men would point out a distant tree to a group of boys, telling them to run slowly toward it and when they had turned, to race back and see who was the fastest. Boys were trained to run under handicaps. To teach his son to breathe through his nose while running, a father made him hold a mouthful of water, and, to get him used to carrying something, made him hold a mano or rock in each hand. Girls were also made to run, either with the boys or by themselves. Some girls
were as fast as boys, and it was by no means uncommon to match one against a boy.

John Rope says of his early training:

I think I must have been about eight years old when I first started to swim and run in the early morning. That may be what has kept me from growing tall. I never refused to do anything my parents asked of me. They told me to do these things. I saw other children doing them, so I did them too. That's the way we made our hearts strong. I used to swim with other children, and several of them were girls of my own age.

Not all children were as willing as this, and Mrs. Andrew Stanley says:

When I was about nine or ten, the daughter of my mother's blood sister came and took me from my maternal uncle, who up until that time had cared for me. She thought I was not being raised the way a girl should. She was a grown and married woman, and I called her my older sister. She started in to train me. I could not sleep well, for she made me get up early in the morning and run and bathe in the river. She used to drag me right out of the wickiup sometimes to make me do it. In wintertime when I swam in the river, the current would sweep me against the ice and my body would be scraped. I thought it was awful at the time, but now I can appreciate that it was the right thing for me.

A father encouraged his son to stand these hardships by saying:

If you don't swim and learn to run fast when you are young, then when you are alone in the mountains the bear, mountain lion, and other dangerous wild animals will chase you and bite the calves of your legs. If you don't do all these things now and get strong, later when you are a man and get into a fight with someone, you will not be able to protect yourself and will be beaten. When you are off in the mountains alone and trouble comes to you, you may say, "My father, my mother, I am in trouble," but we will not be there to help you.

In talks to girls the stress was placed more on the necessity for making themselves strong so that they would be good workers. Girls were also told: "If you don't go to swim in the early morning each day, you will have lots of hair between your legs."

9 The shock of the cold water was thought to make one's heart strong, so that it could withstand the shock of fear.
This was a strong incentive, as body hair of any kind was thought decidedly repulsive.

To further harden boys and girls, they were made to carry pitched water bottles and light loads when their families were on the move. In the early morning a mother would tell her daughter to go in among the thick brush and pull down branches and break them in order that she might be strong in later life. Girls were also told to grind seeds on the metate for the same reason. "This is the way you must exercise yourself, so you will be robust when the time comes for you to marry," they were told. Both parents might encourage and enforce children's bodily training, but usually the father took charge of the boys, and the mother supervised the girls. Such training was kept up until the time of marriage, and even grown men sometimes swam and ran with the boys.

Probably children and adolescents conditioned themselves to adult life through imitating it in their play more than in any other way. Girls pretended to keep house and prepare food; boys, to hunt, raid, and make war. Sometimes boys made war on wasps. John Rope says that older people encouraged this but did not tell them that it would make them brave. When boys found a wasp's nest in a tree, they would hold a council and say, "We hear there are some mean things living over there. Let's go to war with them." While older people watched from a safe distance, they attacked, and if victorious they carried off the nest in triumph, usually after being badly stung. Under parents' instruction the boys tore the nest apart and rubbed themselves with it, saying, "Make me brave."

Children learned right and wrong principally through observing their elders and by playing at what they had seen older people do. Direct instruction and correction were less used, and the first was not often employed until the child was eight years old or more. Lastly, adults would point out errors in others to illustrate right and wrong. Mythology served a purpose here, particularly the Coyote tales in which Coyote was consistently described as a rascal from whom any kind of incorrect behavior was to be expected. After hearing one of Coyote's misdeeds,
children were often told that they should be careful and not do as Coyote did. They were also encouraged to do right by certain sayings, such as those concerning early-morning swimming and running, or the one in which it was said that boys would be able to find many quail eggs in the spring if they cleared the ashes out of the fireplace when told to. A boy or girl, on reaching puberty, was often given serious advice by some older relative. The following lecture, related by a man who received it as a youth from his maternal grandfather, is fairly typical:

"You are getting to be almost a man, so listen carefully to me. If you heed me, you will become wise and own property like a man. You will be wealthy. It is up to you to make your own way and use your own eyes. But if you do as I say, you will lead a good life, just as I have. You will be like me. This is what my grandfather told me long ago. Since that time when I listened to him, I have lived well and have had lots in my camp, all that I could want. Now I believe that what he said to me was true.

John Rope recalled similar advice given to him by his father:

My father used to talk to me and my brothers. "If you are lazy, you will never get anything done. Follow the example of other people. If they go out on a raid, you should go with them. If you stay at home, you will have nothing, and your wife will have to go about begging for food." That's the way my father brought us up. We listened to his words and never had any trouble with other people. We always tended to our own affairs. I guess I must have heeded my father, because, though I had several brothers, only one of them has done as much as I. By the time I reached middle age, people respected me because I possessed property. I have carried many deer on my back, and that is why I am short."

A girl usually received such talks from her mother or some other close female relative, but, on occasions, a male relative might advise her. Mrs. Andrew Stanley says of her maternal uncle, the chief Diablo, "I never went about to other people's camps to ask for food, because my uncle had told me that I should not do this. 'Only lazy women do that; sit about and try to get part of what other people have gathered,' he told me."

Children's knowledge of sex and reproduction, and the age at

10 A man could desire no greater achievement than to kill many deer.
which children begin to show interest in the opposite sex, has been mentioned. Some data can be added here on their knowledge of nature, religion, and death. By the time they were ten or eleven, boys and girls knew most of the common plants, shrubs, trees, and animals by name. Apparently, it was not until somewhat later, usually after puberty, that they began to learn the more complex beliefs concerning plants and animals and to grasp the Apache classification of these. Some were quicker than others at picking up such information. Parents and older relatives often pointed out an animal or plant and named it, getting the child to repeat the word after them. On one occasion I saw a maternal grandfather introduce his three-year-old granddaughter to a skunk. She had never seen one before. The skunk had taken refuge down between some rocks, and the old man, seeing it there, called the little girl over to him and told her to look. She thought it was a dog, but the old man said, “It is skunk.” “Eh, skunk,” she repeated. She was not in the least afraid of it, and it was interesting to see that her grandfather made no attempt to explain the skunk’s defensive weapon.

John Rope says of himself:

When I was about ten or twelve years old, I knew the names of the common plants and trees, because I had gone around with other boys and listened to older people talk about them. At the same age I knew the name of almost every bird, because we boys used to hunt them all the time. We knew about animals also. When traveling, if we crossed an animal’s track, our parents would point it out and say, “That is a deer track” or “That is a bear track.” But it was not until I was fifteen years old or so, and had started hunting with my older sister’s husband and a maternal uncle, that I really began to learn how these birds, animals, and plants were related. My maternal uncle, an old man, taught me all the different names of plants and animals and how they were related. For instance, while we hunted he told me that jack rabbits and cottontails were relatives; that chipmunk and rock squirrel were relatives. This is how I learned. By the time I was twenty I knew all these things about animals and plants. I learned later on how our people believe that the wind comes in the spring and shakes the trees to life. We have a word for this, and I can remember, after I was married, hearing older people talk about it and wondering what the word meant. Shortly after that, I found out.

Long before the average child could grasp the religious concepts of his people, his curiosity and a desire to be with crowds and family led him to participate in ceremony and gain some knowledge of its mechanics. The age at which young people started to pray varied greatly. Some began at nine or ten, many well after this, and one man said the first time he could remember having prayed was at about eighteen, when he took part in a holy dance during which all participants were required to pray. Often it was the father who instructed a child in this, telling him to pray to Dawn and to In Charge of Life, the supreme being, for strength and long life. Anna Price said: "I used to sleep with my maternal grandmother as a little girl. She would tell me to get up early in the morning and pray. Women who were old and gray used to tell us children that they had lived long because they always prayed to the four directions for long life." It was by no means compulsory for children to pray, since some older relative, ordinarily the father, always included them in his own prayers.

Smaller children attending ceremonies might either keep silent and watch or rush about, playing and talking, when everyone else was respectfully silent and attentive. Their disturbances were usually completely ignored and not punished or checked because of the Apache belief that a child does such things from ignorance rather than in wilful misbehavior. "Why would you want to punish a child for doing something at a ceremony that it should not? It knows no better than it does," say the Apache. If it was necessary to stop children at such times, they were gently hushed but not sent off. Apache supernaturals were accredited with the same attitude toward children, and a child's unknowing disrespects during a rite brought it no harm. However, if it touches a ceremonial article charged with power or something else which could cause sickness, the result may be dangerous, for the power or sickness does not discriminate between children and adults. Thus, once when boys disturbed some gan masks which had been put away in a cave by the shaman owning them, the shaman was very angry and warned the boys never to touch these things again. Likewise, boys who
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imitated ga·n dancers and made masks of their own were warned by their parents that this was a dangerous thing to do. Neil Buck recalled the following from his childhood:

Once, when I was a kid, another boy and I found an old snakeskin that had been shed. Not knowing any better, we picked it up. One of my maternal uncles saw what we had and in horror shouted at us to drop it immediately. We did. Then he gave us a long lecture, saying we must never touch such a thing again, for if we did we would surely get snake sickness.

Knowledge of beliefs concerning where the dead go and the hereafter apparently came at a fairly late age, probably because horror of death kept adults silent on the subjects. The only good examples recorded of children’s contact with death are the three which follow:

When Mrs. Andrew Stanley’s mother was killed by the Navaho, she was about six years old. She was taken to the camp of a woman relative. Not knowing that her mother was dead, she tried to go back to the old camp and find her. Her maternal uncle spoke to her, “Your mother will never come back, so don’t cry.”

“Are you sure she won’t come back?” she asked.

“Yes, she will never come back,” he answered. Then he cried, so she cried also.

A man said: “When my mother’s brother died down at Dewey Flat, I was about eight years old. That was my first contact with death. It was winter then and cold, so we children had to be kept indoors.” Our wickiup had two beds, one on each side of the fire, built against the wall. I and my brothers and sisters were put to bed in one of these. The dead body lay across from us on the other. There were many people in the wickiup that night, attending the wake. My mother came over and said to me, ‘That man is gone’ [the word “dead” is not used of a human]. From then on I knew that people died and went away, but I didn’t know where they went. I never thought about that. I was afraid at the time, and I guess all children are the same way. It was not until I went to school at San Carlos [thirteen to eighteen years old] and heard the missionary preach once a week that I learned the dead went to Ghost Chief and that some of them went up to the sky; that the good went

Otherwise they would certainly not have been allowed to remain indoors near the body.

A native supernatural in charge of the dead, who corresponds with the missionaries’ “Devil.”
up and the bad went down. Shortly after that, I heard my own people
talking about how the dead went to Ghost Chief. From then on, I
understood.”

John Rope recalled the following episode which occurred when he
was fifteen or sixteen years old. A raiding party in Mexico met with mis­
fortune and two of its men were killed, one being a very important
individual. A messenger was sent ahead with the news. John Rope and
some other boys, away at the time he arrived, were on their way home.
“When we got close to camp, we heard many people wailing. We had
some old tin cans which we were drumming on with sticks, but an old
man told us to stop our noise. I went home and found my mother and
her sister both rolling about on the ground and crying. I just stood
there and watched them in wonder. Then mother told me that her
mother’s brother and my brother-in-law had been killed. When I heard
this, I thought that I should cry and roll on the ground also. I thought
it was the right thing to do, so I got down under my mother’s arm and
we rolled about together. That man had always been good to me and
used to bring me things from Mexico.”

Cutting of children’s hair in the spring is still observed; in the
Bylas region the hair is cut off completely or merely bobbed
short. No fringes or topknots are left. If the hair from the first
two cuttings is saved, it is tied to the back of the little cloth
blouse being worn by the child at the time. It is said that the
custom of running the fingers and toes against the “round grass”
is no longer practiced in the Bylas region, though it may be else­
where. Children occasionally wear stone arrowpoints, and some­
times prehistoric shell ornaments or quartz crystals today, but
none of the other charms mentioned was observed. Early­
morning running and swimming for children and adolescents has
ceased on the San Carlos Reservation; some families in the White
River region, however, still send their girls and boys to swim.
The ways in which children are taught right and wrong remain
the same, but schooling and white contact have weakened the
effect of folklore, as younger people sometimes refuse to take it
seriously. It is uncertain whether or not the decided decrease in
boys’ hunting and the general scarcity of game have affected
boys’ knowledge of wild animals. Probably knowledge of other
aspects of nature, religion, and death comes at much the same
age as formerly. Because of schooling, most children acquire a smattering of the Christian concept of death and the hereafter considerably earlier than they formerly learned of their own people's beliefs concerning these things.

The child's knowledge of and reactions to blood, affinal, and clan kin obligations and behavior patterns have been discussed, as have the activities of young people in courtship. Children and adolescents in connection with property and inheritance, retaliation killings, and incest have also been mentioned. The average child did not participate in the marriage negotiations of a relative, though it is possible that a youth or maiden sometimes contributed property toward marriage gifts. Children no more than twelve years old have been mentioned as contributing toward a compensation payment for murder, but ordinarily a person was not called upon to help in such crises until well after puberty. Boys probably took no active part in avenging the murder of a kinsman until two years or so after puberty, at the same age that some boys first accompanied raiding parties against enemy people. However, they did not accompany war parties until eighteen or more, generally after they already had been on raids. It was thought that to expose them to the violence of war at too early an age, while their characters were still malleable, was likely to make mean men of them.

Before eight years of age the Apache child had little or no active part in economic or religious life. Its days were filled with play, only being obliged to obey family authority, return to camp when time to eat or sleep, and not to endanger itself by wandering too far afield. Now, as in the past, almost the first helpful thing a child does is at the age of three or four, when it fetches something if coaxingly asked to. A girl of four or five often is interested enough in a baby sister or brother to play with it and keep it amused while her mother is otherwise occupied. She does this because she wants to and not at her mother's

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17 Cf. p. 400.
bidding. But by the time she is eight her mother may occasion­ally ask her to take a younger sibling outside to play, and a girl of ten is sometimes seen in charge of her mother’s baby, carrying it about on her back slung in a blanket, just as a grown wom­an does.

Of three little girls in one family—five, seven, and ten years old, respectively—the two youngest were sisters, the oldest, a sister of their mother. The three played together on equal terms, but, if quarreling arose among them, the oldest girl was often held re­sponsible or asked the cause of the trouble. From the age of ten on, a girl helps her mother more and more with the younger chil­dren, because she likes to and not because of duty. She is always free to do something else if she wishes. Unlike girls, boys are noticeably nonactive in the care of their younger siblings.

Until puberty, girls’ and boys’ clothing was made for them, usually by parents or other members of the family. At puberty, or sometimes a year or so before it, a girl was shown by her mother how to cut and sew her own clothes. The pattern was marked on the buckskin and the girl told to cut along the lines so that she would make no mistake. Girls and boys of fifteen, or slightly more, were taught to cut and sew their own moccasins. Most of them had watched others doing this but lacked the skill to try it themselves without instruction. In spite of these in­structions, young people ordinarily were helped with their clothing until they married. Anna Price said of buckskin-mak­ing:

When I was a little girl I often used to watch mother making buck­skin. But you can’t learn to do it by just watching. You have to do it yourself. Working on buckskin was too hard for a little girl. She had to be big and strong to do it. After a girl has had her first menstrual period, she is taught this kind of work. While she is graining the hide, another woman stands there and watches her to see that she does it right. That’s the way it was with me. My mother watched me the first time while I was learning, but after that I did it all by myself.

Girls over twelve or thirteen very often helped in the building of wickiups, as sometimes boys of this age did, though by the time a youth was seventeen or more he was too conscious of the
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fact that house construction was woman's work to take very active part in it.

Girls first learned basketry from their mothers just before puberty and probably helped in basket-making of all kinds at sixteen. But it was not until after marriage that they really began basketry in earnest. The best basket-makers were always older women, skilled from experience. No information was obtained on the learning of the pottery technique. Such utensils as knives, drills, manos, and metates were usually not made until after marriage, as they required considerable skill and patience and were not needed in the quantities that basketry and buckskins were.

When a boy was seven or eight, he usually had his first small bow and arrows made for him by some older relative, such as a maternal grandfather, and at the same time he was shown how to use them. Two years later he was ordinarily able to make his own bow and arrows. But it was usually not until after marriage that a youth had enough skill to make himself really good weapons. Concerning ropemaking one old man said:

A boy didn't make his own ropes of rawhide or horsehair until he was twenty or more, when he started going on raids and to war. He would need a rope of his own then. As a boy of eleven or twelve, I used to help older men make these ropes, rolling the strands on my thigh. Two men, one of them head chief of the bizáhé clan, and whom I called maternal grandfather, used to get me to help them do this because they were clan relatives of mine. "Help me twist this," they would say. That is the way I managed to learn about it, just through helping.

Girls of ten began to help their mothers with light work about camp, doing so voluntarily or upon request. Sometimes several boys and girls of this age together ground foods on the metates, just for fun. After puberty, youths would not do such women's work, fearing the ridicule of their contemporaries, especially of girls they liked. The technique of wild-food-gathering required skill and very complete knowledge of food plants and the labor-saving devices necessary in utilizing them. Just before or at the time of puberty, a girl began to learn these things, as well as cooking, from her mother. Anna Price said:
When a girl reached puberty, she started to cook all kinds of plant and meat foods. She watched her mother do it and learned in that way. Her mother would tell her, "Do this way. Take a metal hoe, set it on three stones in the fire and be sure you have hot coals between the stones. Now mix up your corn-meal dough, roll it into a ball between your hands, and then mash it down on the hot hoe blade. When you have mashed it so it reaches the edge, take it off." That's the way they taught a girl to cook. Her mother would tell her more, "When you make 'iṣiśící [dumplings of corn-meal mush], mold the batter into lumps to put in the pot. Mold a lump in each hand at the same time. Never use just one hand." Whenever they made linestci [a gruel made from ground seeds], the mother ground the meal while the water was set to boil in the pot. She showed the girl just how much grease to add to the meal, letting her do this herself. If the girl didn't get the right proportion, the gruel would be too thin. Then she would see her mistake and learn. That's the way a girl was shown how to cook. "Now, from here on you can do this yourself when I am not here," her mother would tell her.

It was important to know how to make the surplus food caches, and, when her parents were engaged in digging one, a girl of this age went along to watch. She might help her mother bring the food to the cache, but she usually did not help with placing the food in the cache until after marriage, as this was meticulous work. As she stood watching, her mother would say to her, "Watch all of this carefully, for some day you will have to do it yourself." Youths did not take part in such work until after marriage, when they would be shown how by their parents. Anna Price said:

A youth never helped in making food caches. While his family was engaged in doing this, he sometimes went hunting rock squirrels. On his way back he might pass by the place where the cache was being dug by his father. "Oh, what are you making? It looks dangerous in there! It looks as if you were digging a den for a bear!" he would joke. "Well, you might have to do this yourself some day," his father would answer.

At puberty and after, a girl might help in the preparation of dried meat, carrying out the thin slices of meat her mother cut and hanging them up to dry. But ordinarily she never did the slicing herself until three or four months after marriage, when her mother or mother-in-law would teach her. "Her father would
not permit it, as it wasn’t right for a girl to do this,” Anna Price said, claiming that this was a recognized restriction, although she did not know the reason for it. However, a girl without parents, or otherwise compelled to do things herself, might cut meat for drying before she married. Mrs. Andrew Stanley, who was orphaned at an early age, says, “I started cutting and drying meat before I was married. My father’s sister taught me how, but many girls do not learn to do this until after they are married.”

Participation of youths and maidens in agriculture has been mentioned in connection with courting. Boys of ten or so often helped their parents in corn-planting, following behind to cover over the holes where the corn seed had been dropped. This they did for fun and not at the request of older people. Boys and girls of this age were not allowed to help in harvesting, because it is said they were likely to be careless and spoil good ears in stripping them off the stalks. Youths and maidens aided in all stages of farming, but it was not until after marriage that they entered upon their full share of the farm work.

From the foregoing material it may seem that girls helped in adult tasks to far greater extent than boys did and that the latter led a comparatively carefree existence. This is partially true, for the later marriage age of boys permitted a longer period of adolescence, and the division of labor between the sexes gave them decidedly more leisure time. After the age of twelve or thirteen, boys were occupied mainly in hunting small game, helping with cattle and horses, and playing games. Their main contributions were in the care of stock and the securing of small game with which they supplied the family larder.

Not every family had horses, and therefore some children learned to saddle, ride, and rope much later than others. A small boy of three or four, seeing another riding, would ask to be put on the horse himself. His father or some other relative lifted him up on a gentle horse and, if safe, turned it loose to let him try and ride by himself. But he was not allowed out of sight: “A small boy up on top of a horse seems so tiny that they joke about it and call him ḍjọ́lẹ́ [wild gourd], because he looks just like a little
round ball. He keeps thumping his heels against the horse's ribs, trying to make him go. It looks funny because his legs are so short that he kicks the horse more than halfway up the sides.”

It was a manly desire for a little boy to wish to ride, and one which his father was proud to encourage. Women did far less riding than men, and consequently girls did not often start riding before seven or eight years old. A little boy at this age might be good enough to ride off alone if he had a gentle horse or burro, but he was not considered expert until twelve or thirteen. Children were never instructed in riding. Being raised where riding was commonplace, they learned it by experience and by watching others. Girls and boys started saddling and bridling almost as soon as they were tall and strong enough to lift the saddle onto the horse’s back (about nine or ten years old). Sometimes, when a boy had difficulty saddling, he tried to lift the saddle by placing it on his head and thus shoving it up onto the horse. If he was still unable to do it, one of his parents or some other older person helped him. Because of such difficulties, burros were favorite mounts for children. The child was not shown how a saddle should be put on but was merely cautioned to cinch it up well so that it would not fall off.

From the age of ten on, a boy began to help his family with the horses. He was sent out in the early morning to drive them into camp, where he and his older sisters and brothers helped in catching them. By twelve he was doing this fairly regularly, and from then until marriage this was his special task. At twelve or thirteen he was told by his father about the care of horses: “Water your horses three times a day. Put them away in the evening so that you can get them easily in the morning. If you turn a horse loose right at camp, you never know which way he goes from there.” His father also began to teach him the use of a riata and how to handle cattle, but very often he learned how to rope by himself. Cattle herds brought from Mexico had to be herded at some convenient place. This work fell to men and the bigger boys in the families owning the cattle. A father or some other male relative advised a youth concerning cattle: “Don’t ever run your horse at the cattle. Just drive them slowly, and
they will handle well. If you run at them, they may stampede and trample over a calf and break its leg."

When old enough to leave camp by himself, usually around eight years of age, a boy started hunting small game. He was encouraged to do this. Palmer Valor, whose father died when he was small, recalled his mother telling him, "My boy, go out hunting and kill lots of birds and rats. That is the way you will make a living." A boy's first prey was usually some small creature such as a bird or lizard. He was taught to shoot by his father or some older person, but he probably learned more about this sort of hunting while with others of his own age on miniature hunting parties when he and his companions set forth armed with slings and small bows and arrows to hunt what they could. By the time boys were twelve, they were hunting quail, rabbits, squirrels, and wood rats, all of which could be used for food. At puberty the average boy was an accurate shot and knew all there was to know about hunting small game. When the occasional quail drives were held, old and young of both sexes joined, but boys were particularly active.

Hunting large game such as deer was a very serious undertaking, and it was not until after puberty, at fifteen or sixteen, that a boy was taken out on his first deer hunt by his father, uncle, maternal grandfather, or some other relative. Occasionally, several youths accompanied a large hunting trip. They fetched wood and water for the camp and looked after the horses, at the same time gaining experience by being with skilled hunters. They received the less choice portions of the kill when the meat was divided—such as part of the liver or front leg. Boys learned much of what they ultimately would know about hunting from observation without direct instruction. John Rope says of his first experiences in deer-hunting:

I remember the first time that I went hunting big game. An old man of the bëszahé clan called gùsá:í dà [corruption of Spanish name] took me along with his son. We were gone for two days and came back with a great big deer. He didn't tell me much about what to do, for I was too young. But, then, I was never actually taught much about hunting [he means hunting as a technique, not hunting ritual]. When you went out on a hunting party, you picked it up yourself. You saw how the
others hunted, skinned, and butchered their game. The first time I ever skinned and butchered a deer myself I must have been about fifteen. It was when I was out with that old man, gùzà-la. I called him maternal grandfather and I learned a lot from him. My father never took me out hunting big game, but I went out hunting many times with the husband of my sister, an older man. I think that I probably learned more about hunting from him than from anyone else. The first antelope I ever saw killed was on a return from Goodwin Springs to Cedar Creek. I was about sixteen then. I never hunted antelope myself, until after I was married.

Not all youths learned to hunt large game as early as this, and sometimes they had no experience at all until five or six months after marriage, when they were taken deer-hunting for the first time by some male relative. Even those who hunted before marriage probably did not start hunting alone until some time after it.

Without knowledge of hunting ritual, the Apache considered himself at a decided disadvantage in hunting, for he could not hope for the success that he would otherwise have. Simple ritual practices such as placing a shed antler in a tree, praying to a raven flying overhead, setting aside a certain internal organ as an offering to Raven, method of skinning—all of which brought good luck to the hunter—were usually picked up by a youth shortly after he first started hunting large game. He might even help in the singing during a hunting ceremony and thus learn some of the songs, but he did not actually acquire any hunting power until he was at least twenty years old. Hunting power was dangerous and not a thing for a bungling youth to meddle with; his heart would not be strong enough to withstand it; it could make him ill or even kill him.

Boys and girls began to take part in ceremony at a surprisingly early age, but they did so to amuse themselves and not with serious intent. It was common for boys of ten or eleven to dance with girls of the same age at social dances, and boys of this age sometimes even tried to help the singers on such occasions. Small boys were not supposed to attend private curing rites, but they often did, in order to take part in the feast which the patient's family ordinarily prepared for midnight. They sat watching,
listening to the songs, sometimes attempting to join in the choruses, snatches of which they might remember and playfully sing afterward. At *gá·n* dances the accompaniment to the singing was the beating of wooden switches on a dry cowhide, and almost always it was small boys of eight to twelve who were chosen to do this. They kept perfect time and were intently serious on their job. Thus, in one way and another, they picked up a considerable amount of knowledge concerning ritual form while they were still quite young.

A few years later at puberty the average girl became the center of ritual interest during her rite, and boys on the outset of their first raiding party held much the same position. It was not until puberty or after it that boys and girls seriously attempted to aid at a curing ceremony by singing, and even then they might be too self-conscious to do so. At the same age girls could also participate by helping in the preparation of ceremony feasts. Certain rites required a given number of participants without sexual experience. Children could not be used, and therefore the choice was confined to youths and maidens.

The puberty ceremony for a girl was one of the central ceremonies of the Western Apache. In addition to its ritual importance, it was also an important social event. The family and kindred of the girl were concerned in the preparations, and the local population looked forward to the period of dancing, singing, feasting, and drinking.

Poor families contented themselves with an abbreviated one-day ceremony, but wealthier families held the full four-day ceremonial, in which the pubescent girl, as the central figure, was believed to be charged with power which could be used for the benefit of the whole community—for crops, health, and long life. The activities included various rituals, *gá·n* impersonators, dancing by the girl and her partners, and social dancing and feasting by the visitors. In recent years the ceremony has often been held in connection with the Fourth of July celebrations.

A boy accompanying a war party for the first time was considered to be a source of power for achieving the ends of the raid, and his activities were surrounded by restrictions and taboos. His instruction was in the hands of particular relatives, ceremonial paraphernalia was made for him, and various rituals were performed. On his return he was no longer a boy. [Summarized from field materials collected by Grenville Goodwin.]

To help at a ceremony is to sing, pray, and aid in the ritual; by doing this, the individual makes the ceremony more efficacious and shows his desire for its success.
Boys under eighteen were thought too young to impersonate the gá’n, and those who took part in this masked dance were almost always mature men. A youth generally had to be eighteen or more before he was considered old enough or sufficiently confident to introduce and lead a dance or ceremonial song himself. There were exceptions to this, however, and one man said of himself:

When I was about twelve or thirteen, before I went to school at San Carlos, an old man of the 'iyà’ą’iąyé clan who had the medicine ceremony, always used to invite me to go about with him whenever he held a cure. He did this because he took a liking to me for some reason, I think because I was his cross-cousin by clan. He wanted to teach me his ceremony. One time he took me across the river with him to attend a medicine ceremony being held over Chief Bylas for a broken ankle. A Southern Tonto man was to conduct the rite. About midnight the shaman began going round the circle of those present, asking each man to sing one of the rite's songs, as is sometimes done in this ceremony. Quite a few people got up and left then, because they did not know any song to sing. The old man with me leaned over and said when it came my turn that he would sing the words to the song for me, if I would sing the chorus. But when it came to me, I sang all the way through a song by myself because I had learned songs from him. When I left for school shortly after, I knew the first thirty-two songs of the medicine ceremony. But while I was in school the old man died. I forgot most of what he had taught me.

Certain minor rites or parts of rites were sometimes learned and even practiced to a limited extent by girls and boys as young as sixteen or seventeen; there were also rare cases in which maidens claimed to have acquired power for major ceremonies. Ordinarily, the possession and practice of ceremonies were not found among individuals under twenty-five, and most rites were acquired after thirty. This was because the holy power in ceremonies was considered too strong for the hearts of young people to withstand. For the same reason boys and girls were not often permitted to see a ceremonial sand-painting. Likewise, children did not look upon the dead, for the fear caused by the dead might prove too much of a shock for their hearts and cause them nightmares or even illness. Mourning for the dead
was not usually observed before puberty, and ordinarily young people first accompanied burial parties several years after this. Present conditions have somewhat altered participation of children and adolescents in the culture. Girls start making their clothing at the same age, but boys make none of their own clothes, relying almost entirely on commercial wear. Boys and girls may help in the construction of wickiups, but only older youths are skilled enough to aid in the construction of lumber houses, which is considered man's work. Basketry, pottery, and other primitive artifacts have been supplanted by store-bought articles, and there is no longer a need for young people to learn how to make them. Only a few wild plant foods are utilized, but girls start helping with these at the same age they did formerly. Girls help their mothers in cooking and other camp work when at home, but such activities are somewhat curtailed by school attendance. School attendance during harvest and planting time as well as certain labor-saving devices such as the plow, have reduced young people's participation in agriculture to practically nothing.

While boys are at home they help with the horses as formerly, and the cattle industry now sees youths from the age of seventeen helping in cattle work, such as roundups. Government work, like fence-building and range improvement, has given wage-paid jobs to many unmarried youths and keeps them away from home for months at a time. While boys between the ages of ten and sixteen still hunt birds and other small game, they do not do so as much as they did, since they are in school much of the time, and, moreover, small game is not an important part of the modern diet. Hunting large game is no longer of economic value. Children's and adolescents' participation in religious affairs has changed only in so far as their respect for native religion is slightly lessened because of white influence.

Very small children of two or three often played singly, but after these ages they were likely to seek the companionship of others. Thus, children near of an age who lived in the same family cluster tended automatically to form a play group, and, if there were not enough children in the family cluster, others
outside it were soon included. Within such play units ages might range from two to ten. After eleven or twelve years old the sexes divided in their play. Usually, an older boy had several intimate friends among the boys of his community, but beyond them he also participated in a large play group composed of other boys and youths, far larger than the play units of small children, and often including all the boys of the local group or community. Data on the play groups of older girls are lacking, but, as girls were definitely more restricted in regard to leaving camp, it is probable that their play groups were small, limited to intimates and members of the same or an immediate camp cluster. Age distinctions were important, and older children either played down to younger ones or tried to play apart from them. Small children sometimes wanted to play with the well-made toys of older children, but usually were not allowed to because they were likely to break them. Older boys, annoyed at being followed by younger ones, told them sometimes, “Owl is coming,” and ran off, leaving them crying.

Girls might start to help their mothers with household tasks at twelve or thirteen, but it was not at all uncommon for a girl to continue playing at dolls, and pretend family, up to the age of fifteen. Because boys married at a later age, they played for a longer time, often until they were married. In a group of boys who played together at war, or hunting small game, it was quite common for the ages to range from twelve to seventeen or even twenty, the older youths, however, gradually becoming less and less a part of the play group. Boys of sixteen and eighteen still play with younger boys, but within the past few years this has become less common, because of employment for youths in temporary government work. One unmarried young man of twenty-two still carried a bean shooter, but this was a rather extreme case. Formerly, when a mother considered her daughter too old to continue playing, usually just before puberty or shortly after it, she would tell her, “Don’t go off now and play. You are too old for that any more. It is time that you ground corn, so don’t go off anywhere. You stay at home and help.” From then on, the girl turned her energies to more serious occupations. It is
probable that youths at a somewhat later age were told the same sort of thing.

It is difficult to say, from the small amount of material on hand, how much kinship entered into formation of play groups and children's friendships. It does not seem as though kinship always controlled selection of playmates, although undoubtedly it was an important factor. Play groups within a single camp cluster naturally contained blood relationships, those on the maternal side usually predominating because of matrilocal residence. When the play group was made up of children from several encampments, age, sex, congeniality, and membership in the same community or local group were important, and age and congeniality definitely affected child friendships.

The data on children's play presented in this section have been divided into three periods: "old," "middle," and "modern," the first from aboriginal times, the second from the late nineties of the nineteenth century, when reservation life was well started, and the third from the present decade. The culture changes during the last sixty years are well brought out in a comparison of play from these periods. Play, as a vital factor in training the child for adult life, is also illustrated in the following pages. Coming from a limited number of Apache informants, the material probably fails to show the variety and scope of children's play that a larger mass of data might offer, but at least it affords an outline. Many organized games were played by children, some of which were definitely children's games and others were ones that they shared with adults. None is described here. However, several adult games specifically not played by children are mentioned because children pretended to play them, and they formed a part of the pretend play pattern which, in so far as it went, was a remarkably exact imitation of adult life.

Old period.—The following account is entirely from Anna Price, except for the passages concerning the boys' war game, which come from John Rope and Harvey Nashkine (Western White Mountain band). Anna Price's childhood, which here includes the period from five to fourteen, was approximately from
1840 to 1850; that of John Rope and Harvey Nashkine, from approximately 1855 to 1865, or slightly later—all before the beginning of reservations and reservation life:

We children used to build play wickiups. Some of them were as high as one arm span. We built little fires inside them, just like a real wickiup. We played at getting married and having families. Girls and boys played together at this. When we played at marriage, we were always careful not to marry some child who was of our own clan, just as big people were. We played at marriage negotiations, the girl's family and boy's family exchanging large gifts of food. The food was made of mud and water. When it came time for the presentation of these gifts, the members of the family receiving them would all line up on one side to get their share. Sometimes we would make a gift of horses to the other family. The horses were boys. After the marriage, the husband would call his wife's mother and father ca·da·ni' [proper affinal term]. If a boy passed his mother-in-law, both he and she would hide their faces in their hands, so they would not look upon each other. We used to use the polite form of the third person in talking between son-in-law and parent-in-law, just like grown people. In the same way we joked a woman or man whom we called ca'rye or sa'tsa ya' [respectively, terms for woman married to relative and man married to relative], and they us, because they were married to someone we pretended was a relative. We also pretended we had cross-cousins with whom we joked.

After a boy got married, he would pretend to go hunting with other men [boys]. They used other boys as their horses. They would make bundles of soft k'ai bark [a willow], large ones, and pack them on their horses. This was the meat. When he arrived home, the husband would have his wife take the meat as a gift to his relatives-in-law. The relatives-in-law divided the meat among themselves. They would pretend to be waiting for a few days, and then the man's wife would go among her relatives who had been given the meat and tell them to go hunting for her husband's family. The men started off. When they returned with their meat, it was brought over to the husband's mother and presented to her. That was how they got even again. Sometimes a boy went out hunting in an irrigated field and killed a gopher. He would send it over by his wife to his mother-in-law. His mother-in-law would skin and butcher it. Then she would start to tan the hide, scraping it...

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20 From one hand to the other when the arms are extended from the shoulders out.

21 It is not clear whether these were actual cross-cousins or play cross-cousins. They probably were the latter, as children do not ordinarily joke actual cross-cousins.
and all. It was easy to tan these gopher hides, and the mother-in-law sometimes would remark sarcastically, "This hide must be rotten. It tans too easily."

You know how some men quarrel continually with their wives? Well, we used to play that this happened. A boy would fight his wife until her father would take her away from him. Boys took their daughters back just like grownups. A boy would speak angrily to his son-in-law, "I have never received anything from you, so I am going to take my daughter back." In the evening the husband would go to his wife's parents' home where his wife had been taken. He would want his wife back and say, "co· yucdfJ'" ['look, come here'], just like a real man does. But the girl's mother would say, "No, I won't let her go with you any more."

When we played family with a boy for a husband, we used to have children. We had dolls as well. Each family had its own wickiup. We pretended there were many camps together and lots of people about. There were even old men and old women among us. We used to play that our husbands went out hunting. They would kill a lot of young bats, if they could find them, or small birds or gophers. They brought them home. The wives played at making buckskin of the gophers' hides. When a husband came home with meat, he or his wife might tell another boy living close by, "Don't leave your camp. I want you to stay there, for I am going to give you a lot of fine meat in a little while."

Generally, boys pretended to be the horses, but sometimes girls played at being mares, while the boys were stallions and geldings. They would run about holding two sticks in their hands for the front legs. In the morning the man owning the horses went out after them. When he drove them to camp, we would try to catch them. Some were wild and ran about. We couldn't catch these. Whenever we moved camp, we tried to pack our belongings on our horses. Some of the wild horses would run away with the packs. Boys pretended that they were cattle sometimes. When we wanted one to eat, we would catch him, tie his legs together, and throw him. Then we would start to cut his throat, as you do in butchering a cow. The boys would begin to bellow just as a cow does. We pretended to skin one side of the carcass, and then, before rolling it over to skin the other side, we pretended to lay brush down beneath it so the meat would not be spoiled. As we butchered, we called out the name of each part we took out, even each internal organ.

Among other things, we pretended we had farms and that we raised large crops. We would gather little bunches of green weeds and stick them up in the ground. We put wild gourds at the ends of these to make them look as if they grew there. These we called squash. We broke off black walnut branches with green nuts on them and stuck them in the
ground for corn. We played at hiring girls and boys to work in our fields for us and to build little fences about them, just like grownups do. We women [girls] would pretend to fight among ourselves about the division of the irrigating water and our turns at using it. When harvest time came, we gathered all our crops out of the fields. We bundled the walnuts together and hung them up to dry, just as is done with corn.

When we found stones with hollow places in them, we pretended that they were pots. We made little pots and baskets of mud also, and we used to make play coil baskets and water bottles out of needles of the yellow pine, of yucca leaves, or leaves of the narrow-leaved yucca, even sometimes the cottonwood. Boys made knives of the sharp-edged leaves of bear grass. The children had play shirts and women’s poncho capes of the inner bark of k’di and wore them in our play. We made braided headbands from the same material, and sometimes we shredded it out and wore it on our heads, pretending it was long hair. We did the same with dja·dictl’e·hzi [“legs thrown and spattered”], a plant which grows along the ground and ripens in August.

We never played at being sick and at having a shaman come to sing over us and cure us. It wasn’t that we were afraid to do it. We just never thought of it. When the boys played at going off deer-hunting, they did not pretend to sing deer songs to give them power and success. They did not know deer songs, and, besides that, they would be afraid of fooling with them because they were dangerous. But we did play at holding the girl’s puberty ceremony. The boys always pretended to butcher two steers to feast the people at the ceremony. The girl for whom the ceremony was given tied any kind of a feather she could find in her hair to represent the downy eagle feather. From old sticks we made a cane for her and a drinking-tube and scratcher to hang about her neck. She had everything. While she danced, the boys would sing love songs they had picked up, pretending they were the gôjô·sj.22 She danced to these. The woman who was going to mold her body stood beside her. When it came time to mold her, four willow sprigs were planted in each one of the four directions. A thick bed of brush was made for the girl to lie down on and be molded. After the molding, the girl ran out and around each one of the willow sprigs in turn, and, as she did so, the other children chased after her as they do in the real ceremony. At the end we would have a piece of bark for a basket, with a lot of small pebbles representing corn. This we poured over the girl’s head.

At times we were gone all day. When we got home, some children would say to their parents, “We’ve been having a good time all day.”

22 The songs used in this rite. John Rope says there were no special songs for children. When they were old enough, they usually picked up love songs first, because they heard older people singing them.
One girl had her first menstrual period, and we danced and had a big feast.” The parents might get mad and scold them, but it wasn’t for playing at giving the ceremony. That was all right. It was because the children had been gone all day without anything to eat.

We played at going to war. The boys would go off and leave us women [girls] behind. When they returned, they sent one man ahead to tell us that they were coming with many cattle and that they wanted tulibai prepared for them. Sometimes they sent word to send boys down to meet them and help them drive the cattle. We would make the tulibai. When the men arrived, they might say, “We have killed many enemies.” Then the women would start to dance about for joy, just as we had seen old women do at real victory dances. We would call out the name of a certain boy who had done well and say of him, “Oh, he always does this way.” We would sing real victory dance songs and dance about as in the victory dance. But we never painted ourselves, nor did the girls dance in only a gee string, as divorced and widowed women might do at one of these victory dances.

One time I remember, the boys pretended to go off on a raid to the Navaho country. They rounded up every horse—real ones—that they could find and drove them all back to our play camp. They told us they were Navaho horses which they had captured. An old man—a real old man—came over there to see what it was all about. “What did you bring all these horses here for?” he asked. “We have done it for you,” the children joked him [as if they were going to honor him by presenting him with the horses].

A regular game which older boys and youths played was called *dalitc'o-ldi*. It was a mock war game but fought out in imitation of real warfare. Apparently it is not to be confused with the play at war and raiding already described by Anna Price, in which girls and younger children might also join. The boys divided into two groups and sent notice when they intended to fight. They used slings, and often the stones found their mark, doing considerable damage. Older men sat about at a distance and watched the sport, encouraging the boys. Sometimes they would fire their guns off in the air to make it seem real. This game trained the boys in fighting. John Rope says of it:

"We used to divide into sides and make war on each other. Each side held a war dance, just like the real thing. There always used to be an old man at these dances who would direct us in carrying it out properly."
One boy was chosen as chief on each side, a boy who was not afraid. When we started in to fight each other, the chiefs led us. After the battle started, one or two would be captured. We would whip them with sticks and make them bring rocks to us for our slings. When one battle was over, we met and agreed to have another battle on a certain day. We fought mainly with slings, but when we got close enough we just picked up rocks and threw them. I used to play that way.

In my time there were two boy leaders, one who was our chief and one who was the leader of the teá teči dn [clan] side. One time when we were set to have a battle, these two boys each made their men line up behind them. Then they walked out in front and prepared to fight each other singly with slings. The teá teči dn leader threw first, but our chief ducked and the rock went over his head. Then he got up and made believe he was about to throw at the teá teči dn chief. The latter ducked, and, when he did, our chief really threw and hit him right in the back of the head. He was knocked unconscious and bled a lot. All our boys thought he was dead. We were scared and ran off. We were so scared that we never stopped even when we reached our own homes. After that fight, the two sides agreed to meet again. In the battle which followed, one of our boys got caught by the teá teči dn chief who had been hit the time before. He was still thinking about it I guess. He got two of his men to help him. They held our boy while they stuck sharp sticks into his thighs until his legs bled. Then they took everything he had, his sling and all, and turned him loose. He came back to us crying, with nothing.

Middle period.—The following is Neil Buck's account of play when he was a child and later when a big boy. The material represents the period from 1893 to 1903. This, of course, was twenty years after the establishment of the San Carlos Reservation, when reservation life had settled into a groove of its own:

We children used to go to the edge of the river where the willows grew. There we made play wickiups of the willows and pretended to live as older people do. Boys and girls used to get married. Although we didn't exchange gifts such as horses at these marriages, we exchanged food and drink. The boy's family would prepare tulibai. There would be twenty-five mounds of earth piled up in a line, each representing one can of tulibai. The man whose daughter was to be married was invited to bring his family over to drink them. As each can was finished, the mound of earth was obliterated. A little later, the girl's family would prepare a great feast and invite the boy's family over. They had round

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23 For mention of a boy looked upon as chief by his playmates see p. 670, n. 1.
flat pieces of limestone for the dishes and on each would be a different kind of make-believe food. When we got there, they would point out each kind to us, saying, "This is walnuts; this is acorn meal and stewed meat."

When a boy married, he never married his own sister. We knew about that. But we never thought about clan exogamy, and it didn't matter to us whether two children married who were of the same clan. We didn't pretend that they were of different clans. Also, we boys didn't avoid our own blood sisters, nor they us. We were too young for that. We didn't even pretend to avoid them. We began to think about that much later. We didn't joke our real cross-cousins then, either. We were too young.24 A boy had to respect his parents-in-law and avoid his mother-in-law, so his camp was built at a little distance from that of his wife's parents. Though we called each other by our regular names in play when we wanted to, a man couldn't call the names of his parents-in-law, just as it is with grownups. He called them cà dàni' [proper affinal term]. We had brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law whom we called cëyfì [proper affinal term] as well. We used to pretend that a man had obligations to his father-in-law. We had a play store, and he would have to go to the store all the time to buy things for his father-in-law. When we played family, we pretended we had children, but we never pretended that a woman was pregnant or that she gave birth to a baby. We didn't play that the youngest child was the favorite either, as it is among grownups.

I can remember one time when I was a small kid and we were playing family. One girl of the nágyôòtìfìjn clan was my mother. There were a lot of other small boys there. We made three or four little piles of dirt, calling them cans of tulibai. When we finished one can, we leveled the pile. Soon we all said we were drunk. I was my mother's only child, so I was alone. The other boys pretended to start a fight with me. They all jumped on me. The girl who was my mother hollered at the top of her lungs as a grown person would do, "The iyôòáyô [clan] boys are fighting my son." She shouted so loud that my real mother and older sister back at camp heard her. They used to laugh afterward when they told about it. But we didn't play at having clan blood-feuds. Maybe some children did, but then, you know, not all children play in the same way.

When we played at family and camp life, we did not pretend that one of us was chief and that others were wealthy, influential men, but we

24 In connection with a child's knowledge of social practices, Neil Buck once remarked, "As a small boy I heard older people use the expression which signifies that a widow has been reclaimed in marriage by some kinsman of her dead husband. I used to wonder what it meant, and it was several years before I found out."
used to have police. When a man had tulibai, these police sometimes came around and caught him. Then the policeman would dump out the tulibai and arrest the man. The tulibai was muddy water. We had a place we pretended was the guardhouse, and the man would be put in there for three or four days. At this guardhouse food was given to the prisoners. We played at issuing rations also, just as they really did at the agency. The rations were issued to us by our police at the guardhouse. We used to ride to the guardhouse on willow sticks, which we said were horses, to receive our rations. The children would all line up in front of the guardhouse to get their rations. One policeman was detailed to watch the line and prevent any trouble which might arise, just as they really did at the agency, and a second issued the rations to us. We did not play school.

We didn't play at having cattle or burros or dogs, but we did play at horses. One boy would be sent out to drive the horses into camp. He would come in, bringing an armful of willow branches. These were the horses. Ration time would be coming round, so we would need the horses to ride in on to get rations. Men and their wives started off riding. If we had to stop on the way for the night, we tied our horses to a tree. Then we would pull up a few handfuls of grass and leave them there for the horse to eat, just as we had seen our elders do.

We boys also used to make wagons out of tin cans. That was before the railroad came through, and we used to see many teams go by on the way to San Carlos and Globe, hauling freight. They would camp along the road and leave tin cans. We made the wagons of these tin cans. We put the can in a fire and heated it until the solder at both ends melted, and the two round ends came loose. These we made into wheels, punching a hole through the centers for the axle. The rest of the tin we flattened out straight. Then we bent each edge down on the long sides. We punched other holes in the bent-down edges, so we could run sticks through for the axles and attach the wheels. We put two wheels in front and only one in back. Through the sides of the wagon bottom we struck upright poles to hold the loads on, just like a real wagon. Almost every boy had one of these. We used to pretend to haul loads of wood on them, lengths of greasewood about seven inches long. We hauled them to the store to sell to the storekeeper. Sometimes we boys played with the wagons by ourselves without girls, pretending that we were freighting. One boy would go ahead, the others following in a long line along the road, just as we had seen freighters go by. We were hauling to the store. When we played at home where the dogs were, we used to make believe they were horses, and pack loads on them. But the dogs would not follow us away from camp, so we had to use willow branches for horses elsewhere.

After we had been playing family and camps down by the river a
while, one of the older boys would say he was going to be a white man and run a store. He would make a little inclosure by setting sticks up in the ground. This was the store. Inside, he used sticks to make a sort of shelf to put his goods on. He made things out of mud. These, and stones, were the store goods. The store was always about two hundred yards distant from our camps. When we went to the store to buy things, we used small stones for money. We didn’t have any charge accounts.²⁵

We never played at hunting large game such as deer, but all boys had bows and arrows and used to go out hunting small game. We really did it; we didn’t play at it. We did not play at having farms and raising crops, at going out to gather wild seeds and acorns, or at cooking mescal. That was the old way, but we had our store to buy food in. Girls used to cook mud in cans on a fire. That was our food. When we made a fire, we made a very small one because our play wickiups were small. A few boys had those small, old-fashioned matches, but the rest of us had to get our fire at home and carry it down to where we played.

Older boys made knives out of tin cans. Only boys, not girls, did this. The knife was made by bending a piece of tin about the end of a stick, so that it stayed in place. One end of the stick served as a handle. The blade was curved and ground to an edge. The older boys who had these knives always carried them in their pockets, so that if they were out hunting and broke an arrow they could fashion another. They always had a pocketful of all kinds of birds’ feathers, as well as sinew, so that they could repair or make new arrows at any time.

Boys, not girls, used to pretend to smoke. We would go along the riverbanks where the water had exposed the dry, pithy root of a cottonwood. We smoked sections of this just like a cigar, and in our store the storekeeper had them for sale. We used to take only a few puffs on them and throw them away. We also dried the leaves of *te’ilt’e’jé* [“one sucks it” (sour dock)] and kept them in a little sack. We rolled cigarettes with these, using the paper from sugar or coffee packages which we picked up at home. Our families did not scold us for doing this. We didn’t make ropes to play with. The girls used to make dolls. Little girls made dolls by bundling old rags together and tying them around the middle. Sometimes they made the hair of shredded cloth. We didn’t paint our faces, but we used to tattoo marks on our skin—just marks, not letters. We put them on our wrists, hands, and faces.

²⁵ Notice that the store is at a distance from the camp, just as it should be. Charge accounts are now the most common way of doing business, although they were less common in former times.
Sometimes we played at having a social dance. We made a little drum out of a tin can. We put some water inside and stretched a piece of cloth across the mouth, tying it there. There would be a whole crowd of children, just like big people gathered at a dance. The boys would sing and sometimes the little girls would sing also. We sang old CJ37's songs, his lightning songs. Some of the little boys would tell the little girls to go out and start dancing. They would, several of them dancing back and forth together to the music. Then the boys would tell them to dance lādāte’līc’ūc [a type of social dance], and the little girls would pick partners from among the boys to dance with them. Most of these children were from six to eight years old. Older children didn’t take part in it. We danced in the daytime, right beside our own homes.

We never played at having a puberty ceremony for a girl, at holding curing ceremonies for sick people, at giving a hunting ceremony, or at singing deer, snake, or other such sacred songs. But we did play at giving the ga’n dance and social dances. One boy called ndé że’ [“tall one”] was the leader in our community in any play of this sort. I guess he did not wish to play at curing rites or hunting ceremonies, or we might have done it. As he took the initiative in such things, we merely followed him. He was about sixteen at the time all this happened, and I must have been around ten. Some of the other boys were big boys, fourteen and fifteen years old. ndé že’ is still living at Fort Apache. He used to pretend he was the father of John Roberson [a famous ga’n shaman at that time] and knew all the ga’n power. He made small ga’n masks for us to wear from the left-over pieces when the men made real ga’n masks for a ceremony. They were of the sotol stalk. We gave these ga’n dances at night. We didn’t even pretend to be curing anyone, but just gave them to have the dance. ndé že’ himself painted the boys who were going to dance as ga’n. When John Roberson’s father used to paint his own dancers, at the end he put a dot of white paint on each of his cheeks and then ran the ends of his fingers dipped in white paint down the backs of his hands in a zigzag. So this boy used to do the same thing. Then he walked out to where we had the fire and called out hāgū’, hāgū’, just as John Roberson’s father did. This was a signal for the impersonators to make their entry.

We used to hold this dance not far from our own homes. ndé že’ sang for us. He sang real ga’n songs, ones belonging to this same ga’n shaman which he had picked up from hearing him sing them. He used to have a regular-sized drum made from a large can. He always brought it out when we had a dance. I don’t know where he kept it. After the ga’n dance was finished, we would have the circle dance. After the

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26 CJ37 was a very powerful lightning shaman in the community.

27 This customarily follows the completion of the ga’n dance.
circle dance, we danced Ḏẹdəte'lte'uc. Sometimes it used to turn into a real big dance, older youths and maidens coming down and joining in, helping to carry it through. We younger boys and girls would social dance also. Little girls walked up to a boy and touched him on the shoulder, inviting him to dance, just like grownups. But when only we younger children were playing at it, the dance petered out after a while. We would get tired of it. For the social dancing, ndɛ'zdɛ' and some of the rest of us boys sang lightning songs, ones that belonged to the old man, CJ37. He knew we used them, but he didn’t seem to mind. When the dance was finished, we put the Ḏɛn masks away in the brush for the night. The next morning we would conceal them where no one could find them, just as a real Ḏɛn shaman would do with his masks. Grown-ups didn’t come to watch these dances of ours. They didn’t seem to bother particularly about them, though sometimes our parents would tell us not to do it any more. But you know how kids are. They don’t always obey their parents. We kept it up.

John Roberson’s father used to give his Ḏɛn dance at almost every girl’s puberty ceremony. After the ceremony he put the masks away in a cave across the river, not so far from where we lived. Other shamans who had ceremonial articles to be put away used the same cave. There was a great deal of ceremonial material in this cave.28 Sometimes when just we boys were off in the hills during the daytime, without any girls, we would go to this cave, take the masks out, put them on, and pretend to dance. This was under the leadership of ndɛ'zdɛ'. But we never touched the hoops or crosses of the lightning shamans which were there. We were afraid of them.29 We fooled around with the masks for an hour or so and then put them back and went on our way.30 One time, I and some other boys went past this cave. ndɛ'zdɛ', who was with us, said, “Come on, let’s have a dance.” We got the masks out, and he put them on us and painted us all up. We made dancing kilts by wrapping our shirts about our waists. Then he told us to wait there, that he was going off a little way, and, when he gave the call and started to sing, to come out and dance. We stood there, waiting. We waited and waited, but he did not call. Finally he took off the masks and went to see what was the matter. He was not there. He had played a joke and run off and left us. Not long after this, John Roberson’s father must have found out what we boys had been doing. He must have dreamed about it, for he said, “Some boy is doing the same way I do.” He meant that someone had been using his masks.

28 Such ceremonial objects, once put away, are never used again. It would be very dangerous to disturb them.

29 Lightning is the most dreaded of all supernatural forces.

30 The same thing was recorded for aboriginal times.
He was angry. But he didn’t mind us children making our own small masks and putting on dances at home in which we used his songs. Later on, when nde·ze' grew up, this same gd·n shaman used him as a real gd·n dancer. He was a very good one and danced many times, but he never became a gd·n shaman.

There are no children’s songs. The only songs that children sing are ones they hear grownups sing. I first started to sing when I was about six or seven. I sang a few songs such as the lightning songs of CJ37, but I only knew parts, not the whole song. I also was able to sing snatches of love songs that I had heard, but I couldn’t sing any social dance songs. They were too hard. All of us kids would try to sing parts of such songs as these, but it wasn’t until I was about ten that I first really started to learn whole songs. Old CJ37 often sang all night at curing or other ceremonies. He sang lightning songs and medicine songs, as well as others. We boys weren’t meant to attend these ceremonies, but we did. The first song I learned to sing was a lightning song. We used to go to the curing ceremonies of CJ13, another shaman. He had all kinds of power for curing sicknesses: snake power, bear power, and others. From hearing these songs sung, we boys learned them. We could not sing the words, but we could sing the choruses. We used to try out one song at our play dances and sing it over and over again until we finally learned it. Then we would learn another and start using it.

We did not play at death and burial. We never did. I don’t think it was because we were afraid of it. It was mainly because we never thought about playing that way. Besides, we didn’t have the amount of sickness and death then that we have had since.

By the time I was old enough to join in the boys’ war game [after eleven or twelve], boys had ceased playing it. But when I was a small boy, not yet old enough to join in, I can remember older boys playing it. Down at Dewey Flats, the Eastern White Mountain camps were on one side of the river, the Western White Mountain camps on the other. The boys from each side played this game against one another. They fought with slings and stones. The Yavapai, camped on the river below us, fought the Arivaipa boys near them in the same way. Big boys and sometimes men took part. Once I was swimming in the river with another small boy. We had no clothes on. A Yavapai youth came along and slung a stone at us. We got up and ran. We tried to throw rocks at him, but missed. We escaped into some thick brush and lay there. He could not see us but slung a stone blindly into the thicket. It hit me right on the buttocks. Years later I met this Yavapai as a man. We talked about that time and laughed.

When I was a boy of ten or so, I used to pretend to play at “hidden-ball” with other boys my age. We didn’t play with moccasins but hid
the ball in the ground. We learned this game from the San Carlos people. We used to go and watch grown men playing it, for they played it not far from the camps. That's how we learned it. After watching a game among the men, boys were likely to start one of their own the next day. We played either during the day or at night, sometimes inside the wickiup. But we just played a little while and then quit. We would bet arrows and marbles with each other. Little girls came and watched us, just like women do at a real game, but they never played. When I was older, I and other boys my age played at hoop-and-poles. But until boys were about fifteen years old they never played this game. It was a man's game. I can remember when I and two friends of mine played it. We had a set of poles made of batamota, and our hoop was of mesquite root. Sometimes, boys made their hoop-and-poles of willow. A boy who owned a set always took it home with him at night after the game, just as a man would do. We had lots of fun playing at this game. There would be a whole lot of boys, just as there were many men about a hoop-and-poles course when they played. We knew exactly how to play it, and our hoops had "big bead" in the middle, with fifty beads, sometimes sixty-one beads, on each side. We gambled, betting our marbles and tops, but we never pretended to have gambling power for this game. We didn't know about that. Boys weren't allowed to use a real set of hoop-and-poles for fear they would damage them. Just as no women or girls were allowed around when men played hoop-and-poles, we boys didn't let any girls come where we were playing.

Up to ten years old or so boys and girls very often played together, but after eleven or twelve they separated. The sort of play I have told you about (all the preceding, excluding the hoop-and-poles game, the play with the real gá:n masks, and the boy's war game) was mainly girls and boys together. Boys alone didn't play at family, marriage, cooking, making wickiups, or rations. After a boy was eleven or twelve, he spent most of his time going about in groups with other boys, hunting birds and small animals, sometimes all day and even at night, or playing certain boy's games which I will tell you about. Girls played separately from big boys after this age also. Many girls played until they were fifteen or so. They made wickiups just as we did when younger, but these were larger and better made, about six feet high. Inside they played at household with little children, both boys and girls, though these little kids were just there mainly to watch them. That's the way small children learn to play. The big girls would play at cooking. They didn't pretend mud was their food, the way small children do, but they boiled water, pretending it was tulibai and such things. They used to

31 Beads are the coils about a cord tied across the diameter of the hoop. They are used in scoring.
make dolls, really good ones, and clothe them in girl's dresses which they sewed. They made the hair of real hair so that it hung down the back. They made miniature moccasins of buckskin for them. They knew how to make good dolls.

We big boys used to hunt kangaroo rats out in the brush at night-time. We didn't eat them. We just killed them. One time a bunch of us boys went across the river from Dewey Flats and killed a whole sackful. There was an old woman living near by who was so old that she was in her second childhood. She spent most of her time asleep. That night we crept into her wickiup and put the sack of rats at the side of her bed as she slept. She slept with the kangaroo rats all night, not knowing it. Next morning I guess she was mad when she found out. Sometimes we boys hunted quail at night. We crossed back and forth across the Gila River as many as two and three times in a night doing this, even in wintertime. I and one of my cross-cousins were out like this one night. We thought we saw a duck in the river. We shot at it. It was just an old stick. We lost our arrow and so we built a fire and made another one by its light. At other times we went up toward Turnbull Mountain, where there were many cactus plants growing. The quail roosted on these, and we killed them. Sometimes three or four of us would ride burros out into the hills to shoot doves during their nesting season. They were easy to hit when they sat on the nest. When we went out in the hills to hunt, the oldest boy was always the leader. We went where he said. When we killed birds, sometimes we would stop and cook and eat them.

We used to play at renegades and soldiers. CJ30 played with us. He was a lot older than the rest of us. He always used to take the part of Apache Kid, and one other boy always took the part of a Chiricahua renegade. The rest of us were soldiers and scouts and would try to capture these two. There were two hills where we usually played this game. The renegades would come out on the side of one hill and holler at us. Then they would come out on the other side of the hill and shout. We used horse manure as bullets. If you got hit by one of these bullets, you were dead right there. For our captain we had one lame boy. There were boys older than he who could have been captain, but we made him captain because he could not travel fast and was always in the rear. We always played this game at night. One evening when we were playing we saw a man coming riding toward us. We could see the glint of his rifle barrel in the moonlight. It was only the older brother of Elton Causey coming home from a party, but, thinking it was really Apache Kid, we got scared and all ran off. Our captain was left behind. He hollered at us. Later, the same evening, the oldest

32 Old scouts often speak of how their white officers were unable to keep up with them on foot during campaigns against hostile Apache.
Playing at Cooking
boys among us went up to where some white men, freighting with wagons, had camped for the night. They crept into the camp and stole some biscuits out of a Dutch oven. They took a can of salt too. They brought this back to where the rest of us were waiting. We split the biscuits up between us, put salt on them, and ate them. Each one of us got one. This was to feed us soldiers. The white men must have been very sound asleep. The next morning a white man from the camp climbed up on top of a hill where he could overlook our camps. He thought we had taken the biscuits, but he didn’t say anything.

One time I, Charley Sago, ndez’ee’, and some other boys went down river to where the Yavapai were living. We hung about all day. We saw that the Yavapai had a lot of good melons in their fields. We waited until night and then went into the fields and ate our fill of them. We gathered more melons and took them up to where some Mexican freighters were camped on the road. They gave us a meal and some sugar and coffee in exchange for the melons. We left, and after we had gone a little way we could hear the Mexicans commence to shout. We thought that the Yavapai must have found the Mexicans with their melons and that they would soon be on our trail. We ran for it. After a while we heard someone coming on horseback, so we split up. It was too dark to see. When the rider was close, one of the boys hollered, “Hello.” The man answered “Hello” and went on. After going a way farther, we stopped and built a fire to warm ourselves. From there we went to our homes. When I got home, I found mother telling stories with an old woman. That’s the way old women used to do. They had cooked up some corn and were eating it. I had some of the coffee and sugar tied in the corner of my shirt. Mother asked me where I got it, and I told her that the Mexicans had given it to me. But I really got it for the melons I had stolen.

I can’t remember the children that I played with before I was ten, but from then on, until I went off to school at fourteen, my two best friends were Paul Nosey and Elton Causey. The first died in school. The second didn’t go to school at the same time I did, but not long after that mother told me he went to our camp and lay down on my bed and told her, “Well, I guess I’ll go to school also.” He didn’t have to go, but he wanted to be with me. The first I knew of it, I saw him there at the school, with his hair already cut like a schoolboy. All three of us were of the same band. We always went about together. Paul was my cross-cousin by clan because his clan was related to that of my father. He was also the son of my mother’s half-sister’s son. Because of this, our families always camped close together, and that is how I got to know him so well. Elton was of the same clan as Paul and so was also

33 The second boy mentioned was not a close friend of the narrator’s in adult life.
my cross-cousin. Whenever we traveled, Elton and his mother used to accompany us, as she was a great friend of my mother’s.

Another boy whom I went about with a great deal was the younger brother of Henry Hudson. He was of my father’s clan [also a cross-cousin]. There was a boy named Calvin I used to see a lot of. His father’s clan and my father’s clan were the same, so we were parallel cousins, but I didn’t know he was my brother in this way until very much later. ndé ze’o, the boy who used to be the leader of the gá:n dances, was also a parallel cousin of mine for the same reason. This I did not know until we had grown up. There were other boys we saw, but I saw most of the first four above. There must have been about twenty-five of us boys who played around together. We were of varying ages. We didn’t always play together, but often split up to play in small groups because some would want to go one way, some another. Some days there wasn’t anything doing at all, and at other times fathers wouldn’t let their boys go off to play because they had work for them to do, such as going after the horses. But whenever we played at games such as scouts and renegades, or held a dance, all of us would be there.

Modern period.—The following data were obtained mainly through personal observations between 1932 and 1938. As children are allowed the run of the camp, they were usually present at least part of each day during my working visits to various families, playing where they could be easily watched. I grew to know two families with small children intimately. Living five miles apart as they did, the children in each formed separate play groups augmented by other children outside the household, some related and some unrelated to my friends. The material on each play group has been kept intact; that on play group No. 2 was made more complete by helpful information from the father of the family. Certain aspects of modern children’s play not observed in these two play groups were seen elsewhere and have been added to fill out the description. Unfortunately, I had less opportunity to observe the boys as closely as the girls; boys were not so likely to be around, since they were allowed to play away from home.

Play group No. 1.—Almost all the observations were made in 1935 and 1936. Of the eight children, four were boys and four were girls. All belonged to the same family cluster and were closely related by blood. Inez, the oldest, was ten years of age.
Katherine and Dora, aged eight and six, respectively, were the children of Inez' older sister, who was separated from her husband and lived in the same dwelling with Inez and her parents. Lupe, aged four, the child of a younger sister of Inez' mother, lived with her parents in a second dwelling about forty yards distant. Lule, aged five, and his little brother, about fourteen months old, the children of the youngest sister of Inez' mother, lived with their mother in a third dwelling equally distant. A boy of eight and his younger brother, aged five, the children of Inez' mother's only brother, lived with their parents and older siblings in a fourth dwelling somewhat outside the camp cluster.

As this family was less closely associated with the family cluster, the boys in it had, correspondingly, less to do with the other children.

Inez, Katherine, and Dora played together more than the other children of the play group. Lupe played with these three a great deal, but more often she sought Dora's companionship because she was nearer her age. Inez, Katherine, and the oldest boy of the play group attended school and so were absent on weekdays until mid-afternoon. During this time Dora spent most of her time with Lupe, but it was evident that she considered Lupe really too small for her, and so she acted somewhat superior at times. Lupe always came up to play with her, and Dora seldom went down to play with Lupe. Ordinarily, Inez and Katherine included Dora in their play, but they sometimes were slightly condescending in doing this.

Lule, as a boy, was less inclined to play with the girls and often just ran about the camps playing by himself or with other little boys who happened along, although he was with Dora and Lupe fairly frequently and sometimes with the older girls. His attitude toward the smaller girls always seemed a little superior. He used to tease Lupe, sometimes until she cried, but I did not see him act really mean to her. Lule's young brother was too small to take actual part in the play. When he came, he was usually led along by Lupe, coming up to play with Dora, and merely sat watching the older children, sometimes amusing himself with a small car or other toy. Occasionally, all eight children played
together, but usually there were only three or four of them gathered at one time. Inez, being the oldest, was expected by her parents to more or less watch out for the younger children and see that they played peacefully. There were other children from outside camp clusters who should be included in this play group—children whom I saw from time to time—but, owing to absence of data, they must be omitted.

The little girls seldom played by themselves. Lupe played singly more than the others, probably because she was the youngest. At such times she played principally with her doll and toy baby-carrier. She would hold the doll on her knee and talk to it, also talking to herself. Once or twice she raised her little blouse in front and held the doll to her breasts, pretending to nurse it. None of the older girls was seen doing this. Katherine, while playing by herself, laced a small black puppy into her toy baby-carrier, as elsewhere mentioned. 34 She was delighted with what she had done and carried the pup in his carrier about in her arms for almost fifteen minutes, smiling and talking to it, swinging it gently back and forth. The girls often carried their toy baby-carriers, with dolls laced in, on their backs, using a carrying-strap over the head in the regular way. They even wrapped shawls about their waists and the lower end of the carrier, just as women do.

On one occasion Lupe was playing alone with Dora, outside the door of Dora's home. She was making little dolls out of small pieces of rag, by bundling them together into a crude doll-like shape. She made the hair of shredded cloth. The whole was held together by a string tied about the middle. Dora sat not far off, likewise occupied, with more satisfactory results. In a little while they tired of this, and each started playing with her store-bought doll. They tied them into their toy baby-carriers and rested them, face up, across their thighs, as women do. Lupe held hers up to her breasts and, lifting her blouse, pretended to nurse the baby. She played at this for a few minutes, placing the carrier back across her lap between times. Finally she turned to Dora and said clearly and with great assurance

34 Cf. p. 449.
“cibé ńtcă” (“my breasts are large”), meaning that she was a real woman and could nurse a child. But Dora scornfully and decisively answered, “No, your breasts are small.” “No, they are large, and yours are large also,” Lupe reiterated sturdily. Dora did not reply.

One day, just a few yards from the side of the house, Inez, Katherine, and Dora were playing together. Each one built herself a small wickiup, just big enough to get into. The frames were made of old sticks and covered with a blanket. This is typical of play wickiups, and no child was seen trying to cover a wickiup with grass and other brush, as is done in building real dwellings. Inside two of the play dwellings the little girls lit tiny fires made from chips that they had picked up about the yard. Within the third a little girl was pretending to grind meal on a metate. This was a flat stone on which she was grinding dirt. They were in and out of their play camps for almost an hour or more, carrying their dolls about, putting them down, or taking them inside.

At another time Lupe, Dora, and Katherine were playing outside the house. Lule was with them, off and on. The little girls had their dolls laced up in their toy baby-carriers. They kept a cloth draped over the hood of the carriers to cover the babies’ faces from the sun and flies, but from time to time they pulled these cloths back to see if the babies were all right, just as women often do. When one of the girls went off for a few minutes, leaving her baby-carrier and doll behind, one of the other girls told her, on her return, “Your baby has been crying.” Soon they changed to cooking, and Lule entered the play. They filled some little cans with water, and the mother of Katherine and Dora gave them a potato to peel and cut up. They did this and put it to boil on the camp fire. The greater part of the morning was spent at this play with dolls and cooking. Once, the children were all together: Katherine, Dora, Lupe, Lule, and the two other boys of eight and five. They had a lot of tin cans to cook in and were busy making tortillas of mud, which they set on their small fire to bake.

One of Lule’s favorite pastimes was to chase two goats owned
by his maternal aunt about the camp. Pretending he was working cattle and riding a horse, he would proceed with a galloping motion, using a short rope in his efforts to rope the two goats, that almost always managed to get away from him. He had a wonderful time doing this, and the men in the camp were much amused by his antics. The boy of eight and his brother of five spent much of the time playing at their own camp or with small boys in a camp cluster across the road which was composed mainly of members of their father’s clan. The older boy was often with his older brothers of about twelve and fifteen. They rode about on burros and played at roping the goats and bushes.

The children took great pleasure in going to white towns off the reservation. On one occasion Inez’ parents took her next older sister, a girl of fifteen, Dora, and Lule to the neighboring town of Safford. Inez’ maternal grandfather also accompanied them. Everyone was happy, for there was money to spend, the cattle checks having just come in. It was extremely interesting to watch the children’s reactions. Inez, Dora, and Lule were highly excited. As soon as they got off the reservation and started passing the thickly settled white farming district, the children became keenly aware of what they saw. The grain fields, cows, horses, pigs, chickens, and buildings were all pointed out and remarked on. The children pointed out the schools, particularly, saying, “That is a school.” When we got fairly close to town, Lule began to sing of his own accord, making up the words to go to a tune: “It’s close now, it’s close now.” All the children were bought ice-cream cones, and they returned home, tired and happy, after the older people had done their shopping.

Play group No. 2.—Observations on this group were made principally in 1935 and 1936, with a few added in 1938 on the first three children mentioned. There were nine children that I knew of, but others in the same community also played with them. Bobbie, aged nine, Katie, aged five, and Vera, aged one, were sisters and lived with their parents and an older half-brother, aged twenty-four. Ina, a girl of five, who was a paternal parallel cousin by clan to the first three children (because both
fathers were members of the same clan, though unrelated by blood) lived in another camp on the opposite side of a field, about an eighth of a mile away. The Reed girl, aged eight, lived about the same distance away in another camp and was a paternal parallel cousin by clan to the others, as her father belonged to a clan related to that of the fathers of the above-mentioned children. Albert, a boy of ten (clan unknown, but not related by blood to the first three children), lived a quarter of a mile away. Tony, a boy of ten, Amelia, a girl of seven, and June, a boy of five, lived about a quarter of a mile from the home of the first three children. Their father was the son of Bobbie’s, Katie’s, and Vera’s father’s older sister, and their mother was of a clan related to that of these three children. Most of the material concerns Bobbie, Katie, and Vera, as there was little opportunity to watch the others.

The children of this play unit lived a good deal farther apart than those in play group No. 1. A somewhat peculiar condition existed at their community, Calva, in that the resident families were not congregated into large family clusters as is usual but lived mainly in single-family units made up of two dwellings at the most. The place is a new farming site where farms were assigned to odd families, with little regard for existing relationships. Since each family has tended to camp by its own field, the community is decidedly scattered.

Bobbie and Katie, the two elder girls, and later Vera played together most frequently. Outside the family, Bobbie’s closest friends and playmates were Amelia and the Reed girl, whom she often visited and who frequently came to play with her. Bobbie also played with the two boys, Albert and Tony. There were other boys in the community, but they were all either too young or too old for her. Katie’s special friends were June and Ina, although she knew all the children her own age in the community and called them by name, often saying which one she was going off to visit when she left camp. She was frequently absent part of the day, playing with her friends. June and Ina used to come to her camp and play in the sand beside the well, particularly when Bobbie had gone to school. There were children living
closer than these playmates, but Bobbie and Katie preferred
going farther to be with their favorite friends. Bobbie, the Reed
girl, Albert, Tony, and possibly Amelia were the only children
who attended school, the rest being too small. During school
the children left in the morning for Bylas, five miles distant, and
were brought back in the middle of the afternoon.

Something of the relationship between Bobbie and Katie has
already been mentioned. Although the elder sometimes an-
noyed the younger one, both children got on remarkably well
and would play together peacefully for long periods. However,
the four-year age difference was enough to make Bobbie seek
playmates nearer her own size. She would try to slip off to the
other camps without having Katie follow her, but Katie often
saw through her ruses. Bobbie would say, “You stay home,”
but, in spite of this, Katie often followed. Sometimes the older
girl tried to run away from her. More than once Katie became
angry and cried because her sister had run off and left her.
When the two girls did play together, they played alike, but
Bobbie somewhat indulged Katie, who was not old enough to
play as her sister did. Vera, at the age of one, was much too
young to enter into any play. As the baby of the household, she
received some attentions from the two older girls, who from
time to time would not go over and look at her or hold something
up for her to see. When she laughed, they were greatly amused.
Two years later she was old enough to play a little with her
sisters, and the three were together when there were no other
children about. Still, Vera was more likely to watch the older
children or to play alone with a ball or a rag doll.

At the age of five Katie was young enough to be content with
playing alone at home, while Bobbie was off elsewhere. Her play
consisted mainly of making little cups, hats, pots, and crude
figures out of mud, none of them bigger than half the size of her
fist. She would keep this up for half an hour at a time, making
one, two, and three things, setting them side by side, and then,
becoming dissatisfied with one, she would remodel it. Some-
times she talked to herself while she played, evidently about the

35 Cf. p. 455.
things she was making. She also used to make a rag doll by bundling old pieces of cloth together into a crude human form. Playing that this was a baby, she would put it to bed under little pieces of cloth, taking it out again when it had slept or to change the arrangement of its bedding. When she was a little older, she started to build play wickiups, just big enough for her to get into. She would collect all the old cans she could find and take them inside, playing there alone for a long time with her dolls, often whispering to herself about what she was doing. This little girl's play at dancing as a pubescent girl has been described on pages 449-50. At the same period, she used to sing snatches of the songs from the *gōjś* (blessing songs) cycle used during the molding of the pubescent girl. She also played at dancing the circle dance in which the crowd joins after the completion of a *gān* dance. But two years later she had become self-conscious and apparently lost interest in such play.

One rainy day when Bobbie and Katie had to stay indoors, both of them spent a whole morning making little play wickiups out of the wet sand that their father had strewn just inside the doorway to keep the floor from getting muddy. Two years later I watched them play again, this time halfheartedly joined by their little sister, Vera. In a grassy place they spent the greater part of a day making little wickiups covered with small pieces of canvas and tiny ramadas just big enough to hold small dolls. At the time Katie was still unconcerned about attaining perfection in her play and satisfied herself with fairly haphazard play structures, but Bobbie, then eleven, had become old enough to take a real pride in making things well. She made a wickiup of twigs and outside of it built a cooking inclosure of brush. There were little plates and pots of mud set about outside the camp. Near by she built a miniature ramada, a corral in which some toy horses were put, and a small garden of sticks stuck upright in the soft ground. She was evidently making the whole thing as complete and lifelike as she knew how. Not satisfied with all this, she started to build a model of an adobe structure, making each little adobe brick and putting it in place, finally capping it with beams and small brush laid crosswise. Katie could not com-
pete with her, nor did she seem to want to. On this same oc-
casion Katie and Bobbie both spent a morning making dolls
out of old pieces of colored cloth. Although Katie was satisfied
with any sort of a doll that she could make, Bobbie was careful
in choosing colors that she thought looked well together for
making the lower or upper parts corresponding to blouse and
skirt in a woman's dress.

The father of Bobbie and Katie said that he did not know
whether his children or any others played government doctor and
hospital, nor did he know if this play group had make-believe
curing ceremonies. However, they did play at giving the *gá:n*
dance. It was given in conjunction with a girl's pretended
puberty ceremony and not as a cure. This play ceremony was
always held at a special place in the brush, right below one of the
camps and not far from a spot where older people gathered to
play cards. The children had a can tied up for a drum, and the
drumming and the hooting of the *gá:n* as they danced was quite
audible. Adults would jokingly say to one another, "We have
a big dance going on near here every day." Tony was the one
who initiated such play. He was said to be a smart boy and was
always the leader in this sort of thing. The dance was held in
the daytime. Tony tied the drum and drummed, and one of the
girls took the part of the pubescent girl and had the molding
ceremony performed over her. The boys who were *gá:n* wore no
masks but just wrapped a piece of cloth or something about their
heads to represent a mask. These children sang actual *gá:n* songs
which they had heard at the ceremonies (probably the tunes,
not the words). Other small girls and boys present danced the
social dance to the music. Both Bobbie and Katie were almost
always present.

The children also played school and school classes, one of the
older boys taking the part of the schoolteacher and directing the
others. They sometimes pretended to send their children away
to boarding school.

Today the boys frequently play cowboy. Sometimes they
pretend that they are riding bucking horses, and, if the horses
get too much for them, they are pitched off and fall to the
They also pretend to rope things from their horses. Boys and girls both, under the ages of eight or nine, but mainly the boys, play a great deal with small toy automobiles and express wagons purchased in the ten-cent stores. The car is held in the hand, and sometimes the child makes a purring noise as he pushes it along the ground. Breakdowns are common, and the car is stuck until help of some kind comes. Miniature roads are built along the ground for the cars to travel on, and, if there is a suitable bank, roads are built up its sides and along its edge. These banks, they say, are mountains with roads going up them. Sometimes the cars turn over and roll to the ground in a terrific crackup.

A railroad has been operating within a stone's throw of the camps for at least twenty years, but I never saw any of the children playing trains, although they may do so. Their interest seems to be taken up with cars and roads. Possibly at an earlier time trains were more remarkable and received greater attention.

Boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen often ride down to the corrals to watch the cattle being loaded, and cowboy play is decidedly popular. Boys (never girls) of twelve years and more occasionally smoke tobacco that they have gleaned somewhere, rolling their own cigarettes as their fathers do. It was not ascertained whether smaller children used other substitutes for smoking. Only on one occasion were boys seen playing warfare. Two opposing groups were lined up, hidden about in the brush.

It must be remembered that the material on play of the modern period is all from the San Carlos Reservation, and on the Fort Apache Reservation, where the people are slightly less advanced, play may be correspondingly different. Unfortunately, several important phases of children's play recorded for the old and middle periods were not obtained for the modern period. These are: (1) marriage, in-law usages, blood and clan kin usages, marriage gifts, chiefs or influential leaders, police, courts, mail, store, charge accounts, money, tuliba; (2) rations, hunting large game, gathering wild plant foods, feuds, doctors and hospitals, renegades and soldiers. Probably all elements of
the first lot are present in children's play of today because all are vital in modern culture. In the second lot, some, or none of those, may be included in modern play, as they are not important aspects of adult life today.

Listed in Table 3 are all recorded elements in children's play, showing their presence (+) or absence (−) in old, middle, and modern periods. No mark after an element indicates absence of data.

This table on children's play cannot be taken too literally, because the material is by no means the result of an exhaustive study. Several valid conclusions may be drawn from it, however. It is evident that certain important aspects of adult life are correspondingly stressed in children's play. Children go into great detail on marriage, affinal obligations, marital troubles, and even observe exogamy between close blood relatives. As farming used to be the largest single source of vegetable food for many families, and since the seasonal life for the average Apache still centers about some farming site, children's play cannot help but be influenced by it and its accompanying social practices. Wickiups, cooking, and food preparation are perhaps the most common kind of play among younger children, and at least two of the play periods stress tulibai, which is an important factor in adult gatherings, good times, and quarrels. Horses, being a vital part of adult life, are found in old, middle, and modern play. The two ceremonies occurring in children's play are the girl's puberty rite and the ga·n dance. Social dancing is also present in all three play periods. The girl's puberty rite and the ga·n dance are by far the most spectacular of the many ceremonies practiced. They are public and attract crowds, and, as social dances always occur in conjunction with them, it is natural to find all given an important place in children's play.

Certain important elements in adult life are apparently omitted in the play of children, but their absence seems readily explained. In marriage play, man and wife have children, and a little mother may even nurse her doll; but it is rarely, if ever, that pregnancies and births are pretended. A mother nursing her baby is a common sight to every child, and pregnancies are also
TABLE 3
RECORDED ELEMENTS PRESENT OR ABSENT IN CHILDREN'S
PLAY IN OLD, MIDDLE, AND MODERN PERIODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Avoidance of siblings of opposite sex</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cross-cousin joking</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Marriage</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Affinal obligations and behavior</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clan exogamy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Blood exogamy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Marriage gifts of food</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Marriage gifts of horses, etc.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pregnancy and birth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Children</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Dolls</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Nursing at breasts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Divorce</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Clan alignment in fight</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Feuds</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Chiefs and headmen</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Police</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Guardhouse or jail</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Court</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Boys' war game</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Raiding</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Play war</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Soldiers and scouts vs. renegades</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Wild-plant-food-gathering</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Hunting large game</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Hunting small game</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Hunting ceremonies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Killing cattle</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Butchering and skinning</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Farming</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Farm quarrels</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Hiring farm labor</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Tulibai</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Rations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Store</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Money</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Charge accounts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Cooking</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Infrequent.
### Table 3—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40. Fires</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Stoves</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Pottery</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Baskets</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Tin cans</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Mano and metate</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Dogs</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Horses</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Riding</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Pack horses</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Wagons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Hauling freight</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Automobiles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Roads</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Wrecks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Cattle</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Roping</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Cattle work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Bucking broncos</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Wickiups</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Ramadas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Houses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Corrals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Knives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Firearms</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>65. Bows and arrows</td>
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<td>66. Sling</td>
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<td>67. Bean shooter</td>
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<td>68. Cigarettes</td>
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<td>69. Cigars</td>
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<td>70. Tanning</td>
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<td>71. Clothes</td>
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<tr>
<td>72. Tattooing designs</td>
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<td>73. Tattooing letters, numbers</td>
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<td>74. Hoop-and-poles</td>
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<td>75. Hidden-ball</td>
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<td>76. Cards</td>
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<td>77. Gambling power</td>
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<td>78. Rain dance</td>
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<td>79. Girl's puberty ceremony</td>
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<td>80. gÃ·n dancers</td>
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<tr>
<td>81. Circle dance</td>
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† Very infrequent.
obvious, but during births the children are sent away from the camp so that they will not be underfoot, and they do not return until the crisis is over. Noticeably absent in play are hunting, curing, and gambling ceremonies. Children were extremely unlikely to witness hunting rites, which were usually given in private or away from home on the hunting expedition. Ordinarily, curing ceremonies are held inside a dwelling where only a small audience can observe them and are not nearly so spectacular as are the public ceremonies such as the girl’s puberty rite. Gambling power was used secretively, and it is improbable that most children would even know about it until much later. In war games a boy might pretend to be killed by the enemy, but otherwise play at death and death customs is apparently absent. Correspondingly, adults dread death and avoid mentioning it. Bodies are quickly disposed of, and children are prevented from participating in death rites.

A comparison of the play elements from old, middle, and modern periods shows that children’s play has kept pace with the drastic changes in Apache life during the last sixty years. Table 3 indicates the following significant shifts. Old play shows horses and food both used as marriage gifts where middle play shows only food. By 1900 horses were still used in marriage gifts, but they were not considered a prerequisite as in prereservation times. Food and drink, however, are even today important
marriage gifts. Middle play substitutes police and jail for the chiefs of old play. The importance of chiefs soon began to wane under the reservation regime, and authority was taken over by the government employees and the Indian police.

School play is absent for middle play but present in modern play. School, although present in the middle period, had not become intimately associated with community life and was a dreaded institution to which children were forced to conform. Today, children remain in school longer than formerly and receive far better treatment. The boys' war game and raiding play do not show in the middle period and today probably do not exist in their original forms. Correspondingly, raiding and warfare ceased with the beginning of reservation life. With the middle period appears play at soldiers and scouts chasing renegades. Until almost the beginning of the twentieth century, men enlisted as army scouts to serve against renegade Chiricahua Apache. Apache Kid was a famous San Carlos renegade who terrorized the San Carlos Reservation for several years from 1887 on.

Pretending to hunt large game, once such a vital economic activity, is absent for middle play. It had become unimportant in adult life. As Neil Buck said in talking about such play, "Why should we go out hunting? We had our play store where we could get food." Rationing, which came with reservation life and was for many years an important institution, is accordingly absent in old play but is present in middle play. It is interesting to note that children played at butchering and skinning their cattle in the old period but not in the middle period when meat was usually either bought at the store or issued as rations, in either case already butchered. In prereservation times the butchering of cattle brought from Mexico was a big occasion, and many gathered to be given some of the meat.

The absence of agricultural play for the middle period seems odd, and probably it was present, although Neil Buck denied it. Money, of course, first came in with the introduction of reservation life and the trader's store. For many years cooking vessels have been of white manufacture, and correspondingly the middle
and modern periods show children using tin cans to represent metal cooking ware. The three play periods also reflect the change in transportation problems and methods. Teams and wagons were very important during the middle period, but in former times they did not exist, and today they have been largely supplanted by cars on the San Carlos Reservation. Over a broad federal highway traversing the San Carlos Reservation hundreds of cars pass, and from time to time serious smashups take place. The dilapidated secondhand cars that the Apache so often own frequently break down and have to be towed in for repairs.

The majority of White Mountain families on the San Carlos Reservation now own cattle, and the seasonal roundups are very important occasions. Young men, especially, take pride in cattle work and sport cowboy hats, boots, and bright-colored rodeo shirts at the big dances. Roping contests are also popular, and, in a certain sense, the cowboy has become an ideal. Totally absent during the old and middle periods, these activities and ideals fail to appear in children’s play of those times.

Bows, arrows, and sling, so much a part of a boy’s equipment in old and middle periods, have now been supplemented by the white boy’s bean shooter, made from a crotched stick and an inner tube. Almost every boy between the ages of ten and sixteen goes armed with this weapon, and some boys are very good shots. The decline of deer-hunting during the middle period and its infrequency today have made buckskins hard to get now and buckskin-making uncommon where once it was one of the most important of women’s industries. These changes show in play.

Boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen still tattoo themselves on wrists, arms, and legs, and even Bobbie and Katie, the two girls mentioned in play group No. 2, have already tried it. The present use of letters and numbers rather than design elements is explained by the lessening use of design elements in general decoration and by the fact that tattooing is done principally during school years. (Tattooing was originally not a White Mountain trait but was acquired from the Yavapai during reservation life.)
Cards, at which adults spend much time, and which has taken the place of the once common game of hoop-and-poles, has become the most popular pastime with children, and they now play the popular game called “eighty.” Sometimes a group of older children can be seen playing, not far from a crowd of grownups, likewise engaged. The children’s bets are usually hairpins, hair combs, and such things. Although children may pretend to play the hidden-ball game, I have never seen or heard of them doing so.

There is said to be a great deal more sickness among the people now than forty years ago, and curing and sickness form frequent topics of adult conversation. Correspondingly, children now sometimes play at curing rites (as mentioned on p. 450), where it is said that formerly they did not. The Apache themselves are conscious of these shifts in children’s play, which mirror the changes in the culture.

Old age.—It is sometimes said that old age comes to women when they reach the menopause, but ordinarily the Apache associate it with the first signs of declining physical capabilities. Keeping track of ages and birthdays has been introduced by whites within reservation times; formerly, old age was not determined by the number of years an individual had lived. Age did not exempt men and women from work unless it made them physically incapable, and an old woman continued to cook, gather food, build dwellings, and tan hides as long as she could. An old man did likewise, but because hunting, raiding, and war necessitated great physical endurance, he was excluded from these activities at an earlier age than a woman was from her less violent tasks.

Old people often talked about how they were gradually “going down,” getting weaker and losing their sight. One day an old woman of more than ninety accompanied her daughter out into the hills to gather and roast mescal. Until then she had been unusually active for her age, sometimes walking several miles to gather plants or wood needed at home, but now, when she started cutting the mescal heads, she found herself unable to do the work. Talking of it later, she said, “I tried to cut a mescal
PLATE X

OLD AGE
head off with the cutting-stick, but when I had driven the stick in I didn’t have the strength to pull it out again, so I just gave it up and rode back to the mescal pit where my daughter was and told her, ‘My daughter, from now on you will have to do all the work yourself. I am unable to do it any more, and I cannot help you. It is as if I was going down to childhood again.’”

Gradually, increasing inactivity confined old people more and more to their camps, where there was always family work to do. They sometimes began to specialize in certain work at which they were adept. An old woman might spend more time at basketry than previously, and an old man often made bows and arrows or other implements. These articles were made for family use as well as to sell to others. If failing eyesight forced them to cease even this, they were still capable of helping in the care of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. However, with the coming of second childhood, the old person did little more than exist until death.

Because old people were likely to become exhausted on long journeys, they were sometimes left behind at the farms to look after the crops. When they did accompany the rest of the family on such trips, they were shown no special considerations. Often they owned no horses of their own, and others did not loan them mounts unless they became tired and held up the party. In such instances they were mounted out of pity as well as to avoid delay. Accounts often mention exhausted old women trailing into camp far behind the others during wild-food-gathering journeys.

When old people began to have difficulty in walking, they used a straight, undecorated staff called hastí’nbítgíč ("old man’s stick") or sá’bítgíč ("old woman’s stick"). This they made for themselves or had made for them by a son or some other younger member of the family. The material was either the stalk of a yucca, bear grass, or sotol, or some heavier wood like willow or sycamore. Four feet, or slightly more in length, the staff often became shortened in time, because the old person frequently used it as a fire-poker.

A man or woman who reached advanced old age and second
childhood was often given a separate dwelling where he or she would not bother others and could pass the time drowsing. People would say of such an old person, "He is living again as he used to, long ago, alone and without children." The structure was built a few yards from the main family dwelling by a daughter or some other woman relative. Always small, often no higher than six feet, it might be well thatched or, as in summer, merely consist of a framework of poles covered with a few thick branches to keep out part of the sun, wind, and rain. If the occupant were too weak to cook, prepared food was brought to him.

Old people were spoken of as being "poor" even though their families might be well off. They were poor because they could no longer amass property and were dependent on others. Poverty meant lack of prestige, and thus even the poor man of forty had limited influence in his society. The old man of seventy found himself in much the same position in regard to society in general; however, he was a little better off, because at least he might be respected for his past achievements. This was strikingly emphasized among shamans, where old men, even though having had years of successful experience, were less in demand than younger men who had a fairly thorough knowledge of their rite. Like humans, the supernatural power controlled by shamans had less respect for an older than for a younger, more robust individual. In spite of this lack of prestige, old men and women who retained a clear mind and were active might play a vital part in the affairs of their families.

As they were no longer in their mental and physical prime, aged members of the family were less likely to receive the best. An old person's bed was usually in the least desirable part of the wickiup, along the wall near the door, and the blankets he used were likely to be more ragged than those of younger members of the household. One old woman whom I knew purchased a new quilt with her own money because she had been cold at night. Not long afterward her daughter inveigled her into giving it to another member of the family. The daughter was not an unkind woman and was more considerate of her mother than the average
Apache would be. She merely considered the quilt too good for an old person. Again, old people's clothes are not of the best, both because they take less pride in clothing and because their younger relatives do not consider it necessary that they should have good clothes. Likewise, they receive the less desirable portions of the family meals.

An old person so helpless that he could not walk or ride occasionally was abandoned when it came time to move. This was called "throwing away." The family put a supply of food and water in the dwelling, and, after saying that they would return in three or four days, they departed never to come back, leaving the old person to die. Brutal though such a practice may seem, it must be remembered that these Apache had to follow seasonal movements to live, and the transportation of a person too weak to walk or ride was an almost insurmountable difficulty.

If an aged individual died while others were about, the body might either be buried or left lying in the dwelling. In the latter event the relatives merely pushed the wickiup in on top of the deceased and moved to a new location. However, it is said that the body of a former great chief or shaman was always given regular burial because of the love and respect felt for him. For the death of the very old, mourning was hardly observed and sometimes neglected entirely. The Apache said that when a person got very old it was time for him to die and that therefore his going should not cause extreme grief. The death was also less of an economic blow to the family than was that of a younger person.

Now, as in the past, old people reminisce. An old man likes to tell of his exploits on raids to Mexico, and an old woman may remark, "Sometimes I think about the different kinds of work that I used to do, the baskets I used to make. Then I feel sad thinking of those days." Tears occasionally come to old peoples' eyes when they tell of their youth. Sometimes when alone they sing songs to themselves which recall earlier days. This sort of singing is called sfdlict=yo sidd ("song reminiscing he sits") and is done more by old men than old women. An old man may sing a love song which reminds him of his courting days, when he
went out gathering wild seeds with girls. Sometimes it may be an old social dance song, and the old person will add sadly, "This is the way we used to sing when I was young. Now I will never go back that way again." Old men occasionally sing ceremonial hunting songs, remarking ruefully, "I used to sing these songs and kill lots of deer. Now I am too old." One old man, so blind and feeble that he was continually confined to his wickiup, used to sing for half an hour or so at a time. His family would say, "I guess he thinks he is singing well, but it sounds to us as if he sang continually on one note." He was so deaf that he could not hear himself and sang in a quavering monotone most of the time.

In spite of the seemingly cruel and thoughtless treatment of older people, younger relatives often show marked fondness for aged members of their family. Frequently, they will not allow an old relative to do work that is too heavy. More than once I have seen a daughter make her old mother stop what she was doing and then complete the task herself. A son may do the same for his father: "An old man was working on a ditch. He was not strong, and the weather was hot. His son happened along and said, 'Here, get out of there. I will do it,' and he got down and took his father's place."

Only occasionally will a younger person become impatient with an oldster's inability to understand something. Age is not made fun of in a mean way, although when an old person's infirmities cause him to do something ridiculous, others are likely to laugh at him in a friendly fashion. The lack of consideration for the aged cannot be classed as unkindness. Their treatment is based on the economic concept that they are no longer so valuable to the family, and therefore they are not entitled to the same things younger members of the family are. Old people accept this and do not show dissatisfaction with their lot. They often take pride in bestowing things they do not absolutely need on younger relatives, and to receive the same attentions accorded younger persons makes them uncomfortable
and ashamed. Only under certain conditions, when they feel themselves needlessly slighted, do they complain, as in the following instance.

One day a young man and his wife were entertaining his mother, an old woman who was his mother's sister, and his mother's sister's son. They were drinking tulibai out behind the wickiup. Inside the dwelling sat an aged woman, the maternal grandmother of the young man's wife, with whom the young couple had lived for a year or more. For some reason this old woman had not been invited to the party. She sat brooding for a while and then suddenly burst out crying, at the same time saying so those outside could hear, "This is a fine way my own granddaughter is doing to me." The granddaughter came with a belated cupful soon after, but her grandmother would have none of it.

Today, helpless old people are not abandoned, for if necessary they may be transported by wagon and car. They are also always given regular burial. Many old men and women have monthly army pensions of from twenty to fifty dollars, and the first or second of every month sees them gathered at reservation post offices to receive and sign their checks, which, in many instances, serve largely to support their families. Thus, old people are now often the wealthiest members of their families, the reverse of former times. The old person may either indorse the check and turn it over to younger relatives regularly, principally women, who use it to buy supplies, or handle the money himself, depositing it in the store, or giving some of it to relatives from time to time. In any event, the greater part of the sum finally goes to the pensioner's younger relatives, in accordance with the concept that the choicest things are not for the aged. However, because of pensions, old people have become more important, in that other members of the family needing money often come to them; whereas in former times economic aid was never sought from the aged. In addition, people of advanced age who are in a delicate condition usually receive better care nowadays, for, with their death, the pension ceases.
Death and burial. The following account by Mrs. Andrew Stanley indicates the duties and obligations of various relatives and the main events in connection with death, burial, and mourning.

In olden times when a man died his kin dressed him up in good clothes. His brothers usually did it for him, and sometimes his wife helped, or even his sister could help to wash his hair and comb it out, and even help to put his clothes on. His brothers-in-law could also go there and help, and his father-in-law, but not his mother-in-law. She could not go there. If the deceased were a woman, her mother or biḵa' [her mother's sister] or other kin worked on her in the same way, but it was mostly her sisters who worked on her and fixed her up.

The body is left dressed up there inside the wickiup all that night, and a lot of people come there and sit up. All sorts of people come there, kin and non-kin. The reason that they all come there is that they always do it, and it would not be right for a man to have to sit up all alone that way with a dead son or something. They come there to help him out. If he was there by himself, he might feel very bad about losing his kin that way. If there is a death in your family, you will send out one of your kin among the people to ask them to come to your camp that night where the dead one is and help you sit up there. A brother of the dead one, or some close kin like that, would be sent out. It can be any sort of close kin; it does not have to be of the same clan as the dead one. Sometimes they have tlibai there for the people to drink; sometimes they kill a horse or cow and cook it there for the people and eat it about midnight. All cry there, men and women, whether kin or no kin. Chiefs only, the chief of the dead man, would talk there to the kin of the dead one, “Put him away safe in a good place, and do not feel bad about it.” That's the way he will talk to them. Some stay there until morning; some leave in early morning and get breakfast and then come back to see the dead man all dressed up, for sometimes they dressed the body in the morning instead of the evening before. These people came back also to go with the burial party. Then in the morning a hole is broken in the east wall of the wickiup. Anyone can do this whether kin or not. They are not told to do it, but the kin just think about it. They take the body out through that hole. The ones who go in to take him out can go in the door or any way, even through the hole. I never heard why it was that the body is not taken out the doorway.

In olden times they always buried persons with their head to the east. They were laid out full length, not doubled up at all. They were

[This section has been summarized from Grenville Goodwin’s field notes and added here to complete the life-cycle.]
laid with their head toward the sun. I never heard the reason for this, but I think that the reason is that they always put food there for the dead on the grave, and that when he arises to eat then he gets up and goes off to the east, the land of the dead.

The reason that they put ashes about the grave of the dead one is that some dead are bad and try to come back and scare the living, so they put the ashes on and pray at the same time: “You died for us, so look after us well.” They pray this way so the dead won’t come back, or so they won’t dream about him, for when you dream of the dead you wake up and get up at night. The one who puts the ashes about the grave first (the one at the head of the line) is some close kin to the dead one, brother, sister, or bīḍā’ā [his or her mother’s brother]. If it is a man who dies, it is usually his brother who puts the ashes on first. Some men’s wives don’t even go there but stay at home, but some do go there. But if it is a woman, then it is usually her husband who does this first; or, if she is a widow or single, it is usually her father. But, if she has no close male kin, then her blood sister could sprinkle ashes first. These ashes are put clear around the grave, and no opening is left for the dead to get out at all. These ashes are like pollen.

On the way back from the grave all must walk apart from each other on separate paths, and also they must not walk on the trail they took coming out. Also they must first return to the camp where the dead one passed away (was removed from) before going on to their own camps. But the reasons for all this I never heard anyone say. You must not look back on the way home either. But I never thought in my own mind why this was. I never heard that it was so the dead could not follow at all. Maybe it is this way.

In olden times they tried to bury kin together, if they could, close to each other, but not in the same grave. But as the people move about so much they could not always do this. If two brothers died, one and then the other, they would try to bury them close together, but not in the same grave. It was the same with close bīḍā’ā [his or her mother’s brother] or close bānī hīn [his or her father’s relative], etc. All close kin were buried close together if they could do it, though burials from one local group were often mixed up and not kept separate. A man’s wife was buried close to him if it were possible.

Yes, in the olden times when a man died, they shot a gun off four times, and when they started to bury him and the procession started, they shot four times again. The same was done for a woman also, but not for children. The reason they shot four times when a man died was so people would know about the death. The next four shots were to let the people know that the body was being taken to be buried.

On returning from the grave, all the dirt must be brushed off your clothes and taken out of your moccasins. They brush it off with some
brush pulled up. Then when you get home, before you eat again, you must wash your hands in water; that is all. I don't know the reason for this.

After the burial, two men, close male kin of the same clan as the dead man, had to go back four times to look at the grave and see if it were all right, but I do not know how many days they let go by between visits. They did not go on consecutive days. They did not pray there, but just went to see if the grave were all right, for fear that some animals had dug it up.

If a person is married and dies, then it is the mate of the dead one who sets fire to the wickiup, but, if the dead one is single, it will be some close kin of his who is of the same clan.

If a man is killed at war way down in Mexico, he has to be buried there, of course; but, when the party gets home and tells his kin, they cut their hair off for him and cry and mourn just as if he had died here, and they will kill two or three of his horses or cattle for him also. They take them off a way and kill them. Also his wickiup and property are burned, and his wife and children move away. But other camps close about do not have to move at all.

If a man is killed on the warpath, they just put the body in between the rocks there and do not put any ashes about it or food with it; there is no time for that. I don’t know if they pray at all over him, but I guess maybe that they do.

The modern death complex has been modified in many respects by white contacts, but many of the old ritual practices and beliefs are still maintained, though frequently in an abbreviated or changed form. Coffins are frequently used, a missionary may offer a prayer, headboards may be erected, and flowers may occasionally be placed on the grave on Decoration Day, but the attitudes toward the dead are still primarily Apache attitudes.

Purification rituals have been considerably abbreviated. “Nowadays when we get back to camp after a burial, we don’t bathe in smoke or wash all over. Some will go to the store before going home and not bother to wash until it is time to eat. But before they eat next time they will have to wash their hands, that is all.”

The destruction of the property of the deceased has also been somewhat modified. The wickiup, household utensils, and cloth-

37 Summarized from an account by a Western White Mountain Apache informant.
ing of the deceased are still burned, but food supplies and stock are no longer destroyed. “In the old days it was customary to kill the stock that a man owned, but now they save the stock for the children. It is better that way. . . . The reason they destroy a dead person’s clothing and the household utensils is not that they would bring bad luck but because they remind them of the dead one and how they used to use these things.”

The taboo on mentioning the name of the dead is still strong. “When someone is dead, you can’t call his name. You must not do it around where the kin of the dead people are. If you did and they heard you, they might get mad and say: ‘Do you see where he is standing? He is not here. What do you want to call him for?’” Married women cut their hair in mourning—a wife, mother, sister, or married daughter—but unmarried children do not. The period of mourning is gradually being shortened, particularly in the case of men. “A man’s sons ought to stay at home for two or three weeks before going out again, but some of them don’t like to miss out on the parties.”

Beliefs concerning the afterlife have begun to be confused by Christian teaching. “Nowadays, we believe that the good people go to a place above and the bad to a place below. No one has ever been to the place above and come back so we don’t know just where it is.”
CHAPTER IX

VARIOUS SOCIAL CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

Names.—Personal names may be divided into seven types. In the first of these, men’s names have the prefix *hacké*, which can be translated as “angry,” although it implies fierceness, bravery, and fighting ability combined. Essentially masculine, this prefix is followed by the rest of the name, which when taken alone is usually of the second type described below: thus “Angry He Goes About in a Circle” or “Angry He Throws Down a Rope.”

Women’s names of type 1 contain the word “war”: “She Goes to War” or “She Returns from War” are typical. Only one man’s name with “war” in it was recorded. Such names are apparently very common for Navaho women, but they are comparatively rare among the White Mountain Apache. Names of type 2 have to do with an action, mood, or method of doing something: “He Returns Exhausted,” “She Shakes It Down,” and “He Sits Beside the Fire” are all good examples. Names of type 3 are taken from animate and inanimate objects: “Gopher,” “Spruce,” “Big Dipper.” Names of the fourth type refer to age, sex, and social status, men’s names being prefixed with “old man,” “boy,” or “chief,” and women’s names with “maiden” or “old woman.” The rest of such names are very likely to be descriptive of physique—“large,” “fat,” “small”—and less commonly of an action or mood. “Old man” is usually applied only after the age of forty-five or more, “boy” may be used at any age, and “chief” only for actual chiefs or subchiefs. “Old woman” is commonly used after marriage, but “maiden” may be applied at any age, and names containing it are favorites for girls and women. Names of type 5 are descriptives, like “Wide Face” and “Tall One.” Names of type 6 merely consist of two or three syllables.

which, if they originally had meanings, have lost them and are now used because they are established names. Names of type 7 are corruptions of Spanish personal names, such as bé-gô' for Pedro and bidú'ya' for Victoria, and usually belonged to captives taken in Sonora and raised among the Apache. The fact that none of these was recorded for women may be because of the small number of women's names obtained.

Of the 117 men's names recorded, 45 belonged to type 1, 28 to type 2, 13 to type 3, 12 to type 4, 9 to type 5, 6 to type 6, and 4 to type 7. Of the 37 women's names obtained, 11 belonged to type 1, 13 to type 2, and none to type 7. The figures on women's names of type 1 are somewhat misleading; they probably are no more common than those of type 4, and their predominance here is because of especial effort made to obtain them. Names of type 1 are the most common for men, and names of type 2 the most common for women. Names of type 3 are fairly common for men but uncommon for women. Those of type 4 seem to be used for men slightly more than for women, but those of type 5 occur equally for both sexes. Names of type 7 are absent for women and uncommon for men.

It is often difficult to get the meanings of names from Apache, who use them without thinking of their significance. Only with names of types 3, 4, and 5, where the meaning is obvious, was it possible for Apache to give a translation without stopping to ponder, and meanings were often denied for names that obviously could be translated and later were. In the following name lists, clans of the individuals bearing the names are indicated when known. For additional men's names see the lists of tag-band chiefs and White Mountain Apache local groups and family clusters in the Appendixes.

Government employees and other whites on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations, not being able to pronounce Apache names, at first referred to men generally by their tag-band numbers: A5, CF43, etc. The Apache copied them in this, and for many years tag-band identifications were often used as names. However, this custom is gradually passing out of use, for more than twenty years ago the government allotted personal
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Angry small
Angry he looks about
Angry he pounds with a stick
Angry he is called
Angry he stamps down but misses
He flutters to war
Spruce
Hills two running together
Vulva rope
Big dipper
A plant
Gopher
Old man renegade
Old man he cries
Old man fat
Old man [meaningless]
Tall one
Corruption of Spanish name
Corruption of Spanish name

She crosses [canyon, river] to go to war
Under you she goes to war
Under you she goes to war
Maiden who goes beyond to war [finds nothing so goes elsewhere]
Cross-ways she goes to war [a war party crosses her tracks]
She went to war beyond [passed enemy without seeing them]
Returning from war
She goes with several [her children]
She tries but can't
Two going up together
Several went for a name
She lives there
Two go among houses
She sticks to her cradle
Odor rising and smelt above
They sit in a group
Two walking together
and family names, the use of which has become recognized by both whites and Apache. The personal names are those such as John, Frank, Mary, and the family names are arbitrary English ones like Upshaw and Brown, or the anglicized Apache personal names of family headmen. Thus, hackhlt’a’ become Eskelta, ditt’e became Deklay, etc. The government was none too careful in its observance of existing blood relationships, and sometimes members of the same family received separate family names. To add to the confusion, children, on going to boarding school, were sometimes given new family names because they could not remember the ones they already had. Even today, women quite often fail to take their husband’s name and continue under their maiden name in compliance with native stress on descent through the female line. The alien concept of the child taking the father’s family name is being adhered to fairly well, but it is not yet firmly established.

A true Apache name (not a nickname, English name, or tag-band number), regardless of its origin, is considered as belonging to the individual bearing it, and consequently it is the property of his clan and particularly of his maternal lineage. Because of this, true names once used in a certain clan can never be rightfully given to members of other unrelated clans. Anna Price claimed that they could not even be used in related clans. Thus, names may be considered clan property but are so merely through usage, and they never contain allusions to the clan itself or to the
birds, animals, and plants related to it. It is said that if people use a name belonging to another clan, members of that clan, and especially of the maternal lineage from whence it came, can object, saying that no one has a right to use it but themselves. At the same time, no two living individuals are supposed to bear the same name, and if a child or adult took a true name already in use, the first bearer of the name might resent it. In a population as large and separated as that of the White Mountain Apache, it is inevitable that clan ownership of names, and avoidance of naming two living individuals identically, cannot be observed absolutely. Thus there are occasional cases of duplication or accidental misappropriation of names. When two individuals bearing the same name meet, they are said to feel a common bond and therefore to become close friends. The close blood relatives of one will address both by the same kinship terms, and close affinal kin sometimes do likewise, even using parent-in-law and child-in-law affinal terms. However, only the term usage was observed for the unrelated namesake and not the behavior and obligations ordinarily associated with it. Thus, a woman may address her son-in-law’s namesake as “my son-in-law,” but she does not avoid him. The practice merely shows good will and sometimes can be used as a mild joking medium. It is not certain to what extent it may affect kinship terms and behavior patterns used for the namesake and reckoned through other channels.

Parents do not give a child its Apache name until it is at least one or two months old, when they are sure it will live. It is considered a bad thing to name a newborn baby which might later die. No ceremony is observed in naming a small child, but there are several ways in which it may receive its name. Sometimes the name comes from a physical peculiarity, as in the case of an old man now called “Crying Boy,” who was called this as a child because he cried more than was usual. There are a few stock nicknames, and a child who never seems to grow taller may be spoken of as na’amase’ (“potato”). “You are continually like a potato. You never grow any larger,” some older person will say. In the same way, a short person is sometimes alluded to as
daté’né (“mano”) because a mano is short and chunky and always stays the same size, but “Potato” and “Mano” are only used temporarily in a jocular way. Ordinarily, a name is given outright, and if parents cannot think of a good one for their child, they sometimes try to secure one while at a gathering. “Has anyone here a good name which they can give to this child?” they will say.²

Great pride is taken in good personal names, and those which sound well are prized. A name must suit the age and sex of the individual to whom it is given. A man’s name should sound harsh and fierce; a woman’s, more gentle and soft. The interest in good names makes people remember them, and sometimes when an individual accidentally happens on a name which he likes, he will think of someone he can give it to. For instance, one day a man remarked of a certain word, godàxùcbitnyè’he (“thistle grows up with him”), the name of a plant which came into the conversation, “That would be a very good name for a child because of its allusion to growing up.” When someone has a good name which he wishes to bestow on a child, he goes to the parents and says, “I have a good name for this child, and I would like to give it to him. Let him be called So-and-so from now on.” At times a man or woman may dream a name—dream that someone called by the name is doing something good, will be a chief, or is going to realize success. Such names are considered very lucky, and the person who dreams one will hold it for some child to whom he wishes to give it. Occasionally, it is given almost immediately, as in the following examples:

A man says, “I got my name, bitš’ilé’e, in the following way. When I was a very small boy, an old man, a shaman and a relative-in-law of ours, came to my mother and said, ‘I dreamed the other night that a person called bitš’ilé’e was a short man and that he would some day be a chief. I want to give this name to your boy.’ It has been my name ever since.”

An old woman remarked of her name, “My mother’s brother dreamed that a woman called nàltc’ékaiyé (“she goes with several

²Names are not given children at war dances, as recorded for the Navaho (ibid., p. 119).
[her children]" was going along with her children. So I was given that name, and I have had children." The association with children was considered to mean that the girl to whom the name was given would bear many children.

It is said that children are most often named by their parents, but other relatives such as older siblings, grandparents of either kind, uncle, or aunt, or even a kindly disposed person who is unrelated may also be the one to name a child. Anna Price said of her younger sister, "When my little sister was small and I was only a girl, I said to my mother, 'Mother, this will be my little sister's name: \textit{dât'igé},' and that has been her name ever since." Names bestowed by old people and by those who have lived free from misfortune and sickness all their lives are considered lucky, for the child may be likewise blessed. On the other hand, a name offered by a person who has suffered ill-health, or has been otherwise unlucky, is tactfully refused by the child's parents, who, if their child already has a name, will say, "No, give it to someone else. Our child may not have a very good name, but it is good enough." A name could always be refused if not pleasing to the child's parents. No payment is received for a good name, but the child's parents may show their appreciation on some later occasion by a gift of meat or tulibai. An adult may likewise show appreciation to the person who has named him, saying, "Here, have a drink. It is you who named me."

It is common to name a child, or even rename an adult, for some deceased member of his or her clan. To show respect for the dead and the close blood kin of the dead, a lapse of fifteen years or more must be allowed after the death before this can be done. The deceased's relatives may forbid use of the name any sooner than this; but, if they themselves wish to give the name before that, the responsibility is their own. The name's recent association with death is considered unlucky, and, when in one instance a little girl was named after her mother's mother's sister only two years after the old woman died, people outside the family criticized this, saying that it had been done too hastily. Formerly, only the relatives could mention the name of
the dead without offending anyone, but they did not like to do so, and when necessary they mentioned it in a lowered voice. Otherwise, the names of the dead were never mentioned until they were given to someone again. To speak them was not only to invite ghostly visitations in dreams but was also extremely insulting to the deceased’s close blood relatives.

White contact has made the people less hesitant about mentioning the names of the dead, though they still very much dislike doing it. Only the names of those who have lived a long and healthy life are used again, and to name a child after someone who died prematurely, was in bad health, or had ill luck or an undesirable personality is to risk similar misfortunes for the namesake. The chief Diablo, although he had been the greatest chief of his time, as an old man told his children not to give anyone his name after he was gone, for he had been struck four times by lightning during his life and bad luck might follow his name. On the other hand, the good luck, success, and prominence of a deceased person are reasons for naming a child after him, as it is thought these attributes may accompany the name.

As a name is considered the special property of the maternal lineage, and only secondarily as belonging to the clan, it is often used again in the same maternal lineage or voluntarily given away by a member of the lineage. This can be done without formalities. In one instance, an old man told a young friend that he could have his name when he was gone, for it was a good one. Later, when he died, the younger man actually took it. If others outside the lineage desire it, they must first obtain the consent of some close blood relative of the deceased, as failure to do so might cause serious complaint. Either a brother, sister, daughter, son, or daughter’s child may be approached. Ordinarily, the individual giving away the name is of the clan said to own it, but a man can also give away his father’s name or even his maternal grandfather’s name. Again, this illustrates the fact that very close blood relationship, whether in the same clan or not, can assert itself in the face of the strong matrilineal clan system. The individual requesting the name may say, “I have a child to whom I wish to give this name. It is a good name,” and some-
times an allusion to the name being general clan property is added: "You are not the only ones who have a right to that name. Let us use it also." If the request is granted, a gift of some sort is expected in return, in former times often as much as a horse, which serves to show the value placed on a good name. The following instance of requesting a name was related by Anna Price, who witnessed it as a girl:

One time a man of my father's clan whom I called my paternal uncle came to our camp. He brought a boy about seven or eight years old, a close relative of his, and belonging to the same clan as father's maternal grandfather. He spoke to father, "Well, my younger brother, I have come to get a name. I want your maternal grandfather's name for this boy."

"All right," father replied.

"I have tied a horse out there for you. Now your maternal grandfather [meaning the boy] has returned to you, and immediately he has given you a horse."

The horse was to pay for the name. It had a saddle on it and to the saddle was tied a gun. Later on, the family of this boy prepared several pots of tulibai for father, saying this came to him from "his grandfather" also.

Talking of the boy as the grandfather was a graceful gesture intended to show that the boy would treat Diablo well and make him gifts occasionally. It did not imply observance of true grandparent-grandchild relations.

A person may take a name created by someone else or one already established, but he cannot dream or create a new name for himself. It is said that dream names are never changed because they are highly valued, but names derived in any other way may be changed, except, according to Anna Price, when the person giving the name has said, "Let this be your name all your life." Any individual over nine or ten who becomes dissatisfied with his name can, with the above exceptions, ask parents or close relatives to have it changed, but he cannot change his name more than once. Formerly, children who had not been given a true name frequently went under nicknames called "boys' names" or "girls' names" as distinguished from true names. Some continued under childhood names until ten or fifteen years old, when a rela-
tive might give them a true name, or they themselves might request one. If this was done, the boy or girl was handed a piece of charcoal and told to spit on it, then to throw it to the east and say, "This is my old name. I don’t want it any longer." The charcoal was left lying there, and from then on the new name only was used. The parents of the young person told other people of the change and asked that they remember the new name. Adults might observe the same rite in changing their names if they intended the change to be permanent. The custom is said to be no longer observed in the Byas region, though it may continue on the Fort Apache Reservation.

Sometimes an adult, on hearing a good name mentioned and not already in use, appropriates it, as in the following instance: "One time when I and some other men were working on the Pinal Mountains, I dreamed a name. It was ḡâcké’-ölį́t, and I dreamed that a certain lightning shaman I knew said, 'ḡâcké’-ölį́t is a bear ('with the strength of a bear'). The next morning when I woke up, I was telling about my dream. One of my cross-cousins there said, 'I am going to take this name,' and he did." A young person seldom, if ever, requests the name of a deceased kinsman for himself, but an adult sometimes does. The person asked may give the name in hopes of receiving some recompense, but, if the one requesting the name should be considered unfit to bear it, the name may be refused.

A custom exists whereby visitors coming from a distance may steal a good name and take it home with them to bestow jokingly on some friend or relative. Likewise, a name may be stolen from the visitors, but individuals cannot steal names for themselves. The clan relationships of those owning, stealing, and bestowing the name are of no importance. Because visitors are often suspected of name-stealing, local people with good names sometimes request friends and relatives not to call them by name in the presence of the company.

In former times a boy or man named after a distinguished deceased relative was under definite obligation to live up to the past achievements associated with the name. "You have this name now. You will be just the same as he was," he is told. For
this reason a boy was not often given the name of an outstanding deceased relative until he had shown signs of deserving it, sometimes after he had been on one or more raids against enemy people. In such cases the one who suggested giving him the name was likely to be a man of his clan who had accompanied him on the raids and who, with other members of the clan, had noticed the boy’s worth. If the boy’s parents approved the idea, the boy was summoned, and in the presence of his close blood kin on the maternal side, as well as other members of his clan, he went through the rite of spitting on the charcoal and discarding his old name. Sometimes a youth refused a distinguished name, fearing that he could not live up to the obligations attached to it. Occasionally, those failing to do honor to names of this kind asked to have their names changed in order to avoid such criticisms as, “You are lazy. You are not like the man you are named for.” Members of the maternal lineage from which a name came might even deprive an unworthy man of his name and give it to someone whom they thought more deserving. The disgraced unfortunate then reverted to his childhood name or to some other nickname by which he was formerly known. An instance of the kind follows:

One time a young man of the nádûts’ásn clan had the name of a brave man. He did not do as this brave man had done before him. He never gave his neighbors anything, and he would not help them. There was another man of the same clan, a good man and a close relative of his, who was much like the former bearer of the name. A son of the sister of the dead man started to think about this. He talked to some of his relatives: “I thought that man was going to be brave, feed anyone who happened along, and always do right. But he is not that way, so I think I will take the name back from him and give it to this other man, for he is good.” The deserving man who was to receive the name had four or five cans of tulibai prepared, and on the morning that the drink was ready he sent his brothers and his sister’s sons to summon his relatives. They knew he was about to take a new name. When they arrived, various ones spoke to him, saying, “This is right. You have his name now. You are doing as he [the deceased] used to do, because you have his name. He used to feed all his relatives, but the man over there is not doing that. For this reason we are going to take his name away from him and give it to you.” Then each of those present—brothers,
grown children of sisters, mother's brothers, mother's sisters, and sisters—spoke up, saying, "It will be all right. You have the name now. It suits you." The man from whom the name was taken was not present. Thereafter he was known by his boy's name.

Unlike boys' and men's names, such obligations were not attached to girls' and women's names. "Women did not have the responsibilities (in general) that men did," the Apache explains. However, Anna Price claimed that girls were not usually given the name of a deceased relative until old enough to perform some of the tasks of an adult woman. Today it is said that obligations are no longer attached to men's names.

An individual may have more than one name: a childhood name, a given name considered the real name, and possibly one or two nicknames acquired in later life. Nicknames are those most often used, as true given names are likely to be more personal. All an individual's names are known to associates, but only the one in vogue at the time is used. If a striking new name is acquired, people begin to use it and drop the old name, as in the following case. An old man was nicknamed $hacke$-$yanatah$. His true name was $hacke$-$nade'ie$. One day he was sitting with some other people when one of his male cross-cousins, to joke him, spoke to an old woman present, saying, "Call him 'my rope.'" Someone remarked $dju$-$cibi'$-$tul$ ("vulva rope") jokingly. The name stuck and the old man has gone by it ever since. It is considered a very ludicrous name, but it is not thought vulgar. Persons are referred to at times by their relationship to a named individual, for instance, "John's son," but this is not done habitually as among the Navaho.

Names are not often used in direct address or reference. It is permissible, with certain exceptions mentioned later, to address an individual by his or her name, either alone or in a crowd, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The same is true to a slightly less extent in speaking of an absent person. Hesitancy in using names is absent for joking contacts between cross-cousins, however, and such relatives delight in mentioning a funny name like that of the old man, Vulva Rope. Because his name is such a personal thing, the Apache shows marked restraint and
embarrassment in mentioning it to another, and if necessary he may ask someone else to say it for him. In the same way, it is somewhat impolite to ask another’s name, though it may be done. This does not apply to English and tag-band names, however, which are used without reservation, both in direct address and in reference.

The restrictions in mentioning the names of certain affinal kin have already been described. Other name usage restrictions are involved in marriage and between opposite sexes. Man and wife may use each other’s English names, but under normal conditions they do not mention each other’s native names, for to do so would be extremely embarrassing to both, especially to the one whose name was spoken. Such liberties may bring a sound re­buke. A youth or man may use the name of an unmarried girl or divorced woman in direct address or reference, but he is very hesitant about using the name of a married woman unless she is considerably older than he, for it would embarrass the woman as well as himself. The same is true of girls and women in regard to men’s names, though restraint is not quite so marked. This restriction does not apply to blood kin or clan kin, whose names may be used regardless of sex.

If others wish to call attention to a man’s merits, they sometimes mention him by name. True given names do not have power in themselves, but they may be used in times of crises to call forth an individual’s greatest efforts. During the war dance the true names of leaders were called: “hâcké:nâ’zê’ê, come out and show what you will do in battle,” and the man mentioned steps out and dances before the crowd to show his fighting ability. In actual battle one man may call another by name, saying, “Let us see you fight now.” A woman can call her husband’s name under similar circumstances, as in the following instance.

A man and his wife and three children were surrounded by hostile Chiricahua Apache. There was not a chance for them to come out alive, but the woman spoke loudly to her husband, saying, “hâcké:hadê’c [angrily he looks about], you have said you were a man many times. You should go to them and kill some of them.” The man’s gun had already been wrested from him, but,
when his wife spoke, he whipped out his knife and succeeded in killing the leader of his adversaries before he was killed himself. To call a man’s true name is to bring out the best in him, for in a way his name is his very essence.

Men and women.—Lacking the necessary strength and endurance, women were normally excluded from certain economic activities such as hunting, handling of cattle and wild horses, raiding, and warfare. They were also unskilled in the use of weapons, though it is said that some were good shots with bow and arrows and that occasionally girls shot at targets in competition with boys.

Women are handicapped in religious activities, for, being weaker than men, they are thought particularly vulnerable to certain powers, especially those used to disable an enemy or gambling adversary. A number of minor ceremonies are practiced successfully by women on both male and female patients, and women may even know and use parts of major rites, but they are definitely excluded from learning and using the complete ritual of a major ceremony. They cannot make ceremonial sandpaintings or otherwise depict religious figures of any kind, for they are not capable of withstanding the power necessary to deal with such holy things. For similar reasons, women are not supposed to hear certain holy myths. Only a few women have acquired power by direct supernatural experience and have held large dances where they exhibited it. One or two women have acquired lightning power, the only rite based almost without exception on personal supernatural experience, but in each case they have had to discontinue using it because the power was more than they could handle.

Other limitations are placed on women. Formerly, they, like children, were not supposed to know that the impersonators of gān in gān dances were mere men, though actually it would have been hard to find a woman who really believed the dancers to be supernaturals. Men might witness any woman’s game, but women were strictly forbidden to watch or approach one of the most important of men’s games—hoop-and-poles. Now, as in the past, when husband and wife go anywhere together, the latter
always walks behind. A man and his wife ordinarily eat together, but, when several men and women have to be fed, the men usually eat first. However, a man who makes his wife eat after him when alone may be criticized for it and is called "mean."

The Apache point out certain characteristics as typically male or female. Woman is described as a gentle, soft-spoken being. The acme of manhood is boldness, a certain violence, and outspokenness, and man is said to speak harshly with firm voice. Men's names can be told from those of women merely by their sound, which is harsh and fierce, while women's names are said to be soft and gentle. These opposites are carried over into nature and religious concepts. Hard, pelting rain with lightning and thunder is male rain, and soft, gentle rain without lightning or thunder is female rain. In certain ceremonies women rather than men are asked to pray for rain, because men's prayers are likely to bring damaging male rains. The earth, which raises all plants and gives man the wherewithal to live, is female, while the sky, from whom harsh lightning descends, is male. The greatest of female supernaturals, Changing Woman, is gentle and kindly disposed toward man, whereas the male Sun and the supreme being, In Charge of Life, sometimes take pleasure in cutting man's life short. These characteristics form the essences of man and woman. The symbol of man is the bow or rifle; the symbol of woman, the carrying basket in which she gathers wild foods, and because of this she is sometimes spoken of symbolically as bit'ats'â'gûl'tâ'n ("her carrying basket exists").

Certain kinship term usages, expressions, other word usages, and intonations are labeled feminine and are noticeable on acquaintance with the language. A man who uses them is considered peculiar, and they are therefore scrupulously avoided by the normal male. When men mention a man and woman, they almost always speak of the man first, while women tend to do the opposite. In conveying that a certain man and his wife have gone somewhere, men are very likely merely to mention the husband, it being understood that the wife is also included.

Men walk lightly, while women often walk with a swaying motion peculiar to their sex. Formerly, in sitting, men squatted,
knelt sitting on their heels, sat with knees clasped to the chest, or sat cross-legged, the latter being the favorite position. Some old men say that they always squatted or knelt so that they could jump up instantly on approach of danger. Women either knelt, sitting on the heels, sat with legs close together and extended straight out before them, or sat with the legs doubled up at one side with the heels partially concealed, the last being the usual position. The second position was thought awkward in wickiups, because it took up too much room. Nowadays, stools and upturned blasting-powder cans are favorite seats for men, and some homes even boast chairs. Women, however, still sit on the ground or on the beds. Their long, modern dresses now permit them to sit cross-legged or with knees hugged to chest, but sitting with the legs drawn in to one side is still the favorite position.

Men whistle, while women are not supposed to. It is said of a woman who whistles, “She is acting like a man.” Men smoke, and women ordinarily do not. In former times both men and women carried loads by passing the carrying-strap across the upper chest and shoulders, but only women used a carrying-strap over the head. Also, women ate with the hands only, whereas men ate either with the hands or with a primitive spoon.

A man is careful not to be seen doing anything considered strictly woman’s work, because it is looked upon as decidedly feminine and degrading, and others, both men and women, may ridicule him. Only when no women are present to do it will men cook or build dwellings. In the past women sometimes raced against men or used a bow and arrow just to show that they could do it. Other men and women were interested and amused. “She is just like a man. She can do what men do,” they would say laughingly. There was nothing derogatory in such a remark, and men often encouraged a woman at such times. In very rare instances women even went to war and helped fight and kill the enemy. Such women were not ridiculed for doing as men did, for they were not trying to be masculine but merely participating as a brave woman.
Men consider themselves the superiors of women, having greater physical strength and being skilled in the more difficult activities. They also think of women as being less stable and with inferior minds, and to prove this they point out women's excitability. "Women aren't smart like men. They don't know about things," was often heard during the course of field work when women were mentioned as possible sources of information. This well-meant advice was misleading, for women gave accurate and detailed information on almost all phases of the culture. In fact, a man questioned about cultural practices, in the absence of other men, was often likely to turn to his wife or another woman present for confirmation of his opinions. Men, however, showed more extensive knowledge of outside peoples and territory than women, who seldom accompanied trading, war, or raiding parties.

Women were not observed to show a feeling of superiority toward men. They ridicule and contradict them at times, but this is only because of personal differences. Women even accept man's assertions that he knows more than they and admit his superior knowledge on such subjects as hunting, certain rituals and religious concepts, and outside peoples. At times they may even say, "Women's minds aren't so good as those of men," but such a statement may be an excuse for not imparting cultural information, besides being a feminine withdrawal in the presence of men.

A man and woman go about together only when courting or married. Moreover, under normal conditions a youth or man never travels alone with any woman except a wife, mother, grandmother, or a woman who is beyond the child-bearing stage. To accompany a younger woman alone anywhere would bring criticism upon himself as well as upon the woman. It is thought extremely improper for a woman to mount and ride behind a man not her husband, as it is a sign of already existing intimacy or willingness to accept intimacies. Several men and women may sit talking and drinking or gambling together, but a lone man never seeks the company of several women unless he is a berdache. The same is true of women in regard to men.
The attitudes of boys and girls toward each other are the beginnings of adult sex discriminations. Small boys playing with girls their own age are hardly ever subservient, but they do not consciously seem to exert the superiority that a man does toward women. One man even asserted that, after boys had stopped playing with girls, they did not look down on them in any way but merely accepted them as girls. It is true, however, that a boy is afraid to play with girls after he is eleven or twelve, because he fears the ridicule of his friends, who may say, "Well, why don't you put on a dress and go with the girls?" As one Apache pointed out, the boy is likely to think to himself, "They all think this way about me, so I am going to quit playing with girls." An older girl would likewise be ridiculed by other girls for playing with boys. Of a big boy seen playing with girls, it is sometimes said, "He has Coyote's mind," meaning that he has a sexual interest in the girls.

Male and female children are equally desirable, and there does not seem to be any marked choice for the sex of the firstborn, although it is said that a family with children all of the same sex will wish for children of the opposite sex. Formerly, in a way, daughters could be more of an asset than sons, for they brought marriage gifts and sons-in-law into the family. At the same time, as Anna Price said, "If you have only boys, the blood [maternal] lineage dies out and you are left without relatives, for your sons marry into some other clan. But if you have girls, they perpetuate your lineage." The importance of relatives on the maternal side is quite apparent in this statement. At least one source of information claimed that the death of a woman brought a higher compensation payment than the death of a man "because women bear children," and this was probably true in certain cases.

Even though women are decidedly handicapped in social, economic, and religious fields, they can enjoy considerable prestige and control in their society. Their status is by no means hopelessly inferior to that of men. A woman may own, control, and inherit property on a parity with man. She owns the greater part of the food on hand and stored away and may dispose of it as she sees fit. Her opportunities to select a mate are at least
equal to those of men. Generally she has the custody of the children while they are small, and throughout life the children feel closer to her than to their father. She owns the dwelling and can either destroy it, leave it, or make her husband leave it on sufficient provocation. Predominant matrilocal residence and descent through the female line exerts strong family influence from the mother’s side, and the marital system imposes rigid obligations on the husband. A woman is amply protected from unwanted male advances. She has powerful influence in family matters, such as marriages, divorces, residence, and expenditure of money. Women, as head women, and formerly as women chiefs, could acquire prestige, and they might talk publicly, particularly at war dances in which their families were involved.

Mental capabilities.—Throughout Apache society there are decided differences in individual mental ability, initiative, aggressiveness, and leadership. Formerly persons markedly endowed with these qualities were at the top of the social scale, while those who lacked them most were at the bottom. The Apache immediately senses the presence or absence of such traits in a person and says, “Some people are quick to learn; they pick up things easily for they can remember. Others are slower; they don’t retain what they have seen or heard; they aren’t smart.” The ease with which ritual knowledge is acquired is often used as a criterion for mental ability. One frequently hears of some man trying to teach a ceremony to his son, who only keeps forgetting it, while a younger son who has lain awake at night, secretly listening, suddenly reveals that he has learned it all.

The training received during youth, and the capacity of relatives to impart knowledge, has an important effect on the later abilities that a person shows. Men and women sometimes excuse their lack of knowledge concerning certain things by saying, “I do not know about this, because as a child I had no older relatives [such as grandparents] to teach me about it.” It has already been mentioned that children of chiefs are often better informed than others, and to some extent the same is true of any wealthy and outstanding person’s children. “They should know all things, because their father or mother knew them,” it is said.
The varying amount of knowledge that Apache have of their own culture cannot be overlooked. It is readily understood why ritual knowledge is found confined largely to those who practice ceremonies, but when one finds surprising lack of information on nonsoteric matters, the individual differences in training, inquisitiveness, and ability to learn become evident. This is more apparent at present, because much of the old culture has passed away.

In former times those who had little or no property, lacked the ability or desire and energy to accumulate it, and had no social prestige were termed poor; the people with opposite traits were called rich. Absence or presence of many relatives frequently affected wealth and poverty to a marked degree, for an influential and large family acted as a social background and was a powerful asset. Old age and loss of a wife or husband ordinarily meant poverty. A widow who had no man to hunt for her and who depended on others was often called “poor,” and the same was true of a widower with no woman to cook for him and care for his small children. The poor outnumbered the rich, but between these two extremes was a large intermediate segment representing the average. Wealth and poverty did not create class segregation, for these were merely considered personal conditions. Only in the few privileges and extra attentions which a wealthy man enjoyed over poorer men, and the economic desirability of marriage into a wealthy and powerful family, was there anything that might be termed social exclusion.

Those who were poor had to forego some things that more fortunate neighbors enjoyed. The poor ate certain kinds of meat which the wealthy did not relish. They could not afford expensive ceremonies, and the daughter of a poor family, on reaching puberty, did not have the elaborate rite that a wealthy girl might have; the poor girl did not bring as big a marriage gift as the girl from a wealthy family did, etc. A poor man did not ordinarily have the right to voice his opinions at large gatherings, for what he had to say carried little weight. He was obviously not a man of great wisdom, because he was poor. While people sought the
favor of a wealthy and influential man, they did not waste their
time on poorer individuals, who were unable to help them.

Poverty was generally pitied, and the individual in more for­
tunate circumstances was more or less obligated to help the poor
who came to him for aid. It was said that the supernaturals con­
trolling life permitted the poor to live longer than others, be­
cause they had so little. It was often the unfortunate and povery-stricken man without friends who acquired a powerful cere­
mony through direct supernatural contact because the super­
naturals involved knew his condition and wished to give him
something to make up for it. However, those showing the de­
plored traits of laziness, begging, and outright shiftlessness were
less pitied than the others, though their condition was accepted,
and they were helped. The slang term for lazy, good-for-nothing
people was gá'gō' and was sometimes used to joke a cross-cousin.
A more common term for the poor, ndá'izlinèhi ("people of
worth"), was a sarcasm. Every subchief and chief had certain
poor families who associated themselves with him to benefit from
his successes. These were called bidigisìhi, meaning "his incom­
petents" or "his weaklings." The word t'é'i'ye" means a poor
person, but it can also be used for anyone in a pitiable condition,
such as caused by sickness.

The terms for a wealthy or influential person of either sex, also
used for subchiefs and women chiefs, are há-tsìl ("strong or
powerful one") and 'ik'dzmì'izì ("wealthy one"). A rich woman
was also called 'isdzà’hùnà'ýùdì ("woman who goes [works]
about") and wealthy people in general were termed nit'é'gònàndè.
The material aspects of wealth have already been described in
connection with family heads, subchiefs, women chiefs, and
chiefs and need not be repeated here. Almost without exception
wealthy individuals belonged to this leader class. Generosity was
supposed to go hand in hand with wealth, and when a rich man
had food in his camp, poorer people in need went to him, know­
ing that they would seldom be refused. A chief or wealthy man
sometimes killed a beef especially for the poor families living
about him, thus gaining prestige. It is said: "Everyone hears of
a man who always gives away meat when he butchers. They talk
about him. Even after he is dead they remember him.” To re­mark of a man, “He always gives away meat,” or of a woman, “She always gives away food,” is the same as saying that he or she is generous, wealthy, successful, and influential. Men who always gave away meat after a hunt were called *n'į:į:əziimii*, meaning “generous.” The wealthy man who would not comply with this pattern of generosity was considered mean. “That man has everything. Why doesn’t he give some of it to these people?” others would say. Such a person, particularly a man who was niggardly about giving away meat of game that he killed, was termed *n'ą:ίtčii* (“stingy”). Because a rich man was consid­ered a special target for witchcraft, he was careful not to refuse his neighbors favors, lest some witch among them bring misfor­tune upon him. Men did not flaunt their wealth before others less fortunate, and some wealthy men even went about in old clothes in order to avoid arousing the malicious envy of others.

Certain secret words aided in the accumulation of property—names for all the various kinds of property such as horses, saddles, blankets. Known only to a limited number of wealthy men, these words, if used properly, were believed to cause increase. Thus, a man who wanted saddles, merely mentioned them by their secret name, saying that he wished to own them. There was no supernatural power or ritual connected with the use of the words. A wealthy father might teach them to his son in order that he would also be rich. Two informants claimed that the words were unknown to women.

The native concept of wealth being continually to amass food and property, but at the same time to consume it or give it away to relatives, friends, and neighbors, is quite at odds with that of the white man. Nevertheless, white ideas are gradually taking hold, and people with money, food, or other property are less generous than they would have been formerly. This changing attitude has caused old people to complain bitterly about the ways of the younger generation.

Home, visiting customs, friendships.—The Apache is closely at­tached to the locality where he is reared or has lived for a long time. A valley, the surrounding hills, the local trees, plants, ani-
mals, climate, and seasons all go to form the familiar environment which he calls home. The sudden changes in altitude in Western Apache country cause striking differences in animal life and vegetation. Families moving from one locality to another may find themselves in utterly unfamiliar surroundings, and the neighbors, even though Apache themselves, will be strangers. All this can cause real homesickness among both children and adults. I have accompanied families from the scorching summer heat of the Gila Valley on visits to relatives living along White River in the cool mountain country, where the change should have been a welcome one. Within a day or so the children were crying to go home, and the parents themselves were not sorry to leave. On the other hand, those raised in the high country speak with dislike of the heat and barrenness of the Gila Valley. Such feelings are probably stronger today than formerly, because the seasonal shifts from high country to low country and vice versa are no longer necessary as they were in the old quest for food.

In making a visit, certain customs are observed. Before entering a dwelling, even his own, the individual looks to see who is inside. To enter a dwelling belonging to someone else, even that of a close relative, when nobody is at home, is unthinkable, for it might be resented. If someone is at home, the visitor usually stands at the door a moment or two and then enters, either without saying anything or by making some remark such as, "I looked in to see if you were here. Now I am in because I find you here." When a neighbor visits after nightfall, he should make his presence known when close to the dwelling, by saying something like, "I am coming to visit you and talk for a while." To enter without warning might find the host in bed with his wife or in some other embarrassing circumstance.

Immediately on entering, the visitor sits or squats at either side of the entrance, the proper place, for to go in farther toward the back of the wickiup is a familiarity that might meet with disapproval. For the same reason, an outsider does not sit on the beds. Only in his own dwelling is it proper for a person to sit anywhere that he pleases. However, a visitor may walk into a ramada from any side and can sit in any part of it, but it is cus-
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tomary to sit fairly close to the outside. To enter another's
dwelling and remain standing is impolite and may indicate an
unfriendly attitude. As the Apache says, "When an unfriendly
person enters a camp, he does not sit. He stands, as he will only
have a few words to say before he turns to leave. If the visit is for
the purpose of borrowing something, or making a request, this is
not mentioned until after a few moments of commonplace talk,
for to bring the subject up immediately is bad manners: "Only
children come and ask for something without hesitating, be­
because they are not ashamed to do so." An exception to this is
when meat has just been brought in and a woman comes to ask
for some. Without waiting, she may say, "I heard that a man
brought home some deer meat." The meat is then given her, and
she departs immediately.

Unless there is talk going on, when a visitor enters he should
not sit silent; he is expected to say something, mention where he
has been, or what news he has heard. In departing, no special
form is observed, and a remark such as "I am going now" is
usually thought sufficient. Visiting back and forth between
friends and relatives is frequent, and hospitality can almost al­
ways be expected. Even strangers may stop at any camp and be
fed or spend the night: "When someone comes to your camp
from far off, you should feed him." Of visiting friends and rela­
tives, it is said, "The food and property in the camp is theirs to
do with as they please. If there is meat they may use it. It be­
longs to them because it belongs to their hosts."

Formerly, on seeing visitors approaching who came from a dis­
tance, another local group or community, the man of the house­
hold might use the formal expression denoting arrival of a guest,
"tççet'á-yùxándé: ["a gee string alights before us"]. Maybe they
bring us news of something." If they should chance to hear the
remark, the visitors might laugh, for, though it was an accepted
form, it was thought amusing. The newcomers ordinarily rode
up without giving any notice of their arrival:1 "In those days,
people didn't shout or call unless they wanted to warn of an ap­

1 The visitors sang no song on approaching, as has been mentioned for the
Navaho (cf. F. Gilmor and L. Wetherill, Traders to the Navajos [Boston, 1934]).
proaching enemy.” The host waited a moment or two and then walked out to them, inquired what they had come for and, after telling them to unsaddle their horses, would ask them to come over and sit down. “You must be tired and hungry. You have come a long way,” he might say, and then, turning to his wife, he would tell her to cook for them. A few words might be exchanged before the meal, but, out of consideration for the hungry and tired visitors, ordinarily lengthy conversation and exchange of news did not take place until afterward.

If the visitor were an old friend or relative and had brought a gift, after a while he might indicate this by saying gracefully, “I didn’t bring anything. I have just one horse here for you.” People in neighboring camps wishing to come over and hear what the newcomers had to say, politely waited for the meal to finish. It was boorish to enter a camp when a meal was in progress, because it made those eating slightly uncomfortable, and they could not feel free to eat as much as they otherwise would. At nightfall, after some interchange of news, the host, wishing to spare his tired guest, might postpone further conversation by saying, “You are very tired. You had better go to bed.”

In cold weather the visitor was asked to sleep inside the family dwelling, against the wall at either side of the entrance, the visitor’s place, where a bed was made for him. If he did not have a blanket of his own, the host lent him one. Whether visiting in the wickiup of a close relative or mere friend, guests were not ordinarily asked to share a bed with members of the household because of every Apache’s inherent dislike of strange bedfellows. In warmer weather a visitor was told to put his bed outside the door, to either right or left, and against the wall of the dwelling, or, if he were in danger of being stumbled over there by others coming into camp after dark, he was asked to make his bed a little distance from the wickiup. “There are many men drinking about here tonight. They may walk on you if you sleep there,” the host might explain. The same customs were observed whether the guest was a man or woman, but when a man and wife came together, if they wished to, they might make their camp a little distance from their host’s and do their own cooking after
the first meal. Visiting customs remain the same today, although in the Bylas district it is said that the use of the formal greeting, "A gee string alights before us," is no longer in use.

In former times greetings between friends, relatives, and others after a long absence were simple. The customary greeting was, "Long ago I saw you. Now I see you again," or "ké-'akó\mnà-γà-'là" ("well, here he goes thus"). The word njo ("good") is sometimes used like "hello," but ordinarily it is employed for strangers, or those not well known. Handshaking, now practiced by both men and women, was totally absent before its introduction by whites during early reservation times. The embrace is an old form of greeting, but only between members of the same sex, and it is possible that familiar cross-cousins are more likely to use it than others. Familiar cross-cousins who have not see each other for a long time are very likely to embrace, at the same time saying, "ye-‘sizè-ge" ("Oh, my cross-cousin"). In former times women friends and relatives from different localities who chanced to meet while on a wild-food-gathering trip sometimes exchanged what they had harvested as a gesture of friendliness, "so they would have something to remember each other by after parting." The usual expression on taking leave of anyone is to say, "I must return now" or "I am going now." The word yà-làŋ, which approximates "goodbye," is seldom heard, and then usually only between women or sweethearts. The same word may be used as an ejaculation emphasizing something that has happened long ago, as, for instance, "yà-làŋ, we had good times then." Complimentary expressions showing affection and esteem are sometimes used on parting. A typical one is, "We will think of you when we hear the thunder roll." Although emotions may be present during leave-taking or greetings, they are seldom shown to the extent they are among whites. Only on particular occasions, as when a relative given up for lost comes home, will members of the family, especially the mother, sisters, or grandmother, sometimes cry for joy; and a mother or grandmother under these circumstances may embrace the returned kinsman.

Apart from the close bonds of affection between certain kin,
there is a distinct type of friendship with nonrelatives. Those with whom such friendships exist are called *ci'đe·k'è*, meaning "my friend" or "my partner." The same term cannot be properly used for any blood or affinal relative or for any member of one's clan, related clans, and paternally related clans. If an individual thus addressed becomes a relative-in-law, the term is usually discarded for an affinal one. *ci'đe·k'è* is sometimes used between joking cross-cousins, but merely because such improper use of it is a joke. The word immediately suggests a friendly relationship and interchange of favors and is sometimes used to gain good will, even from a stranger, or to pave the way for some important request.

Such friendships as these are common between members of the same sex and spring up because of mutual liking and esteem. Sometimes two men meeting at a tulibai party take an immediate liking to each other and go about to other parties and gambling places together. When later, one gives the other a can or two of tulibai to show his liking for him, the honored man may reciprocate, thus clinching the close friendship. The two may say to each other, "We will be good friends. We shall help each other from time to time." Friends of this kind who live in different localities make each other three- or four-day visits. The host takes his guest about to the various camps and gives him a good time. When such men ride about double, as they sometimes do, others may say, "They are close friends. They always go about together." Before he leaves, the visitor is given something to take home with him, and, as such visits often conveniently occur at harvest times, the gift is likely to be a sack of corn or acorns. Before going, either a man asks his host to come and see him or the host himself states that he intends to make a return visit. By interchange of gifts and favors, the two friends "keep even" and take pride in not being outdone by each other.

There is sometimes found a close friendship between an older man and woman, lasting over a period of several years. The man may help the woman from time to time, giving her money or food, and in return she may make him occasional small gifts.
Because of this, the two are spoken of as 'ildé·ké' ("mutually friends") and call each other ci'đé·ké" ("my friend"). The relationship is recognized as a platonic one but can lead to marriage at times. As one man said: "It is easy to get married to a woman who has been your friend, but whom you do not love. Maybe you have helped her out with money before, and she knows that you are a good man; you know that she is a good woman. You might say to each other, 'Let's get married and stay together all the time.'"

le·dö·đi' ("to exchange gifts") was an old custom of exchanging property on the spur of the moment, done at any time but especially likely to happen at drinking parties when the people were in high spirits. Either one person made a gift outright to another, hoping that it would be reciprocated, or he suggested trading hats, knives, or saddles. It was not at all uncommon for a man wearing a shabby hat to suggest a trade with another owning a good hat, and the same might be done with other possessions. As the trades were always even and when once suggested could not be avoided, the one desiring the trade was often able to get the best of the bargain. Cross-cousins particularly delighted in playing such tricks on one another. Mrs. Andrew Stanley claimed that members of related clans could do so. Ordinarily, only members of the same sex exchanged.

A favorite trade between two women were the shawls that each happened to be wearing. In spite of the one-sided deals which often took place, the practice afforded fun and was a sign of mutual good will. When a gift was given outright and no return one requested, it was considered a most graceful gesture indicating generosity and wealth as well. The pattern is still followed, and, though it may occur at any time of year, it has become especially associated with the period between Christmas and New Year's in imitation of the white man's Christmas customs. Because of this, people often hesitate to wear a good, new piece of clothing or use a new saddle at this season, lest someone take hold of it saying, "Kismas [Christmas]," indicating that he wants a trade. Some modern examples of the custom follow:
A young man had a particularly fine Navaho silver concho belt hanging in his house. He remarked one day: "I'm going to loan this to a boy going off the reservation for the next two weeks. I would like to keep it here and wear it during this time [Christmas-New Year's] myself, but if I do someone is sure to grab hold of it and say 'Kismas.' Then I'd lose it."

Neil Buck says: "One time I and my brother and two other men, one a t'bagàdìn clansman, the other of the iyà'ìiyé [clan, and therefore clan cross-cousins to the brothers], were all together on Christmas Eve. The iyà'ìiyé gave my brother a bridle. My brother reached into his pocket, took out a dollar and fifty cents, and gave it to him. The t'bagàdìn man then spoke to me, 'Come on, my cross-cousin, let's trade saddles.' I had a good, new fifty-dollar saddle, but I said all right just the same. He went outside where our horses were standing and put his saddle on my horse, mine on his. On another Christmas my wife gave a woman of a clan related to hers a hand sewing-machine. Once we were working on the road. On Christmas Day we were all camped together above Winkleman. A man came down from Miami. He had a pocketful of cheap rings. We bought these from him and gave them to each other. We traded money as well. At the beginning of the day I was broke, but I ended up with seven dollars. I knew a man who had forty one-dollar bills on Christmas Day. He gave them all away to various people."

The custom of "getting even," already mentioned in previous parts of this book, is an all-important and ever present drive in society. It is the underlying motive in exchange of gifts during wedding negotiations; the trading of property as just described; one man honoring another by giving a tulibai party for him and in time being honored himself by a return party; the compensation payments which were made for rape, destruction of crops, injury, or murder; one man joking another who has joked him; or, as sometimes happens, when a woman, after seeing a man do something spectacular before a crowd, follows suit by doing something just as spectacular in her way.

Native character and temperament.—Individual variations in character and temperament are just as evident among these people as they are among whites, and it is a matter of extreme importance in social relations whether or not a person is quiet and withdrawing, outspoken and aggressive, laughing and gay, sol-
emn, good natured, or bad tempered. At the same time native character and temperament may be generalized into an average pattern which, together with native values placed on various traits, more or less controls and influences reactions in almost any given situation.

Suspicion of others and the fear of being tricked or of being the victim of ulterior motives are very common Apache characteristics. These traits are frequently present in mythology where one character is described as having ulterior motives or another is trying to guess what is in his opponent’s mind. As a result, the Apache are likely to jump to conclusions and to act without stopping to verify them. Their emotions are easily aroused in spite of the fact that they can be extraordinarily self-contained and cool under certain conditions. This excitability, coupled with suspicion, makes for immediate reactions to situations or remarks. The following instance is typical:

Immediately in the rear of a large crowd watching a dance a car almost backed over a man lying on the ground behind it. Someone said, “A man has been run over!” There was an instantaneous surge to and from the place, some leaving the supposed scene of death, others rushing to see what had happened. People were saying to each other, “He is dead!” No one had even seen the man, except for one or two people standing close by at the moment. Actually he was unharmed, for the car stopped in time. Frequently exciting rumors, totally untrue, are passed on from person to person as truths, merely because they appeal to the imagination. When they are later proved false, the tension subsides, but nobody is chagrined because of the mistake, and the whole is taken as a matter of course.

The average Apache, when sober, is not quarrelsome, but when drunk is likely to be belligerent and therefore is generally avoided. Quarrelsomeness of any kind is considered bad, and a person given to it, particularly when a woman, is called biza:g6taćj (“her tongue is angry”).

The emotion of anger was aptly and characteristically described by a certain chief about to set forth on a war party against the Navaho to avenge the killing of two of his relatives.
“My heart is moving with me in here [inside his breast]. It moves as the sun moves above,” he said, alluding to the fast beating of his heart. An individual may brood over his anger toward someone until, under some provocation, he loses his temper and vents his feelings either by saying something to the person or by fighting with him. Again, because quick tempers are fairly common, action may follow immediately when a person’s anger is aroused. Women sometimes cry when angry, and once in a while even men when enraged. More unstable characters occasionally suffer a blind rage after having killed someone, and one man was mentioned who, having killed a brother found cohabiting with his wife, walked outside and shot and killed his own good, white horse because it was the first living thing that he saw.4

No native blasphemy exists, but there are established imprecations, used mainly by women when angered. k'o'tánę́ (“many husbands”), ndé·dábi·yá’nikq’á’gö’ (“all men are your husband”), and ná·nì’ñánda’gö’ (“you go about hiding” [in the brush with men]) are all insulting allusions to promiscuous relations with men and lax morals. Uttered in a shrill voice, they seldom fail to strike home. Other expressions used by women are: “May you go mad and a coyote devour you” and “Don’t talk; I will hit your tongue with a rock in that manner.” The most common expression of annoyance and anger is the meaningless ’ó·kóhe’lę́, used when a person hurts himself, cannot catch a horse, or is disgusted by someone. Imprecations employed by both men and women when angry at someone are lę’ítcódhé (“liar”) and ni·’ilgac (“you witch”). The latter may be a serious affront. Men who are mad at each other may say, “I’m going to kill you sometime,” or “If I had a gun, I would kill you right here,” or “If I had a knife, I would cut your guts out,” but one informant said that men who resort to such threats seldom carry them out: “The men who really are dangerous usually don’t say anything.” To use imprecations to a child is thought abusive and improper, although some occasionally do it: “It is bad. It is just as if you were talking to a dog, when you say things like that to a child.”

4 No ceremony exists which is a counteractive for anger or its effects.
At present, men and sometimes women make use of English curses and expressions. A combination of an old Apache and an English imprecation occasionally heard is *gada·msá·ndító’d* ("God-damned-sore-old-woman") and the word *ño·kóhë*, a corruption of the Spanish *loco*, is used by both sexes for anyone they consider unreasonable. Sarcasm is common and does not differ from that of whites. A good example of an angry encounter between women follows: "A young married woman went into the trader's store with her maternal grandmother. There she noticed another woman, a relative-in-law of hers married to one of her clansmen. This woman had been absent for quite some time, so the young woman went up to her and touching her on the shoulder, said, 'Well, I see you are back.' The woman turned around quickly and for no apparent reason said, 'You witch.' The young woman's grandmother walked up behind and gave her a thump on the back. 'Ouch, who hit me?' she said. The grandmother replied, 'It was I who hit you. Why did you say such a thing?' She looked at the old woman and said, 'Many husbands, so it is you.' The grandmother retorted, 'It must be you who are a witch, because they say that people who talk about witchcraft are usually witches themselves.'"

Ridicule, used not as a corrective, but merely because of some weakness or odd characteristic of a person, is seldom seen. I once saw two young men tease a weak-minded youth until he whipped out a knife and would have cut them if he could have caught them, but this was the only time such a thing was witnessed. One man, who was considered somewhat of a peculiar old codger, partly because of his behavior and partly because he was an outsider (a Southern Tonto), was jokingly called "my brother-in-law" by many of the men. Another, disliked because he was of the San Carlos group, was sometimes made fun of for his disagreeable way of boasting. He was not quick at repartee and was easily angered. Given here is an interesting case of ridiculing abnormal behavior: A young man in a certain community trapped wild animals, especially coyotes, and sold the pelts to whites. He made his living for a while by doing this, but the people laughed at him because it was not considered right to trap
and kill animals in this way. It had never been done before. When the young man walked away from a crowd with his wife, others would laugh and say, “That man lives off coyotes. His food comes from coyotes,” and so he finally gave up the trapping.

Rarely is a person seen who habitually sneers at others. The few who show this characteristic are called 'áhidiłó' (‘he laughs at you’). The only two individuals of the kind encountered were both men who had been away to school and received a better education than the average. They were well off, quick witted, indulged in extremely caustic remarks, and made no effort to conceal their feeling of superiority. Spitefulness, ill-will, and envy are condemned. Those who exhibit these traits are spoken of as 'o'ndi’, and it is said of them that they do not care whether other people live or die.

The old punishment for incest, witchcraft, and, on rare occasions, horse-stealing was undoubtedly cruel but considered just. Alien enemies were generally killed instantly, and prolonged torture was not practiced, though a captive sometimes met with a cruel death. More than one instance was recorded where men, knowing this was going to take place, withdrew until it was over, because they could not bear to watch human suffering of this kind. Now, as in the past, a husband’s physical cruelty to his wife is seldom tolerated, and the same is true in regard to the treatment of children.

Occasionally a man will beat his horse, and I once saw a man do this when his horse hid from him, but it is uncommon and considered cruel and likely to bring horse sickness upon the individual. Animals trespassing on a corn field are sometimes mutilated or even killed as exactment of a penalty on the animal’s owner, but the Apache do not compare such treatment with the beating of a horse. In former times riding horses with sore backs, or sometimes until they gave out, was not considered cruel because the horse was meant to ride. Not being highly valued, dogs receive rougher treatment than any other domestic animal and frequently go about half-starved. A dog being attacked by others is often left to fight until badly bitten, and dogs who get in the way about camp are likely to receive a whack
over the back or a boot in the side, but the Apache does not con-
sider this as being cruel. Dogs naturally fight; food is often too
scarce to waste on them; they are expected to forage for them-
selves to a certain extent, and because the whole camp is open
to them and they are seldom well trained, they must be made
to get out of the way when underfoot. On the other hand, it is
considered cruelty when a child or adult kicks a dog without
reason.

Women love to gossip, and men also but to a lesser extent.
Marital troubles, children, sickness, death, witchcraft, recent
purchases, and one person's remark to another form much of the
current conversation heard about camps. A person who enters
camp with a choice bit of information usually converses on other
matters for a moment or two, and then without warning men-
tions his news in a matter-of-fact tone. Usually others present
show surprise or interest immediately and ask for further detail.
Since it is impolite to let a person know that he is being talked
about, extreme caution is taken that neither he nor any of his
close relatives overhear the conversation. Therefore talk con-
cerning neighbors is usually in a lowered voice, sometimes after
a furtive look about. Harmless gossip is not criticized, but that
which is repeated purposely to cause trouble is condemned.
Malicious gossips are despised and are called 'à-në́t’f́: ("he spies")
or tec'indžndži: ("it is said they say"), alluding to the expression
that they so often use themselves in repeating news. "There goes
tc'indžndži: snooping for something else to repeat," is sometimes
said when such people walk by. Good people should mind their
own business, and when they see something which does not
concern them, such as a man going into the brush with someone
else's wife, they ought not to say anything about it unless they
are directly involved through kinship.

Lying is considered a bad fault, and it is said, "When you tell
a lie, In Charge of Life knows about it immediately and will
punish you." Truthfulness is highly valued, and parents try to
instil it in their children. A few individuals are pointed out as
inveterate liars who pretend to know far more than they actually
do, and everything they say is likely to be doubted. Such per-
sons are sometimes openly called *le’iltcohé* ("liars"), and one old man was even nicknamed this because of his well-known weakness. Anyone who prevaricates is also called *mba’s’it* ("coyote lying down"), as if he were a coyote sitting there telling falsehoods, the way that Coyote of folklore so often does. The expressions "You lie" or "You are a liar" are sometimes used to joke a person who is suspected of making something up for fun, and "I do not lie" is a statement often employed in trying to convince someone of a truth. Statements such as "I do not know about it," "I haven't got one," "I can't do it," when untrue are not considered lies by the Apache, as they would be among whites. Instead, they are graceful refusals of a request. It is considered permissible to deceive and lie to an enemy and even to shoot him in the back, for no advantages should be allowed him.

The Apache by nature are a gay people who love to laugh and who always appreciate something funny. Men and women sometimes laugh until the tears roll down their cheeks, and young people, girls especially, frequently get fits of giggling. Such emotions are seldom restrained unless there is danger of hurting someone’s feelings or unless there are strangers about. Certain individuals are known for making humorous remarks, and it is said that the trait is likely to run in families: “They [the family] are all that way, forever joking about something.”

One of the most amusing things to the Apache is the person who finds himself in an embarrassing or ridiculous position. Many of the anecdotes already related concerning social incidents were told as funny stories and are good examples of the native type of humor. Given here are some other illustrations:

Serious as holy power and ritual are, they often afford material for jokes. To pretend to possess a certain power or ceremony is a common way of fun-making. A man, after listening to an old woman tell of a charm used to keep gophers out of corn fields, once remarked, “When I get home, I am going to try this. If it works, I will tell the people that I have a ceremony and power for gophers. I'll be a shaman then.”

Two men were looking at an armadillo shell in a store. Neither of them knew what it was, as armadillos are not native to the Apache
country. One told the other, cockily, and with a twinkle in his eye, "You know, I always sing about the ocean, and when I sing I can see right through this thing here.” He pretended that he knew what it was, at the same time pretending that he was a distinguished singer of a certain rite which contains songs mentioning the ocean. The other man laughed; he knew that his friend had no such power.

Two men were out hunting deer. They became separated, one being a good way ahead of the other. When the man in the rear thought his companion was well out of sight, he stopped on a little flat, open place. He did not know that his companion was up on the side of a ridge, sitting watching him. He leaned his rifle against a tree and picked up two sticks, the length of gá·n wands. Then he began to dance all by himself as a gá·n. After he had danced about a few minutes, his companion banteringly shouted to him, "Hey, you are having a good time. There is a big dance going on all right." He stopped, looked up, and saw him. He threw down his sticks and picked up his rifle. "héč'" [an expression of surprise and disgust], he said, very much embarrassed to be caught in such an absurd situation. He had merely succumbed to a powerful desire to dance as a gá·n. He was not a gá·n shaman or even a dancer. Another instance of the same kind was recorded, and both were considered extremely amusing.

A story was told of a man well known for his wit who was always doing the unexpected. One night he was playing cards with some men. Finally, all except he and one other had left the game. These two played together. Eventually his opponent was forced to show his hand, and by doing so lost the pot. It was about midnight then, but nevertheless this man started to call to his mother lying asleep in a camp close by, "Mother, mother, mother," he called. Finally he woke the old woman up, and she asked him what was the matter. "Hey, I played cards with my cross-cousin here, beat him at it and took his last card. What do you think of that?" The idea of waking one's mother up at that time of night to tell her this was ridiculously funny.

One time three lame men all happened to meet at the door of a wickiup at the same time, one coming out, one going in from the left, one going in from the right. This coincidence was considered highly amusing.

One day an old man and his wife left camp together to go after wood. On the way he must have desired her, and she, not wanting him, came running back as fast as she could with the old man after her. She beat him back to the safety of the camp.
Fooling people is always a standard joke. Once an old man and some women were going down into a canyon. This old man was well known as a joker. On the trail was a cave with some petroglyphs painted on its walls. He stopped an old woman in the party and told her, “This is the place we always dance, in here.” She believed him and started to dance. Everyone laughed.

One time a boy was walking along beside his father. He had his hair cut off all except for a little tuft on the top of his head, as they used to do with small children in springtime. They met a man who remarked to the father, “What is that you have there, a quail?” “No, it’s my son,” the father said.

Following are some examples of punning, which is well known among these people:

At a dance, a man called Locust was running a soda-pop booth, right at the foot of a large cottonwood tree. Someone walked up to the booth and asked where he was. A man standing there turned around and said, “Here he is. It must have been too warm for him up in the tree, so he has come down.” (Locusts are always heard singing in the trees during the summer.)

An old man and his wife set out to gather wild hay. The man rode a horse while his wife walked. She said to him, “nt'ke'dan6'cdà” (“I wish to mount behind you”). The old man to joke her pretended he did not understand and replied, “No, there are lots of rocks here. Go and sit on them.” Finally they came to the place where they were to gather hay. They made camp for the night. The next morning the old man, who had taken his pants off when he went to bed, got up, saying “c'itl’dj'bhcdà” (“I wish to get into my pants”). This was not the correct way to say it and meant rather that he intended to go inside his pants head first. So his wife said teasingly, “No, don’t go inside your pants!” That is how she got even with him for what he had said to her the day before. They both laughed about it.

One time there was a man who pretended that he was a shaman with strong power. He had all the people fooled except one man, who did not believe in them and said so. Someone told the false shaman that this man had said he was a faker, so he sent for his accuser, and said to him, “If you don’t believe in me, də-ne’lká-da’” (“it won’t dawn for you”), which meant that he would not live through the night, for he would destroy him with his power. However, this expression also means “It will not dawn.” The false shaman had left the man an opening, and so he replied, “All right, it will be dark for all the rest of us and you alone shall have dawn.” The false shaman could not think of any reply.
A man was returning from San Carlos. He had been to the commissary, where they were issuing coal oil. In those days the Apache earned money by cutting wood for the agency. When a man got an order to cut wood for the agency, he was handed a slip of paper with the order written on it. As this man was walking along, he met another on his way to San Carlos, who asked him, "te'iz bęgɛdgalement?" ("Did you get a written [order] for wood?") This also can mean, "Did they write with wood?" so the man answered, "No, they only write with pencils down there."

Two men were out in the hills hunting deer. One of these men was a great joker. They hunted apart all day, and in the evening returned to their camp. They asked each other, "Did you kill any deer?" One man said, "I shot at one, but bęjɛda cilhɛ sɣud" ("deer ran over the hill with me [ran out of sight]"). This expression can also be construed, "He ran over the hill with me," as if the man had ridden him over the hill. The joker replied, "That's queer, for deer is wild. Why did you ride him over the hill that way?" The other man just laughed.

Men who are given to punning and making funny remarks are called bąnantęmę'. An interesting use of joking is in honoring distinguished visitors. The host talks to them in a joking way, pretends to chide them, makes up things about them, and does his best to make them laugh. By so doing, he is showing his pleasure at their presence. An example of this is to be found in Anna Price's account of her local group,5 and the last important chief's council that her father held. No riddles, rhymes, or tongue twisters were recorded, and all knowledge of them was denied.

Bravery, described as a "strong heart," is a much-admired trait and encouraged in children. However, the Apache is not recklessly brave. Chiefs spoke to their men during battle, saying, "Stand up to them and fight. Don't get scared and run off," but this only meant fighting when there was a chance of winning. A man who fought on, against overwhelming odds, did so because he was desperate. The average man did not expose himself unnecessarily during battle, and even those men who walked out alone to face the enemy with spear and shield did so believing that they had special power to protect themselves from injury.

5 In Appen. K.
Fear is mentioned as a “weak heart.” When caused by fellow-man and other equal or lesser forces, it is not ordinarily thought well of, though it is seldom ridiculed. It is said that there are always some men who are afraid. On scouting trips against the hostile Chiricahua, these less brave individuals would stop and pretend to tie their moccasin strings when they thought that they were approaching the enemy, purposely letting their companions get ahead of them. Extreme physical fear is sometimes described as causing utter exhaustion, and men overcome in this way during battle had to be led out of danger. Such weakness was not approved, but at the same time the failing seems to have been taken as a matter of course. I have heard men admit the extreme fear which they experienced in battle, without the slightest sense of shame: “My head was no good. It did not work right. Some men are all right that way and smart, but not I.”

Many Apache show fears of the dark, ghosts, and owls, and these reactions are so normal that they are not commented upon unless exceptionally in evidence, as in the following instance: “At one time Indian policemen were detailed to walk single guard duty before the guardhouse at night. One of the police was so afraid of the dark that when it came his turn he always made his wife and little boy walk with him. When asked, ‘Are you the man who gets scared in the dark,’ he answered, ‘Yes, I am the one. I am afraid that Ghost Chief might catch me in the dark, and knock me down and kick me.’ He was not ashamed of his fear, and when other men chided him about it he merely laughed.” Sometimes a lone person fought off fear by singing and keeping up his spirits, as in the following incident related by Anna Price:

One time I was traveling from Ash Flat to White River. I had reached the top of the Natanes Rim at dusk and so stopped there for the night. Because I was alone I was a little scared and lonesome, so I started to sing to make myself brave. I got up and danced about the fire to my song. The song I sang was a war song. [One used before men start off to war.] While I was still singing, a party of men came along the trail. They had been out deer-hunting and were bringing in a lot of meat. One old man was in the lead. He was of my clan and the son of
my mother's mother's sister. He heard my singing. "Hey, you are here all by yourself, my niece!" he said. They gave me a lot of their meat, and in turn I gave them a lot of tunas which I had picked up in the low country and was taking to relatives on White River.

After a ghostly encounter, fear may cause a fainting spell, even in men. This is thought to be the result of an imaginary blow or other injury delivered by the unholy persecutor. The aftermath of such experiences—a weak feeling all over—is considered as a sickness which must be treated. The usual cure is to inhale smoke from burning pitchwood, which not only revives the victim but drives out the evil power.

The difference between the Apache and the Pueblo attitude toward strange Indians is a striking one. Where the latter is at least superficially friendly with almost all Indians he meets, the former is usually markedly reserved and noncommittal with anyone whom he does not know. A Pueblo Indian from San Domingo described his one and only experience with Western Apache as follows: He was passing through San Carlos on his way home from Tucson, and, seeing the Apache camps, he and some of his friends stopped. Being curious, he walked up to an Apache family sitting outside their wickiup and said hello to them. They answered him briefly and coldly and would say no more. He felt frozen and soon left with the impression that these people were all sullen and mean and that they never talked. "What kind of people are they, anyway?" he used to ask. "They won't talk, they won't smile, they won't laugh. I don't like them."

The Apache, when compared with the white, is extremely undemonstrative in expressing gratitude. The words for "thank you" are 'd'ax'z'ye'z' and 'd'ac'f'd, but they are not often used. Someone who has been extremely helpful may also be thanked by saying, "You have done a good thing for me. You have been kind to me and I will remember it." The general feeling seems to be that gratitude is understood and need not be verbally indicated. It is shown rather by doing a return favor at some future time. In making important requests, the word for "thank you," 'd'ac'f'd, can be used, as well as the expression "Be kind to me."
no·ckq· is equivalent to "please" and probably comes from the same stem as 'ockq· ("I pray"). There seems to be nothing corresponding to "You are welcome" in the vocabulary. Contact with whites has made the Apache increasingly conscious of words denoting thanks, and he is more likely to use them than formerly, especially in dealing with whites.

Pride can be carried to extremes in some instances, as in the case mentioned on page 227 of a boy who shot himself because his brother refused him a drink and as in the following example: During a battle with Mexican soldiers in Sonora, a chief was shot through the nose and left for dead by his companions. The Mexicans found him still alive and took him to their town, where he recovered from his wound. Realizing that his relatives, thinking him dead, would sooner or later attempt a reprisal on the town, the Mexicans tried to send him home, but he would not go because of the shame he felt at having been captured. "They would call me 'chief with his nose shot away,'" he said.

The remark, "I, I alone, know about this; these other people don't really understand it," is a common expression. Such boasting, if not done to excess, is an accepted method of self-assertion. A man may claim that he knows more about deer-hunting or warfare than anyone else, and a woman may make a similar statement about wild plant foods and their preparation or some other woman's task. Boasting of a close relative's accomplishments is done for the same reason, and someone may say, "My daughter does the best at this kind of work. The articles that she makes are better than those made by any other people about here." Assertions like these are ordinarily accepted by others in silence and taken as a matter of course. Those who disagree tactfully keep their thoughts to themselves until later. However, continual and reasonless bragging is resented, and people may refer sarcastically to a braggart by saying, "I don't know about it. You better go and see Blank. He knows about it. At least that is what he says." Those who boast excessively are termed 'adecigudli·, which implies that they strut about, are self-important, and boastful. Conventional boasting as found among other peoples is totally lacking.
An opposite extreme often exhibited by the Apache is a marked reticence in admitting knowledge. A person who is asked to give information on a subject may either claim that he knows all about it or deny that he knows anything of it. The two reactions are often present in the same individual at different times, according to his mood, and one is just as typical as the other. The reticence is sometimes because of an unwillingness to impart the desired information, but there is also a strong feeling that to admit knowledge of things readily is to cheapen them. It is often necessary to repeat inquiries, and offer encouragement, such as, “You know about it. I know, because I have seen you do it.” This procedure is often described in mythology, where some character must be asked several times before he consents to perform a ceremony.

Some miscellaneous traits and customs which do not belong in the foregoing discussions may be added here. People who are overgarrulous are derisively termed dił'ya'li (“cactus wren”), because of the continual chatter heard from this bird. One who talks too much or out of turn is told, “dolq'yatl'ida” (“don’t talk so much”). Loud and noisy talking is seldom heard, and even when speaking to someone on the other side of camp the voice is only slightly raised. Crowds are usually quiet unless applauding a dance or speech, and the talking, shouting, and exhibitionism so common in white gatherings are markedly absent.

In addition to what has been said in preceding parts on the modesty of young people, a short summary of adult modesty is given here. Urinating and defecating nearer than twenty to thirty yards from the dwelling is avoided for reasons of cleanliness. Men and women alike seek the concealment of brush when defecating, and women ordinarily do the same when urinating, at least if there are men about. When wishing to urinate, a man faces the opposite way from others in the vicinity and often stands against a tree or bush. He usually goes out of sight when women are present, but he does not always do so. Bodily functions are taken as a matter of course, and neither sex hesitates to get up and leave a group of people when they have to relieve themselves.
Both men and women are extremely careful to avoid exposure of the sexual organs, even before members of their own sex. Men in the sweat lodge rarely remove the gee string, though they take off everything else. Exposure is not only embarrassing to the individual seen but also to others. Formerly, men wore ordinarily only gee strings and moccasins, and although women always wore skirt and upper garments from the time they were small girls, their skirts were not usually completely sewn down the sides and often exposed the lower part of the thighs and the knees. Women nursing babies also frequently exposed the breasts in mixed company. However, a woman would not go without her upper garment under ordinary circumstances. An incident related by Anna Price is illustrative of feminine modesty. A group of older boys and girls had been surprised by the enemy while in swimming:

The boys and girls ran off, leaving all their moccasins, and what clothing they had, behind. Some of the girls had beads which they also abandoned in their haste. After they got safely away, the girls made skirts out of willow branches. Their bare feet were cut by the stones, so they took yucca leaves and, splitting them in half, bound them about their feet. I saw them when they arrived in camp. The girls were holding some willow branches over their breasts to hide them. They immediately went about to all their women relatives, begging clothing.

Older women would probably behave in much the same way under similar circumstances.

White contact has brought about a decided change in the attitude toward bodily exposure, and no boy or man would think of going about in public wearing only a gee string, although he will do so at the sweat lodge. One old man remarked, "In the old days we were not ashamed of our bodies, for we were made the way we were. But now, even children are ashamed to be seen naked almost as soon as they are old enough to be self-conscious."

Men exhibit a certain type of sexual curiosity about women, as illustrated in folklore: Coyote's making his daughter pull up her skirt when she crossed the river or peeking through the holes in his blanket at the young couple sleeping in the same wickiup
with him. Another instance of the same thing is the well-known old man’s anecdote about a man busy feathering arrows, who noticed that his sister was sitting with her legs apart, and so kept pretending to sight along his arrowshafts to see that the feathers were straight, all the time pointing them toward his sister so he could observe her unnoticed. There is also the old saying, “If a man gets blind before he is old, it is because he has looked at a woman between the legs. A woman’s vulva has no eyes, and so he becomes the same way.”

Women who danced at the victory dances wearing nothing more than a gee string and a piece of cloth tied about the chest and breasts, did so not only to show their appreciation of the victory but also to obligate the returned warriors to give them presents. At times, begging dances were organized by a group of men and women, who danced and sang in front of various wickiups until the occupants, thus honored, paid them with food. If there were no food, a younger divorced woman in the family might pay by going outside, and, turning her back to them, lift her skirts up over her head, thus exposing herself. This was considered a handsome gift, and the dancers left satisfied, whereas if they had received nothing they would have pushed over the dwelling.

The same practice of payment by bodily exposure was also recorded for murder compensation, as in the following instance: Men belonging to a local group predominantly of the tcé:tcí:dn clan had wantonly murdered several White Mountain Apache. The local group was later surrounded by angry White Mountain Apache and United States troops. The tcé:tcí:dn were given to understand they were to be destroyed for what they had done, and they undoubtedly felt that their plight was desperate. In a few minutes the wife of the principal tcé:tcí:dn chief stripped herself of all her clothing and, holding a white flag, stepped out in front of her people to plead that they be spared. The White Mountain Apache were apparently satisfied with this, and nothing further was done to punish the malefactors. It is important to notice that women who exposed themselves as payment or to obligate men almost always were old or belonged to
the reputedly promiscuous divorcee and young widow class. As the begging dance, victory dance, and compensation for murder are not practiced today, women no longer purposely expose themselves.

Sexual intercourse, bodily functions, menstruation, pregnancy, and birth are not subjects avoided in conversation, and they may be mentioned without hesitancy in mixed company. Only when special inquiries are being made about such matters is there sometimes a slight hesitancy in talking of them before members of the opposite sex who are not well known or in front of people with whom some respect relationship exists. The Apache, being fully conscious of white disapproval, are likely to avoid mention of these things when whites are about. The obscene joke, very prominent in native humor and enjoyed more for its humor than lewdness, is not especially suppressed in mixed company, although it is less likely to be told in the presence of those with whom there is a respect relationship.

Lewd dancing occurred occasionally at the victory dance when some old man hung an object like a penis between his legs and danced about or, as in one instance recorded, when a woman danced with a piece of a cow stomach held between her legs. This was done to obligate returned warriors to give the dancers something for their exhibition. Some were amused, but the large majority were embarrassed, and youths and maidens would run from the dance, too ashamed to remain there. The same sort of buffoonery was often employed by the clown at the gan dance, for he had special license to dance in this way, although it embarrassed young people. Even today, many enjoy the occasional lewd performances of the clown, but there are likely to be shouts of disapproval from the crowd at the larger dances, because the people fear that the whites may try to curtail their ceremonies.

Flatulation is suppressed because it is considered impolite as well as being disagreeable. No effort is made to control belching, and no one minds it. Spitting is a recognized necessity when phlegm is coughed up but should not be done before others. It is customary to walk to the edge of camp and face away when
doing it, and some occasionally go behind something. It is said
that in former times, even a child would not spit phlegm before
others. Old people occasionally spit on the ground while sitting
talking to friends, but they are almost always careful to cover
the matter with dirt immediately. Old people also spit occa­sionally into the first two fingers of one hand, and fling the
matter deftly out of the doorway. When nothing more than
saliva is expectorated, such manners are not necessarily ob­served. On smelling a disagreeable odor, or immediately after
having talked of something unpleasant, such as death, cus­tomarily a person expectorates rather forcibly, as if to get a bad
taste out of the mouth. The nose is usually blown with the
fingers, and because it is considered the same as spitting phlegm,
it is similarly avoided in the presence of others. However, if a
handkerchief is used, the nose may be blown at any time.

The term for divorcees, widows, and widowers, bijå:n, is also
applied to any loose woman and today is used for prostitutes as
well. Prostitution for aboriginal times was denied by two in­formants, but within the last forty years there have been
women who take money from men for sexual intercourse. Il­legitimate children are termed yù:dàstí:n (“born above”), cor­responding to the English word “bastards.”

Tremendous physical power, bulging muscles, ability to lift
heavy weights, and like feats, so often admired by whites, do
not impress the Apache, to whom this sort of strength is slightly
crude and uncouth. Wiriness, agility, speed, and endurance are
the qualities most admired, and accordingly, today, boxing,
basketball, and baseball are more popular sports than wrestling
and football.

Formerly, both men and women were careful to keep their
hair well combed and looking nice, and they generally took
some pains to appear neat. Even children were taught that they
should not let themselves look unkempt. Those who permitted
their hair to go uncombed and wore dirty old clothes were con­sidered lazy and consequently poor also. Bodily cleanliness and
new clothes were almost prerequisites for participation in certain
ceremonies to gain the approval of the supernaturals. “Unless
you take a bath and dress nicely, you will smell bad, and they
will not like you," it was said. In ordinary life old clothes were
no disgrace as long as they were reasonably clean and free from
raggedness. The pride taken in personal attire varied consider­
able; some dressed showily, and others did not. A nice attire was
always admired and considered a sign of wealth, but it was by
no means necessary to high social status, as is shown by the fact
that some chiefs almost always dressed in old clothes. Modern
conditions remain much the same.

Apache boys had aims and ideals which they dreamed of
achieving when they grew up. There were also certain men
whom they admired and whom they hoped to be like some day.
The following reminiscences, dating from the last decade of the
nineteenth century, when reservation life was in full swing, serve
to show what thoughts a boy might have along these lines:

When I was a small boy, about eight or nine years old, a maternal
uncle of mine returned from a scout enlistment. He was a young man
then, not yet married. He was a close relative of ours, the same clan as
I, but I do not know exactly what the blood relationship was. He had
been gone from home for six months, and on his return it struck me for
the first time what a fine-looking man he was. Before that I cannot
remember ever having admired a man especially or having wanted to
be like someone. He had long glossy hair, wore a hat, had good new
clothes, and his general appearance was striking. He rode a fine horse
and had a good saddle. He had money also, because he had earned it by
working. As he rode in, I thought, "I would like to be just like that
some of these days, when I get big." I used to say to myself, "When I
grow up, I'm going to work and have lots of money, just as he does."

I saw him when he married. Later on he and his wife had a baby
girl. I used to go and play about their camp, and my uncle would ask
me in for meals frequently. I liked the little girl and used to take her
home to my mother's wickiup and play with her. In about half an hour
her mother would come over after her. My uncle and his wife would
come to camp when my mother and older sister made tulibai. We used
to travel about together also, when we were not at the farms. I never
tried to follow my uncle about, because I was too small, and he would
not have liked it. I didn't particularly want to be with him all the time.
From the time I saw him return home after being a scout, until I went
away to school [at fourteen], he was the man uppermost in my mind,
the person I wanted to be like most of all.

One time I asked a cross-cousin of mine, then almost grown, who he
thought was the best man in our community. He mentioned my uncle, saying, "I think he is the finest man. He has long hair which hangs to the middle of his back, and he always wears pants, never a gee string. He has done so ever since he was a youth." There were other men with money and cattle whom we talked about, but my uncle was always the one I most admired, especially at the time I first noticed him. After that it didn't mean quite so much to me. I had another maternal uncle, more closely related, but he was an old man and did not interest me.

Formerly, the greatest achievement in life that a woman could hope for was to marry a good man, have children, excel in woman's work, be wealthy through her own efforts and those of her husband, have good sons-in-law, and sometimes possess and practice minor ceremonies. The two highest attainments for a man were to become a powerful and influential shaman or a great hunter, warrior, and leader. These two aims were seldom reached by a single individual, as the first called for imagination, a certain mystic quality, and ability to lead and influence people spiritually, and the second required an innate gift for leadership and an ability to excel in hunting, raiding, war, and speech-making.

Modern objectives in life have not changed as much for women as they have for men. The young man now idealizes the cowboy and sometimes the shaman, and the day may come when he will wish to be a member of the elected council of his people. Boys and girls who have been away to school often return with white ideals, and some girls are movie-star fans, some boys, sports fans. Graduation from boarding school to reservation life has a leveling effect on such things; but, with the wave of each succeeding generation that rolls in against the cliff of native ideas and customs, a little of the old cultural sand is washed away.
APPENDIX A

OTHER EUROPEAN TERMINOLOGY FOR THE WESTERN APACHE

2. White Mountain Coyotero: used for peoples of the White Mountain and Cibecue groups.
3. Pinal Coyotero: used for the Pinal, San Carlos, and Apache Peaks bands of the San Carlos group.
5. Gileños, Apache de Xila, Gilianians, Gila Apache, etc.: primarily the Eastern Chiricahua band of the Chiricahua division, though probably also applied to some of the Western Apache division through whose territory the Gila River ran.
6. Tremblers: uncertain usage, but one instance is on record of its application to people of either San Carlos or White Mountain group.
8. Tejua: a term of uncertain usage, apparently applied to Yavapai peoples living along the middle Salt River, but which may have also included members of the Pinal band of the San Carlos group, and the Mazatzal band, and first semiband of the Southern Tonto group.¹
9. Yabipais: the Yavapai, but also apparently used occasionally to include some Western Apache.²
10. Cosnino, Cosinos, Coninos, Coconino: terms in use by Spaniards and Americans for peoples living in the vicinity of the San Francisco Peaks at Flagstaff. It has undoubtedly been used to include people of Mormon Lake and Oak Creek bands of the Northern Tonto group, though its more common use was for Havasupai and probably Yavapai.
11. Mansos, Apache Mansos: terms employed for any Apache friendly to the Spanish and Mexicans and used at times for certain of the

¹ E. Coues, On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, etc. (New York, 1900), pp. 208–9.
² Ibid.
Chiricahua division and possibly some of the Western Apache, but particularly for a small band of Apache continually friendly with Mexicans and Papagos who lived about Tucson, San Xavier, Tubac, and Tumacacori.

12. Nijoras, Niforas, Nigoras, Nijotes, Nixoras: all forms of the same word. A people called Nijoras are indicated on a map of Mexico made in 1811 as living about the headwaters of the Gila River, and thus the term may have been used for certain of the Chiricahua and Western Apache divisions at times.\(^3\) However, the same term was in use by Papago, Pima, and Maricopa for any captive taken from enemy tribes and sold to the Mexicans of Sonora. Spier indicates that the word is probably Yuman.\(^4\)


APPENDIX B

WESTERN APACHE NAMES FOR ALIEN PEOPLES, GROUPS, BANDS, AND CLANS USED BY OTHER WRITERS

1. Apache names of Indian Tribes quoted in F. W. Hodges (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 30 [Washington, 1907-10]); from Bureau of Indian Affairs Reports; and from a manuscript by White, written in 1875.

**BANDS**

Chilion, or Zillgaw (many mountains) = dziłyq'á (Eastern White Mountain band)
Cil-tar-den, or Zill-tar-den (live outside in the mountains) = dzihl'ádn (Cibecue band)
Goolkizzen (spotted country) = gə́łkįjn (Canyon Creek band)

**CLANS**

Bissarhar = clan 21
Doestoe or Does-to-e = clan 7


**ALIEN PEOPLES**

Tze-kinne (Sobaipuris) = sákitiné (Pima, Papago)
Nakavdi (Mexicans) = nák'ayké (Mexicans)
Tu-sla, tu slango, tu-sahn, tusayan (plenty of water) = t'uláné (Laguna or Acoma?)

**BANDS**

Tzolgan (White Mountain) = dziłyq'á (Eastern White Mountain band)
Tzlanapah, Slá-na-pa, or Tu sla-na-pa (big band, plenty of water) = ṭá-nábáhá (Western White Mountain band)
Tziltadin (mountain slope) = dzihl'ádn (Cibecue band)

**CLANS**

I-ya-aye (sunflower) = clan 1
Tuakay (salt, salt springs) = clan 2
Tudisishn (black water) = clan 3
Tush-tun (fly, water on dragon fly) = clan 7
The Western Apache

Pe-iltzun (buckskin) = clan 8
Chilchadilklogue (grassy hill people) = clan 10
Tu-tonashkisd (water tanks) = clan 9
Tiz-sessinaye or Tit-sessinaye (little cottonwood jungle) = clan 11
Destchetinaye (tree in spring of water) = same
Tze-tzes-kadn (knife edge, on top of hill people) = clan 25
Ki-ya-jani (Alkalai) = clan 13
Ya-chin (mesquite) = clan 14
Nata-tla-diltin (mescal) = clan 15
Tza-é-dilkay (white sand) = clan 17
Tutzose, or Tutzone (water) = clan 18
Tutsoshin = same
Nato-o-tsuzn (point of mountain) = clan 20
Tze-che-chine (black rock) = clan 22
Tzis-eque-tzillan (twin peaks) = clan 26
Inoschujóchen (bear berry) = clan 28
Chiltneyadnaye, or Chisnedinadmaye (walnut) = clan 32
Gadinchin (rush) = clan 33
Nagosugn (farms) = clan 34
Tegotsugn = clan 35
Tse-binaste (round rock, rolling rocks, circle of rocks) = clan 38
Akonye (people of the canyon) = clan 39
Destchin (red clay, or red paint) = clan 41
Tzeskadn (fallen cottonwood) = clan 45
Satchin (red rock) = clan 46
Tziltadin (mountain slope) = clan 47
Kay-jatin or Kayhatin (willow) = clan 49
Kaynaguntl (people at mouth of Canyon) = clan 50
Klokadakaydn or Klugaducayn (Carrizo, or arrow weed) = clan 57
Indelchidnti (pine) = clan 58
Tzintzilchutzikadn (acorn) = clan 59
Yugoyekaydn, Yogoyecayn (juniper) = clan 60
Nagokaydn (pass in mountains) = same
Mayndeshkish (Coyote pass) = nonexistent


Alien Peoples

Yutaháa (live far up) Navaho = *yú·dåháq* (Navaho)
Tsekúlkinné' (houses on rocks) Hopi = *tsé·k’á’kíné* (Hopi)
Nashitézhí (blackened eyebrows) Zuni = *ná’-č’í’jé* (Zuni)
Aiaháa (people of the East) Chiricahua = *haɪ’ghá* (Chiricahua)
Saikînê' (sand houses) Pima = ṣáikîné (Pima, Papago)
Koún (rough) Tonto = ʔó·h₃ (ɬəvəpəj)

**GROUPS**

Dilzhá'n (spatter talkers) = ḏi petty 't'é (Southern Tonto, Northern Tonto)

**BANDS**

Klinápa (many travel together) Coyoter = ɬq·nàbə-há (Western White Mountain band)
Tzîl Aδın (by the mountain) = dzîl'â·dn (Cibecue band)
Des zepû'n (big gray cottonwoods) = tʾi·sʾè·bàn (Pinal band)
Tsəz Zhunê' (by the little black rocks) = t çejîné (Arivaipa band)
Chulînnê' = same?

**CLANS**

Ia Oₙ Yé (in black brush) = clan 1
Têntolzù'ga (juts into the water) = clan 4
Tse Teú'n (rocks in the water) = clan 5
Ta Kâin (sand people) = clan 2
Tu Dîlhkt'h Shan (by the black water) = clan 3
Ndé Nde'zn (tall people) = clan 6
Dosh To A (many flies) = clan 7
Ke Shîn Tiá'n (long row of sycamores) = clan 8
Tse Dës Kâin (white rock people) = clan 12
Nádotz Ózn (by sharp mountains) = clan 20
Pís A Hò (bank caved in) = clan 21
Nû'gwû Dîlhkîzn (between two mountains) = clan 29
Dës Lântin (where the cottonwoods meet) = clan 30
Kai Hiₙ Chin (through the willows) = clan 33
Glês Chîn (red clay) = clan 41
Kestêchî Nadakîn (ford between sycamores) = clan 43
Dës Kâin (cottonwood people) = clan 45
Tse Chîn (red rocks) = clan 46
Tzîlîh Ádîn (by the mountain) = clan 47
Kùsqà Dî Kâin (many reeds people) = clan 57
Il Chên Tiá'n (long row of pines) = clan 58
Chênche Chîchîl Kâin (clump of oaks people) = clan 59
Yahuí Kâin (white hill people) = clan 60


**BANDS**

Tʾisse bæn = tʾi·sʾè·bàn (Pinal band)
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APPENDIX C

TAG BANDS

FORT APACHE RESERVATION

B.—Chief was mbàkènàgic (meaningless), of clan 1; Eastern White Mountain, made up mainly of clans 1 and 20. They lived principally on East Fork and Turkey Creek. Their chief is now dead, and no new man has been appointed.

E.—Chief was bayilke, of clan 20; mostly Eastern White Mountain people with some Western White Mountain and made up mostly of clans 1, 20, 29, and 30. They lived principally on East Fork, some at Canyon Day. The old chief died, and tòksùjé (“wrinkled testicles”), of clan 2, a Western White Mountain man who lives at Canyon Day Flat, took his place.

H.—Chief was bë'dë·lkà·hn (“patched [like clothes]”), of clan 20; Eastern White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1, 29, and 30. They lived mainly about the mouth of Seven Mile Canyon on East Fork. When the old chief died, his son, xàtsò·yé (“weak one”), of clan 4, took his place. He has since died, and no one else has been appointed.

L.—Chief was ts'dòjì’ (meaningless), or Chino, of clan 30; Eastern White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1 and 30. They used to live mainly on East Fork and at Turkey Creek, but now are scattered between East Fork and Canyon Day Flat. The old chief died, and bìni·ntè·l (“wide face”), or Charley Ship, of clan 20, who lives at Canyon Day Flat, took his place. He has clans 29 and 30 among his people now as well as the other two clans.

P.—Chief was hàckè·tòdë·díldí (“angry he raises his hand”), of clan 1; Eastern White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1 and 30. They lived mainly around Turkey Creek. When the old chief died, his son, hàckè·dílë·lë (“angry he repeatedly picks it up and puts it down”), took his place.

T.—Chief was bëlnìtè (Spanish name), a Chiricahua; Eastern White Mountain, made up of people of Chiricahua descent and clans 1 and 30. They lived at Turkey Creek. The old chief died, and no one has been put in his place.

Y.—Chief was ’ick’-łga’ (“white boy”), of clan 4; Eastern White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 4, 20, and 30. They all lived on East Fork. The old chief died, and his son, dibè·łf (“sheep”), of clan 20, took his place.
D.—Chief has been *nānt’ālktė* (“chief scattered about”), of clan 21, for thirty-eight years, and probably longer. He lives at Canyon Day Flat. Tag band was Western White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1, 21, and 30. The people now live on East Fork at Canyon Day Flat and Cedar Creek.

G.—Chief was *nānōgō·hń* (“coming home weak from wounds and privation”), of clan 21; Western White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1, 21, and 30. They lived principally about Canyon Day Flat. When the old chief died, his son, *hācké·bāːdā·sži* (“angry someone stands on him”), took his place.

I.—Chief was *hācké·yktė·a* (“angry he asks for it”), of clan 1; Western White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1, 21, and 29. They lived on the upper part of Cedar Creek. The old chief died, and no one has been appointed in his place.

R.—Chief was *hācké·yktė·a* (“angry he goes out to fight”) of clan 2; Western White Mountain, made up mostly of clans 1, 2, and 21. They lived at Cedar Creek Crossing. When the old chief died, his son, *'agolt'q'ye* (“thin one”), R12, was put in his place.

A.—First chief was *hācké·yntil·i·dn* (“angry he shakes something”), or Pedro, of clan 46. He died, and a man called *tsájń* (“swollen one”), or Alchise, also of clan 46, took his place. In 1930 Alchise died, and his son, *mbā·dā* (“coyote”), or Baha, of clan 1, took his place. This last man is looked upon as one of the most influential Apache on the Fort Apache Reservation today. Tag band is made up of clans 1, 45, and 46 and is mostly living on North Fork and at Forestdale.

M.—Chief was *blchēfō·dn* (“metal tooth”), or Sanchez, of clan 57; Carrizo and made up mostly of clans 41, 45, and 57. They almost all lived at Carrizo in 1890. The old chief was killed, and *hācké·dā·nāts'-ištśi* (“angry a sound moves back and forth overhead”), of the same clan, took his place. This last man has died, and no one has been re-appointed.

V.—Chief was *tsi·ste'ilm* (“curley haired”), of clan 41, made up of clans 41, 45, and 57. They almost all lived at Carrizo in 1890. When the old chief died, *ndā·nnasane*, also of clan 41, took his place.

C.—Chief was *hācké·nārą·l* (“angry showering down”), of clan 41; Cibecue, made up mostly of clans 7, 12, 41, and 45. They all lived at Cibecue. When the old chief died, *tă·išę* (“he joins them [a group of people]”), or John Taylor, of clan 7, a relative of his, took his place.

O.—Chief was *tl’ę·gůlki·jń* (“spotted on inside of thighs”), of clan 45; made up mostly of clans 12, 13, and 45. They lived at *gād’ō·dą* (“juniper standing alone”) on the Cibecue. When the old chief died, his son, *yūndę́’ę* (“he throws a round object”), of clan 12, took his place.

Z.—Chief was *nā·tł̄ehōjį́j* (meaningless), of clan 45; Cibecue, made up mostly of clans 12, 13, and 45. They all lived at Cibecue. The old chief died, and no one was put in his place.
APPENDIXES

F.—Chief was *háčké-teč'inyá:* ("angry he goes outside"), of clan 24; Canyon Creek, made up mostly of clans 12, 22, 24, and 47. They all lived on Canyon Creek. When the old chief died, his son, *háčké-bá'-dźindi* ("angry in good condition"), or Willy Lupe, of clan 22, took his place.

N.—Chief was *tč'a'ndé:z* ("long hat"), or John Dayzn, of clan 13; Canyon Creek, made up mostly of clans 12, 13, and 23. They all lived on Canyon Creek. The old chief died, and no one has been appointed in his place.

SAN CARLOS RESERVATION

CF.—Chief was *bágúle* (meaningless), or Bylas; made up of Eastern White Mountain band people. They settled opposite Dewey Flats on the Gila River. Later they moved up the river to opposite Navaho Bill Point, and from there to Bylas. The government took the chieftainship away from Bylas and gave it to *góná:já* ("sitting sideways to the fire"), or Coon-can. Both of these men are now dead.

CG.—Chief was Santo; made up mostly of the *ńde'-ilt'anán't:-gé* ("mixed people") from Canyon Day and some people from both Eastern and Western White Mountain bands. They settled on the Gila River just east of Navaho Bill Point. Santo is now dead.

CJ.—Chief was *náhändjìl't-hé* ("he gives you up to the enemy"), or Nosey; made up of Western White Mountain people. They settled at Dewey Flats, then later at old subagency and lastly at Bylas. Nosey is now dead.

SB.—Chief was *háčké-gú:lı*: ("angry he so"), or Antonio; mostly made up of Pinal people. They settled on the San Carlos River a little this side of the present Lutheran mission. Antonio is now dead.

SC.—Chief was *ket'aglyucu/:* ("he drags moccasins on the ground"), or Captain Jack. He was not a real chief, but his father had been one. Tag band was mostly made up of Pinal people. They settled on the San Carlos River about halfway between Peridot and Six-Mile Bridge. Captain Jack was killed many years ago.

SF.—Chief was *dăbę-gusnd'i-hé*: ("invulnerable"), or John Smith.

SG.—Chief was *mba'jilgá:lę:* ("coyotes he eats"), or Sabe Mucho. He was not a real chief. Tag band was mostly made up of Pinal people. They settled across the San Carlos River from Victor's Bluff. Sabe Mucho is now dead.

SE.—Chief was *bëtı:* (corruption of Victor), or Victor. He was not a real chief but a Mexican captive. Tag band mostly made up of Arivaipa people. They settled on the San Carlos River at the foot of Victor's Bluff. Victor is now dead.

SH.—Chief was *háčké-ná-sbás* ("angry circular"), or Eskenaspas; mostly made up of Arivaipa people. They first settled on the Gila River by the mouth of Salt Creek. They later moved to old San Carlos. Eskenaspas is now dead.
SI.—Chief was nàdà'hì'á·lè' ("he chews mescal"). He was not a real chief, but his brother had been one. Tag band mostly made up of Arivaipa people. They first settled on the Gila River about one mile from the SH tag band, but later moved mainly to Bylas. nàdà'hì'á·lè' is dead and his grandson, nà-tè'è·è' ("never still"), is now leader.

SL.—Chief was hàcki·bànžìh ("angry, men stand in line for him"), or Eskimenzine; mostly made up of Arivaipa people. They first settled near old San Carlos but in 1877 moved down close to the mouth of the San Pedro River. In 1888 they moved back to the Gila River, settling at the old subagency, now Calva. Later they moved to Bylas. Eskimenzine is now dead, and James Nolene is leader.

SJ.—Chief was nànt'ántcó' ("great chief"), or Casador; made up of the San Carlos band. They settled in their old home on the San Carlos River, near the present Lutheran mission. Casador is dead.

CA.—Chief was 'ild'á·glûld'âl ("he stops running suddenly"), or Ttalkalai; mostly made up of Apache Peaks people. They settled about the mouth of Seven-Mile Wash on the San Carlos River, above Rice. Their old chief died in 1930, and none has been reappointed.

CB.—Chief was tc'ntsâ·zn ("big nose") or Toggy-Snoggy; mostly made up of Apache Peaks people. They settled on the San Carlos River near Six-Mile Bridge. Their old chief died and his son, 'indâ-yî·yâ·hn ("he kills enemies"), was appointed in his place.

SA.—Chief was Capitan Chiquito.

SD.—Chief was jàhn (meaningless), also called nànt'á·isdló·sè. He was not a real chief. Tag band made up mostly of Apache Peaks people. They settled on the San Carlos River below Peridot. jàhn is now dead.

SN.—Chief was hàcki-nàyè·ldâ' ("angry he sits restlessly in one place then another"), of clan 17. Tag band mostly made up of people from the first and second semibands of Southern Tonto. They first settled near old San Carlos but before 1888 had moved to Bylas. hàcki-nàyè·ldâ' died, and Gila Moses became leader. The latter died in 1936.

TA.—Chief was tc'a'á·bà·hì ("brown hat"), or Charley Pan; mostly made up of people from the Mazatzal band and first, second, third, and fourth semibands of Southern Tonto. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos but have moved away since. Charley Pan is now dead.

TB.—Chief was tc'ilte·'dì'ànë ("rectum"); mostly made up of people from the Mazatzal band and first, second, and third semibands of the Southern Tonto. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos. Now they are mainly scattered along the San Carlos River. tc'ilte·'dì'ànë is dead.
TC.—Chief was ńza-ďsi-ťy (“far off he becomes”), or Charley Nott; mostly made up of people from the fifth semiband of the Southern Tonto, and probably including some Northern Tonto. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos but have since moved away. Charley Nott is now dead.

TD.—Chief was nánt’ánłâ’ádzâ (“chiefs gathering together”); mostly made up of people from the fifth and sixth semibands of the Southern Tonto, and probably including some Northern Tonto. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos but have since moved away. nánt’ánłâ’ádzâ is now dead.

TE.—Chief was hacke-ń’a’ (“angry he scatters it about”); mostly made up of people from the fifth semiband of the Southern Tontos, and probably including some Northern Tonto. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos but have since moved away. hacke-ń’a’ is now dead, and no one has been appointed in his place.

TF.—Chief was kẽ-ńcítc’t’e (“not tenderfooted”); was mostly made up of people from the fifth semiband of the Southern Tonto and the Mormon Lake band. They settled on the Gila River below old San Carlos but have since moved away. kẽ-ńcítc’t’e is now dead.

TG.—Chief was hacke-ńkùsél (“angry he waves something long back and forth”) or Capitan Chiquito, not the same man as the leader of the SA band; made up of Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto.
APPENDIX D

CENSUS AND POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE WESTERN APACHE

Government censuses for the San Carlos Reservation list the people on the reservation as “White Mountain Apache,” “Coyotero Apache,” “San Carlos Apache,” “Tonto Apache,” and “Mohave” (Yavapai). The earlier censuses list the tag bands CF, CG, and CJ (White Mountain Apache) as “Coyotero,” and the tag bands CA, CB, and SA (San Carlos Apache) erroneously as “White Mountain Apache.” The remainder of the tag bands into which the people of the San Carlos group were divided all have “S” for the first letter. Lack of data on the tag band SD makes it uncertain to which group its people belonged, but they probably were San Carlos Apache and will be treated as such here. The SN tag band, though mainly Southern Tonto, was very likely one-third San Carlos people. No distinction is made between Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto, who are all listed as “Tonto” and given tag-band letters beginning with “T.” The Yuman peoples placed on the San Carlos Reservation, principally Yavapai, are termed “Mohave” in the censuses and divided into tag bands beginning with “M.” The Fort Apache censuses list Apache of both White Mountain and Cibecue groups as “White Mountain Apache.” The tag band A, originally formed from people of the Carrizo band, had so intermarried with Apache of the White Mountain group by 1893 that probably a third were White Mountain people. At the present it is safe to say that half of them are White Mountain people. In 1890 tag bands M and V were concentrated on Carrizo Creek, and there were comparatively few people living in the Cibecue Valley. However, at present the majority of tag band V and some of tag band M are located on the Cibecue, and there are only a few families left on the Carrizo. Therefore, the members of tag band V are probably composed of people from both Cibecue and Carrizo bands (two-thirds Carrizo, one-third Cibecue).

Fortunately, tag-band numbers are given in most government censuses, and by using them, together with information from Apache sources, it is possible to obtain the approximate number of people composing each of the five Western Apache groups as early as 1890. As this was only seventeen years after the San Carlos Reservation was established, the components of the original tag bands had changed little during that time. Three censuses from the San Carlos Reservation and two from the Fort Apache Reservation were used. In 1888 few if any
Apache had left San Carlos for the Verde Valley, but several years later many families moved there, and for modern data it was necessary to refer to a census of the Middle Verde Subagency, which, unfortunately, did not include tag-band numbers.

The census of the Fort Apache Reservation taken by Lieutenant A. Johnson in 1893 is shown in Table 1. The tag bands are listed alphabetically.

The census of the San Carlos Reservation taken by Captain Bullis in 1888 is shown in Tables 2-5. A satisfactory census, closer in date to that of the Fort Apache Reservation above (Table I), was not available,

**TABLE 1**

**Census of Fort Apache Reservation—1893**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Unassigned</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Apparently 18 families short: plus 18 families at an average of three members to the family which would allow for 54 additional males and females.

but the figures show that the population on both reservations was relatively static from 1888 to 1893. This census lists only names of individuals, not tag-band letters or numbers. Assuming that the name of each tag-band chief heads the list of the members of his tag band, as is the case in other early censuses, the names of the various tag-band chiefs were first located in the census and a count made of the persons listed between them. Though tag bands do not occur in alphabetical order, as they commonly do in other old censuses, the fairly even spacing of the tag-band chief's names in the roll seems to validate this method. It was impossible to locate the names of the chiefs for tag bands SF, SI, and SO, and the members of these tag bands are thus included somewhere among the SB, SC, SD, SE, SG, SH, SL, SN, and SJ tag bands. In a 1914 census the total numbers of these three tag bands was as follows: SF, 43; SI, 51; SO, 48. In Tables 2-5 the original headings, order, and spellings are retained.
TABLE 2

**San Carlos Apache**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Casador</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Eskenaspas</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Eskimenzine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Nalgoda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Victor</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Sabe Mucho</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>Skineltah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Anconio</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Mrs. Captain Jack*</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Captain Jack was probably killed prior to this, and the figures are reckoned on his wife's being listed at the head of his tag band.

TABLE 3

**Tonto Apache**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Chilchuana</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Charley Nott</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE</td>
<td>Eskelta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TG</td>
<td>Chiquito Hay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Charley Pan</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD</td>
<td>Nantanlazza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>Kay du cil chay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4

**White Mountain Apache**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Capitan Chquito</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Talci</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Toggy-Snoggy</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These two censuses make it possible to estimate approximately the number of people composing the five Western Apache groups in 1890.

1. White Mountain group: 1,275 plus one-third of tag band A (98); total, 1,373
   a) Eastern White Mountain, 748
   b) Western White Mountain, 527
   \{ plus 98

2. Cibecue group: 987 minus one-third of tag band A (98); total, 889
   a) Carrizo, 601
   b) Cibecue, 201
   c) Canyon Creek, 141

3. San Carlos group; 681 possibly plus a third of tag band SN (96); total, 777
   a) Pinal, 209
   b) Arivaipa, 112
   c) San Carlos, 53
   d) Apache Peaks, 126
   \{ plus tag band SD (73), and possibly plus 96

4. Southern Tonto group: 626 in tag bands SN, TA, TB, possibly minus a third of tag band SN (96); total, 530. The total of the TC, TD, TE, TF, and TG tag bands which were mixed Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto is 569. The Northern Tonto were probably never so numerous as the Southern Tonto. Besides this, they shared their territory with what they claim was an almost equal number of Yavapai. Basing assumptions on the character of the Northern Tonto country and its ability to support a population in which very little agriculture was practiced, of the above 569 probably 260 at least were Southern Tonto. The total number of Southern Tonto is, then, 799.

5. Northern Tonto group: 300.

The census of the Fort Apache Reservation taken by Mr. Donner, superintendent, in 1934 is shown in Table 6. This census, as do the modern ones from San Carlos Reservation and Middle Verde Sub-agency, lists individuals alphabetically according to English name, but if the person is allotted a tag-band number this is also given.
A census of the San Carlos Reservation was taken by Mr. J. B. Kitch, superintendent, in 1936 of individuals with Yavapai tag-band numbers. Although almost all are listed as Apache, they are, nevertheless, Yavapai and are not counted in Table 7.

### Table 6

CENSUS OF FORT APACHE RESERVATION—1934

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7

CENSUS OF SAN CARLOS RESERVATION—1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undeterminable: Males, 34; females, 20; total, 54
Unassigned: Males, 14; females, 28; total, 42
APPENDIXES

A census of the Middle Verde Subagency was taken by Superintendent C. H. Skinner in 1934. No tag-band numbers or other tribal identifications are given in this census. Residences are designated, these being Clarkdale, Cottonwood, Mayer, Prescott, Camp Verde, and "Unknown." All persons are listed as Apache in spite of the fact that the majority of them are apparently Yavapai. The total number of Yavapai-Apache is 416; probably about 180 of this number are Apache.

The women almost always outnumber the men in the early censuses, whereas modern censuses frequently show the men to be in the majority. Whether this is owing to the discontinuance of warfare or to other causes is undeterminable at present. Tag bands probably no longer retain their purity of aboriginal band components. Of forty-three tag bands, about half do show a gradual increase in proportion with that of the reservation populations, but the others have shrunk or gained considerably, and an aboriginal band estimate based on them would be uncertain. However, the amount of intermarriage between groups has not increased very much, except in the case of the San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto groups, and it is still possible to estimate roughly the number in each group. The same is also possible for the two bands of the White Mountain group.

1. White Mountain group: 1,602 plus one-half of tag band A (228); total, 1,838
   a) Eastern White Mountain, 906 plus 228
   b) Western White Mountain, 696
2. Cibecue group: 1,267 minus one-half of tag band A (228); total, 1,039
3. San Carlos group: 1,275 possibly plus one-third of tag band SN (100); total, 1,375
4. Southern Tonto group: 683 possibly minus one-third of tag band SN (100); total, 583. The total of tag bands TC, TD, TE, TF, and TG on the San Carlos Reservation, composed of mixed Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, is 246. Possibly 175 of these are Southern Tonto. Of the 180 Apache registered at Middle Verde Subagency, probably 50 are Southern Tonto. Total number of Southern Tonto, 808
5. Northern Tonto group: total, 201

The reason for the marked increase of the San Carlos group is very possibly due to absorption of Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto peoples. Though the total figures given for the San Carlos group in the 1888 census are reasonably correct, those reckoned for the Apache Peaks band at that time may be too great.
APPENDIX E

LIST OF WESTERN APACHE CLANS: CLAN INTERRELATIONS IN EACH GROUP

Clans of each group are segregated into numbered sections on the basis of similar relationship and marriage restrictions with all other clans in the group. Those sections in which relationship to clans outside the group is not identical are divided accordingly into A, B, etc. Clans in the same sections considered "closely" related are bracketed, and "close" relationship of one section to another when occurring is indicated below. "Distant" relationship between sections is likewise shown. Clans introduced into one group from another by legendary migration or intermarriage are noted "by intermarriage" or "by migration." Those with named divisions have them listed below the clan name as a, b, etc. Each clan has been given a number for purposes of reference in various parts of the book. Many clan names show slight variations as recorded from different people, but only those most commonly used are given here. Different versions will be found in the material on clan descriptions (pp. 600-29).

WHITE MOUNTAIN GROUP

Section 1.—Corresponds to section 2 of Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto groups.

A
1. 'iyâ'qiyé (see p. 600)
2. t'ud'gai'dn (see p. 600)
3. t'ud'îlší (see p. 601)

B
4. t'é'ndoljâ'ge (see p. 602)
5. tsét'é't'h (see p. 602)

Cannot marry in section 1. "Distant" relatives section 2.

Section 2.—Corresponds to section 4 of Cibecue and San Carlos groups.

6. nd'nd'é'zn (see p. 602)

Cannot marry in section 2. "Distant" relatives section 1.

Section 3.—Corresponds to section 5 of Cibecue group, sections 5, 6, and 7 of San Carlos group, and sections 3 and 4 of Southern Tonto group.

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APPENDIXES

20. nädöts'usn (see p. 609)
21. bizzahé (see p. 610)
   a) bizzahédîyûcê (see p. 610)

Cannot marry in section 3.

Section 4.—Corresponds to section 6B of Cibecue group, section 14 of San Carlos group, section 8 of Southern Tonto group, and section 2C of Northern Tonto group.

29. náyôdësgijñ (see p. 612)
30. t'i:sî:dn'î:dn (see p. 613)
   a) yà:nígî: (see p. 613)
41. dë stcì:dn (by intermarriage) (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in section 4.

CIBECUE GROUP

Section 1.—Corresponds to section 1 of San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups.

11. t'i:st'ê:dn'âyé (see p. 606)
12. tsé:dë:sgà:dn (see p. 607)
13. k'î:ya'dâ:dn (see p. 607)

Cannot marry in sections 1 and 8. “Distant” relatives sections 2 and 3.

Section 2.—Corresponds to section 1 of White Mountain group and section 2 of San Carlos and Southern Tonto groups.

7. dúcûp'é (see p. 604)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 3, 4 or 5. “Closely” related to sections 3 and 4. “Distant” relatives section 1.

Section 3.—Corresponds to section 3 of San Carlos group.

9. t'ânà:gi:zû (see p. 605)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 3. “Closely” related to section 2. “Distant” relatives sections 1, 4, and 5.

Section 4.—Corresponds to section 2 of White Mountain group and section 4 of San Carlos group.

8. bë'i:i:tsõn, k'is:ji:ni:t'e (see p. 605)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 4. “Closely” related to section 2. “Distant” relatives sections 3 and 5.

Section 5.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group, sections 5, 6, and 7 of San Carlos group, and sections 3 and 4 of Southern Tonto group.

22. tsètc'ëhè:sa:jiné (see p. 610)
23. tsëyà:dn (see p. 610)
24. dà:tsk'â:dn (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 5. “Distant” relatives sections 3 and 4.
Section 6.—Corresponds to section 4 of White Mountain group, sections 13 and 14 of San Carlos group, section 8 of Southern Tonto group, and section 2C of Northern Tonto group.

A

38. tsébiná:žé’i’é (see p. 617)

B

41. k’isdadé:ṣjá:gé, bisdadé:ṣjá:gé (see p. 618)
42. k’isdé:ṣi:ñá:dí:ñi (see p. 618)
44. gád’ó:dí:ñ (see p. 618)
45. t’í:sk’á:dí:ñ (see p. 618)
46. tcá:tcí:dí:ñ (see p. 619)

Cannot marry in section 6.

Section 7.—Corresponds to section 15 of San Carlos group, sections 9 and 10 of Southern Tonto group, and sections 3 and 4 of Northern Tonto group.

A

47. džút’a:dí:ñ (by immigration) (see p. 620)
48. k’áitsehj,t’t·dú (by intermarriage) (see p. 622)

Cannot marry in sections 7 and 8.

Section 8.—Corresponds to section 16 of San Carlos group, section 12 of Southern Tonto group, and section 6 of Northern Tonto group.

57. t’ó:k’á:dí:ñ (see p. 624)
58. ndítící:dí:ñ (see p. 624)
59. čítící:Cí:ší:k’á:dí:ñ (see p. 624)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 7, and 8.

SAN CARLOS GROUP

Section 1.—Corresponds to section 1 of Cibecue and Southern Tonto groups.

11. t’i:st’é:dí:ñ’ayé (by immigration) (see p. 606)
   a) t’i:st’sè:dí:ñ’ayé:yana:duzé (see p. 606)
   b) te’i:lgú:dí:ñ (see p. 606)
   c) nádá’hí:tcí:dí:ñ (see p. 606)
13. k’p’yá:’án (by immigration) (see p. 607)
14. i:ya’há:du:n (see p. 607)
15. nádá:bi:lma:dí:ñ (by immigration) (see p. 607)

Cannot marry in sections 1 and 16. “Distant” relatives sections 2 and 3.
Section 2.—Corresponds to section 1 of White Mountain group and section 2 of Cibecue and Southern Tonto groups.

7. dúcðpē' (by intermarriage) (see p. 604)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8. "Closely" related to sections 3 and 4. "Distant" relatives sections 1 and 6.

Section 3.—Corresponds to section 3 of Cibecue group.

9. t'ánsą́gizh (by immigration) (see p. 605)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 3. "Closely" related to section 2. "Distant" relatives sections 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11.

Section 4.—Corresponds to section 2 of White Mountain group, section 4 of Cibecue group.

8. bē't'sūh, k'isJeremy's (by immigration) (see p. 605)
9. tsa'li'dą́diń'ég (see p. 606)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 4. "Closely" related to section 2. "Distant" relatives sections 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11.

Section 5.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group, section 5 of Cibecue group, and section 3 of Southern Tonto group.

22. tsé'te'shēsájiné (by immigration) (see p. 610)
23. tsé'yí'dún (by immigration) (see p. 610)
25. tsį́ts'e'he'sk'įdhn (by immigration) (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8. "Distant" relatives sections 3, 4, and 10.

Section 6.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group, section 5 of Cibecue group, and section 4 of Southern Tonto group.

26. dzįló'ke'бол (by immigration) (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 5, 6, 7, 8. "Distant" relatives sections 2, 3, 4, 11.

Section 7.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group and section 5 of Cibecue group.

27. xągó:zi'le (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 5, 6, and 7. "Distant" relatives sections 3, 4, 8, 11.

Section 8.—Corresponds to section 5A of Southern Tonto group.

28. nótscó'òdžiin, t'i:stó'òdžiin (by intermarriage) (see p. 612)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13. "Close" relatives sections 10 and 13. "Distant" relatives sections 3, 4, 7, 12, and 14.

Section 9.—Corresponds to section 5B of Southern Tonto group.

31. t'i:tsyú'sik'ą́dhn (see p. 613)

Section I0.—

36. ságà-né (see p. 616)
37. dâñhâgâtsûdû (see p. 616)

Cannot marry in sections 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14. “Close” relatives sections 8, 9, and 13. “Distant” relatives sections 5 and 7.

Section II.—Corresponds to section 6 of Southern Tonto group and sections 2A and 2B of Northern Tonto group.

32. tc'Undl·'yénà-dñ'áiyé (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)
33. k'áintc·dñ (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)
34. nàgòzugû (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)

Cannot marry in sections 8, 9, and 14. “Distant” relatives sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 13.

Section I2.—Corresponds to section 7 of Southern Tonto group.

39. hâk'áqyê (by immigration) (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in sections 10, 12, 13, and 14. “Closely” related to section 13. “Distant” relatives sections 8, 9, and 11.

Section I3.—Corresponds to section 6A of Cibecue group.

38. tsêbíná·z't'é (by immigration) (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in sections 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14. “Closely” related to sections 8, 9, 10, and 12. “Distant” relatives section 11.

Section I4.—Corresponds to section 4 of White Mountain group, section 6B of Cibecue group, section 8 of Southern Tonto group, and section 2C of Northern Tonto group.

41. dève-stê·dñ (by immigration) (see p. 617)
42. k'êsdè·sjàğê, bìsdè·sjàğê (by intermarriage) (see p. 618)
45. t'i·sk'á·dñ (by immigration) (see p. 618)

Cannot marry in sections 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14. “Distant” relatives sections 8 and 9.

Section 15.—Corresponds to section 7 of Cibecue group, sections 9, 10, and 11 of Southern Tonto group, and sections 3, 4, and 5 of Northern Tonto group.

A
47. dzilt'â·dñ (by immigration) (see p. 620)

B

48. k'aitséht'í·dñ (by intermarriage) (see p. 622)
49. k'álxé·t'i·dñ (by intermarriage) (see p. 622)
50. k'aiblíhágam·t'í·dñ (see p. 622)

Cannot marry in sections 15 and 16.
Section 16.—Corresponds to section 8 of Cibecue group, section 12 of Southern Tonto group, and section 6 of Northern Tonto group,

57. šč'úk'à·dígàidn, dasitan (by immigration) (see p. 624)
58. ndîhícî·dul'ê·dù (by immigration) (see p. 624)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 15, and 16.

SOUTHERN TONTO GROUP

Section 1.—Corresponds to section 1 of Cibecue and San Carlos groups.

11. t'i·i'é·dùñ'yê (by intermarriage) (see p. 606)
12. tsé·dê·sgài'dn (by intermarriage) (see p. 607)
13. k'è·ya'ân (by intermarriage) (see p. 607)
15. náðà·hîndá·díth (see p. 607)
16. tsé·dåk'ijî (see p. 608)
17. sáï'ê·dígàidn (see p. 608)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 12, and 13.

Section 2.—Corresponds to section 1 of White Mountain group and section 2 of Cibecue and San Carlos groups.

7. dûcdê'ê (by intermarriage) (see p. 604)

Cannot marry in sections 2 and 3.

Section 3.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group and section 5 of Cibecue and San Carlos groups.

25. ts'é·t'éhê·sk'ê·dù (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 2, 3, and 4. "Distant" relatives section 5.

Section 4.—Corresponds to section 3 of White Mountain group, section 5 of Cibecue group, and section 6 of San Carlos group.

26. dañllê·kî·silåh (see p. 611)

Cannot marry in sections 3 and 4. "Distant" relatives section 5.

Section 5.—Corresponds to sections 8 and 9 of San Carlos group.

A

28. nošto'd·dijî, t'é·sto'd·dijî (see p. 612)

B

31. t'i·syü·sik'à·dù (by intermarriage) (see p. 613)

Cannot marry in sections 5 and 6. "Distant" relatives sections 3, 4, 7, and 8.
Section 6.—Corresponds to section 11 of San Carlos group and sections 2A and 2B of Northern Tonto group.

A

(32. \textit{te'htdzi'yéná:dn'aiyé} (see p. 614)
33. \textit{k'aintci:dn} (see p. 614)
34. \textit{ngótsúgn} (see p. 614)
\hspace{1cm} a) \textit{bik'ídn} (see p. 614)
35. \textit{t'egó:tsúdn} (see p. 615)

Cannot marry in sections 5, 6, and 8.

Section 7.—Corresponds to section 12 of San Carlos group.

40. \textit{ngó:n'á:n} (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in sections 7 and 8.

Section 8.—Corresponds to section 4 of White Mountain group, section 6B of Cibecue group, section 14 of San Carlos group, and section 2C of Northern Tonto group.

41. \textit{de'schí:dn} (by intermarriage) (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in sections 6, 7, and 8. “Distant” relatives section 5.

Section 9.—Corresponds to section 7A of Cibecue group, section 15A of San Carlos group, and section 3 of Northern Tonto group.

47. \textit{dzúü:bídn} (see p. 620)

Cannot marry in sections 9, 10, 12, and 13. “Distant” relatives section 11.

Section 10.—Corresponds to section 7B of Cibecue group, section 15B of San Carlos group, and section 4 of Northern Tonto group.

48. \textit{k'áitséh'hí:í:dn} (see p. 622)


Section 11.—Corresponds to section 15B of San Carlos group and section 5 of Northern Tonto group.

49. \textit{k'áixá:ti:dn} (see p. 622)
50. \textit{k'áibíná:gté:ln} (see p. 622)
51. \textit{pédíyájn} (see p. 623)
54. \textit{lé'c'iché:jé:n} (see p. 623)
52. \textit{mú:shí:n} (see p. 623)
53. \textit{k'a:blá:dn} (see p. 623)
55. \textit{nádíllk'áfsiká:dn} (by immigration) (see p. 623)

Section 12.—Corresponds to section 8 of Cibecue group, section 16 of San Carlos group, and section 6 of Northern Tonto group.

57. t'uk'a·dngaidn (see p. 624)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

Section 13.—Corresponds to section 7 of Northern Tonto group.

60. yà·gòhè·gaidy (see p. 625)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 9, 12, and 13. “Distant” relatives sections 10 and 11.

NORTHERN TONTO GROUP

Section 1.—

A

18. t'ú'ts'ôse (see p. 609)

B

19. t'ó't'âgn (see p. 609)

Cannot marry in sections 1, 6, and 7.

Section 2.—Corresponds to section 4 of White Mountain group, section 6B of Cibecue group, sections 11 and 14 of San Carlos group, and sections 6 and 8 of Southern Tonto group.

A

32. te'índi·yénà·dn'áiyé (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)

33. k'áïntčí·dn (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)

34. nà·gòzàgn (by intermarriage) (see p. 614)

B

35. t'e'gò·tsudn (by intermarriage) (see p. 615)

C

41. dê·stcí·dn (by intermarriage) (see p. 617)

Cannot marry in section 2.

Section 3.—Corresponds to section 7A of Cibecue group, section 15A of San Carlos group, and section 9 of Southern Tonto group.

47. dzùl'á·dn (by immigration) (see p. 620)

Cannot marry in sections 3, 4, 6, and 7. “Distant” relatives section 5.

Section 4.—Corresponds to section 7B of Cibecue group, section 15B of San Carlos group, and section 10 of Southern Tonto group.

48. k'áitsíhp'ti·dn (see p. 622)

Section 5.—Corresponds to section 15B of San Carlos group and section 11 of Southern Tonto group.

\[ \begin{align*}
49. & \text{ } \text{k'aixq'i'dn (by intermarriage) (see p. 622)} \\
50. & \text{ } \text{k'abiblnag'te'ln (by intermarriage) (see p. 622)} \\
53. & \text{ } \text{k'a-bid'a'dn (see p. 623)} \\
55. & \text{ } \text{nàdÌ̄k'alsikà'dn (see p. 623)} \\
56. & \text{ } \text{dàsìnédàsdáidn (see p. 624)}
\end{align*} \]


Section 6.—Corresponds to section 8 of Cibecue group, section 16 of San Carlos group, and section 12 of Southern Tonto group.

\[ \begin{align*}
57. & \text{ } \text{tl'uk'a'dngaidn (by intermarriage) (see p. 624)}
\end{align*} \]

Cannot marry in sections 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Section 7.—Corresponds to section 13 of Southern Tonto group.

\[ \begin{align*}
60. & \text{ } \text{ya-gòhè-gàidn (by immigration) (see p. 625)}
\end{align*} \]

Cannot marry in sections 1, 3, 6, and 7. "Distant" relatives sections 4 and 5.

**OTHER CLANS OR DIVISIONS OF CLANS, GROUP UNCERTAIN**

*In San Carlos or Southern Tonto groups.*—

- gulk'ídn or 'ulk'ídn; related to and unable to marry clans 39 and 40.

*In the Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto groups.*—

- nà-djàt-lbàyédnàdÈ ("brown seeds plant people") (named for a plant), related to clans 32, 33, 34, and 35.
APPENDIX F

CLAN INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN APACHE GROUPS

These interrelations apply only to clans not included within the respective groups. The relationships—"closely" related and "related"—preventing marriage are listed first, and "distant" relationships last. Clans are referred to by number and not by name. Sections are combined when their relationships to clans outside the group are identical. Those sections without relationships to clans not existing in their own group are omitted. Discrepancies between corresponding sections of different groups are in most cases due to the fact that Apache were often ignorant of clans in other groups.

WHITE MOUNTAIN GROUP

Section 1A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. "Distantly" related: 8.
Section 1B.—"Related" and "closely" related: 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.
Section 2.—"Related" and "closely" related: 7, 8, 10.
Section 3.—"Related" and "closely" related: 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28.
Section 4.—"Related" and "closely" related: 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.

CIBECUE GROUP

Section 1.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 60.
Section 2.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10. "Distantly" related: 14, 15, 16, 17, 28.
Section 4.—"Related" and "closely" related: 5, 6, 10.
Section 5.—"Related" and "closely" related: 20, 21, 26, 27, 28. "Distantly" related: 32, 33, 34, 35.
Section 6A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 28, 31, 36, 39.
Section 7A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 60.
Section 8.—"Related" and "closely" related: 14, 15, 16, 17, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 60.
THE WESTERN APACHE

SAN CARLOS GROUP

Section 1.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 17, 59, 60.
Section 2.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 24.
"Distantly" related: 16, 17.
Section 4.—"Related" and "closely" related: 6.
Sections 5, 6, and 7.—"Related" and "closely" related: 20, 21, 24.
"Distantly" related: 35.
Section 8.—"Related" and "closely" related: 20, 21, 24, 35. "Distantly" related: 43, 44, 46.
Section 9.—"Related" and "closely" related: 35. "Distantly" related: 43, 44, 46.
Section 10.—"Related" and "closely" related: 29, 30, 35, 43, 44, 46.
Section 11.—"Related" and "closely" related: 35, 43, 44, 46.
Section 12.—"Related" and "closely" related: 29, 30, 40, 43, 44, 46.
"Distantly" related: 35.
Sections 13 and 14.—"Related" and "closely" related: 29, 30, 43, 44, 46. "Distantly" related: 35.
Section 15A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 51, 53, 59, 60.
Section 16.—"Related" and "closely" related: 16, 17, 51, 53, 59, 60.

SOUTHERN TONTO GROUP

Section 1.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 58, 59.
Section 2.—"Related" and "closely" related: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 24, 27.
Sections 3 and 4.—"Related" and "closely" related: 20, 21, 24, 27.
Section 5A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 24, 38. "Distantly" related: 22, 23, 39, 42, 45, 46.
Section 5B.—"Related" and "closely" related: 38. "Distantly" related: 39, 42, 45, 46.
Section 6A.—"Related" and "closely" related: 42, 45, 46. "Distantly" related: 22, 23, 38, 39.
Section 6B.—"Related" and "closely" related: 22, 23, 42, 45, 46. "Distantly" related: 38, 39.
Section 7.—"Related" and "closely" related: 24, 38, 39, 42, 45, 46.
Section 8.—"Related" and "closely" related: 38, 39, 42, 45, 46.
Section 9.—"Related" and "closely" related: 58, 59. "Distantly" related: 56.
Sections 10 and 11.—"Related" and "closely" related: 56, 58, 59.
Section 12.—"Related" and "closely" related: 14, 18, 19, 56, 58, 59.
Section 13.—"Related" and "closely" related: 14, 18, 19, 58, 59.
APPENDIXES

NORTHERN TONTO GROUP

Section 1A.—“Related” and “closely” related: 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17.
Section 1B.—“Related” and “closely” related: 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 25, 26.
Section 2C.—“Related” and “closely” related: 38, 39, 40, 45, 46.
Section 3.—“Related” and “closely” related: 54, 58, 59. “Distantly” related: 52.
Section 4.—“Related” and “closely” related: 52, 54, 58, 59.
Section 5.—“Related” and “closely” related: 51, 52, 54, 58, 59.
Sections 6 and 7.—“Related” and “closely” related: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 58, 59.
APPENDIX G

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF WESTERN APACHE CLANS

Data pertaining to origin and meaning of clan names, clan localization, clan "relatives" and clan insignia, clan interrelationships, and clan legend are given for each clan. Where clan legends have to do with several clans, they are quoted following the descriptions of these clans. Prehistoric (prior to 1800) origins, migrations, and relationship origins, though often referred to in the following pages, are not to be taken as proved facts. They are mentioned because the Apache rely on them for explanation of much of the existing clan structure within the historic period. At the same time they probably contain a considerable amount of material that is historically valuable. In order to preserve legendary continuity, the clans are listed according to interrelationships and not by group. Those clans on which data were not obtained from a member of the clan or one whose father was a member are marked with an asterisk. Information on clans confined to a single group and data on movements and localization of clans within a group come only from members of that group unless otherwise indicated. (See Map VI.)

1. 'iya"ajye ('iya"ai people): its members first settled and farmed at site 'iya"ai, so called because many of these plants grow there. Place usually said to be northwest of White River Agency, by spring at foot of Round Top Mountain, though John Rope said upper west fork of Cedar Creek. Many of clan located here, with other concentrations on East Fork of White River, Turkey Creek, Eagle Creek south of Black River, and Point of Pine. Bad drought occurring about 1864 caused abandonment of 'iya"ai site and removal to Cedar Creek, Canyon Day, and East Fork of White River. Now located at these three places and at Bylas. Always one of largest White Mountain clans. Clan "relatives" all eagles and hawks, and Anna Price added king bird, mockingbird, and yellow warbler. Mrs. A. Stanley gave vulture, but Anna Price denied this. Plant for which clan is named also a "relative." Clan owned white corn, according to John Rope. See page 117 for clan insignia. People who first settled at 'iya"ai and became 'iya"ałyé were of legendary t'údnte'i dnû ("bitter water people") clan. Related to Navaho clan of this name. Anna Price also claimed relationship to Zuni clan called t'údnte'i dnû.

2. t'úgädîn, t'úhágayé ("white water people"): said by some to be
named for place t'úhágáí ("white water") on East Fork of White River in vicinity of Fort Apache, where they lived. Eighty years ago many of clan farmed here, at Canyon Day, and at Cedar Creek. Now located along White River, Cedar Creek, and at Bylas. Always one of the largest White Mountain clans. Clan relatives all eagles and hawks, and Anna Price added the plant 'iyá"áí. Clan owned yellow corn, according to John Rope. Same man said clan is not so closely related to clan 4 as to clans 1, 3, and 5. He said it was head of its phratry, quoting following legend to prove it: "The t'úhágáidn clan is the head of the 'iyá"áí, t'údixilí, t'é'ná dóljá'gé, and tset'é'dú clans. There was an old shaman of the t'úhágáidn clan who had great power. The people of the other four clans all came to see him. He wore a big white eagle or hawk feather in his hair, and those who visited him wore feathers of the same kind. He told them, 'I wear a white feather and you do also. It is my clan insignia, so it must be yours as well. Thus we are the same and related.' They all wore the same kind of feather, and so they called each other relatives." One legend (p. 603) indicated origin from clans 1 and 4. Related to the Navaho t'údnict'í:dn clan and, according to Anna Price, to Zuni clan of the same name.

3. t'údixilí ("black water people"): long ago ranged along Black River (t'údixilí) and were named accordingly. Clan sometimes called by nickname t'úhána'né ("across the water people"), which, according to John Rope, originated as follows: "One time, long ago, they say there were t'údixilí people living on one side of a river. Opposite them lived some other people. They called across the river to them, 'You will be our relatives,' and they became so. They called these other people t'úhána'né, and that is why the name is sometimes used for the t'údixilí." Claimed no farming site exclusively, but members had farms on East Fork of White River, at Canyon Day, Eagle Creek, and Point of Pine. Clan never large. A few now live about White River. Clan "relatives" all eagles and hawks, though John Rope says eagle not a "relative" because clan is "a little different" from clans 1, 2, 4, 5. Anna Price also assigned raven and the plant 'iyá"áí. Clan owned gray corn, according to John Rope. Related to Navaho t'údnict'í:dn clan and, according to Anna Price, to Zuni clan of same name. Of its related clans it is only related "closely" to clan 2, reason for this being explained in following legend from John Rope: "Long ago the t'údixilí clan was traveling along one side of Black River. The t'úhágáidn clan was traveling on the opposite bank. When the two peoples came abreast, the t'úhágáidn saw the t'údixilí and called across to them, 'Who are you?' 'We are the t'údixilí. Who are you?' they responded. 'We are the t'úhágáidn,' was the answer. Then the t'údixilí crossed over to them and said, 'From this time on we two will be relatives.' That is why they are still closely related."
4. *t'e'na·dolja·ge' (t'e'na·dolja·ge' people):* so called because settled and farmed at place *t'e'na·dolja·ge'* (“descending into the water in peaks”), where a ridge jutted out into valley, on North Fork of White River about three miles above White River Agency. Eighty years ago the majority of clan farmed here, and a few lived on East Fork of White River. Never large, today it is almost extinct. A few members live along White River. Nonmembers gave all hawks and eagles as clan relatives, and Anna Price added the plant *'iyâ'af,* kingbird, yellow warbler, and mockingbird. *k'a·'Ye-1* (“arrow quiver”), who belongs to clan, denied eagles and hawks as “relatives,” instead claiming *gâ·n* and *t'e'na·kâ·hft* (another name for *gâ·n*) because these supernaturals lived in cave close to *t'e'na·dolja·ge* and often visited river there. Related to Navaho *t'udnte'ñi* clan and, according to Anna Price, to Zuni clan of same name. Legendarily originated from clan 1 (see p. 603). *k'a·'Ye-1* quoted old belief that members of clan were first to have bows and arrows and therefore inherently have special power to ward off bullets and arrows. They are feared by others because of this.

5. *tslt'par;* (“rock jutting into water people”): so named because people settled and farmed at place called *tslt'par;* (“rock jutting into water”), where limestone ridge juts in North Fork of White River a mile or more above mouth of Diamond Creek. One legend (see p. 603) claims site was place of same name on Upper Salt River, near mouth of Cibeceue Creek. Clan has always resided on White River. Probably smallest White Mountain clan, it is now almost extinct except for few members living on East Fork of White River and at Canyon Day. Clan “relatives” all eagles and hawks, and clan owned white corn, according to John Rope. Related to Navaho *t'udnte'ñi* clan. Bonney recalled legend that members of clan moved downstream to form clan 4. He also mentioned rare and unapproved marriages with clan 3. Reason for clan 8 being more closely related to clans 4 and 5 than to clans 1, 2, and 3 remains unexplained.

A saying which concerns clans 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 is, “The Eagle People become gray haired early in life.” John Rope asserted that flute is related to these five clans, but other White Mountain Apache denied it.

6. *ndi'nde·zn* (“tall people”; sometimes incorrectly translated “long face people” or “long country people”): origin of name explained in following legend from Eva Longstreet (Eastern White Mountain band): “Long ago we were *be'iltsohn* clanspeople. Then we separated from the rest of that clan and went off by ourselves. We started to eat the spruce. We gathered it [green tips?] in burden baskets. Other people spoke about us and said, ‘There are those people gathering food from that tall tree, so they shall be called *ndi'nde·zn* (‘tall people’).’” Members concentrated in Point of Pine and Eagle Creek region south of Black River. Always small, now clan is almost extinct except for few
at Bylas and on White River. "Relative" is black-tailed deer, and Eva Longstreet gave as reason for this that woman of myth "She Who Became a Deer" was of this clan. Second mythical connection with deer found in origin myth of gán ceremony, in which members of clan were given potent deer-hunting charm by gán. Anna Price added thistle poppy as "relative." Members of clan contacted and intermarried with Eastern and Central Chiricahua more than any other Western Apache and are therefore sometimes said to be related to Chiricahua. Related to Navaho tůdhe’i’-dń clan.

The following legend involving clans 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 was recorded from Samuel George (Eastern White Mountain band):

"On the other side of yahiba, right at its foot, is 'iyâ'áí, where my people first had their farms. For this reason they were called 'iyâ'áiyé. Then some of them came over the mountain to t'e'ná-dōjia-gé. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. There was a ridge jutting out into the river, so they called it t'e'ná-dōjja-gé. They settled there and made farms, so they were called t'e'ná-dōjía-gé. These people were still related to the 'iyâ'áiyé. Then some of them went from t'e'ná-dōjja-gé to a distant place where the water was white. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. They named it t'ūhágái, and the people who lived there were called t'ūhágai'dn. They became the relatives of the 'iyâ'áiyé. I don't know where t'ūhágai was, but maybe it was the place called this north of Cibecue on Cibecue Creek. Then people from t'ūhágái went way down on Salt River to a place where a rock was sticking out into the river. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. They named it tsē'te'ná-dń, and the people who settled there were called tsē'te'ay. They became the relatives of 'iyâ'áiyé.

"Then some people from tsē'te'ná-dń went to a distant place in a valley, where cottonwood trees came together. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. They named it t'i-st'e'dń'áyé ("cottonwood extending to the water"). The people who settled there were called t'i-st'e'dń'áyé and became the relatives of the 'iyâ'áiyé. I don't know where that place is. Then they went from t'i-st'e'dń'áyé across Cibecue Valley, to a place where there was a white rock. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. They named it tsēđe'sgái ("horizontally white rock"), and the people who settled there were called tsēđe'sgaidn. Thus they are related to the 'iyâ'áiyé. Then some 'iyâ'áiyé went up Cibecue Creek near the present upper settlement, where there was a grove of alders. 'What shall we call this place?' they said. They named it k'isdjint'í' ("alders jutting out"), and the people who settled there were called k'isdjint'í'e. They also called them bę'llsóhn and nd'indę'zn; they have three names. Thus they were related to the 'iyâ'áiyé. The ones who later moved over to Eagle Creek and the region about it they called nd'indę'zn. Then people came from some place, I don't know where,
and went to the home of the 'iyą'ájįę. They said, 'There were lots of flies on what we ate after you left us. There were lots of flies on the old food.' For this reason they called them ducdp'ė. These are the clans related to the 'iyą'ájįę. Where the people came from before they went to 'iyą'ái, I don't know, but very long ago they were called t'údńć'ti dń."

The usual White Mountain clan legends are far less detailed, and the one below, related by Anna Price, is typical: "I heard from my grandmother thus. They were going to have a big dance somewhere, and all the people were on their way to it. The people who had their farms at nádőhős'ás ("slender peak standing up") were on their way, and they took the name of the place they were living and were called nádősh'usn. From 'iyą'ái the people were coming who had their farms there, and so they called them 'iyą'ájįę. From t'úhągą́í the people were coming who had their farms there, and these were called t'úhągą́ían. From bissáhę́ the people who had their farms there were coming, and so these were called bissáhę́. From t'údńxį́il the people were coming who had their farms there, and so these people were called t'údńxį́il. From dę-sći'-bık'ő ("horizontally red valley") the people who had their farms there were coming, and so these were called dę-sći'án. From náyą́dēsgı́jn ("between two hills") the people who had farms there were coming, and so these were called náyą́dēsgı́jn. From t'į́ slę-dń'tőbık'ő ("cottonwoods joining together valley") the people who had their farms there were coming, and these were called t'į́ slę-dń'ti dń. From t'ę́ nádőlỳą́gę́ the people who had their farms there were coming, and these were called t'ę́ ná-dőłỳą́gę́. From dźłmę́́ ("long mountain") the people who had their farms there were coming, and these were called t'ę́ ná-dőłỳą́gę́. From t'hle-dńt'ę́z ("cottonwoods joining together valley") the people who had their farms there were coming, and these were called t'hle-dńt'ę́z. From t'e'nę́dö́lja-ge' the people who had their farms there were coming, and these were called t'e'nę́dö́lja-ge'. That's how the clans all got their names. When all the people arrived where the dance was to be, the old women started to dance. They said, 'I am so and so because I come from the place of that name.'"

7. ducdp'ė ("fly infested soup people"): its members were the last to leave large, fly-infested encampment, said to be on west side of Cibecue Creek, one-fourth of a mile above present government sawmill (see p. 606). Concentrated on Cibecue Creek, with some members in San Carlos band and Southern Tonto first semiband. Now located mainly in Cibecue region. Related to Navaho t'údńć'ti dń clan and originally called t'údńć'ti dń before receiving present name. Conflicting opinion concerning exogamy with clans 11, 12, and 13. John Taylor says members on Cibecue Creek related to these clans and occasional marriages with them disapproved, but no marriage restrictions with clans 14, 15, 16, and 17. In other groups these seven clans not considered closely enough related with ducdp'ė to prevent marriage. Possible reason for discrepancy is legendary southward drift of clans 11, 12, and 13 and their consequent loss of adjacency to bulk of ducdp'ė. Relation with clan 26 not close enough to prohibit marriage may be because this clan always far removed from majority of ducdp'ė.
8. *k'isdjint'iʼ*é ("alders jutting out people"): named so because settled at site called *k'isdjint'iʼ* ("alders jutting out") on Cibecue Creek, about three miles above mouth of Salt Creek. Also called *beʼjstóhů* ("made yellow people") because dyed their moccasins yellow with inner bark of alders. Originally lived entirely on Cibecue Creek at above site, but long ago majority moved southwestward, striking Upper Salt River and following down to mouth of Coon Creek. This place also called *k'isdjint'iʼ*. Farmed here, later some members moving to Wheat Fields and other sites in San Carlos territory. Clan said to be continually on the move. Very few now remain at Cibecue, but small number located at San Carlos. Related to Navaho *t'údtéc'i·dů* clan. Originated from clan 7 or legendary *t'údtéc'i·dů* clan. Clans listed as "distantly" related were married.

9. *t'ánászigů* ("washed people"): received its name as follows in a legend recorded from James Nolan. "Long ago the *t'ánászigů* were called by a different name. In those days they were bad people, and lots of them were witches. In the dark they used to steal lots. The other clans talked it over and decided to do something about it. They lay in wait for one young man of this clan, who was still unmarried. The men who were watching, caught him doing something bad and killed him. Now the people decided they would kill every member of the clan. For this reason, they organized a big dance. While all the young men of other clans were dancing with girls of this clan, they planned to grab them and kill them. At the same time others would kill all the women and children. Thus they could stamp them out. That night, when they started to sing and dance, they did this and killed all the girls, women, and children. But one baby girl, not yet able to talk, crawled under a hide and remained there. When all had been killed, the ones who did it, said, 'Are there any more left?' and they answered, 'No, they are all killed.' Next morning they found the baby under the hide. Some of the people wanted to kill her right there, but the others would not consent as she couldn't talk yet and knew no evil. So they agreed to save her, but first they gave her a good bath, washing her well all over. Later on when she grew up and married, she had children, and it is from her that all the *t'ánászigů* have descended. Because of the bath they gave her they changed her clan name to *t'ánászigů*, and we still have it. This story was told to me by an old man named Lyer, a long time ago. 'This is the story of your clan,' he said to me. I don't know where it happened.' Originally they lived about Cibecue Creek, but majority migrated southward across Salt River into San Carlos territory. Is said to have been last of clans migrating south from Cibecue to cross Salt River. Existed in all four San Carlos bands but concentrated in Arivaipa band. Now almost extinct, a few members living at Bylas and San Carlos. Originated from members of clan 7 or legendary *t'údtéc'i·dů* clan (see
following legend). Its relation with clans 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 28 occasionally prevented marriage, possibly because of its relationship to clan 7, in turn related to these six clans.

The following legend related by Peaches (Cibecue band, Cibecue group) involves clans 7, 8, and 9: "About seven hundred yards north of my camp, up the creek [Cibecue Creek], on a little bluff called dle-cehilk'id ("white paint hill"), a great many people were camped long ago. Bit by bit they moved away to other places, until only one lot was left. The old camp was infested with flies, so the remaining people became the dúcdo'ę. Many alders grew at the place where the upper settlement is now, so that place was called k'isdjint'i'ę, part of the dúcdo'ę who were farming there became k'isdjint'i'ę, and, because they used alder bark to stain their moccasins, they were also called bè-ìltsdhh. Both are names of the same clan. Thus these people are related to the dúcdo'ę. Then some of the dúcdo'ę were witches. They washed these bad people and purified them, so they became t'ànásgiżn. They are still related to us dúcdo'ę."

10. tč'f'da-dlt'ł'ugf ("bushes sloping up growing thickly people"): so named for place of this name where people lived among thick growth of bushes on mountain. Some say site is between Apache Peaks and Salt River, but general opinion places it at west end of Pinal Mountains, near present settlement of Bellevue. Mainly centered in Pinal band, members living on and about Pinal Mountains. Some farmed Wheat Fields and Dicks Spring Canyon on Gila River. The few surviving live about San Carlos. Related to Navaho t'udn't:ī-dń clan. Originated from members of clan 8. Does not observe exogamy with its "distantly" related clans.

11. t'ì-st'l'ënl'ayl or t'ì-st'l'ënl'aídă ("cottonwoods extending to the water people"), also incorrectly called tís't'l'ënl'ayl and bís't'l'ënl'ayl: named for place where first settled. John Sneezey says site somewhere between White River and Zuni; others, that it is just west of White River Agency, two or three miles below Bear Spring; but people of Cibecue, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto groups generally place it at foot of Mogollon Rim, some miles east of Promontory Butte, at location known as t'ì-st'l'ënl'ayl ("cottonwood extending to the water"). Members of clan farmed in latter place, afterward moving southward, stopping at various sites en route. Majority became scattered among San Carlos bands, a few remained in sixth semiband of Southern Tonto, some in Cibecue group, and very small number among White Mountain group; not enough to count them a White Mountain clan. Divisions t'ì-st'l'ënl'ayl'ęyaneduze ("t'ì-st'l'ënl'ayl'ę stripped below"), tč'gülzdisn or tč'ëlt'ìndegülzdisn ("bushes in swales people"), and náádá'hi tč'ę dń ("dried up mescal people") only recognized in San Carlos group, and so may have received names after clan started south. First division said to have
lived at junction of Salt River and Tonto Creek, second composed of those who settled for a while near Mount Ord in Mazatzal Range. Once a large clan, many survive about San Carlos and a few at Cibecue. Related to Navaho t'údnte'į́́ ą́ dį́ n clan. Were known as t'údnte'į́́ ą́ dį́ n before they received present name.

12. Tsedę́-sgaídn (“horizontally white rock people”): named for place first settled and farmed, called tsedę́-sgaí (“horizontally white rock”) for white formation of crumbling rock on Canyon Creek, near present Chediskai Lookout. Long ago majority moved south, settling near mouth of Tonto Creek, later scattering to other parts of San Carlos group territory where they concentrated in Pinal and Arivaipa bands. A few lived with Southern Tonto near Promontory Butte on Mogollon Rim. Was large clan, and many members now live about San Carlos. Said to be identical with a supposed Navaho tsedę́-sgaídn clan and related to it as well as to Navaho kį́į́ yá’ą́ n and t'údnte'į́́ ą́ dį́ n clans. Originated from members of clan 11 who migrated from t'į́į́ st'ę́ dį́ n'ą́ i'yę́ to tsedę́-sgaí (see p. 609). It and clan 13 credited in one legend as last clans to arrive from north of Little Colorado River.

13. Kį́į́ yá’ą́ n (“below a house people”): first settled and farmed at site called kį́į́ yá’ą́ n in Gentry Canyon close to juncture with Canyon Creek. Majority moved southward long ago, striking Salt River and following down to mouth of Tonto Creek, where settled, later scattering over San Carlos territory, concentrating in Pinal and Arivaipa bands. Some lived among Southern Tonto about Promontory Butte. Formerly a large clan, many now live about San Carlos. Said to be identical with Navaho kį́į́ yá’ą́ n clan and, according to one story, “Long ago when the birds and animals talked like people, they started south with the tsedę́-sgaídn clan from a place in the Navaho country where a great building stood.” Related to a supposed Navaho tsedę́-sgaídn clan as well as to Navaho kį́į́ yá’ą́ n and t'údnte'į́́ ą́ dį́ n clans. Originated from people coming from tsedę́-sgaí (see p. 609).

John Sneezey gave dlp'áiltl (“black bird”), a black bird with white barred wings, like phainopepla but lacking a crest, as “relative” for clans 11, 12, and 13. Bear is also their “relative” and never harms them.

14. 'iyá’hađį́ n (“mesquites extending out darkly people”): named for place farmed on Salt River just below mouth of Pinal Creek, so called because of large mesquite thicket forming dark blot on landscape. Concentrated here until 1870. A few members now live about San Carlos. Related to a supposed Navaho tsedę́-sgaídn clan, as well as Navaho kį́į́ yá’ą́ n, and t'údnte'į́́ ą́ dį́ n clans. Originated from members of clans 12 and 13 who settled at site (see p. 609).

15. Nàdà́ bíhtná'dítý́ (“mescal with road across people”), sometimes said nàlàná’dítý́ by Southern Tonto; named for site of this name where
farmed, near head of Spring Creek Valley. Place so called, according to Henry Irving (sixth semiband, Southern Tonto), because trail went through many mescal plants here, or as Gila Moses said, "Because people of the Cibecue group habitually crossed here on way to Gisela region to gather mescal." Long ago majority moved southward to Salt River, settling near mouth of Tonto Creek, later spreading out among San Carlos bands. A few survive about San Carlos. Related to a supposed Navaho tsédë·sgáidn clan, as well as to Navaho k'j·'ya·'án and t'údutch'í·dhn clans. Originated from members of clan 11, coming from t'ì·sì·dàh'áí to nàdà'bílwà’'ditty (see p. 609).

Members of closely related clans 11, 12, 13, and 15 concentrating about juncture of Tonto Creek and Salt River, called t'úlé·dnlí· ('"waters joining"'), were sometimes referred to collectively as t'úlé·dnlín ('"waters joining people"'), almost as if they formed a single clan.

16. tsédák'ijí· ('"rocks spotted sloping up people"'): named for location where they lived called tsédák'ijí ('"rocks spotted sloping up"'), about halfway between Gisela and head of Spring Creek. Whites call place Turkey Track. Without farms and practically limited to first, second, and third sembands of Southern Tonto. Never large, several members now live in Upper Verde Valley. Related to a supposed Navaho tsédë·sgáidn clan, as well as to Navaho k'j·'ya·'án and t'údutch'í·dhn clans. Originated from members of clan nàdà'bílwà’'ditty, who settled at tsédák'ijí (see p. 609).

17. saí·'é·digaidn ('"line of white sand joining people") sometimes called sai'hagaídñ: named for farming site called saí·'é·dígai ('"white sand joining") on Tonto Creek, at Gisela settlement. Many people farmed here. Practically limited to first, second, and third sembands of Southern Tonto and concentrated in second semiband. Always small, only few members left at Cibecue and San Carlos. Related to a supposed Navaho tsédë·sgáidn clan, as well as to Navaho k'j·'ya·'án and t'údutch'í·dhn clans. Formed by people who came from nàdà'bílwà’'ditty (see following legend).

Henry Irving related the following clan legend for clans 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17: "Some people started from gúdálba·kó·wà ("dance camp") and came south this way to îmbú'sizhàn ("owl standing"). They moved on from there to tlúk'á·dáslgáiñ, then on to where two hills come up together and where there is an old stone house [prehistoric Pueblo]. Then they moved to léyít'ai ("water in ground") and then to tsé'yà·ná·'ílít'ó' ("he smokes under a cliff"). From here they went to where three white cottonwoods stood at the place called sì·sì·pó·'á' ("cottonwood standing alone"); and from there they came to tsé'ydítjétcó' ("large rock slide"), where there is a big rock with a trail going through it. Then they went on to sásmásndt'ê ("belt given away"), where there was a stone house [prehistoric Pueblo]. From that place they went to
The people settled in these different places, where canes were growing and there were cliff dwellings. They all came down together. Now at the last place they became t'i-st'e'dn'aidn. Before that they had no name. Later some t'i-st'e'dn'aidn came this way [west] and stopped at ts'ëdystc' ("smelling rock"). Then some people from t'i-st'e'dn'aidn came down and settled at tsëdësgài ("horizontally white rock"). These became tsëdësgài'dn. There was a cave at this place. After that some of the people from tsëdësgài went on to t'i-snadîtsuge and right there became k'j'-'yà'-'án. From there some of the people went south to iya'hadji'n ("mesquites extending out darkly") and became iya'hadji'n. Then from iya'hadji'n some of the people went down and became t'úle'd-nil'n at t'úle'd-nil'i ("waters joining"). Now from near t'i-st'e'dn'aidn some t'i-st'e'dn'aidn moved to Pleasant Valley, at t'i-stc'-hàdostjii ("big cottonwoods in a black slope"), where there is a ruin. Then they moved west again to nadà'bilnà'ditin ("mesca l with road across"), where they settled and became nadà'bilnà'ditin. Then some people from there moved to sáî't' digài ("white sand joining") and became sáî't'digà'adn. Then some other nadà'bilnà'ditin went from nadà'bilnà'ditin to tsëdák'ij ("spotted among rocks") and became tsëdák'ijù. This was the end.

18. t'u'tts'o's, t'u'tts'o'sn ("water spray people"): so named because lived ab out place called t'u'tts'o's ("water spray") on West Clear Creek, not far above present highway crossing. Limited to Northern Tonto, but possibly few members among Southern Tonto. Now extinct. Originated from people of clans 47 and 60 (see p. 627).

19. t'6t'age, t'6t'adìi ("water at foot [of hill] people"): named for place called t'6t'age ("water at foot [of hill]") where water flows around both sides of hill on Strawberry Creek, southwest of Irving Power Plant on Fossil Creek. Concentrated here and limited to Northern Tonto group except for few intermarried with Southern Tonto. Only one woman survives, living in Upper Verde Valley. Henry Irving says people originally came from north, in vicinity of San Francisco Peaks. Another legend (see p. 627), credits part of clan as originating from clan 60. Curiously enough, "closest" related clan is clan 25.

20. nadôts'as, nadô ho' ts'asn ("slender peak standing up people"): named for nadôhôts'as ("slender peak standing up"), cone-shaped Odart Mountain on the head of Bonito Creek near mouth of Squaw Creek, where they first settled and farmed. Eighty years ago some members farmed here, and many also farmed on East Fork of White River. One of largest White Mountain clans and mainly confined to Eastern White Mountain band. Many now located on East Fork of White River, Turkey Creek, and at Bylas. Clan "relative" is road runner or chaparral cock, and Anna Price also assigned the grass
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tl'o'hits'ōs ("slim grass"). Clan owned black corn, according to John Rope. Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi'-dān ("in the rocks people") clan. Some say clan members were known as tséyi'-dān before they received present name.

21. bìszáhè (bìszáhè people): named for site called bìszáhè where first settled and farmed, by Bear Springs, northwest of White River Agency. Meaning of name uncertain, though said to refer to adobe cut-bank. A division or matrilineal lineage of clan living just below bìszáhè in same valley, called bìszáhèdíłyùcę ("shouting bìszáhè") because shouted frequently. Originally concentrated about Bear Springs, but many forced to leave because of severe drought about 1864. Other concentrations on Cedar Creek, at Canyon Day, and one unit of bìszáhèdíłyùcę on East Fork of White River, just below present Lutheran mission school. One of largest White Mountain clans. Many left on Cedar Creek, at Canyon Day, and at Bylas. Clan "relative" is road runner or chaparral cock, and Anna Price also assigned the grass tl'o'hits'ōs ("slim grass"). Clan owned black corn, according to John Rope. Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi'-dān clan. Samuel George said originated from clan 19, and John Rope claimed opposite.

22. tsétc'ehé-sdíjiné ("rocks extending out darkly people"): named for or possibly giving its name to place called tsétc'ehé-sdíjiné ("rocks extending out darkly"), where were many dark boulders at eastern foot of Sierra Ancha in region of Pueblo Canyon on Cherry Creek, at which finally settled and farmed. Joe Hoffman (Canyon Creek band, Cibecue group) said it arrived from north later than many other clans, first settled on Canyon Creek near mouth of Oak Creek, then moved to tsétc'ehé-sdíjiné. Later split up again, many moving back to Canyon Creek, some crossing Salt River and dispersing among San Carlos bands. Only a few left, some on Oak Creek, near Cibecue, and several about San Carlos. Joe Hoffman gave nà-tcó-íkij ("eagle") and phainopepla as clan "relatives," and mbã’dócöké ("wolf tracks") assigned Gambel’s quail and road runner. Special power over eagle was claimed, and this bird also watched over clanspeople. Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi'-dān clan. "Close" relative is clan 23, and both clans sometimes spoken of as one.

23. tséyi'-dān ("in the rocks people"): settled on Salt River in Soldier Canyon, at place called tséyi' ("in the rocks"), where there is deep canyon with many dark rocks in it. Either took name from place or gave name to it. Came south from Little Colorado River with clan 22 and lived with them first on Canyon Creek before moving to tséyi'. Later migrated south of Salt River, finally becoming part of Apache Peaks band. Said to be second clan to move south of Salt River. Only a few remain at San Carlos. Clan "relatives" are phainopepla and nà-tcó-íkij ("eagle"), according to Joe Hoffman. Wolf Track gave road-
runner. Said to be identical with a supposed Navaho tséyi'-'dū clan. Following legend related by Peaches. “They say that long ago this clan came from a deep canyon called tséyi' up in the Navaho country, and that only the people of the clan who lived in the bottom of the canyon knew how to get down. Others were afraid to try it for fear they would fall and kill themselves. That is how they got their name, tséyi'-'dū.”

24. dā'izk'án (“flat topped people”): named for Gentry Mountain west of Canyon Creek, called dā'izk'á (“flat topped”). Settled and farmed in Gentry Canyon not far above confluence with Canyon Creek. Never left region. Only a few left, at Cibecue, or Canyon Creek, and San Carlos. Relationship to clans 22, 23, 26, and 27 not so close as one these clans bear each other. Joe Hoffman says reason may be explained by legendary origin of clan from sáikiné (Pima, Papago, or prehistoric people) captives taken by clan 22.

25. tsj'ts'ehe·sHídn (“trees on hilltop people”): named for hilltopped with trees called tsj'ts'éhè·sklánd (“trees on hilltop”), near Young in Pleasant Valley, where settled and farmed. Many farms and camps here once, but long ago majority of clan moved southward, crossed Salt River, stopping at Wheat Fields. Spread to other San Carlos bands, but concentrated at Pinal and Apache Peaks bands. A few remained among sixth semiband of Southern Tonto which took over part of old farming site. Some also among first semiband of Southern Tonto. Now only a few remain, about San Carlos. Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi'-'dū clan.

26. dažile·ke'sláhn (“mountains in line, ropelike, people”): named for locality where originally lived called dažileke'slánda (“mountains in line, ropelike”), where two high peaks stood one in front of the other, either Four Peaks and Mount Ord in Mazatzal Range, or Mazatzal Peak and North Peak in same range, according to San Carlos sources. Left here long ago to settle at Wheat Fields. hástf'hit.naba·ha (“old man he goes to war”) said that a woman of the clan married one of clan 39, then already settled at Wheat Fields. When her family visited her, they liked it so much they returned, bringing majority of clan. Was confined to Mazatzal band and first semiband of Southern Tonto, and in San Carlos group concentrated in Pinal band, spending much time about Pinal Mountains. Only eight or ten left, at San Carlos and Bylas. Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi'-'dū clan.

27. xágó·ztè·lè (“slanting up broadly people”): named for an open country, and either took name from or gave it to one of two places: wide, grassy valley at head of Seven-Mile Wash between the Apache Peaks and Seven-Mile Mountains, or open, sloping country extending from south side of Apache Peaks toward Globe. Limited to San Carlos group and living about Apache Peaks almost entirely. A few now left
about San Carlos. Wolf Track gave Mearn’s quail and road-runner as clan “relatives.” Related to a supposed Navaho tséyi’·dů clan. Wolf Track related following legend. ‘‘Long, long ago, in the beginning, there were only two clans, one the dúcv dó’ and the other the xágó·ztè·lē. In those days the dúcv dó’ were called t’údnc’·dů, and the xágó·ztè·lē were named djúná’áidndě (“sun people’’). That was at the start of everything. Later the xágó·ztè·lē people were living near Cibecue. From there they moved south across Upper Salt River, to their country about the Apache Peaks. They were the first clan to go south of the Salt River, it is said.”

The same man also recalled a legend fragment saying that clans 22, 23, 25, 26, and 27 were long ago all called djúná’áidndě (“sun people”), because they originally came from a place right under the sun.

28. nóstco’·díjił, dínóstco’·díjił (“big manzanitas extending up darkly people”), or i’stitco’·díjił (“big cottonwood extending up darkly people”), or, incorrectly, nístco’·díjił and nístco’·díjił: named for place called nóstco’·díjił (“big manzanitas extending up darkly”) where slope was dark with many big manzanita bushes, among which members lived. Long ago majority left and settled in southeastern Yavapai territory west of Mount Ord in Mazatzal Range, about Sunflower Valley. Became intermixed with Yavapai here. Without farms, visited Southern Tonto farms on Tonto Creek in fall for corn. Some married into San Carlos group bands, particularly Pinal band. Very few left living about San Carlos. Henry Irving said originated from women of clan 34 who settled at place nóstco’·díjił on East Verde, near mouth of City Creek (see p. 621). This might account for its being “related” to “closely” related clans 32, 33, 34, and 35, who may be channel through which “distant” relationship exists with clan 41 and closely affiliated clans. Joe Hoffman said clan originated from members of clan 22 who settled at place called nóstco’·díjił. This may explain its “close” relation to clans 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, and 26, though reason for lack of equal relationship to clan 27 is not clear. Wolf Track said clan originated from Apache Mansos of Tucson region, from which its “close” relatives, clans 36 and 37, also came. This could explain “close” relationship to clans 36 and 37 and their “closely” related clan 38. Also may explain “distant” relationship to clan 41 and closely affiliated clans, as well as to clans 39 and 40 through intermediary relation of clans 36, 37, and 38. Henry Irving, Joe Hoffman, and Wolf Track, each coming from different groups in which relations of this clan varied, naturally gave legends explaining its relationships in their respective groups. Adjacency to other clans probably had much to do with varying relationships.

29. návvdèsjį́n, návnáèdèsjį́n (“between two hills people”): named for place called návvdèsjį́ (“between two hills”) at head of Cottonwood
Wash on divide between North Fork of White River and head of Cedar Creek, at small farming site. Palmer Valor says place on Black River a mile or so above mouth of White River. Eighty years ago few if any resided at head of Cottonwood Wash, though some lived about Black River site and Canyon Day. Main concentration on West Fork of Cedar Creek. Members now live on Cedar Creek, with few at Canyon Day and elsewhere. Clan “relative” is bear, and Anna Price added the grass tl’o’tc‘ ("red grass"). Clan owns "round corn" and blue corn, according to John Rope. Related to Navaho t’i:sk’a:dn and dë stë:dn clans.

30. t’i:stél:dnt’i:dn, t’i:stél:dnt’i:hé ("cottonwoods joining people"): named for place where first settled and farmed, at forks of Cedar Creek, called t’i:stél:dnt’i: ("cottonwoods joining") because two groves of cottonwoods joined at forks. Sometimes improperly called dzillé dni’i:dn ("mountains joining people") and erroneously said to be named for dzillé dni’i: bək’ið ("mountains joining valley"), the valley of Eagle Creek south of Black River. Division of clan called yà:níg’i:é ("single stalk growing up people"), according to John Rope, who says one of men stood erect by self and thus earned nickname. Palmer Valor said name alluded to people habitually camping below rest of clansmen on Cedar Creek. Actually term may be used as nickname for any member of clan and at Canyon Day is now used by other people in preference to true name of clan. Concentrated at forks of Cedar Creek, also some at Canyon Day, and on East Fork of White River. Unit of yà:níg’i:é lived just below present Lutheran mission school on East Fork of White River. Majority now live on Cedar Creek, at Canyon Day, and some elsewhere. Clan “relative” is bear, and Anna Price added the grass tl’o’tc‘ ("red grass"). Francis Drake also gave red-tailed hawk but denied vulture, which Nancy Wright (Eastern White Mountain band) assigned. Clan owned blue corn, according to John Rope. Related to Navaho t’i:sk’a:dn and dë stë:dn clans. Samuel George said originated from members of clan 29 who settled at t’i:stél:dnt’i:, but John Rope told the following legend which states it is the head of its related clans: "The t’i:stél:dnt’i:dn is the head clan of its related clans because it received its name first. There was one spring in the region. The t’i:stél:dnt’i:dn were living at it. Then the náyodësgijin moved into the country and arrived at the spring. The two clans agreed they would become relatives, and from that time on they were related."

31. t’i:syú:‘sik’â:dn ("at the standing cottonwood people"): named for place called t’i:syú:‘sik’â:d ("at the standing cottonwood") because a lone cottonwood grew there, on the west side of Mount Ord in Sunflower Valley region where members lived with "closely" related clan 28. Originally purely Apache, clanspeople absorbed by Southeastern Yavapai and now said to be Yavapai clan. Few married among
Southern Tonto and Pinal bands. Those living about Sunflower Valley without farms, and accompanied clan 28 to Tonto Creek farms of Southern Tonto for corn. Only one or two Apache members survive about San Carlos, and little known of clan now. Originated from members of clan 35 who migrated south to t'i·syú·sik'á·d (see p. 621). John Sneezey says, "They say half of the people moved from t'i·syú·sik'á·d to tcé·tcó·slá' ("big red paint in line"), a place in the region of Four Peaks. There they became Yavapai and formed the Yavapai clan tcé·tcó·slán ("big red paint in line people"). Then another party of Apache moved on to 'i·yán'a' in Yavapai country and became Yavapai also. About sixty years ago a Yavapai called ba·tc ח y was the chief of these people." Confusing relationship with other clans. "Distant" relation to clan 41 and closely affiliated clans may be either through clan 35 or through clan 36 and their closely affiliated clans.

Clans 28 and 31 were the only Apache peoples outside of the Northern Tonto who lived intermixed with Yavapai. However, they cannot be compared to the Northern Tonto in this, for they were largely absorbed by the Yavapai with whom they lived.

32. tc·'İndi·yénà·dn'á'yé, tc·'İndi·yénà·dn'á'dú ("walnut trees people"): first settled and farmed at tc·'İndi·yénà·dn'á' off north end of Mazatzal Mountains near dák'ë·gùdùtł'Ju ("blue farms") (see p. 615). Concentrated here, though many moved to other parts of Southern Tonto country and some reached San Carlos bands. Clan a large one, and many remain about San Carlos, Gisela, and Upper Verde Valley. Charley Nokeye claimed Navaho had clan of same name and identity, though one legend says tc·'İndi·yénà·dn'á'yé originated from women of clan 34 (see p. 621). Related to Navaho dè·stci·dú clan.

33. k'atntc•dit, k'atdntc•dit, k'atzhltc•dit ("reddened willows people"): named for place where settled and farmed, k'atntc: ("reddened willows") at Round Valley near Payson. Confined to Southern Tonto except for few members intermarried with San Carlos and Northern Tonto. Small clan and now few left. Related to Navaho k'j·'hitc•dú ("red house people") and dè·stci·dú clans. Originated from clan 32 in one legend (see p. 615), and from clan 35 in another (see p. 621). Emmory Star recalled legend that clan originated from captive woman.

34. ná·gòzùgn, ná·gòzùgh ("marked on ground people"): named for place ná·gòzùd ("marked on ground") in Weber Canyon just north of East Verde River, where settled. Henry Irving says marks made by water flowing downhill from spring, while Charley Nokeye claimed marks drawn by people. Division of clan called bìk'idn: ("on a hilltop people") were named for place they farmed termed bìk'ld ("on a hilltop"), about two miles above East Verde Bridge on Pine to Payson road. Division unknown outside Southern Tonto group. Concentrated in fifth semiband of Southern Tonto, some migrated to Fossil Creek to
live with Northern Tonto, and quite a few married with Mormon Lake band. Few in Arivaipa and Pinal bands. A large clan, many still live at San Carlos, Gisela, and Upper Verde Valley. Related to Navaho dëstc'i·dùn clan. Originated from members of clan 35 (see p. 616).

35. t'e'gô·tsûdûn, t'e'gô·tsûgê ("yellow streak running out from the water people"): named for place t'e'gô·tsûgê ("yellow streak running out from the water"), present site of Payson, where first settled and farmed. Mainly confined to third semiband of Southern Tonto; some in Northern Tonto bands. Members still live at San Carlos, Gisela, and Upper Verde Valley. Related to Navaho dëstc'i·dùn clan. In one legend said to originate from clan 33 (see following legend).

Relation of clans 32, 33, 34, and 35 to clans 22 and 23 confusing. Among Southern Tonto only clan 35 prohibited from marrying clans 22 and 23 because of "close" relationship. Reason possibly that clan 35 more in contact with these two clans and that distant relationship of clans 32, 33, and 34 to them was through clan 35. Apache explain relationship of clans 32, 33, 34, and 35 to clan 41 and closely affiliated clans by legend saying clan 32 came down from Little Colorado River with clan 41, and that the two were already related at that time. The legend follows as told by Charley Nokeye:

"Long, long ago, all our people were living up in the Navaho country with the Navaho. Then the Navaho started to fight and killed some people. Then the Navaho fought with our people and we fought with them. People were killed on both sides. Because of this our people didn't want to stay there any longer, so they started south in this direction. They traveled down through tséde-stc'i ("rock horizontally red") and kept on their way to yá·gê'gái ("whiteness spread out descending") and on to dák'ê'gûdûlïj ("blue farms"). Finally, when they got there, they stopped. These first people, coming ahead of the rest, were only k'âitsêhi't'i·dùn clanspeople, and there were not very many of them. They stopped there under a grove of big walnut trees and camped. The next ones to come were a large party of people. On the way down, part went to dè·stc'i·bîk'o ("horizontally red valley"). These were the dè·stc'i·dùn. The other part came to dák'ê'gûdûlîj where the k'âitsêhi't'i·dùn had arrived shortly before them. They stopped under the walnut trees also. Many people were in this crowd, but there were only a few k'âitsêhi't'-i·dùn, so they said, 'There are only a few of us, so we might as well go down by the river where the willows are, and live there.' They moved their camp down to the river and left the large party at the walnuts. There were so many of these people that they were like the nuts from the trees under which they camped. They were t'c'i'ンドi·yênû·dn'aiyê. Then half of the t'c'i'ンドi·yênû·dn'aiyê moved up to k'âîncî· and settled. These became the k'âîncî·dûn. Then part of the k'âîncî·dûn went to t'e'gô·tsûgê and settled. These became the t'e'gô·tsûdûn. Then half of the
moved over some eight miles to the other side of t'e'gòtsùdn to bìk'ídn, and that's what I am. Then part of these bìk'ídn went to a good spring and good land about a mile away. They came back and told their families how they had found fine land and that they might as well take up farms at the site. These families moved to that place. Someone had made a mark on the ground there, and for this reason the people were called nà:gòzùgn, which is what I really am. Then part of the nà:gòzùgn went down the river until they came to a good place with a broad bottom. They stopped and made farms. This was at t'i:snàgòlgái ("cottonwoods extending across in level whiteness"). From here part of the nà:gòzùgn went up to a place called nà:gòn'á ("bridge across"), where they found a people already living, the nà:gòn'án. The nà:gòzùgn didn't know where these people had come from, but they settled there and lived with them at their farms. At this place they could see tracks inside (a cave) of people who had danced, but couldn't find what people made them. There it is like two black snakes pointing toward each other, with a road between them. It's a place for snake power. These same nà:gòzùgn went on from nà:gòn'á, where by Pine is now, and then on to Fossil Creek, where they started to farm. Part of the k'àitséhj'ítdn, back by dák'è:gùdùlij, went over beyond sái'è:dígái, stopping near, on the other side of a big mountain, to make their homes. From there the k'àitséhj'ítdn spread out and multiplied. This is a story that I heard from an old man. The k'àitséhj'ítdn had no farm at that second place."

36. ságùnè: origin of name not clear. Albert Nolan thought might have something to do with woman's breast. Slight chance it was derived from sáikiné (Pima, Papago, prehistoric peoples, and possibly Sobaipuri), though no Apache information to this effect. Limited to San Carlos group and concentrated in Pinal band where lived mainly about Pinal Mountains. Only seven or eight members left, living about San Carlos. Old Man He Goes to War said originally lived in Sierra Ancha, but clan only vaguely known to Southern Tonto and Cibecue groups as one never residing north of Salt River. Wolf Track told following legend: "Long ago, they say, a part of the Apache Mansos living near Tucson came up along the San Pedro River. Somewhere near its juncture with the Gila River they met people of the Arivaipa and Pinal bands. They joined them, saying, 'We are called ságùnè and have come to live with you.' From that time on this clan was with the San Carlos group." "Close" relatives are clans 28, 31, 37, and 38.

37. dāhágòtsùdn, dāgòtsùdn ("yellow extending upward people") or t'îdághèhágòtsùdn ("yellow above extending upward people"): named for a place called dāhágòtsùd ("yellow extending upward") where there was probably a yellow plain or wide valley sloping up. Concentrated in Pinal band and practically unknown outside San Carlos group. Extinct for at least fifty years and only remembered by few. Said to have
come from Apache Mansos about Tucson, joining people of San Carlos band north of Gila River. "Close" relationship to clan 36 may be explained by common legendary origin.

38. tsebíná-ziʼiʼé (“rock encircling people”): named for place at mouth of Gentry Canyon in Canyon Creek Valley, near which farmed, called tsebíná-ziʼiʼ (“rock encircling”) because of circular rock formation. Long ago majority moved south of Salt River and settled about Wheat Fields. Later many moved south again, in Arivaipa country. Concentrated in Pinal and Arivaipa bands. Very few left, living about Cibecue and San Carlos. Related to Navaho de-stci-dû, tʼátcì-dû (“red water people”), and tʼi-skʼá-dû clans. Joe Hoffman said originated from members of clan 39 who settled at tsebíná-ziʼiʼ and that this is reason for "close" relationship to clan 39.

39. hú-kʼáŷé: named for place called hú-kʼáŷé on Greenback Creek just east of Greenback Mountain, on west slope of Sierra Ancha, where settled and farmed. Remained here long time. Old Man He Goes to War said hunters from this clan discovered Wheat Fields, then vacant and never before occupied by Apache. Place so beautiful that clan moved there in entirety. Confined to San Carlos group and concentrated in Pinal band. Some still remain about San Carlos. Same source gave the ground dove as clan "relative." Related to Navaho de-stci-dû, tʼátcì-dû, and tʼi-skʼá-dû clans. Henry Irving said clan originated from members of clan 40 who settled at hú-kʼáŷé, but Old Man He Goes to War said opposite. Both given as reason for "close" relationship with this clan. Relationship with clan 41 and closely affiliated clans not "close," and occasional marriages with clan 41.

40. nà-gônʼán (“bridged across people”): named for nà-gônʼ-óʼ- (“bridged across”), natural bridge on Pine Creek, where had small farms. Left long ago, moving south across East Verde River to dákʼé-gadutlʼij (“blue farms”). Later many drifted south along east slope of Mazatzal Range, some going to hú-kʼáŷé, according to Henry Irving. Concentrated almost entirely in Mazatzal band and fourth semiband of Southern Tonto. Now all but extinct.

41. de-stci-dû (“horizontally red people”): named for de-stci-bíkʼáʼ- (“horizontally red valley”), Cibecue Valley, referring to red sandstone bluffs along valley (see p. 619). Focal center was Cibecue, but some migrated south to San Carlos and later became part of San Carlos band. Members reached other groups mainly through intermarriage. Possibly largest Western Apache clan and only one found among all five groups as well as among certain Yavapai. Always dominant clan of Cibecue group and more clans said to originate from it than from any other. Clan "relative" is cardinal. Considered identical with Navaho de-stci-dû clan and related to Navaho clans tʼátcì-dû, tʼi-skʼá-dû, and itʼj naï-šíʼ (“meat extending in a dark line [as when hung up] people”), sometimes said itʼj naï-šíʼ (“wood extending in a dark line
people”). Credited as first clan to live at Cibecue. According to Thomas Riley, saying “All dê-stci-dan are liars” has become current during last ten years, and “Here comes a lying dê-stci-dan!” may be said of approaching member of clan, to joke him.

42. bsîsdâdâ-sjâgê, bsîsdâdâ-sjâgû (“adobe jutting out in parallel points people”): named for place bsîsdâdâ-sjâgê (“some adobe cut-bands jutted out into Cibecue Creek bottom on eastside, at mouth of wash about one-half mile above present Cibecue Day School. Members farmed here. Also called kîsîsdâdâ-sjâgê (“alders jutting out in parallel points people”), as well as kîsîsdâ-sjâgû by San Carlos and Southern Tonto. Likeness of words “adobe” and “alder” responsible for confusion. Always centered on Cibecue, few members married into San Carlos group, particularly San Carlos band. Still living about Cibecue. Clan “relative” is cardinal. Related to Navaho dê-stci-dan, t'áci-dan, t'î-sk'â-dan, and 'itsî'nà-djiq clans. Originated from members of clan 41 (see p. 619).

43. kîsîsdâ-stci-nà'dîtiq, kîsîsdâ-stci-nà'dîtiq (“trail through horizontally red alders people”): named for place called kîsîsdâ-stci-nà'dîtiq (“trail through horizontally red alders”) on Cibecue Creek about six miles below present Cibecue store, near mouth of Spring Creek where a trail crossed through alders and people settled and farmed. Always lived on Cibecue and at present still there. Clan “relative” is cardinal. Related to Navaho dê-stci-dan, t'áci-dan, t'î-sk'â-dan, and 'itsî'nà-djiq clans. Originated from members of clan 41 (see p. 619).

44. gâd'o'ahn (“juniper standing alone people”): named for place called gâd'o'ahn (“juniper standing alone”) almost opposite bsîsdâdâ-sjâgû on Cibecue Creek, where single juniper stood near, which they settled and farmed. Large juniper still there said to be original tree. Confined to Cibecue Valley where still live. Clan “relative” is cardinal. Related to Navaho dê-stci-dan, t'áci-dan, t'î-sk'â-dan, and 'itsî'nà-djiq clans. Originated from members of clan 41.

45. t'î-sk'â-dan, dèsk'â-dan (“cottonwood standing people”): named for place called t'î-sk'â-dan (“trail by cottonwood standing”) where trail went by cottonwood tree on head of wash entering Cibecue Creek from east, opposite Lutheran mission. Settled and farmed here. Division of clan called kîp'âxda'în (“fire flares upward people”), because people hit camp fire when angry (see p. 619). Not distinguished among San Carlos group, though they knew it existed in Cibecue group. Many members long ago migrated south of Salt River, settling along San Carlos River and about Apache Peaks. Became part of San Carlos and Apache Peaks bands. Number still alive about San Carlos and Cibecue, though farms at t'î-sk'â-dan no longer used. Clan relative is cardinal. Considered identical with a Navaho t'î-sk'â-dan clan and related to Navaho dê-stci-dan, t'áci-dan, and 'itsî'nà-djiq clans. Accord-
ing to one clan legend (see p. 619), legendary 'itsj'nà’djìñ clan originated from ‘t’i-sk’à’dìì. Clan itself originated from clan 44 (see p. 619). Clans 42, 43, 44, and 45 sometimes called dë-stè-dìì collectively or singly, because all originated from this clan. Clan 45 is least likely of these to be called dë-stè-dìì, however, being more widely known.

46. tèc-tè-dìì, tséxtèc-tè-dìì (“red rock strata people”): named for large red cliff called tséxtèc-tè (“red rock strata”) on east side of Carrizo Creek near mouth of Mud Creek, by prehistoric pueblo ruins, where settled and farmed. Limited to Carrizo band and forced into White Mountain territory later (see p. 20). Related to Navaho dë-stè-dìì, t’àcì-dìì, and t’i-sk’à-dìì clans. Originated from members of clan 41 who settled at tséxtèc-tè (see following legend). Said to be first Apache clan to settle on Carrizo.

The following clan legend told by Peaches concerns clans 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46: “The dë-stè-dìì were the ones who lived here [Cibecue Valley] first. They took their name from this red hill right back of my camp, now called tsidjo’ale. Above here, up the creek, there was a big juniper tree. The children of the dë-stè-dìì camped around there used continually to play about that tree. They would say, ‘We go to play at the juniper tree.’ This way they started to call that part of dë-stè-dìì, gàd’ò’áhñ. They are the relatives of the dë-stè-dìì now. Below here, on the river, there is a place called k’isdè-stè-dìì (“horizontally red alders”). Some dë-stè-dìì crossed over the river down there, so they called the place k’isdè-stè-nà’dìtnìì. Then those dë-stè-dìì settled there and became k’isdè-stè-nà’dìtnìì. They are now the relatives of the dë-stè-dìì. Over on Carrizo Creek, where there are big red bluffs, some dë-stè-dìì settled and farmed. This place is called tséxtèc-tè so these people became tcá-tè-dìì. They are relatives of the dë-stè-dìì. Most of them moved up by Forestdale quite a while ago, because of trouble they had at Carrizo when they killed some of the other people there.”

Another part of a legend from John Taylor (Cibecue Band, Cibecue group) accounts for the remaining clans: “Then some dë-stè-dìì went up the river, above where the government school now is. They farmed there at the foot of a wash called hisdàdè-sjájé and became a clan of that name. Then half of the gàd’ò’áhñ moved away to a place called t’ì-sk’à-håñ moved away to a place called t’ì-sk’à-håñ, on the head of the wash that comes in below my house, where the cottonwoods are. These became t’ì-sk’à-dìì and relatives of the gàd’ò’áhñ. Then part of the t’ì-sk’à-dìì became witches, so they caught one of them and hung him to a tree, head down. His flesh turned black, so they called that part of the t’ì-sk’à-dìì, ’itsj’nà’djìñ, and they were related in this way. Some Navaho belong to the ‘itsj’nà’djìñ clan. Then, part of the t’ì-sk’à-dìì had a habit of striking the fire with a stick and knocking sparks all about when they were mad and wanted to fight. So this part became k’ò’há’dìzn.”
47. *dzilt'̲a·dn* ("foot of the mountains people"): so named because always lived at foot of mountains. Not certain where acquired name but seem to have had it when first entered country from north. According to Henry Irving, settled close under Mogollon Rim in several places between head of East Verde River and Promontory Butte. Later part moved west, then north up Verde Valley, settling about Oak Creek where intermarried with Yavapai. Charley Nokeye said Yavapai acquired a *dzilt'̲a·dn* clan from them, called *du·goduge* or *da·pa'*. In eighteenth or nineteenth century some of clan in Southern Tonto group forced to flee to Cibecue (see p. oo). About middle of nineteenth century members from Cibecue moved south across Salt River, joining related clan 50 where lived at *t'rstco'UluH* ("big cottonwood driven upright into ground"), an Arivaipa farming site above Klondike. Not long after, fatal attack by American citizens or United States troops killed all but few younger people who escaped back to Cibecue region, according to Jenny Golzol. Now only five or six left, about San Carlos. Joe Hoffman gave *na·no·lje·ge'dlp'* ("saguaro bird") as clan "relative," and Henry Irving gave eagle and oriole, saying people sometimes alluded to as "oriole people." He quoted legend fragment saying part of clan finally turned to orioles and are still flying about. Same man said clan identical with a supposed Navaho and Hopi clan of this name, and also claimed relationship to Navaho *'itsj'ná·djiŋ* clan and a supposed Hopi *'itsj'ná·djiŋ* clan. Conflicting relationship. "Distantly" related to clan 48 and closely affiliated clans among Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, whereas relationship is "close" in Cibecue and San Carlos groups. Possible reason weakness of *dzilt'̲a·dn* in two last groups and desire to strengthen all ties possible. Clans 49 and 50, equally weak in San Carlos group, may have welcomed this.

The following clan legend concerning clans 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, and 60 was told by Henry Irving: "Long ago, all our people were living at *táábh'a kó·wá* ("dance camp"). This place is right under a point of the mesa where the Hopi live. In those days, when we first came on this earth, there was nothing. We were living there with the Navaho and Hopi in that country. We were getting on all right, but Slayer of Monsters went to his father, Sun, and got a horse from him. From that time on trouble started, so our people moved south across the Little Colorado. Then the Yavapai didn't know anything. They all went down to Oak Creek and spread out from there. In those days the Tonto [Southern Tonto or Northern Tonto?] and the Yavapai were one and the same people. When we started south, the Hopi and Navaho didn't want to come, so they stayed behind in the north. I still have relatives among the Hopi. One Hopi chief up there is a *dzilt'̲a·dn* clansman; I know because I was a United States scout
up in that country. When our people were living at tática kò-wà we were related to a clan up there called tsj'na·dle-ùgii ("wood extending in a dark line"). There are some of them still with the Hopi, and I could never marry any of them because long ago they were my relatives. When our people got across the Little Colorado River, they came down to mú·siné ("owl song"), where they found some houses built in the rock. Below here, at kì·dàlgài ("white house above"), there were some people already living when the dzít'a·dn got there. The k'aitsehj't·dn also settled near mú·siné shortly before the dzít'a·dn. The dzít'a·dn lived with the k'aitsehj't·dn. They were related to them. Then they moved below, to t'últsé·síkà'n ("red pond"). Then they moved on to k'aitsehj't·í· ("willows sprouting out"), where they farmed. Then they lived around 'iti·qgògái ("white streak in opposite directions"). Then they moved to te'ó·uddjédi't ("spruces jutting out in a point"). From there part went to dásginédà·nàskané ("porcupine resting high above"). Then some dzít'a·dn went to k'isip·sjágà ("alders jutting out") and settled. These became k'isip·sjágà. Then some dzít'a·dn went to k'aitsehj't·í· ("rock strung out in willows"). Now some k'aitsehj't·dn started south to ledíyujì ("junction of two canyons"). They became ledíyujì. Afterward some dzít'a·dn moved westward to te'índi'-yégúldáats ("Green Valley") and then on to t'u·k'a·dàngài ("Star Valley").

"In those days the yà·gòhè·gái·dù were related to no other clan. On account of this the dzít'a·dn picked them up and they became relatives. After coming westward the dzít'a·dn went off toward Camp Verde. Then some t'u·k'a·dàngài came from k'áixá·t·í ("willows sprouting out") to t'u·k'a·dàngài (Star Valley) and settled. Then some people came to t'é·gó·tsúgà ("yellow streak running out from the water") and settled. They became t'é·gó·tsúdà. Then some t'é·gó·tsúdà went to k'aidntci-dù. Then some t'é·gó·tsúdà went deer-hunting over on the East Verde. They found a spring running down over the ground which made a mark. This place they called nà·gòzúgà ("marked on ground"). They settled here and became nà·gòzúgà. Then some nà·gòzúgà moved to bik'ìd ("on a hilltop") and became bik'ìdàn. For this reason the nà·gòzúgà and bik'ìdàn are like two parts of the same clan. Then some nà·gòzúgà and bik'ìdàn women went far down the East Verde to where it is called te'índi·yénàn·á. They settled and became te'índi·yénàn·á. Then some of them settled at a place on the East Verde River, way above te'índi·yénàn·á, at nóstco·dàjì ("big manzanitas extending up darkly"). These became nóstco·dàjì. Then some people started from t'é·gó·tsúgà to the southwest on the other side of t'o·hídzo ("top covered with grass"), to t'í·syú·síkà·d ("at the standing cottonwood"). There they became t'í·syú·síkà·dn. There are Yavapai t’í·syú·síkà·dn who originated from
this clan. Some k'aitsékht'iđń who lived at k'aixàt'iđń became the k'aixàt'iđń. Then some k'aitsékht'iđń moved to k'aibinághg'teł'iđń ("wide flat of willows") and became k'aibinághg'teł'ın. Then the músin were living there, near the k'aitsékht'iđń. Part of these broke off and became k'aibid'ąđń. The k'aibid'ąđń later moved over to i'égọtsųgę. They are all dead now. Then some people living alongside the k'aitsékht'iđń used to like wild gourds. They roasted lots of them and ate them, so they were called nādiłk'álsikąđń. Later on this clan moved over to a place called nādiłk'álsikąđń ("wild gourd growing") on the opposite side of the ridge from hę-k'ąyę, to the east.

People who lived at site called te'ólädjędjidį ("spruces jutting out in a point") near Promontory Butte, among whom were many members of clans 47 and 48, were sometimes referred to collectively as a clan called te'ólädjędjidį ("spruces jutting out in a point people"); but only among members of Southern Tonto first and sixth semibands. Apparently not a true clan or clan division.

48. k'aitsékht'iđń ("rock strung out into willows people"): said to come from place called k'aitsékht'iđń ("rock strung out into willows") in Navaho or Hopi country north of Little Colorado River. According to Gila Moses, had no agriculture then, drifted west toward ocean and remained for a while at some place in that direction, but, not liking it, returned to settle near Sierra Ancha. Legendarily settled at several widely separated places; first about Christopher Mountain and Horse Mountain south of Promontory Butte, then on Haigler Creek, Marsh Creek, and head of Cherry Creek. Had main farms at site called k'aitsékht'iđń on Cherry Creek. Some settled temporarily at dąk'e'gudutlįj ("blue farms"), then on Lower East Verde River. Later moved from here to west slope of Sierra Ancha, settling in region of Gisela. Then some moved to Mazatzal Range. Later members married into Cibecue and San Carlos groups, but never numerous there. One unit lived on Arivaipa Creek at tšeną-ni'èlē ("broad slanting rock"). Few still live about San Carlos, Bylas, Gisela, Fossil Creek, and Upper Verde Valley. Claimed as source of all clans in Southern Tonto clan section 11, excepting clan 55 and possibly clans 52 and 53.

49. k'aixàt'iđń ("willows sprouting out people"), sometimes called k'aitšugę̂'än ("willows growing in water people"): named for k'aitšugę̂'iđń ("willows sprouting out") on head of Cherry Creek above Pleasant Valley. Concentrated here, later spreading. Married into Northern Tonto and San Carlos groups. In latter group mainly settled at dśildahól'ul on Arivaipa Creek, above Klondike. Very few survive. Said to originate from members of clan 48.

50. k'aibinághg'teł'iđń ("wide flat of willows people"): named for place called k'aibinághg'teł'iđń ("wide flat of willows") on head of Cherry Creek above Pleasant Valley, where people farmed. Later spread, particularly
APPENDIXES

51. lėdijyūjn ("juncture of two canyons people"): named for place called lėdijyūj ("juncture of two canyons") at joining of Rye and Tonto creeks, where settled and farmed. Confining to Southern Tonto, but known to all groups except White Mountain Apache. Uncertainty as to whether true clan or merely term for people living there. Both opinions found among Southern Tonto. Northern Tonto data would indicate it distinct clan and therefore is treated as such in these lists. Very few survive. Originated from members of clans 48, 49, and 52 (see p. 621). Charley Norman said clan 48 among Northern Tonto did not consider it related closely enough to prevent marriage. Distance may have been reason for this.

52. mūšine ("owl's song people"): named for place called mūšine ("owl's song"), where many owls hooted at night. Horse Mountain north of Pleasant Valley, at which people settled and farmed. In that locality considered almost same as clan 48 and might be division of it except that Henry Irving says clan 47 in that area claimed "relationship" to clan 48 but not to clan 52. Only known among Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto, where many merely recognized it as term for people living at mūšine and not as true clan.

53. kā-bid’ā-dn ("arrow feather people"): named from custom of wearing large hawk feathers tied in hair, according to Gila Moses. Lived in region of Horse Mountain, then moved westward to site of Payson. Some later married among Northern Tonto. Now extinct. One legend (see p. 627) says originated from Hopi captives taken by clan 47 or 57, and another (see p. 622) that originated from members of clan 52.

54. le’ticibéjn ("they roast in the ground people"): named for place called le’ticibéj ("they roast in the ground") where large mescal pit located, at foot of big mountain close to east bank of Verde River in region of dák’egūdūlit’ij ("blue farms"). Living so close to Yavapai, finally became totally absorbed by them. Originated from members of clan 48 who moved west and settled at le’ticibéj, according to Henry Irving. Apache clans related to it said to have continued exogamy with it after absorbed by Yavapai.

55. nādiﬂk’alsikā-dn ("wild gourd growing people"): named from habit of eating wild gourds (see p. 622). naskad said originally came from Oak Creek region, moving down Verde Valley and settling on Fossil Creek about two miles below Irving Power Plant, at place called nādiﬂk’alsikād ("wild gourd growing"). May have given name to site.
Later some went southeast toward Pleasant Valley and head of Cherry Creek, where lived close to members of clan 48, leaving sometime after for east side of Greenback Mountain where settled for last time at place also called nådįłį́k’á́́łsiłká́́d (see p. 622). Those remaining on Fossil Creek intermarried with few Yavapai living with them. Only two or three Apache members left.

56. dąszíné dásdíañ, dąszíné dásdáyé (“porcupine sitting above people”): named for Bald Mountain, called dąszíné dásdáyé (“porcupine sitting above”) and resembling porcupine crouching with head to south. According to Henry Irving, originally came from Oak Creek region, following down Verde Valley and crossing river to Salt Mines, then going on to Bald Mountain. Some later moved to Fossil Creek. At first purely Apache, later became mixed with Yavapai. Two or three members survive about San Carlos and possibly Upper Verde Valley. “Close” relative is clan 55 beside whom it lived on Fossil Creek.

57. tl’úk’á́́dígáidn (“row of white canes people”), or tl’úk’á́́dígáidn as Northern Tonto and Southern Tonto say it: came into Western Apache country under its present name, according to Southern Tonto legend (see p. 625), first settling in vicinity of Promontory Butte, then partly moving eastward to Promontory Butte, and later again southeastward to Carrizo. Legend from Cibecue group (see p. 625) does not mention movements previous to arrival at Carrizo and indicates named for place where settled on Carrizo Creek, called tl’úk’á́́dígáí (“row of white canes”). Wolf Track said clan nicknamed dasitan in San Carlos group. In Cibecue group concentrated in Carrizo band, some later moving south across Salt River and becoming part of San Carlos band. Those remaining on head of East Verde River finally moved to tl’úk’á́́dígáí (Star Valley) and farmed (see p. 627). Southern Tonto and Northern Tonto part of clan always small, now almost gone. Few live about San Carlos. Cibecue part of clan now on Carrizo and few about San Carlos. Laban James quoted as saying that members of this clan get gray hair early in life.

58. ndį̱tde·dntl·dn (“two rows of yellow pine joining people”): named for place called ndį̱tde·dntł (“two rows of yellow pines joining”) where yellow pines grew down to Carrizo Creek from west side, near mouth of Jump Off Canyon, where settled and farmed. Later part migrated south across Salt River, settling on San Carlos River and about Dick’s Spring Canyon on Gila River. One woman left in San Carlos group, more at Carrizo. Originated from members of clan 57 who settled at ndį̱tde·dntł (see p. 625).

59. cį́tc’į́lto’sik’á́́d (“Gambel’s oak standing people”): named for place called cį́tc’į́lto’sik’á́́ ("Gambel’s oak standing"), a grove of Gambel’s oak on Carrizo Creek, about two miles above mouth of Jump Off Canyon, where they settled and farmed. Confined to Carrizo band
APPENDIXES

and some still on Carrizo Creek. Originated from members of clan 57 (see following legend).

Peaches told following legend concerning clans 57, 58, and 59: "At a place on Carrizo Creek there were many canes growing. They called that place tl’uk’a·digai. The people living there became tl’uk’a·digaidn. Then one time some tl’uk’a·digaidn went upstream, hunting deer. On their way back they struck the river above tsextc’i’ ("red rock strata"), at a place where some yellow pines grew down to the river. The place was called ndiltec’i·dnt’i’, and these people settled there to farm, so they became ndiltec’i·dnt’i·tn. They are the relatives of the tl’uk’a·digaidn now. Above ndiltec’i·dnt’i’, on the creek, was growing a big clump of Gambel’s oak. That place was called ci·te’iltc’o’sik’a·d. Some of the tl’uk’a·digaidn settled there and farmed. They became the ci·te’iltc’o’sik’a·dn and are still the relatives of the tl’uk’a·digaidn.”

60. ya·goh’é·gaiddny, ya·goh’gaiddn ("whiteness spread out descending people"): named for location called ya·goh’é·gai ("whiteness spread out descending"), the grassy, light-colored, sloping country in vicinity of White Rock Mesa, west of Pine Creek and north of East Verde River. Clan concentrated about here and in rest of Southern Tonto fifth semiband territory. Long ago some migrated to Fossil Creek and spread among Northern Tonto bands. Formerly very large clan, many remain about San Carlos and Upper Verde Valley. Originated partly from people living far to west, near Colorado River (see following legend), possibly Yuman.

The following is the legend of clan 60 as told by Charley Nokeye: "This is a story that was told me by my father’s mother, and she heard it from her mother’s mother. Long ago, some people started from the Mohave country, to the west over by the Colorado River. They came this way. They kept moving. Where they had been living to the west, they used to eat snakes. They kept on traveling until they got to ya·goh’é·gai. There they found people living, so they remained for a while and became related to them. Right there the people from the Mohave country became ya·goh’é·gaiddn. They didn’t stay at ya·goh’é·gai very long. They went on to a big mountain, kj’negaiye ("house with white streak on side") it was called. At the foot of the mountain was a good spring and good land. So part of the ya·goh’é·gaiddn stopped here, made their farms, and raised corn. Then the other part left kj’negaiye and went on to some springs, up in the pine timber. It was a good place to plant, so the men came back for their families and went up there to settle. This place was called tsă’r’o’ ("beaver water"). They raised crops there. At that time there was no tl’uk’a·dngaidn people.

"Up at kj’yähgaiye ("houses with vertical white streaks on sides"), by a mountain near Winslow, on the edge of the desert, right at the end of the mountain jutting out there, were living many people, all kinds
of clans mixed together. They had come down to that place from their old home in the Navaho country. While these people were living at kjʾyakʾayey, every night Wolf used to come and kill some of them. He killed a man every night. The people tried to shoot him, but their arrows would not go in his sides because he wore dākʾiʾ (“sticks of hard wood”) tied close together on each side of his ribs, and no arrow could pierce that. The people met and talked about why they could not kill Wolf. They all talked it over and finally decided what to do. They laid out the backbone of a deer for Wolf to go to. Then one man said, 'When Wolf comes, don’t shoot him in the sides, but wait until he starts away and shoot him in the rear end.' When Wolf came again, one man shot at him as he was going off, hitting him in the back so that the arrow went right into him. Wolf ran off. The next morning the people set out to trail him. This wolf was really a ḥʾukʾaḏingai man dressed up in a wolfskin. After they had trailed him for a while, they came to the wolfskin which he had taken off and dropped on the ground. At the same place were the wolf tracks, made of Spanish bayonet leaves. When he put them to the ground, they made a track just like a wolf’s. From there on they could see the man’s real moccasin tracks and they followed him. He headed for a great canyon near by, and to that place they trailed him [Canyon Diablo]. When they had followed him to the edge of the canyon, they looked across and in a cave on the farther side of the canyon they could see a fire. ‘There must be people inside. We’ll stop here and go back home, because over there at that fire is the one who has been killing us all this time. We know now,’ they said. So they went back home. There some of them said, ‘Let’s make a big set of hoop-and-poles and in three days we will go back to the canyon again.’ They made the big hoop-and-poles set, and in three days they went back to the canyon where they had seen the fire. They crossed it and went to the cave. In the mouth of the cave sat an old woman weaving a burden basket. When they got to her, she said, ‘ye·o! What are you people here for?’ ‘We want to play hoop-and-poles with the man who lives here, and we have brought the poles and the hoop,’ the men said. ‘No, you have shot him. He is inside the cave and some shamans are singing over him,’ the old woman said.

‘These people were ḥʾukʾaḏingai and they were witches. This was the way they had been killing the people at kjʾyakʾayey, by witchcraft. Now they had found them. When they went past the old woman in the cave, they could hear many people singing beyond, way inside. There were women and children; lots of people in there, all ḥʾukʾaḏingai. They drove these people out and killed them, all except four;

1 Rod armor was known in some Western Apache groups.
2 An ejaculation common to women.
a young woman, a young man, and a girl and a boy about twelve years old. These they took as captives and started back to kj'ya'higaiye. When they came to the place the man had dropped his wolf hide and wolf shoes, they tied the young man and young woman face to face, feet together and necks together and hung them up by their necks with a rope. The bodies hung there until they were dry. On account of this they called that place 'isgq'dlistan ("dry hides hanging up"). The two children they kept. They were tl'uk'adngaidn. The people didn't want to live at kj'ya'higaiye any more, so they said, 'We might as well move.'

"All moved down to kj'négaiye, taking the two tl'uk'adngaidn children with them. From kj'négaiye, the dzUt'a'dn, who were among these people, moved on to tsà't'6' where the yà'gòhègaidn already were. They took the tl'uk'adngaidn along with them, as well as some tsede·sgaidn people. There they lived with the yà'gòhègaidn. Thus the yà'gòhègaidn became related to the tsede·sgaidn, t'i-st'e'dn'ayè, tl'uk'adngaidn, and dzUt'a'dn. These were the yà'gòhègaidn who had come from the Mohave country, far to the West. Now from tsà't'6', half the people moved on to k'ainxq't'i ("willows sprouting out"), where they made a farm and lived. The yà'gòhègaidn, tsede·sgaidn, and the rest were still together. From k'ainxq't'i: some people went on to tc'ò·uldjédji ("spruces jutting out in a point"), where they found good land and water. So they came back and got the dzUt'a'dn, tl'uk'adngaidn, and others at k'ainxq't'i, and, with a few yà'gòhègaidn, moved to tc'ò·uldjédji to make farms. From tc'ò·uldjédji the tl'uk'adngaidn went to tl'uk'adngaiibik'o (Carizzo) and settled, the tsede·sgaidn went to tsede·sgai and settled, and the t'i-st'e'dn'ayè settled at their home farms. Now they were all settled. At tsà't'6' some tl'uk'adngaidn were still living. These moved to the south, to a place called tl'uk'adngai, right near Payson. They settled and farmed there.

"Then from their country some yà'gòhègaidn and dzUt'a'dn moved to t'u'its'òsè ("water spray"), beyond Fossil Creek, and settled. Some of these became t'u'its'òsh. Then the dzUt'a'dn moved up to Oak Creek, where they joined the Yavapai and lived with them. The Yavapai still have a dzUt'a'dn clan. Then half of the yà'gòhègaidn at t'u'its'òsè who had become t'u'its'òsh, moved down the river until they came to a place called t'o't'agè ("water at foot" [of hill]), where the water flowed around both sides of a hill. They settled here and became t'o't'agè. Then tl'uk'adngaidn or dzUt'a'dn people captured some Hopi and brought them back. From them the k'ábi'd'a'dn started up and that's why they are related in these clans. That's how these clans all started up long ago."

The following tale from Willy Lupe (Carrizo band, Cibecue group) is added here as an example of a type of clan legend not included in the foregoing pages. Several band names are mentioned in context with
clan names, as sometimes happens. In such instances, however, the narrator explains on inquiry that they are band names: "t'áyá·kő·wá ("house beneath water"), north of the Little Colorado River, was the place where all our people came from. Long, long ago all of us were living together and from there we scattered. The Apache Mansos who talk like Chiricahua Apache, and the saiktne [term now applied to Pima and Papago], left t'áyá·kő·wá ahead of us and came down into this country. They and the Mexicans [Mexican Indians?] were the ones who first lived in and built these ruins and cliff dwellings that are still here today. Then they left this region and went down into the low, hot country, where they live now. The Yavapai also were living in what is now their country, before we came. When our people left t'áyá·kő·wá, they started south in one large party. When they crossed t'u'Utce'e [Little Colorado River], they split up and some traveled separately, southward, looking for places to settle. This way the people spread out all over the country in small parties. Later on, when a lot of little children came together and played, one little girl would say to the others, 'You are tédnti·da and you are de·sti·da.' 'And you are t'is'ka·da,' another would answer. So that's the way these three clans became related, because the children talked.

"The people were still moving south this way. One party camped over the hill from here [northwest, toward Pleasant Valley]. They lived on nothing but Abert squirrels that they killed, so someone called them dzilt'a·da. Then one child said to another, 'You are yá·gähé·gaidn.' A second said, 'You are nádlık'á·siká·da.' A third said, 'You are tsedé-sgàidn because you live up at tsedé sgài where the white rock is.' So these four clans were related. Then a party of people went over beyond where Payson now is. They called them dži·je'ë. To another lot of people who settled south of Payson, they said, 'You are tédí·yún.' Then a child said, 'You are ná·gōžúgn and you are dzilt'a·da.' So these were all relatives. All these people I have told you about so far came here ahead of us [clan 22]. Then some people came in between Cedar Creek and White River. A child said to one of them, 'You are lq·nábà·há (Western White Mountain band),' and that one answered, 'What's the matter with you? You are dzilt'á· dá.' Then one said, 'You are nádós'- ãsm.' Another said, 'You are t'ë'nádljá·gé.' Then some people living on Black River they called t'údlxíti. Then some people went to Carrizo and they called them t'ú·kk'á·digáidn. They went there after the tédnti·da had settled it. Then a person said, 'These are sa'hidée·dó·t'ád [San Carlos band] coming.' Then over the hill here, above, at the place they call tsé·bíná·x'ti' ("rock encircling"), some people settled and made a farm. These they called dák'izk'ád. A party of people living close to

3 The ná·gōžúgn and dzilt'a·da clans are not related.
them they called k'į·yà'·án. Then another lot of people settled close to some black rocks at the foot of Sierra Ancha, across Cherry Creek. These they called tsète'éhé sdjìnè. Then more [clan 23] settled down in a deep canyon where black rocks are, near Gleason Flat on Black River, by tsèt'ė·n'à·á· ("rock jutting into water"). Then some people crossed Salt River and went to t'i·s'é·bà [Wheat Fields] where they settled. They were called t'i·s'é·bà·ń [Pinal band]. Then some people settled at another place farther to the south, and they called them tsèbiná·żi'í'
. Then there was one lot of people they called bè·ľít·sōhn, another they called ságù·né, and another they called iyà·hà·dijí, who lived on Salt River, below the Sierra Ancha. Then some place close to Wheat Fields, people were called xàgò·żtè·lé. Another lot they called hŋ·k'ýŋ. A people called t'ànásgíżn were the last clan to go south of the Salt River. In the beginning, coming from t'áyà·kó·wà, the tsèdè·sgà́n and k'į·yà'·án were way behind all the rest, so they sent some people back to tell them to hurry up. This way they brought them down. Then all the people were down from t'áyà·kó·wà and spread as far south as the San Pedro country."
APPENDIX H

CANYON DAY FLAT SURVEY

In the description of each unit, first, the households are listed with farm ownership or usage; second, a note on the leader is given for some units; third, the kinship outline; and, fourth, a table of the clan and lineage makeup. In the last, x represents men, o stands for women, and u stands for children whose sex is unknown. The numbers before these letters are those of the households in which the individuals belong, and the ones after them indicate maternal blood lineages represented in the clan, those of the same number under the same clan being of one maternal lineage. A question mark indicates that maternal lineage connections are uncertain. Plus signs designate unmarried individuals of marriageable age, and minus signs stand for children. Those clans which are apparently the nuclear clans of the unit are marked with an asterisk. Following the description is a plan of the unit, circles for wickiups, solid squares for frame houses, squares with an opening in one side for tents, and squares with dots at each corner for ramadas. Many larger units have their dwellings noticeably subdivided according to family attachments within them, and these subdivisions have been encircled with a solid line. Children growing up, marrying, changing residence, and establishing families of their own tend to liquidate older extended families of the past generation, but often the remains of these old extended families are still visible in units. Accordingly, they have been encircled with a broken line.

UNIT 1

1. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2. Farm on Cedar Creek; used.
2. a) Husband, clan 2, son of 1a-b; b) wife, clan 30; c) three children of a-b. Farm on Cedar Creek; used.
3. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2, daughter of 1a-b. Farm on Cedar Creek; used.
4. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2, daughter of 1a-b. Farm on Cedar Creek; used.
5. a) Widow, clan 21, sister of 1a; b) her daughter’s three orphaned children, clan 21. Farm on Cedar Creek; used.
6. a) Widower, clan 20; b) his children (a daughter and two sons), clan 1. Was living in Charley Ship’s cluster, but wife died there so moved away.

* See Map III, p. 133, for a map of the Canyon Day Flat community.
Outline.—Male head of cluster (Ia) and his wife; his son and his wife; his first daughter and her husband; his second daughter and her husband; his widowed sister; man of clan related to head of cluster only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2*</th>
<th>Clan 20</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>601 —</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>6X1</td>
<td>1X1</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6X1 —</td>
<td>2X1</td>
<td>3X2</td>
<td>3X?</td>
<td>2U1 —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6X1 —</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>4X?</td>
<td>4X?</td>
<td>2U1 —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6X1 —</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>5U1 —</td>
<td>5U1 —</td>
<td>2U1 —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men ...............</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women .............</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults ......</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children ...........</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total .............</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Extended family; B = Unrelated family.

UNIT 2
(Belongs on Cedar Creek)

1. a) Husband, clan 30; b) wife, clan 21; c) widower, clan 1, father of a. No farms owned.
2. a) Old widow, clan 1, mother of Ic. No farm owned.
3. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 30, daughter of Ic; c) several small children of a-b, clan 30; d) widow, clan 1, mother of a. a owns farm in canyon, and b owns one on Cedar Creek; both used.
4. a) Husband, clan 30, son of 3a-b; b) wife, clan 21; c) younger siblings of a by same parents, clan 30 (3a-b have nine unmarried children, one
THE WESTERN APACHE

girl and eight boys; the older of these children reside in 4). No farms owned.

5. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 30; c) three small children of a-b, clan 30. a owns and uses farm on flat.

Outline.—Male head of cluster (1c), with son and son’s wife; his old mother; his daughter and her husband with husband’s mother; his daughter’s son and his wife; man and wife, unrelated, but of clans in family cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 30*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1x1</td>
<td>10?</td>
<td>1x1</td>
<td>10?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20?</td>
<td>40?</td>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3x2</td>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
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<tr>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
<td>30?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5x?</td>
<td>5x?</td>
<td>5x?</td>
<td>5x?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men... 3 0 2
Women... 2 2 2
Unwed adults... 0 0 0
Children... 0 0 11
Total... 5 2 15

Plan.—A = Extended family; B = Family unrelated by blood but related by clan.
APPENDIXES

UNIT 3

1. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 4; c) daughter of b (by a first husband of clan 21 but not close kin to present husband), clan 4. b has farm in canyon from former husband; used.

2. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 4, daughter of 1b. a has farm in canyon; used.

3. a) Husband, clan 20; b) wife, clan 4, daughter of 1b; c) child of a-b, clan 4. a shares farm with his mother in canyon; used.

4. a) Widow, clan 20, mother of 3a; b) her children (two sons and one daughter), clan 20. a has farm in canyon; used.

5. a) Husband, clan 4, brother of 1b; b) wife, clan 21; c) four children of a-b, clan 21. a has farm on East Fork; used.

6. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 21, sister of 1a; c) old widower, clan 21, paternal grandfather of b.

Outline.—Male head of cluster (1a) and wife; his first stepdaughter and her husband; his second stepdaughter and her husband; mother of husband of second stepdaughter; his wife's brother and his wife; his sister and her husband, and his father's father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 4*</th>
<th>Clan 20</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men..........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children.....</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Extended family; B = Parent of man married to it.
UNIT 4

(Formerly a part of unit 1, but split off from it for some reason, possibly quarrel; members not closely related to people of unit 1.)

1. a) Widow, clan 30 (husband was clan 2). Farm in canyon; used.
2. a) Husband, clan 30, son of 1a; b) wife, clan 1; c) four children of a-b, clan 1. a had farm in canyon.
3. a) Widow, clan 1, mother of 2b. Had farm in canyon.
4. a) Husband, clan 30, son of 1a; b) wife, clan unknown; c) three children of a-b. No farm.
5. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 30, daughter of 1a; c) three children of a-b, clan 30. No farms.

Outline.—Female head of cluster (1a); her first son and his wife; mother of her first son’s wife; her second son and his wife; her daughter and her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 30*</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>5x1</td>
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<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2u1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2x1</td>
<td>4u1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2u1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4x1</td>
<td>4u1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2u1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5x1</td>
<td>4u1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
<td>5u1</td>
<td>4u1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5x1</td>
<td>4u1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Extended family; B = Related family with husband’s in-laws.
APPENDIXES

UNIT 5

(Belongs with unit 9, but split off and living slightly removed owing to rest of people in unit 9 not being able to get along with a quarrelsome woman in it.)

1. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 21. a has farm on flat; used.
2. a) Husband, clan 21, son of 1a-b; b) wife, clan 29, daughter of 7a-b in unit 9; c) child of a-b, clan 29.
3. a) Husband, clan 2, brother of 7a in unit 9; b) wife, clan 21, sister of 1b; c) two children of a-b, clan 21. a has farm in canyon; used.

Outline.—Male head of cluster (1a) and his wife; his son and his wife; his wife’s sister and her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 21*</th>
<th>Clan 29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1X1</td>
<td>3X1</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2X1</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>2U1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3U1</td>
<td>3U1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Extended family.

UNIT 6

(Belongs on Cedar Creek)

1. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 21. a has farm on Cedar Creek; used.
2. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 21, daughter of 1a-b; c) child of a-b, clan 21. a has farm in canyon.
Outline.—Male head of cluster (1a) and his wife; his daughter and her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 21*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2X1</td>
<td>1XI</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>211—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Family.

UNIT 7

(Part of unit 4, living with them because of relationship of 1a in unit 7 to 1b in unit 4, but split off, owing to some family trouble.)

1. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2, sister of dead husband of 1a in unit 4; c) three small children of a-b, clan 2. a has farm on Cedar Creek; used.
2. a) Widow, clan 2, mother of 1b.
3. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2, daughter of 1a-b; c) three children, clan 2.
4. a) Husband, clan 41 (San Carlos); b) wife, clan 2, daughter of 1a-b. No farm.
5. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 21 (she must be close relative to people in this cluster [though she is not close relative to 1a] because, when they come to visit, they always stop with this cluster rather than go to stay with a’s mother, who is close by in Charley Ship’s cluster); c) three children of a-b, clan 21.
Outline.—Male head of cluster (1a) and wife; his wife's mother; his first daughter and her husband; his second daughter and her husband; man and wife, later may have close relatives of her clan in this cluster, though she is not related to head of cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2*</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
<th>Clan 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Extended family; B = Family, possibly related by blood.
UNIT 8

1. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 2; c) grown son of b, clan 2, by a divorced husband; d) daughter of b, clan 2, by same divorced husband. a has farm in canyon, another on East Fork; both used.
2. Formerly used by occupants of 1 but now abandoned.

Outline.—Male head of family (1a); not a real chief but made so by government. No following now because of social unpopularity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 2*</th>
<th>Clan 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IXI</td>
<td>IXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed adults</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plan.—A = Family.
APPENDIXES

UNIT 9
(Approximates a local group)

1. a) Husband, clan 29; b) wife, clan 21; a has farm in canyon, not used; one on flat, used.
2. a) Widower, clan 2, father of 1b. Has farm on Cedar Creek; used.
3. a) Widower, clan 21, son of 2a; b) two children of a, clan 2. a has farm in canyon.
4. a) Husband, clan 29, brother of 1a; b) wife, clan 21, daughter of 2a; c) four children of a-b, clan 21. a has farm in canyon; used.
5. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 21, daughter of 2a; c) four children of a-b, clan 21. a has farm on Cedar Creek; used.
6. a) Widow, clan 29, was a second wife of father of 1a and is probably first cousin (mother’s sister’s child) to deceased mother of 1a. She has farm in canyon farmed for her by 1a; his farm in canyon, this old woman’s farm, and farm of 4a are three sections of a single farm.
7. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 29, sister to mother of 1a; c) two daughters of a-b, clan 29. a and b have farm on flat; used.
8. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 29, daughter of 7a-b; c) four children of a-b, clan 29. a had farm in canyon; not used.
9. a) Husband, clan 29, probably first cousin to mother of 1a (mother’s sister’s child); b) wife, clan 1; c) son of a-b, clan 1. a and b have farm in canyon; used.
10. a) Husband, clan 41(?), San Carlos; b) wife, clan 1, second cousin to 8a (probably mother’s mother’s sister’s daughter’s child), and father of 1a was mother’s mother’s sister’s son. They live alternately in their house and wickiup. No farm owned, but have half-shares in their nonresident daughter’s and her husband’s farm.
11. a) Widow, clan 41, Cibecue; b) his son, clan 1, nephew of 10b (sister’s son). a has farm in canyon which his son shares.
12. a) Husband, clan 29, son of 7a-b; b) wife, clan 1, daughter of 11a; c) two children of a-b (a boy and girl), clan 1. a and b share in b’s father’s farm.

Outline.—Male head of unit (1a) and his wife; his wife’s father; his wife’s brother; his wife’s sister and her husband; his brother and his wife; his maternal aunt (deceased father’s second wife); his maternal aunt (mother’s sister); his maternal aunt’s daughter and her husband; his maternal uncle (mother’s first cousin) and his wife; three families forming a separate block distantly related by blood but not by clan to his deceased father.
Leader.—Lee Johnny, 24, is head of the unit. "He is a rich man; has lots of horses and cattle. People from Bylas, Cibecue, Cedar Creek, and East Fork all come to see him. He treats them well; gives parties for us here as well. We call him 'our chief.' Lu, his father (of clan 1), was our chief here before he died. Lee Johnny would have been a real chief in old times."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1*</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 21*</th>
<th>Clan 29*</th>
<th>Clan 41</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2x2</td>
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<td>11x1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8x2</td>
<td>3u1</td>
<td>3x1</td>
<td>4x1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90?</td>
<td>3u1</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>601</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9x2+</td>
<td>7x?</td>
<td>4u1</td>
<td>701</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1002</td>
<td></td>
<td>4u1</td>
<td>701</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11x2+</td>
<td></td>
<td>401</td>
<td>701</td>
<td></td>
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<td>501</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5u1</td>
<td>8u1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1202-</td>
<td></td>
<td>5u1</td>
<td>8u1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5u1</td>
<td>9x1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12x1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men ............ 2 2 1 4 1 1
Women ........... 3 0 3 3 0 0
Unwed adults .... 2 0 0 0 0 0
Children ........ 2 2 8 6 0 0
Total ........... 9 4 12 13 1 1
Plan. — A = Extended family; B = Related family; C = Extended related family; D = Extended related family remaining from a past generation.
UNIT 10
(Approximates a local group)

1. a) Husband, clan 21, brother of 6c in unit 3; b) wife, clan 41. a and b have farm on flat and one in canyon; both used. b is from Carrizo but has lived here since before marriage.
2. a) Husband, clan 41, son of 1a-b; b) wife, clan 2; c) three children, clan 2 (one big boy, one big girl, one of unknown sex). Farms of 1a-b shared in by this family.
3. a) Husband, clan 5; b) wife, clan 41, daughter of 1a-b. They share farms with 1a-b and 2a-b.
4. a) Husband, clan 41, son of 3a-b; b) wife, clan 21, daughter of 6a-b; c) baby of a-b, clan 21.
5. a) Husband, clan 21, son of 6a-b; b) wife, clan 29; c) child of a-b. a made farm on flat; used.
6. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 21; c) son of a-b, clan 21. b has farm in canyon; used and shared with 4a-b and 5a-b.
7. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 21, sister of 6b. a has farm on East Fork; used.
8. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 21, sister of 6b. b has farm on Cedar Creek.
9. a) Husband, clan 21, brother of 6b; b) wife, clan 5; c) grown son of a-b, clan 5. b has farm from her father in canyon; both own farm on flat.
10. a) Husband, clan 5, son of 9a-b; b) wife, clan 41; c) two children of a-b, clan 41. a shares in his father's and mother's farms.
11. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 41, sister of 10b; c) child of a-b, clan 41.
12. Used as storehouse by people in 6.
15. Used by people in 1.
17. Used by people in 11.
19. Used as storehouse by people in 9.
Leader.—yanédp'z ("striped downward"), G14, 1a, is the head of the unit. In former times he would have been a real chief.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1</th>
<th>Clan 2</th>
<th>Clan 5</th>
<th>Clan 21*</th>
<th>Clan 29</th>
<th>Clan 41*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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Plan.—$A$ = Extended family; $B$ = Unrelated extended family; $C$ = Extended family related to $B$; $D$ = Old extended family possibly remaining from a past generation.
APPENDIXES

UNIT 11
(Approximates a local group)

1. a) Husband, clan 20; b) wife, clan 1. a has farm in canyon and formerly had one on East Fork, where he came from, but gave it away. b has farm in canyon; wife's and husband's shared together; both used.

2. a) Husband, clan 1, son of 1a-b; b) wife, clan 21; c) four children of a-b (two boys and two girls), clan 21. a has farm in canyon and on flat; used.

3. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 29; c) children of a-b (two boys and two girls), clan 29. a has farm in canyon; used.

4. a) Husband, clan 1, fairly close maternal blood kin to 1b; b) wife, clan 29, daughter of 3a-b. a has farm on Cedar Creek; used. b has farm in canyon; used.

5. a) Husband, clan 29, brother of 3b; b) wife, clan 21; c) old widower, clan 2, father of b. a has farm with wife in canyon; used.

6. a) Husband, clan 2, fairly close maternal blood relative to 5c; b) wife, clan 21, sister of 8b in unit 10, fairly close maternal blood kin to 5b; c) daughter of a-b, clan 21; d) other three children of a-b, clan 21. a has farm in canyon; used. b has farm in canyon; used.

7. a) Husband, clan 20, younger brother of 1a; b) wife, clan 2; c) son of a-b, clan 2. a has farm in canyon; used. b has farm on Cedar Creek; used.

8. a) Husband, clan 2, son of 7b by former husband; b) wife, clan 20; c) child of a-b, clan 20. They share in a's parents' farms.

9. a) Husband, clan 21, fairly close maternal blood relative to 5b and 6b; b) wife, clan 1; c) grown daughter of a-b, clan 1; grown son of a by former wife, clan 1. a has farm in canyon.

10. a) Husband, clan 30; b) wife, clan 2, fairly close maternal blood relative of 5c; c) grown daughter of a-b, clan 2; d) granddaughter of a-b, clan 2 (daughter of one of their married daughters). a and b have farm in canyon; used.

11. a) Old widow, clan 30 (deceased husband of clan 1, brother of mother of 4a); b) daughter of a, also a widow (formerly married to man of clan 2); c) three daughters of b, clan 30. a has farm in canyon and b has farm on flat; both used by all of family.

12. a) Husband, clan 4; b) wife, clan 30, daughter of 11a; c) three small children of a-b, clan 30. a has farm on East Fork; used. This family lives on East Fork most of the time but comes down here every so often to live by b's mother.

13. a) Old widow, clan 30, either sister or mother's sister's daughter of 11a (formerly married to man of clan 1 who had been married to her
sister before her); b) two grown granddaughters of a (her daughter's daughters). a has farm in canyon; used.

14. a) Husband, clan 4; b) wife, clan 21; c) five children of a-b (three girls and two boys), clan 21. a has farm in canyon and b has farm in canyon; both used.

15. a) Husband, clan 21, brother of 1a in unit 8; b) wife, clan 1. a has two farms in canyon, and he and his wife have use of a third made by a deceased son of his wife (by a former husband); all used.

16. a) Husband, clan 21, son of 6a-b in unit 10; b) wife, clan 1, daughter of 1c-b by a former husband. They share farm with b's parent.

17. a) Husband, clan 2, son of sister of 5c; b) wife, clan 29, fairly close maternal blood relative of 3b; c) two children of b by a former husband, clan 29. a has farm in canyon; used. b has farm in canyon; used.

18. a) Widow, clan 21, fairly close maternal blood kin of 1a in unit 10 (was married to man of clan 1, but divorced).


20. Used by people in 17.


22. Used by people in 15 and 16.

23. A new, larger wickiup into which people in 16 will move upon completion.


25. Used as storehouse by people in 10.


27. The Lutheran mission church for all of Canyon Day.

28. Used as storehouse by people in 6.

29. Used by people in 6.

30. Used by people in 7.

31. Used as storehouse by people in 5.

32. Used by people in 5.

33. Used as storehouse by people in 4.

34. Used by people in 3.

35. Used by people in 2.

36. Used by people in 2.

37. A barn.
**Leader.**—Charley Ship, or L1, 1a, is head of this unit. He came here as a young man from East Fork, where he belongs, because he married a member of this unit. He acknowledges that his unit is made up of a good many unrelated families.

<table>
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<th>Status</th>
<th>Clan 1*</th>
<th>Clan 2*</th>
<th>Clan 4</th>
<th>Clan 5</th>
<th>Clan 20</th>
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<td>30I</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
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Plan.—A = Family; B = Family; C = Family; D = Family; E = Family; F = Family; G = Family; H = Family; I = Family; J = Family; K = Family; L = Possible family cluster; M = Possible family cluster.

UNIT 12
1. a) Husband, clan 1; b) wife, clan 20; c) two daughters of a-b, clan 20, about sixteen years old. a has farm in canyon; used.
2. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 1, parallel cousin of 1a (mother’s sister’s child, mothers of both married to the same man of clan 21). a has farm in canyon; used.
3. a) Widow, clan 1, sister of 2b (deceased husband of clan 30); b) grown son of a, clan 1; c) small children of a (two boys and a girl), clan 1. a has farm in canyon.
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4. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 1, sister of 2b. a and b have adjacent farms in canyon; used.

5. a) Husband, clan 21, son of 6a-b; b) wife, clan 1, daughter of 4b (by husband other than present one); c) two small children of a-b, clan 1. a has half of his father's farm in canyon; used.

6. a) Husband, clan 2; b) wife, clan 21. a has farm in canyon; used.

7. a) Husband, clan 21, brother of 2a; b) wife, clan 1, daughter of 4b; c) five children of a-b, clan 1. a has farm in canyon and one on flat; used.

8. a) Husband, clan 21; b) wife, clan 1, daughter of 4b. a has farm on North Fork.

Outline.—Male head of cluster (1a) with wife; his female cousin (mother's sister's daughter); his female cousin (mother's sister's daughter); his female cousin (mother's sister's daughter); this last woman's first daughter; her second daughter; father and mother of husband of second daughter; her third daughter.

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<th>Status</th>
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Men ................. 1 1 0 5
Women ................ 5 0 1 1
Unwed adults ......... 1 0 0 0
Children ............. 10 0 2 0
Total ............... 17 1 3 6
Plan.—A = Family cluster; B = Family, now absent at farm in canyon, have no dwelling in A.
APPENDIX I

LOCAL GROUPS AND INDEPENDENT FAMILY
CLUSTERS, WITH CHIEFS AND
SUBCHIEFS, 1850-75

In the following pages independent family clusters are not to be confused with local groups. They were merely large family clusters which, because of their size, the abilities of their leaders, and other reasons, formed units separate from any local group. Farming sites with which units were affiliated are referred to by the numbers indicating them on the accompanying map (Map VII). Doubtless some units have been omitted, and the list is perhaps weakest in reference to the area south of Black River. It is more difficult to obtain information there because the old sites are no longer used. However, the center of population has always been north of Black River.

1. *hâckê-sîlî* (“angry, two slender objects resting side by side”) of clan 2, Western White Mountain band, farmed at site 2, with which he and his local group were associated. John Rope considered this man head chief of his clan in the band and said that, though there were many members of clan 2 living at Canyon Day, they had no chief of the clan there. *hâckî-bâyû'hê* of clan 2 was one of the subchiefs in this unit. The local group was made up predominantly of clan 2. When in the home locality and not working at the farms, the people generally lived near *bî-bî'sê* (“deer’s water”), some springs about two miles east of the site. *hâckê-yâ-bâ'dzâ* (“angry, he goes out to fight”) succeeded him, thus becoming head chief of the clan. He was a parallel cousin, the mothers of both men being sisters married to separate husbands. The former chief had three brothers, all wealthy men, but none of them was considered good enough to take his place. The latter chief was made tag-band chief R1 in reservation times. He had three wives: an Eastern White Mountain woman of clan 21, one of clan 30 who owned a farm at the site, and one of clan 57 from the Carrizo band. The first and last wives were both known as women chiefs because of their industry and character. On the death of this chief, his son, R14, took his place as tag-band chief and has been a wealthy and influential man in reservation life.

David Burnette (Western White Mountain band) mentioned a clan 2 chief who farmed and lived at site 1, about ninety years ago. It is uncertain whether or not he was the same man as *hâckê-sîlî*. 

651
Forming sites
ED Small plots UHd
for formlnQ, l!Ot the regular sites.

White Mountain Apache Farming Sites, 1850-70
KEY TO MAP VII

1. 'ic¿'eñik ahaha ("salt canyon")
   Lower Carrizo Creek
2. gä'djä jënä't'i'
   Cedar Creek Crossing
3. t'l-së dënt'së ("cottonwoods joining")
   Forks of Cedar Creek
4. t'l'ùk'â-àd'î ("Reeds are being made")
   West Fork, Cedar Creek
5. ná'yodësäjî ("between two hills")
   Head of Cottonwood Wash
6. /st'ë'nëd'ë ("rock jutting into water")
   North Fork, White River
7. 'iyà'dâi
   Southwest Foot of Roundtop Mountain
8. t'e'ná dëzh'ge ("descending into water in peaks")
   North Fork, White River
9. bëz'dâhë
   Near Bear Springs
10. Canyon Day and vicinity
11. tce'jëhë
    North Fork, White River, above lower Box Canyon
12. k'is'ëbi'të ("willows in red strip")
    Mouth of Seven-Mile Canyon on East Fork
13. East Fork, White River
    About two miles above Fort Apache
14. nágàk'ëj ("sloping tree spotted hill")
    Present location of Lutheran school
15. xár'bo bë'ëlëhë ("dove's salt")
    About three-fourths mile above site 14
16. te'ëndi'yëshkëd ("walnut tree growing")
    About three-fifths mile above site 15
17. tsëh'ëtë ("red rock in horizontal band")
    About three-fifths mile above site 16 and extending for a mile or more upstream
18. t'ëwët'sëse
    About two or three miles above site 17
19. nagolsuk
    Turkey Creek
20. t'l'ùk'à ("canes")
    Corn Creek
21. t'áhë t'ënä-škë ("resting on edge of the water")
    Bonito Creek
22. ná'dôhën'së ("slender peak standing up")
    On Bonito Creek near mouth of Squaw Creek
23. t'ëndi'dënëjë
    On Black River
24. dàlë dënt'së bë'ë ("mountains joining valley")
    Eagle Creek just above mouth of Willow Creek
25. te'ëndi'-yë'ë-áhë ("walnut growing alone")
    Cienega Creek, Picket Post Corral
26. nagolsuk
    Cienega Creek, about four miles above site 25
27. tsigudedzak
    Point of Pine
28. te'ëndi'yë benendja
    Head of Sawmill Canyon
29. tsenawast'an
    About five miles northeast of Warm Springs on Ash Creek
30. tula sika
    Rocky Creek, about six miles south of Chiricahuah Butte
31. sâi'âdëgåi ("sand in line of white joins in")
    Bear Canyon
32. tusizihanli
    Warm Springs on Ash Creek
33. t'ët't'ä ("salt spring")
    Salt Springs, opposite Bylas
34. telatcigo
    Goodwin Springs
35. Indian Hot Springs
36. One or two plots located at springs along foot of Graham Mountains
37. tsey'nawast'an
    Either mouth of Bonito Creek or mouth of Eagle Creek
2. *nāyundilé* ("he picks something out of a tree") of clan 30, Western White Mountain band, was chief. John Rope, his son, said that he was head chief of his clan in the band. He had two wives, both of clan 21. There were three subchiefs in this local group: *bi'tc'ilé-hé*, the chief's brother, *ntc’i-bé-djiyiiit*, distant parallel cousin to the chief, and *gičnándilné* ("he carries sticks"), son of the chief's sister, so named because he had been shot in the foot and always carried crutches. All were war chiefs as well. The local group was made up predominantly of clan 30 but included almost equal minor elements from clans 1, 2, and 21. It was associated with site 3, where the majority of its members farmed.

John Rope says: "We stayed at the farms in May and June for about one and a half months, until the corn was up quite a bit. Then we moved to *tc'Undlé-yédidecit'jj*, not far from the farms. We went back to irrigate when necessary. It was too dangerous to remain there continually, because of our enemies. In winter we went to *tc'Undlé-yédidecit'jj* or to *gulgaisa'anebuhlanlin*, about one and a half miles from the farm. All winter we drifted about within a radius of eight miles or so of the site. Sometimes, during the winter, families made extended visits to people at Canyon Day." The residence of the chief is one of those sometimes encountered among Western Apache, which, though it seems out of harmony with the scheme of the local group, must be accepted as a peculiarity of chieftainships. The chief's wives had close blood and clan relatives living at site 2 and also owned a farm there. As well as this clan 2 was the chief's paternal clan, and thus he had many paternal relatives in the unit. Therefore, in spite of his chieftainship and ownership of a farm at site 3, he often lived near his wife's relatives at the lower site for long periods. His wives planted their farm there, and he apparently made little use of his own at site 3. Of his three brothers, only one, *bi'tc'ilé-hé*, was ever a subchief. When he died from overdrinking at Calva in 1882, members of clan 30 wished to put this brother in as the new chief, but he refused, saying, "I am too old." However, he talked with one of the dead chief's sons: "My nephew, I want you to take your father's place because you are younger than I." The son took the chieftainship and was later made tag-band chief 3.

3. *hácké-yiňdé* ("angry, he kills [a brave enemy]") of clan 29, Western White Mountain band, farmed at site 4 with which he and his local group were associated. According to John Rope, he was head chief of his clan in the band. The local group was predominantly of clan 29 and spent most of its time in the locality of the site, journeying south to the region of Casador Springs for certain wild plant foods but returning home as soon as the harvest was over. The chief was without brothers when he died of sickness, and a man of the same clan, a son of his blood sister, called *hácké ná-šbást* ("angry, in a circle") took his place. He farmed at site 4 and is also said to have owned a farm at
APPENDIXES

site 10. John Rope says: "When he died at the site, after the starting of the reservation, an old man of his clan living there, told his own son, of the 'yvá'giyé clan, that he should be chief. The son was called hâckí-yûkè'd ("angry, he asks for it"), and so he became chief for his paternal relatives." He was later made tag-band chief 11.

4. nábá-nét'íné ("he talks against someone") of clan 1, Western White Mountain band, farmed and lived at site 7, with which he and his local group were directly associated. John Rope claimed him to be head chief of his clan in this band. The local group was predominantly of clan 1 but probably contained a fairly large percentage of clans 29 and 30 married into it. When drought (about 1864) caused the springs to dry up at the site, many were forced to abandon their farms and seek others. John Rope says that the local group split up, families going to sites 2, 3, 4, and 8, according to where they had affinal or blood clan kin who might invite them to stay and farm. Some families may have remained at site 7. The chief's residence after the drought was not determined. He died at Fort Apache and was succeeded by his blood brother, t'ánéyetóci-hé ("wind blows against his forehead"), who had previously been a subchief or headman in the local group. The father of these brothers was a rich man. The second chief died of old age at Dewey Flat on the Gila River. He had three sons and three daughters. All the sons were wealthy and influential.

5. nábá-dître'ít ("someone outran him") of clan 21, Western White Mountain band, was the chief. John Rope claims he was head chief of his clan in the band. He was married to a woman of clan 4 who was known as a woman chief. Until the drought forced abandonment of the farms, his local group was associated with site 9. The unit was predominantly of clan 21 but also must have contained some members of clan 2, 29, and 30 who had married into it. After the drought many families went to sites 2, 3, and 4 on Cedar Creek, at the invitation of their affinal and blood kin there. Some families also went to sites 8 and 10, taking up new farms and homes. John Rope describes the movement as follows: "When the drought came, the people down at t'íté:slé-dnt't? [site 3] who had relatives-in-law among the bíszáhé at bíszáhé [site 9] sent them word to come down and take up new farms. They told them that they could have land which had never been farmed before. Some who had large farms divided them in half and gave part to a brother-in-law, etc., from bíszáhé, keeping the remainder for themselves. If a man had a sister married to a bíszáhé man and living at bíszáhé he would want to give half his farm to his brother-in-law.1 My

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1 Behavior and obligation patterns between siblings-in-law stressed the kindness to the brother-in-law, but actually the farm was given to the sister through whom the affinal relationship came. The narrator being a man, also partly explains the emphasis on men in the transaction.
father, the chief, also invited them down, but it was not on account of him alone that they came. They came principally because individual families at our site had invited them. My father could not have prevented them coming in the face of this, even if he had wanted to." The same man also says that, though many of clan 21 from site 9 joined his father's local group and lived under him, the majority who came to Cedar Creek farmed at site 2 and lived under a chief of their own. Probably their leader was only a subchief, and it is not clear whether they remained totally independent from the local group regularly affiliated with site 2. Several families removed from site 9 to site 10 under the leadership of a headman called nà·kì·yáltì·hé'. They seem to have remained distinct from the local group regularly belonging at site 10. When their leader died, his son called gòłsànè (clan 4) took his place. Following the drought and the movement away from site 9, and very possibly even before this, nàba·di'yu'dì, the chief of the local group, lived among his wife's people at site 8, where his wife owned a farm. He may have moved first to Cedar Creek from site 9, for it is said he owned a farm there and that on leaving for site 8 he gave it to a brother-in-law (man married to his mother's sister's daughter; actually the farm was given to the woman). After that only occasionally did he return to visit among his people. He was finally killed by members of clans 46 and 57 on White River, as the result of a clan feud. A man of the same clan called godtvó·yà (of Spanish origin) became head chief in his place. The mothers of these two men were blood sisters married to different husbands. The old chief had no brothers and only one sister. Previously godtvó·yà was a subchief and also a war chief, living with his family cluster at site 10 and possibly forming an independent unit there, for he and his men are said to have danced separately at war dances. He may have come originally from site 9, though he had a farm at site 10.

The clans predominating on Cedar Creek were clans 1, 2, 21, 29, and 30. John Rope says that the majority of the first three were closely associated through adjacency of farms and intermarriage as well as in common undertakings such as food-gathering trips. Thus the distinction between units at sites 2 and 3 is somewhat dulled, partly explaining the ease with which the chief of the unit at site 3 associated himself with that at site 2. Probably other families did likewise. John Rope claimed that members of clans 29 and 30 in the region tended to remain together in another block, farther up the creek, always staying separate from clans 1, 2, and 21 in social and economic enterprises.

6. hacké·di·le, clan 4, Eastern White Mountain band, lived and farmed with his local group at site 8. He was considered head chief of his clan. His unit was composed principally of clan 4, though after the drought caused abandonment of sites 7 and 9, families of clans 1 and 21 joined it. Apparently during the establishment of Fort Apache and the
reservation, the majority, if not all, of this unit left the site and never returned. A unit composed principally of clan 4 is described by several sources as living and farming at site 14 on East Fork, and two or three family clusters dominantly of this clan still remain there. Several are also at Canyon Day, and David Burnette says that at the time of the peace some farmed at site 17. It is not certain whether the East Fork unit had already formed prior to the abandonment of site 8 or was the direct result of this abandonment. It may have been no more than a large family cluster, but its leader was a true chief. The date of the old chief's death was not ascertained. Some time elapsed before another chief was put in his place, quite a while after the peace of 1864. According to Anna Price, all members of clan 4 gathered and talked about it. "We have no chief, so we better put in this man as our chief," they said. They chose 'ickí-lgáí ("white boy"), of clan 4. He later became tag-band chief Yí. Though he belonged to the same blood lineage as his predecessor, the exact relationship was not traced. Anna Price mentions a separate unit, a family cluster possibly affiliated with this chief's following, who farmed on East Fork of White River either at site 16 or at site 14 and was composed of people of clans 2 and 4 among whom were blood relatives of her father. The headman was of clan 29 and married in from outside. He was called tagúldá and came from Canyon Day. She says of him, "He must have been a very good man, because his kin-in-law made him their leader almost immediately."

7. náts'a'ilí ('he fails to do what he claims he will'), also called hàckí bitc'óldá, Eastern White Mountain band (one informant classed him as Western White Mountain), farmed with his local group at the upper farms of site 10. John Rope referred to him as being of clan 20 and its head chief, at least in Western White Mountain territory. He also stated he was of clan 21. Anna Price considered him as belonging to clan 21 and its head chief, though she once mentioned him as being of clan 20. He was married to a woman of clan 29, and the unit was composed mainly of clan 21, but with many members of clans 2 and 29 married into it. This man and his local group lived at Canyon Day Flat, their home locality, and Anna Price said that they controlled all the farming land at site 10.

When the chief died after the peace, he was succeeded by ts'ísíldí', of clan 30, a wealthy headman and married to a woman of clan 20 who was close blood kin to the old chief. This affinal connection, his ability, and the fact that there was no man of clan 20 in the unit considered fit to take the former chief's place were the reasons for the choice. John Rope gives the following account of it: "All the nadót's'úsn held a meeting and spoke to this man, saying, 'You have lived with us for a long

* When clans 20 and 21 are thus confused, the explanation is always, "They are the same thing [they are related]."
time and know everything about us. So you will be our chief. There is no one else who can do it.' Thereafter when one of the nádōts'ásn got in trouble with others, this man would talk to them and smooth things out. It is the only case that I know of where a relative-in-law was picked to be chief of a local group and follow in the steps of a hereditary chief." Happening after the establishment of the reservation, this choice may have been partially the result of unnatural conditions. The successor later was made tag-band chief L1. He was the Eastern White Mountain band and spent much of his time in the vicinity of Turkey Creek. He could not be classed as an outstanding chief.

There may have been more than one unit of local group size living at Canyon Day. David Burnette and others recalled an outstanding chief named tc'á'l'giji ("two peaked hat"), of clan 21, an Eastern White Mountain man who farmed at the upper farms of the site. It is fairly certain that he was contemporaneous with the chief of unit 10. John Rope mentions him as a war chief but not the leader of a local group, and so he may have belonged in unit 10 or possibly headed an independent unit of local group family cluster size.

11. t'údżstlí námt'ánu ("black water [clan] chief"), nicknamed Coffee Chief, of clan 3 and considered by John Rope to be head chief of his clan, lived with his unit about Canyon Day Flat. Anna Price could not remember the name of the head chief of clan 3 but described him as a short man who lived between the present White River Agency and Canyon Day. Probably he was the same man as Coffee Chief. John Rope says that clans 3 and 20 controlled the farms at site 10 previous to the drought (about 1864). It is uncertain whether the unit was a large independent family cluster of a local group. Nancy Wright, a member of clan J, said she lived on White River under Coffee Chief and accompanied him and his unit to the Gila Valley when feuds with clan 46 forced them to seek safety elsewhere. Coffee Chief died in the Gila Valley.

12. djá láta·há ("ear tips") of clan 2, Eastern White Mountain band, farmed with his local group at site 12. Anna Price said that he was head chief of his clan in the Eastern White Mountain band, and, though another influential man of this clan residing near site 24 was also called chief, he was actually only subchief. The unit was composed mainly of clan 2 but included many of clan 21 because its chief was married to a woman of that clan. It is said to have been large, and its chief, according to Anna Price, was given permission to farm at site 12 by her father, who she claimed controlled all East Fork of White River. When djá láta·há died, no one took his place as head chief of the clan. His son, Bylas, later became tag-band chief CF1 on the San Carlos Reservation and was for many years the most influential man in the community at Bylas, named for him.
13. \textit{dodé-ké-hè}, of clan 30, a subchief, was the head of this unit. He had crippled legs, but in spite of this used to lead men to war. His following was probably merely a large independent family cluster. The unit farmed on East Fork at site 13 and was composed of members of clan 30 married to members of clan 2. Dirty Girl says, "I was raised in this bunch and later I married within it," which would indicate that there were at least a few of clan 1 included.

14. \textit{hâcké-ldâsilâ} ("angry, right side up"), called "Diablo" by Americans and Mexicans, was head chief of clan 20 in the Eastern White Mountain band as well as being chief of the largest local group among the White Mountain Apache. In his unit lived another true chief, \textit{dja'od'áhá} ("ears sticking up") of clan 1, who, rather than head a local group of his own, preferred to live with Diablo, who was married to his parallel cousin. He was considered second in authority, and Anna Price said that he was head chief of his clan among the Eastern White Mountain band. His farm was on East Fork of White River, but he also owned a farm at site 21. There were seven subchiefs in the local group: (1) \textit{hâské-ládis} of clan 20 and son of Diablo's sister, who was also known as "Sweat Bath Chief" because of his duties in preparing sweat baths; (2) \textit{hâské-yésnâ-gé} of clan 20 and parallel cousin by clan to Diablo; (3) \textit{hâcH-nâ'ínâ} ("angry, he offers something slender") of clan 20, a maternal uncle of Diablo and farming close to him on East Fork of White River at site 28 or at site 24 on Eagle Creek, where Diablo sometimes joined him; (4) \textit{nâm'tá-hâlt'é} of clan 1, a distant blood relative of Diablo's wife, moving about with Diablo and owning farms on East Fork of White River as well as at site 24; (5) \textit{hâské-ná'gôzi'ā}, of clan 1, a war chief and brother to Diablo's wife; (6) \textit{hâcH-'agôhâ'â}, of clan 1, who farmed below site 16; and (7) a man of clan 6 married into the local group, a war chief. Diablo owned successive farms on East Fork of White River, and his wife owned one at site 15, but during the period just prior to and immediately after the Civil War, when United States troops guided by Papago and Apache Mansos scouts often raided the better-known White Mountain Apache farming sites, he and his people established an emergency farm on Black River at site 23 as well as one at site 24, where they planted for two or three summers.

The local group was composed mainly of clans 1 and 20 but also included a considerable number of clans 2, 4, 21, 29, and 30. Though Anna Price claimed that it had jurisdiction over all East Fork of White River, actually it was associated only with sites 15, 16, 17, 18, and possibly 14. Most of the farms were concentrated at sites 15 and 16, the former controlled by members of clan 20; the latter, by members of clan 1. Diablo and his family cluster left site 15 to establish farms at previously unused sites 17 and 18, thereafter probably dominated by clan 20. Nominally, Diablo was in authority only at the particular site where he
and his wife farmed, and the various other farming sites of the local
group were controlled by the subchiefs who farmed at them. But Anna
Price claimed that farm owners at site 15 often came upstream to con-
sult her father concerning land matters, and the same was true of the
clan I chief, ʤá’ó’áhá, with regard to site 16. Associated as they were
with several farming sites, the planting and harvesting season found
members of the local group scattered, but at other times the majority
assembled in the vicinity of Turkey Creek, when not elsewhere on wild-
food-gathering harvests.

By 1875 Diablo's influence was ebbing, as he was getting old. He
finally moved to the Gila Valley and probably died in the late eighties
or nineties. Curiously enough, he was never made a tag-band chief. He
apparently felt that he was too old to continue as chief on East Fork
before he left there. Y2 speaks of this as follows: "My mother married
her second husband, a nádots’ásn and son of the sister of Diablo. Diabo was my parent's chief on East Fork. Then Diablo said to my
father: 'Well, my nephew, I am getting old, so I guess you will be chief
from now on. I will put you in.' That's how father became a chief.
My father was killed. Then an ʧi’á’qiyé called ʤá’ó’áhá succeeded
him. When the whites came to Goodwin Springs the first time, they
made him a chief, giving him a red ribbon to wear over one shoulder. He
was not a real chief before that. After him bé’dè’kb’á’hún ("patched"), a
nádots’ásn, became chief [tag-band chief]. He was followed by a man
called George Pi [clan 1] [evidently tag-band chief Pi]. From here on
the chieftainships were created by the whites; no longer by us. When
George Pi died, the chieftainship went to my brother, Y1 [clan 4], and
when he died his son [clan 20] took it. He is now Y1 and boss here."

The whites may have thought in terms of chieftainship succession
within the tag band, but in this case, at least, tag bands formed no
material barrier to the Apache in succession of chieftainships. By the
time George Pi came into full leadership, the local group as a mobile
unit had practically ceased to function, and the people who lived on
East Fork had settled into family clusters distributed about the various
farming sites. Therefore, he and the men following him were no longer
successive chiefs of a local group but merely a sequence of the most
influential men within the locality.

15. Anna Price mentioned a sub-chief called ʰáčke’idá’ciʃoj of
clan 1, who headed a large independent family cluster. He and his unit
farmed at site 14 or 15. He danced separately with his men at war
dances. David Burnette also mentions a man called ʰik’á’dn ("fat one")
of clan 1, who he claims was a chief at sites 15 and 16 and who may be

3 There may be some confusion here. It seems unlikely that two men in the
same clan, so near of an age, would bear the same name.
the same man. He is said to have had six sons, all wealthy, influential men.

David Burnette claims that no one farmed at Turkey Creek when he was a young man, but statements from other sources deny this. Data concerning units affiliated with sites 19, 20, 21, and 22 are lacking, but individual headmen or subchiefs who farmed at them will be listed below.

16. **báildâ’dólñhê** ("he holds his arm over his head") of clan 6, Eastern White Mountain band, had two large farms at site 24, where he farmed with the majority of his clan. Both Anna Price and John Rope mention him as head chief of his clan. Whether or not he controlled a local group of which his was the dominant clan is not certain, but at least he led a large family cluster. Eva Longstreet, a member of the clan, who originally lived at site 24, where her mother had a farm, says the real chief of her unit, a man of clan 6 called **k'âldîidîxîhê** ("black arrow"), lived there with them. He was so named because he had strong power for the medicine ceremony. He may have been the same man mentioned above. She adds that there were quite a few Chiricahua Apache married and living among them at the site. This chief died long ago, and Eva Longstreet's family cluster joined in with that of Diablo, even accompanying him to East Fork. Other dominant clans at site 24 were undetermined, but there are said to have been some members of clans 1 and 30.

17. **gôtcâ-hâ’** ("big one") of clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, headed a unit affiliated with sites 25, 26, and 27, and, though merely a subchief, was considered one of the most influential men in the area south of Black River. He is said to have been great friends with the neighboring Chiricahua. The size of his local group is not certain, but it probably contained a fair representation of clans 1, 3, and 20.

18. The father of Paul Papoose, clan 30, Eastern White Mountain band, is said by Anna Price to have been the head chief of his clan in the band. He had four wives: one from the San Carlos band, one of clan 2, and two of clan 3. A considerable number of his wives' relatives lived with him and these, with some of his blood and clan kin, formed his unit. It probably amounted to no more than a very large independent family cluster, farming at sites 32 and 33. This chief accidentally shot himself near Goodwin Springs in the sixties or seventies.

19. **nâ-gínî’á’** ("he scouts ahead"), of clan 20, Eastern White Mountain band, was a chief, though not trained as one. He was married to a woman of clan 1, and his local group was composed mainly of clans 1 and 20. The principal farms of this unit were at site 37, but sites 35 and 36 were also used. More mobile than any of the other White

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* John Rope claims he farmed at site 19.
Mountain people, members of the local group depended largely on game and wild-plant foods for sustenance. They roamed the country of the Gila Valley from the present site of Bylas to the mouth of Eagle Creek, the region about the Graham Mountains, and ranged southward to the Winchester Mountains. They were close friends with the Chiricahua bordering them and had little or no trouble except an occasional brush with renegade Chiricahua. The chief finally died at the Goodwin Springs poisoning, about 1865.

Following is a list of subchiefs and headmen whose local group or family cluster affiliations were undetermined. Some of them may have controlled independent family clusters and others may have been members of local groups or family clusters already mentioned. These men are often spoken of as chiefs, but apparently they were not true chiefs. The first three are from John Rope; the remainder, from Anna Price.

1. nábہnáínahá: clan 2, lived on Cedar Creek.
2. nábہnáínahá: clan 2, lived on Cedar Creek.
3. hæcké nü'citlē: clan 21, a war chief and blood brother to the subchief gôdîvô-yâ. He lived on Cedar Creek and was killed by Carrizo people in a feud.
4. hæcké yâ-â-nî-hé' ("angry son-in-law [or father-in-law]"): clan 3, Western White Mountain band, lived at site 12 and also at site 32.
5. nà'î/hââ-lî: ("he beats something down [like beating seeds into a basket from a bush]"): clan 20, Eastern White Mountain band, farmed at site 14.
6. hæcké-nà'ìlâ' ("angry, carrying a rope"): Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 14 but kept moving back and forth between there and vicinity of Turkey Creek.
7. hæské-yügûs'd ("angry, he knows [about war]"): clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 14.
8. hæckébindâ-hâ ("angry, his eyes"): clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 14.
9. nànt'âlîhî'-hé: clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, lived on East Fork and once farmed near site 14. He was wealthy man and sub-chief, and his wife's kin lived with him on East Fork of White River.
10. hîgîtê' ("fish"), also called bîlté'ôëskînî: clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at sites 15 and 16.
11. nànt'â'-â-ts'dês' ("slim chief"): clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, farmed near site 19.
12. hæcké-nà'îzûgê ("angry, he marks on the ground"): clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 19.
14. hæcké-dôllîs: clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, lived about site 24 and also farmed at site 29. He was half-brother to the chief.
djā’d’āhā (mothers married to same man) and was poisoned at Goodwin Springs.

15. ńdē-tci’l̓i’ ("shore man"): clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, lived at sites 21 and 15.

16. cóñ̓â̱ (meaningless): clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 24.

17. nāmt’ā’̱h̓į’ḏi’t̓ ("chief he throws two objects"): clan 6, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 24.

18. ḅā’-ń̓t’á’ ("he searches for it"): clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, farmed at site 27 and close to site 24.

19. nāmt’á’yêy̓i’l̓ ("chief he pushes with hands"): clan 1, Eastern White Mountain, residence unknown.

20. ńāc̓k̓ē-yiniləg̓o’ē ("angry, running in [to fight]"): clan 30, Eastern White Mountain, residence unknown. This may be the chief who shot himself accidentally at Goodwin Springs.

21. tci’ḏə: clan 20, Eastern White Mountain, lived at Canyon Day and also about site 37. Later married a Chiricahua woman and went to live among her people.

22. nāgùndé:l̓: clan 1, band and farm unknown.

23. ńāc̓k̓ē-yu’ē:s: clan 20, band and farm unknown.

24. ńāc̓k̓ē-nàdə:l̓: clan 21, probably a Western White Mountain, living on Cedar Creek or Canyon Day.
I don't know the name of my father's father. He was a t'uhagaidn clansman but not a chief. My father's mother was a tall woman, named nāte'ē'il'ge' ("she tries to do it but can't"). She went to live with my grandfather in his local group. Thus my father was born and raised living under a t'uhagaidn chief. I do not know much about his boyhood, but I think that the other boys he played with used to call him their chief while he was still a boy. He told us more about his later life. That was when my mother died. My father had two wives, my mother and her parallel cousin [both of clan 21]. My mother died one day, and father's other wife died the following day. We older boys stayed with our father, but my older sister took the younger children and raised them. She died not long ago. My father used to talk to us at night and tell of his life from the time he was about sixteen until he first married. He was a chief as far back as I can remember, but I heard him tell of the time when he was not a chief, and about how he became one:

"Boys, your mothers have died, and it is going to be a hard time for us now. I was raised through hard times also by my father, who used to go to Mexico for horses and cattle and bring them back for me to feed on. He went out hunting and brought in deer for me also. Then the time came when I was almost a full grown boy, and I looked at myself and found I was all right. When I went far out in the hills, running, searching for my horse, I was trying myself out, and I found that I could return on my first wind without becoming exhausted. Therefore, I thought I was old enough to go to Mexico. I was tough enough for it, and I showed them. I wanted to go, but my father and mother and the rest of my relatives told me, 'You are not ready to go down there yet.' But I did not mind them and intended to go in spite of what they said. Finally I joined a raiding party. On the way to Mexico, the men who knew about war told me to gather wood for their camp, to build a fire, or bring water. I was sent to gather wild grass for bedding. It was because I was a boy that they made me do all these things. When boys first go to Mexico, the men who know about war tell them that they must not eat any cattle guts, such as heart, liver, intestines, and that they can only eat the good meat. 'If you eat any of the guts, your toes will become sore,' they said. Boys were given another rule also. They were not allowed to scratch themselves with their fingers but had to use a
sharp stick. Besides this, we boys had a section of cane through which we drank. This and the scratching-stick were tied together at the end of a buckskin thong about our necks. We wore them hanging in front. Every boy had to do these things the first time he went on a raid, but after that he could do anything he wanted to.

"When we arrived in Mexico, our party killed a cow on a flat close to the enemy farms and butchered it, carrying the meat up on top of a hill. I helped with this, and we roasted the meat there. What was left was put in a safe place on the hill, and, leaving me with the other boys, the men went off to look for horses. In about two days they returned with some saddle horses they had taken out of a corral. They left again and went to another town where they took more horses. When they had brought in enough horses for everyone, the older men got two apiece, and we boys were given one each. Then the war chief said to us all, 'We have enough horses now, so let's gather up some cattle.' They did this and brought them up to the top of the hill where we were. Then we started home. While some of us drove the cattle, a few men scouted out at the sides. If they saw more horses or cattle, they waved their blankets to signal, and the herders would hold the herd until they could drive them in with the rest. Then the man who was in charge said, 'We have enough now. Let's go straight home.' I just listened and let them talk among themselves. As we drove our cattle, they sent two men behind to guard. These two were brave, wealthy men. Two men of the same kind were sent ahead. We boys just drove the cattle along in the middle. When we got out of the Mexican country, our leader talked to us, 'Well, boys, we are out now. We have passed through our enemies, so take it slow and watch out well for these animals until we get home.'

"After we had the cattle, we lived on meat and nothing else. On our way we killed all the beews we wanted, but we saved the hides for moccasin soles and packed this with dried meat on some burros we had captured. When we had come almost to the south side of Graham Mountain, we divided the cattle among us. The wealthy men got ten head each, some only eight. We boys got two each, but I got three. The t'úhágaídn chief with us who was in charge of the party received twenty head. Now we sent two men ahead to t'údásílísö's to tell the people we were coming. When they arrived, all the people who had stayed at home gathered about them for the news. They knew that if they said we had taken lots of cattle, everyone would feel happy. We found the camp waiting for us right above Rice, at 'otsës'd'an. When we arrived, they killed some cattle for the poor people. Of the three head which fell to my share, I killed one, and my father was proud of me. 'That's all right, my son. You will be a man,' he said. That was the first time I ever went on a raid. After that we all moved up to the vicinity of Cedar Creek and camped there."
It was about two years after he married my mother that my father became a chief. He was still young, but quite a few young men became chiefs or subchiefs in those times. The reason was that many young men accompanied old men on raids and war parties. This gave the older men a chance to observe them and see how they acted. If they showed themselves well, were respectful and obedient, and did not use bad words, the news would spread among the people that here was a good man. My father did not know that he was to be made a chief. When we sat about our fire at nights, he used to tell us how it happened:

"After I had been three times to Mexico, they found out how I acted. They sent me out as a lookout and I went. I was not lazy; I was hardy and reliable. At the end of the second trip I made to Mexico, I married for the first time [John Rope's mother's parallel cousin]."

"At the completion of my third trip, I did not know it, but the people were talking about me, saying that I had done well. When I got home the men whom I had been with knew how I behaved, and they spread the news among my own people, my relatives. They said, 'That boy is tough, not lazy. He can do anything. He can run well.' The t'i:sle:dn'ti:dn clanspeople got together and talked it over. Our chief was getting old, too old to keep on being chief much longer. So the t'i:sle:dn'ti:dn wanted me to be their chief. My clanspeople approached a t'uhaga'idn called hâckí:báyu'hé, a great shaman and a subchief, and one of my father's relatives. They spoke to him: 'We are going to turn this boy over to you. Teach him how to use his head and how to look after his people. His father was a t'uhaga'idn and the t'uhaga'idn are bâništin (his paternally related clansmen), so take him and teach him.' I was only a young man then and I knew nothing of this. All the influential men used to gather at night in the camp of hâckí:báyu'hé. Some of them were of my clan, some were t'uhaga'idn, and some were of other clans; those who wanted to listen to the words of hâckí:báyu'hé. Then I would go also, while all these men were present. hâckí:báyu'hé would start to talk to me before them. This talk lasted a long time. Sometimes he would lay off for from three to eight days. Then he would send for me, telling someone, 'I am going to talk to that boy again.' The old man usually sent his daughter's son for me. The way he talked was this:

"'First, use your head in a brave way. Use your mind in a brave way. You shall be in front of all your men when you make trips to Mexico. You will be the leader on these trips. You know that when you walk through the grass in the morning, there is a lot of dew. You must walk through that grass first. Your feet will get wet, but your men will come behind you and not wet their feet. When you walk at the head of your men, walk slow. Give them lots of time. You know yourself that some of them are not fast walkers. Give them rests at regular
intervals not too close together, and say, "Boys, take a smoke now." From this day on make your heart strong, make your mind strong, for from here on I will make you a chief. I don't make you a chief for myself alone, but for all these people living here. These influential men want you as a chief and so you are to be their chief. From this day on, if you speak to your men, they will go. If a chief speaks to his men, they can't back out of it. They must do as you tell them. From now on you will take this trail. When your enemy attacks you in battle, don't run away; just stand right there. If you run off your men will laugh at you, and there will be much talk about you at home. Your men will say in derision, 'Our chief ran away from us.' Be brave and wise. Never fear anything and never back out of a tight place.'

"In those days Hâckī-bâyû'hē had very strong war power. He used his holy words on me, for I was to be a chief. He used all the different war-power words on me for protection against guns and bullets. He also taught me some of his power so I would understand it and know how to use it. While all this was going on and I was being instructed in war power, they chose me to lead a raiding party down into Mexico for the first time. That is how they were training me to take the place of our old chief. When they finally put me in as a real chief, Hâckī-bâyû'hē made a war charm bandoleer for me. This was known as 'Slayer of Monsters' bandoleer' and was made of four strands of buckskin, two pairs of already twisted strands being twisted about each other. On it were tied eagle feathers, each feather representing some holy words. It also had turquoise and obsidian tied to it to represent the xalî that Slayer of Monsters used in war. That's what Hâckī-bâyû'hē did for me. As he put it on me, he spoke words over me, teaching them to me, 'I call on sky and on earth. Bats will fly, turning upside down with me in battle. Black sky will enfold and protect my body, and earth will do likewise.' When you go into battle and your enemy starts to shoot at you, use these words so no bullet will hit you. Even if one does, it will just glance off you,' he told me.

"After he taught me war power, he started to teach me about cattle power. 'When they cook mescal in the ground, some of it will come out burned. This is the kind to use,' he said. The old man had some of this, and he soaked it in water and squeezed all the burned part out, molding it into a ball. He gave this to me, saying, 'When you have a bunch of cattle and you want to bed them down and herd them for the night, bite off a bit of this and chew it. Then ride around the herd and blow it on them as you go, puff, and the cattle cannot go anywhere without a herder, all night. You also can use these words on cattle when you drive them along the trail: 'There will be a rainbow of good-smelling ripe fruits stretching away in front of you up into my country. You can

1 Mythical swordlike weapon.
never overtake it." When you say these words, the cattle will stay in
good shape and never give out. They will drive straight ahead and be
easy to handle.²

"The first time I went to Mexico after learning this power, I tried it
out. We had a bunch of cattle bedded down for the night, and so I used
the ball of burned mescal as taught. In the early morning I said to my
men, 'Let's go and see if the cattle have moved.' But the cattle had not
even stepped out of their tracks. We brought the herd back to Hack-
berry Springs. I made a second trip after this and brought back more
cattle to a place just west of Dewey Flats on the Gila River. Lots of
men accompanied me, and the t'ú hà gài đn chief from Cedar Creek also
went along."

My mother's parallel cousin was my father's first wife, but after a
while, because he was a brave man and an 'ik'á d mà lìl'ízì [wealthy, in-
fluential person], they gave him another wife. This was my mother.
She was of the bì sázá hé clan and had been raised in another local group
under a bì sázá hé chief. I am not sure, but I think my father was prob-
ably about twenty-five or twenty-six at the time. He had not yet been
put in as a real chief. When they were first married, they went to live
with my father's people under the t'i:slè-dnt'i:dn chief at t'i:slè-dnt'i:ı:
(“cottonwoods joining”). They stayed there about a year so that my
mother might become well acquainted with my father's relatives.
Then they returned to live with my mother's relatives, under the
bì sázá hé chief, near Cedar Creek, but the t'i:slè-dnt'i:dn chief was still
my father's real chief.

I think that it was about two years after father married mother
when he was put in as real chief for the t'i:slè-dnt'i:dn.³ The t'i:slè-
dnt'i:dn came over from Canyon Day to Cedar Creek, and it was talked
over among my father's clansmen there. Women were also present at
this conference, and a few of the older ones got up and talked, saying,
"This man has a right to be chief. He will make a good chief." When
they had fully decided on it, they said, "We have chosen our new chief.
We will notify our neighbors, the people of clans 2 and 21 on Cedar
Creek, as to what we have done." Then they went among these people
and told them of their choice. The headmen and subchiefs of other clans
said, "He is fit to be a chief. We know him. He has been to war with
us. We know him."⁴ At the time my father was put in as chief, he had

² John Rope added that he did not know how long the instruction of his
father in the ways of a chief and war and cattle power continued but that prob-
ably it was three months or more. However, this may apply only to training in
the duties of a chief.

³ It is not clear whether he was put in as chief immediately upon completion
of his instruction or sometime after it. The latter seems the more likely.

⁴ John Rope says that his father never mentioned a sweat bath as being given
during the conference when he was made a chief.
been living with my mother and his other wife under her biszázhé chief, below. But now he returned with his family to t'i:slé:dn't'il.

As a small boy I lived with my parents most of the time among the t'i:slé:dn't'i:dn at t'i:slé:dn't'il. When I was bigger, my father and mother took us children down to live at Cedar Creek Crossing, because mother had lots of relatives there, many of her clanspeople. This was all right, even though my father was the real chief for the t'i:slé:dn't'i:dn. You are thinking, I know, in the white man's way, that a chief should stay among his people. But that is not our way. A chief could move off just like any other man and remain with his relatives-in-law, or with his father's people for a while. He stayed away as long as he liked. That's the way our family did, moved back and forth between t'i:slé:dn't'i: and Cedar Creek Crossing. But whether father was living at t'i:slé:dn't'il or not, if his people there wanted to make a raid or consult him about anything else, they always went to him.

The three subchiefs in my father's local group did not each have his own large family cluster quite separate from the rest. We all lived mixed together. If one of them wanted to he could leave, only taking his immediate family: his wife and children, maybe his sisters and their children and any men married to them. He could move independently this way from the rest of us. Two of these men were war chiefs, the only ones in my father's local group. We only had two head women in the local group; my mother was not one, but my father's other wife was. They called her 'ik'dáníl'ízi'. The other woman was the wife of my father's brother, the subchief.

Once in a while my father and the subchiefs in his local group, as well as those from other people living near us, would get together and talk about things. They discussed past happenings, planned a war party or raid, or maybe, if it was near the hunting season, one would say, "Let's do some hunting together." Another might suggest that they send the women to gather acorns.

In the old times not everyone was allowed to visit with outside people such as the San Carlos Apache or the Zuni. Only chiefs did this, though they always took some of their men with them. A chief picked out his best men to accompany him on such journeys. My father, as a chief, used to do it. He had three friends, chiefs among the San Carlos band; Casador, nyù:gi ("fuzzy"), and hâcké:názke:z. The latter was my father's particular friend, his partner. My father used to take his men down to visit him every once in a while. When he arrived, his friend would send out word to his relatives, asking them to help him gather presents for my father. When these presents were brought in, my father divided them up among his men.

5 This in response to a question put to him.
APPENDIX K

ANNA PRICE'S LOCAL GROUP

My father was born under a juniper tree at nágòkì:j [Turkey Creek]. He lived there close to where he was born, with his parents. Later his mother showed him the place and told him, “This is the exact spot where you were born, right there.” As a youth he lived with his family, moving back and forth between nágòkì:j (“sloping tree spotted hill”) and tc’ílnà:í: ‘yésikà:d (“walnut tree growing”) on East Fork much of the time. I don’t know just what chief he lived under then, but I think it was the old man [his mother’s brother] who later trained him to be a chief. Originally, my father’s mother had a farm at Turkey Creek. Father’s family lived near but finally moved down to East Fork to be near more people, abandoning it because it was too exposed to attack from Navaho. Later, father gave it to a kinsman, tc’:bà’.

My father started to become a chief while still an unmarried youth. The nádóts’úsn chief then was beginning to get gray, and in time he would be too old to be chief. They held a meeting over it. A lot of people came to take part in this, but they were all people who were directly concerned, relatives of father, all of them nádóts’úsn. Some nádóts’úsn came all the way from Eagle Creek to this meeting. A cow was butchered for the occasion, and the influential men talked it all over. Only ’tk’ádnúl’tízi’ [wealthy, influential men] and head women spoke at the meeting. The common people did not talk there at all. Then they agreed on my father, and all held up their hands to signify that he should be chief. They sat up four nights, talking it over. The old man who was nádóts’úsn chief at the time talked to my father; nánt’á:ýá:ti’ [chief’s talk] it is called, and he taught him this and how to use it. “You will learn this talk so you can use it when you become a chief. Don’t forget these words I tell you,” the old man said. He wanted to put my father in his place sometime. He spoke to father about this chief’s talk, “When you go to war, look after your men just as you would look after yourself. That’s the only way you can save yourself from the enemy. You must talk to your people also. Tell them

1 John Rope says of Anna Price’s father: “He became a chief while he was still a boy, playing with other boys. All the boys used to call him ‘chief.’ When they went to hunt rabbits, they called him ‘chief.’ When they hunted wood rats, they called him ‘chief.’ When they went out to hunt birds, they called him ‘chief.’ When these boys killed a lot of birds, they would pile them together and say to him, ‘Come on, chief, divide these birds among the boys,’ so he would. This is how he became chief when only a little boy.”

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how to fight. When you come back to your home, you will have to
watch over all these people. You must talk to women and men, who
themselves have been born to raise children. Wherever you go you must
always take six to ten men with you. Never go alone. That is the way
you must do.” At the end of the fourth day they killed another beef to
feast on, and they told my father to repeat all that he had been taught
by the old chief. This is how my father started to be a chief.

Thus, before he was married my father became a leader. He led war
parties down into Mexico. He used to pass through some of the
Chiricahua country on the way. The Chiricahua wanted to give him a
girl in marriage, but he would not take her. Finally he married a girl,
but she was not good, and he let her go. That same day he sent his
mother to a certain girl’s house and asked for her. The girl was my
mother. This happened after my father had gone to Mexico five times.
That evening he saw two girls approaching his mother’s wickiup. He
thought that he was to have two wives, but he only got one—my
mother. My mother’s father used to talk to people as a chief in the
mornings. But he was not a true chief. He was a nadôts’ûsn and named
hâstÉ-ts’ô-zé (“slim old man”). The real old nadôts’ûsn chief continued
to come and teach my father about what a chief should know. He was
still head chief of the nadôts’ûsn, and father was under him, though he
was recognized as a chief also. Father’s mother was a blood sister to
this old man.

I don’t know just when it was that father took the old chief’s place,
but it was before I was born. My father used to say, “It must have
been a long time ago, because at that time the old chief was still fairly
sturdy, but now he is very aged.” However, the reason they put my
father in when they did was that this chief was getting too old for his
responsibilities. They held a meeting at this time, and all the nadôts’ûsn
from the Eagle Creek region, as well as those on East Fork, came to­
tgether to talk about it. They sent for my father. When he got there, he
said, “I don’t want it. I am too young yet. There are lots of good men
about here. I am just a boy. My mind is not good. I have none.” But
the people said to him, “Whenever you speak up, you always speak
well. You are all right.” Some of his maternal uncles were the ones who
started the movement to put him in. They said, “We have no chief any
more.” My father cried about being made a chief, because it was such a
big responsibility and would mean hard work. This meeting lasted for
four days, and they killed four beefs each evening.

The other girl came as a companion to make it less embarrassing.

It seems that two meetings were held at different times as described, but
it is possible that there was only one and the information on both should be
combined.
As far back as I can remember, father was the head chief of the 
*nádöts'usn*, but his maternal uncle, the former chief, still came to in-
struct him from time to time. He used to teach him power that a chief 
should know. He told my father, "When you go to war, talk to your 
feet thus, 'My moccasins are made of cottontail rabbit's feet.' If you 
use these words, you moccasin soles will never wear out. You know 
that you cannot look at the sun because of its shimmering brightness, 
like mirage. Speak of yourself as mirage, and the enemy will not be 
able to see you." I can remember as a little girl hearing him say these 
things to my father. He also taught him war power. I don't know if he 
taught him other powers. This old man was aged and gray like I am 
now, and that was why he wanted to give father all that he knew about 
being a chief. I remember him well. I used to laugh at him when he 
smoked, because his cheeks sucked in so. People would point him out 
and say, "He was a great chief one time, but now he is old and gray.''
He used to visit father wearing a greatcoat that he had worn when he 
was a chief. My father would tell him, "Uncle, you look well still." 
"My sons made this coat for me and they want me to wear it all the 
time, even though I am not strong," the old man would answer. He 
was married to a *náyödësgijn* woman and used to joke, saying, "I have 
made the *náyödësgijn* people come even [reproduced so many children 
by his wife that the number of this clan was equal to that of others]."]
Father did not get all his power. Once the old man came to see him and 
said that he would be back again to teach him more, but soon after that, 
while father was away hunting, the old man died of sickness.

When my father first married, he went to live with mother at Canyon 
Day, by her people. Later on he took her up East Fork to *tc'iñdi'-
yësikà'd*, where his parents were living. My mother's parents remained 
at Canyon Day. Sometime after that father went down there with 
mother and persuaded them and quite a cluster of *'iyá"qiyé* clanspeople 
living with them to move up to *tc'iñdi'-yësikà'd*. So they abandoned 
their farm land, turning it over to the chief *náts'á'ítlic* ("he fails to do 
what he claims he will") who lived there, because he was a clan brother 
to my father as well as being of the same clan as my mother's father. He 
said, "I am afraid that someone will quarrel with me over this land and 
try to take it away." But mother's father told him, "No, no one will 
take it from you." This was how my mother's parents and her relatives 
moved up to live near my father. They were given new farms on their 
arrival. I don't know if there were any other *'iyá"qiyé* at *tc'iñdi'-
yësikà'd* and *xay6'ib'icí-hé* ("dove's salt") before father brought 
mother's people up there. Father used to laugh about it and say, "I 
am the one who brought all you *'iyá"qiyé* up here. Since then I have 
made lots of you [had many children by his wife], but I am the only 
*nádöts'usn* here." But he did not bring *djå'o'áhá* ("ears sticking up")
up there, for he and his family were already living there and had a big farm at tc'ilnd·'yésika·d.

After father had lived for quite a while at tc'ilnd·'yésika·d he had a new farm made for himself and our family at tséhjte'i: ("red rock with horizontal band"), upstream, and gave his land at tc'ilnd·'yésika·d to his sister. He told the people, "I'm going away because I have so many children now." He advised djá'o'áhá to remain at tc'ilnd·'-yésika·d because he had good land there. djá'o'áhá did this, but once in a while he would come upstream to father's new farm to see us. The old place had been too crowded to suit father. The farms of our local group were scattered all along East Fork for five or six miles. During planting and harvesting seasons each family went to its farm, and so our local group was pretty well split up. But as soon as the planting or harvesting was over, all the people gathered again, clustering about father and his family, wherever we happened to be located. Father used to send word among the people at the farms when he was moving up to a certain place. Then, as the others left the farms, they would join us. This place was usually at tségöts'ö:ö: ("slim rock"), near Turkey Creek.

When people of our local group set out to gather and prepare wild-plant foods, they didn't necessarily all go together. Usually just a few went at a time. Those who wanted to go would say, "We will go, and the rest of you can stay here and look after our chief." When my father wished to go, as he sometimes did in order to get mescal or acorns to take to his friends at Zuni, he always took subchiefs with him and strong women who could work. People never left on such journeys unless they had one or two subchiefs or a chief with them, and my father never traveled without other subchiefs. His subchiefs and men would not allow him to, as he might get killed by the Navaho or Chiricahua. If he were killed alone without his men, it would have been deplorable. He took both nadots'usn and iyá"áiyé, for the latter were his brothers-in-law. They wanted to protect him. If one of the nadots'usn subchiefs heard that father was going somewhere, he would always be there in the morning, even if father didn't ask him, and say, "We heard that you were going somewhere this morning, so I am going with you. If you went off without us, we could not sleep." Every man liked his chief. djá'o'áhá did the same as my father when he journeyed. He usually took two subchiefs with him, one an iyá"áiyé and the other a nadots'usn. One of these men was almost always his wife's brother, a good fighter. Though djá'o'áhá's paternal clan was nadots'usn, he took this man because he was his brother-in-law, not because of the clan relationship. He would tell father when he intended to go after mescal with his family: "I will not be gone long, my brother-in-law. I will be back in twelve days or so." However, the seven subchiefs in our local group
did not necessarily take other headmen or subchiefs with them wherever they went.

Sometimes father would say, "Let's go get some acorns." The people would answer, "We like acorns. Let's all go. Thus all the families in our local group would go, and only the oldest people, like I am now, were left at home to care for the farms and irrigate. Those who were going would say to them, "If we fill our sacks with acorns, we will fill our ears with them also." The old people would laugh at this. I remember on an occasion like this an old woman saying to father, "My nephew, I am going to have the acorns from your ears when you get home." Father used to tell them, "When we get to the acorn grounds, we will send the boys and horses back with loads of acorns twice before we return ourselves. Then you will have some as well as we, and there won't be too much of a load at one time."

When we went to gather acorns in a large party like this, we always traveled and camped together. It was too dangerous to separate, on account of the Pima, Chiricahua, and Navaho. At the acorn grounds father told the people, "Make one trip after acorns in the morning, then go out again in the early afternoon. But I want you all in before sundown, because there are enemies and dangerous animals on all sides of us." Some would bring in their first load by mid-morning. My father didn't own any wild-food-gathering grounds. No local group did. But the local group arriving at a good acorn-gathering place first had the rights to it for the time being. If another local group came after us, its chief would say to father, "My relative, I want to gather acorns here." "All right, go ahead," father would reply, but the two units would remain separate from each other.

When the mescal season came, small parties would set out for the south to gather this food. The sweat-bath chief used to say to father, "I like mescal also. I have to go after it, so I will put someone else in my place until I get back." Just before he left, he talked to the people going with him, his close and distant relatives and anyone else who happened to want to go along, "When we get to the mescal grounds, don't be gone all day after mescal. Get back soon. You men, while the women are gathering mescal, stay about and guard them. I want everyone in camp by noon, and there must be no stragglers still out at evening. That is bad. Some enemy might catch those who stay out too long. Poor people, you are ready to go for mescal now."

If the people heard that there was a good crop of wild foods somewhere, such as sour berries, two or three of the subchiefs might want to take their families off to gather them. They would come to see father about it, and say, "My uncle, we want to go to get sour berries with some people." My father would answer, "All right, go ahead." It was not to get father's permission that they came, but because they
wanted to let him know their plans and where they would be going. djà'ò'áhà used to tell father before he left to visit Cibecue, as he sometimes did. He and father always let each other know where they were going if they were to be gone long. If someone went off without notifying father, and trouble befell him, father would not help him out of it but would say instead, “You had no business being over there without telling me where and what you intended to do. I can’t help you now.”

When farming season came around and people in our local group wanted to go to distant farms, they would come to see father about it. He sometimes pretended to be mad at their leaving and would act as if he was chasing them out, though he really wasn’t, and in time the family clusters leaving would return to us, as father would have told them to. I never saw father really mad. Once one of our subchiefs, hàckí-nà’ínlá (“he offers something slender”), went over to someone else’s camp and began making a speech about his farm. My father happened to be there. He had not used his farm for a long time and said, “I went over there and found a lot of grass and weeds growing in the field.” My father interrupted, “Well, if you want to go back there and farm, go ahead. I think you don’t like living in this local group much. You better go back there to your farm and farm it. Cut out the grass and weeds. You are always talking about it.” So the man said that he would leave. “I’m going to take my maternal nephews and uncles, my brothers, my maternal nieces and aunts, my sisters, all,” he said. “All right, go over and stay at your farm. I’ll not hold you back. That’s the way you will make a living,” replied father. That was how he forced him into going back to his farm. He didn’t drive this man out, just put him in the position where he had to go. So he and his family cluster moved down south to this farm. It was on Cienega Creek, near Eagle Creek. He would have returned to father’s local group, but he went to Goodwin Springs at the time of the poisoned meat and died of it.

A while after all this happened, another man came to father and said, “Well, my brother, I think I will go back to my farm and till it to feed my children. I have nothing to eat now.” He was a parallel cousin of father’s, being of the same clan, and an influential man. Father said, “All right, if you want to take your people, then do it.” He didn’t go far, only downstream close to the mouth of East Fork. He also never returned, because he was poisoned at Goodwin Springs.

Sometime after this all happened, another of the subchiefs moved off. He was a ndlé-ndé zm, brother-in-law to father, and the least influential of all the subchiefs except the sweat-bath chief. He was talking about what he used to do: “I used to do a lot of things for my children, give them lots of food. I used to give a lot of food away also. But now I just stay in one place and lie down. There is nothing for my children to eat.” Father told him, “Well, you can go the way you want. If you
find a place, you can go there. Go on away. Never come back here any
more. I don’t feel good because my brother and my nephew moved
away. Now they are dead. I took care of them while they stayed here,
but they left and are dead. So go ahead, go anywhere you want.” He
moved over to bigúndâk, where he had a farm. Afterward we heard
that he and his family had lots of corn. Then father told djà'ó'áhâ,
“You better move back to your farm. I will stay here. When you kill
some meat, bring part for me. We will farm over at t'âbq·t'úāná·skâ·
(“resting at water’s edge”) this time.” So djà'ó'áhâ moved back to
xàγb·b'ítâ·hê, where his old farm was.

At times, my father sent some of his men out to hunt deer or turkey.
They never refused. Father would holler, early in the morning, telling
certain men to go, “You and you and you, I want you to go turkey
hunting and kill some turkey for me today.” So off they would go, and
father would stay at home. Father seldom hunted close to camp, un­
less it was for gray foxes whose skins we used for making blankets. He
only went when he took his men off for a hunt of six or seven days. The
subchiefs in our local group sometimes sent men hunting also. They
would tell them to go out and get some deer so that they might all eat
meat.

Father and his local group owned hunting tracts where our men
hunted. Father used to say, “That is my land and the trails going to it
are my trails. No one else can use them.” ejê'kê’ (“my hunting tract”) is
what he called it. He had some of his men clear a trail through it
where the brush was thickest. This tract was bordered on the south
by Black River, and on the east and northeast it ran up to the very foot
of the White Mountains. I don’t know how far north it extended. The
chiefs djà·lâtâ·hâ (“ear tips”) and nàts'a·nilîc and their local groups did
not share in it, but nàts'a·nilîc used to come over to father sometimes
and say, “My brother, I would like to get some of your deer,” and father
would tell him, “All right.” If other people had hunted on the land
without telling us, I don’t know what would have been said.

Under father were seven subchiefs besides djà'ó'áhâ. These men
talked to the people camped about them, early in the morning: “You
have lots of enemies, so be careful. You must practice running early in
the morning [addressed to boys and girls] so the Navaho won’t catch
you.” They didn’t talk all at once, but first one would and then an­
other, taking turns by day. There were many people in our group.
When we were together the camps would be strung out as far as from
here to that hill [about one-half mile]. I don’t know how many wickiups
there were, but I can remember one time when camped along two
parallel ridges that we covered them, as well as filling the draw between
them. The men were playing hoop-and-poles in two places, there were
so many of them. We usually camped along the top of a ridge near
Turkey Creek when in the home locality and not at the farms. Father and djá'o'áhá generally lived right beside each other and at the end of this ridge, a little apart from the rest. We never camped in among the other people, for father did not like it. There was too much commotion and noise and trouble in a crowd like that, so he avoided it. All real chiefs did this way. Possibly it was because they did not want to mix with the other people too much, but I never thought of it in that way. One reason they did not live among the rest was that they didn't talk to the people in the early morning as the subchiefs did.

Our camp consisted of two wickiups and ramadas, for djá'o'áhá's family and ours. We stored corn on top of these. Other close blood relatives did not live next to us but within the main encampment. Only once in a while would some of them camp near by.4 Father and djá'o'áhá did not go among the other camps unless they had been sent for. Whenever people had tulibai, they would invite them to come and help drink it. The seven subchiefs, however, lived right among the people. It may have been true that our local group was more or less divided into parts, each chief or subchief with his own family cluster and following. But I never thought of it in this way. I was too young to take those things in. I thought of the people all being one bunch under my father.

djá'o'áhá was next in authority to my father. He was a real chief like father, and I think that he was chosen officially, just as father was. He was the head chief of all the 'iyá 'qiye clan, and so he was my real chief. I don't know who his predecessor was. djá'o'áhá was my father's brother-in-law, though I called him my maternal grandfather. Father was my chief also, because I lived under him.5

All the subchiefs, regardless of their clan, were equally under father's control. djá'o'áhá was in the same position and could tell any of them to do things. When father said something to the people, djá'o'áhá would say, "These words he speaks are for all of us. It doesn't matter who you are. One head for us all is best." Father used to say only three or four words, but djá'o'áhá knew what he meant and would repeat it to the people, enlarging as he went along. He always did this, because he knew what father thought. Thus, father might say something briefly and djá'o'áhá would state, "He means that we will live well in a good way and that the women and children will be cared for. We gain more wisdom from his head than from any other source. That's what he means."

4 John Rope says of Diablo: "All his married daughters lived under him, because he was a great chief. Even his married sons brought their wives to live under him.

5 Neil Buck suggested that djá'o'áhá may have been the clan 1 chief at the time Diablo married and that Diablo went to live with him because he was his brother-in-law.
One time I heard my father give a talk to the encampment. I can remember it well. It went this way, “If any poor person comes to see you, he will not come there just because you look pretty. He will come to eat something. If you have meat, give him some. If you have any corn, give him some and tell him to grind it up and make it into corn gruel. If he has no cloth, give him some. If he has no clothes, give him clothes, if you have them. If he has no moccasins, take your moccasins off and give them to him. Then he will thank you. He can tell his people about you when he gets home. Everyone will remember what you have done and that you have helped out poor people. All the food at a camp belongs to the woman there, so a woman has to see to it that food is given. We want you to take good care of yourselves here, and to look after you children. Don’t use bad words to each other. That is not good. Right in the middle of the world, as we are, we are a poor people. All about us enemies [Europeans] have good food. Sun did this. He made things the way they are and he made us the way we are. He feeds us just like birds. We eat the seeds out of every bush. I wonder how Sun feels about us when we eat. He made the enemy in better condition and they have better food. We came from Sun. I wonder how he feels about us when we eat grass, just like the birds here.” Then he mentioned all the various kinds of wild-plant foods we ate, and went on, “We use these things to eat. Now they are almost ripe. We had better go and gather them before winter comes, for they are our food. We are just like the Zuni, but they only eat tortillas. I wonder why they made us poor. Like lizards, we run about this country. Sun should not have done this.” Then he called off several plant foods and said, “I mean you and you (he called the women by kinship terms) to go and gather these foods.” Then he turned to the men, saying, “Go hunting. Kill some deer; dress them; make buckskins to take to Zuni to trade for blankets so we will be warm in winter; get ready before the cold weather comes.”

nānt’ānntca·hn (“great chief”) is what they called my father. nānt’-ānbi·kē·gē’siś-hn (“chief following, he rests”), they called djā’ō’āhā, and it meant that he was next in command. The subchiefs were called nānt’ān’ikē·gē’indil (“chiefs following, they rest”). They also called them ān-dē-hā·lzdīl and ‘ik’ānnt’ōi (“wealthy ones”), but they never referred to father or djā’ō’āhā this way, nor to any other real chiefs. The people used the terms nuxwagpyq·h (“our smart one”) and bīk’é hōk’wān (“he whom the camp is under”), for father and djā’ō’āhā as well as the subchiefs. But the terms yuxwagpyq·go’nāndōl’h (“our smart one he covers over” [controls, protects]) and bīk’é hōnāndōl’h (“over them he comes”) were used only for father and djā’ō’āhā, because it meant that they were the heads of the whole local group.

Father was a great chief. He was the only one among the White
Mountain people who had friends at Zuni and Santa Fe. He was like a captain. Whenever a man came to see him, he had to take his hat off before he entered father's wickiup. Whenever a woman came, she had to hold up her hand in salute, palm out and raised a little over the head. This was called \textit{bɪt\'a\'dá\'dídíldí} ("to hold the hand up"). When father was off hunting and mother was alone in the camp, they used to show her these respects also. One time the mother of the chief \textit{nà\'gînt\'á} ("he scouts ahead") came to visit us. She entered the wickiup and forgot to raise her hand. It was about dark. She was already seated, when she said, "Oh, I forgot this. This is the way my people do to my nephew," and she saluted father as she sat. This old woman had brought some wild gourds for father from the Graham Mountains. "Maybe you don't like what I have brought for you," she joked him. Such respect to a chief is called \textit{bidilj}: ("respect to one"). Saluting a chief like this is an old custom, in use before my time, but my father was the only one to whom I ever saw such respect accorded.

My father had the right to drive off a subchief or family head of any clan but his own. That was what he did with a man sometimes, when his talk was not good and he acted badly. I never actually saw this happen, but he used to tell me about how he did it long ago. "His talk did not suit me. It was not good, so I sent him off," he said. Father had keener wits than anyone else. He would let a man speak to the people. If the man talked poorly the first time, father would think it over and he would feel that it was not good. Then if he spoke poorly and said something bad a second time, father would send him off with his family. He would never come back. Father could prevent a man of any clan from speaking to the people in our local group. He used to remark that he had stopped some of his own kin, \textit{nàdöt\''usn} subchiefs, from speech-making, and that they had been angry and said sarcastically, "Why don't you discharge \textit{djà\'dà\'há} also. (It was not possible to take away a chieftainship or subchieftainship from a man. All that could be done was to drive him out of the local group. No one could be put in his place while he was alive or still young enough to be influential.)"

If a man was told to do something by my father, he had to do it. If he refused, father could run him out of the local group. I saw this happen three times. Once, when father told a young man to go after a cow. "I want you to go after a cow for me," he told him. "No, I have too much to do. I can't do it for you," the youth said. "All right," replied father, and he sent for another man and told him the same thing. This man went for the cow. The young man who refused was unmarried and my father kept him staying with our family all the time to look after

\textit{It was not explained why he could not drive out subchiefs or family heads of his clan.}
his horses and cattle. He had a saddle and horse that father had given to him. Father took these from him and ran him out, because he would not mind him. "Even if he should have a wife and children, I would send him off if he wouldn't do as I said. The one who minds me I will treat well," father said. This young man was later killed by the Pima or Papago somewhere. Father had sent him to get the cow because he wanted to butcher it. He never liked people to come for meat while the butchering was going on, because he always divided the meat up among the people afterward. He gave meat first to the women who had no men to help them. After that anyone, man or woman, could help himself to the remainder.

Another time father sent a youth after a cow for the same purpose. He also refused, and father sent him off. He was later killed by the Chiricahua. Later on father told a youth to water the horses: "Take all the horses down to water." But the youth said, "No, I'm not going to take all the horses to water." Father said, "Someone has to do it, so you better get out of here." He left, setting out for Eagle Creek. On the way he stopped for the night in the thick brush of a canyon. Right there a bear got him. Some Chiricahua coming to visit found his body. My mother was angered over this and said, "I raised all three of those boys here, but now you have run them off and all are killed because of it." She fought with father about it. All three boys were his blood kin, and, being orphans, my mother had raised them. Their other blood relatives never said anything about it to father. I never heard of him sending off a grown man with his family for reasons such as these, but he never sent married men after his stock, only boys. Neither the subchiefs in our local group nor djä'ó'áhá drove out people this way. Chiefs in other local groups did not do it. Father was the only one I knew of who did, for he was the greatest chief of all. He had no other way to punish his men when they would not obey him. He never tied them to a tree or anything like that.

We only had three men in our local group who were war leaders. They were all good fighters and were termed bá'ye·bik'é 'hé ("war bosses"). When a war council was going on, my father used to say, "It is as if I was standing way at the tail end of things," because he did not take part in the talk. He only sat there and listened. These talks were called "war-boss talk." If the men reached a decision in their war plans, they consulted father and he would approve, if he thought advisable, but if he didn't he would tell them so. The councils were at his instigation, for father would tell djä'ó'áhá that they ought to go to war, and if it was to be a big war party the latter would send out messengers to chiefs in other local groups, inviting them to gather together at his place for the war dance. When everyone had come, the chiefs and war chiefs met. Then father merely listened while his three war chiefs did
the talking. He himself had put these three men in for this purpose, so he let them speak. The same men stayed in year after year. However, when a war party or raid originated in our local group and father went along, he was in command, and these three war chiefs had no authority over him.

War chiefs only functioned in time of war. They had no duties which set them aside from other chiefs in times of peace. They merely spoke to their people in the early morning like the subchiefs they were. Even on the warpath they did not take the lead if father was there, for he always went in front of all the rest. At war dances ḏjā'ō'āhá customarily danced out with father when father's name was called in the song. This was because both men lived in the same encampment. The other subchiefs in our local group also danced out with father. Father's was the only name from our local group which was called during the first part of the war dance.7

We had several head women in our local group. Two of my father's sisters were head women, and also my mother. The mother of ḏjā'ō'āhá was one. I called her "maternal grandmother," and she knew all the legends of her clan. Being the mother of ḏjā'ō'āhá and his wealthy brother, she also was a rich woman. Another such woman was father's mother. There were more, but I can't remember them. Each head woman like this had her own little family cluster, just like the family clusters here at Bylas. The husbands of such women were always either chiefs, subchiefs, or headmen. These women did not speak to the camps in the morning as subchiefs did, but they used to talk on the day before a war party left. They made a speech to their relatives who were going to fight. They also used to attend chiefs' councils, though they did not make speeches there. My mother went to the council because she was a chief's wife. Ordinary women could not go. The women leaders took other women out to gather wild-food plants. They would say, "Let's go out and get some wild foods before the big snows come down, so we can have them to use during the winter. Maybe Sun is looking down on us and seeing the poor food we eat. The whites used good food, but our food is not good." My mother was not the leading head woman just because she was father's wife. Father's two sisters were the most influential and strongest of the head women because they had each accompanied a war party in revenge for the slaying of brothers. One of them was married to a ṭ'ūhāgāidn and the other to a nd̓á'nd̓e·an.

One of the seven subchiefs was called "sweat-bath chief," also "gray chief," because men stripping to use the sweat bath appeared this color. My father would send word to him by a boy and say, "The men want a sweat bath. Make one. Tomorrow we will have it. I will kill a beef for the men to feast on." "All right, I will make one," he would answer. He

7 This meant that he was considered sole leader of the men in his local group.
was a funny man and always joked. The men would want to discuss something at the sweat bath; that was why they wanted it. There were a lot of women in my father's local group. The following day my father's sister would talk to them when the meat was ready to cook, saying, "You women will make something for the men to eat while they are at the sweat bath. We will have it ready by noon." The sweat-bath chief had a real job. He did not talk to the people in the morning and used to say, "I am different from the other chiefs." Whenever he lit the fire to heat the rocks, he would go among the camps and borrow blankets to cover the sweat lodge. One time he took an old woman's blanket. She was a joker, that woman. She grabbed hold of it and they had a tug of war. Everyone laughed. "Don't take my blanket for that. It will stink afterward," she said. My father did not appoint the sweat-bath chief. It was the other six subchiefs who put him in, because he was a funmaker. He used to tie the sweat lodge together with yucca strands, but he would say, "This is not 'igátyé' (yucca), it is 'igáhá'" (meaningless). He did it for fun. He joked about the making of the sweat lodge and said that he prayed over it, using holy power. "I plant a pole on the east, one on the south, one on the west, and one on the north. I pray over each one as I set it up. When I bend them over to join at the top, I pray again so they will not break. I have a power for that. When I put the blankets on, I do not call them blankets. They are gúdít'ó tc'íd [lightning blankets], and this way no rain can come through them." All the people used to go into fits of laughter over him.

Father was the boss on our ditch. We had no ditch boss other than he. He used to have the water last of all, as he was at the end of the ditch, and it gave him more time to irrigate. He did not organize ditch and dam work [or practice agricultural ceremonies]. The people as a whole arranged ditch and dam work among themselves. But if there was quarreling over use of water, he would try to settle it. If he could not, he would go up to the dam and cut the water out entirely. However, he had nothing to do with farms on other ditches.

When father needed outside help in times of war, the first man he approached was usually náts'd'ilíč, at Canyon Day, for he was of father's clan. At the same place he would invite gúdíwó·yá, who was of a clan related to his. Then he would send for bě·gò', for, though he was a tcá·tcí·dn, he was brother-in-law to father because married to father's real maternal aunt. Usually the last chief to come was ná·gínt'á', a nádíts'ášn, for he lived the farthest away. However, father's choice inviting other chiefs to go to war with him depended greatly on the fighting ability of them and their men and how strong a force they could muster. Naturally he contacted the chiefs living closest to him before those who were farther removed.

Sometimes the subchiefs forgot what they were supposed to speak
to their people about. Then they all came to father and he gave them his words again. They never held these talks at father's camp, but always went off a way to a place where brush had been cut and piled in a circular windbreak for the occasion. They sat about inside this and talked. I never actually saw one of these talks close to. Only the headmen and chiefs and head women went there to listen and take part. Father did most of the talking. No one else was allowed to be present. I started to follow my mother to one of these meetings, but she sent me home.

About once every four years, certain chiefs from far off would come to visit father. This visit lasted for four days, and during it the chiefs and headmen held a talk inside a brush inclosure in the same way. Father made a point of inviting chiefs who were of his clan, his wife's clan, or married into her clan, for thus they would all have a common bond. He used to invite b'gö', the ic'ic'dän, but I don't know if he ever had any of the Canyon Creek people come. hàcktibànáuy ("angry, men stand in line for him") was the only chief from the San Carlos group who ever came. The Chiricahua never attended, as they were a different people from us. Sometimes Cibecue group chiefs would decide to come and visit father. hàckt'ibà' ("angry, he goes to war"), the father of Baha, always used to arrive first and say that the rest were coming in two days. Often they sent two men to tell father that they would be there in two or three days. Then my father would send for nàts'd'iltic to come over with his people also.

Whenever father wanted to talk things over and have a social visit with other chiefs, he would send his men to the various places these chiefs were living: the Graham Mountains, the San Pedro, Cibecue, Cedar Creek, with word that they should all meet at his place in eight days. The visiting chiefs brought a few of their people with them. Before the arrival of the visitors, father would have the inclosure built. This was always at some distance from any camps and was called ya'na'it't'. It was a circle so big [about 35 feet in diameter] and had a small opening for entry on the east side. The whole thing was made of piled-up juniper and piñon brush. Sometimes people from another place would see it and ask who was camped over there. We would tell them it was not a camp but an inclosure for the talking.

I remember pretty well the last council of this kind that my father ever held. Father knew when the visitors would arrive, so he had two

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8 No Northern Tonto or Southern Tonto ever were present.

9 This was probably prior to 1864, as the ration place is described as Camp Grant on the San Pedro. The following description probably includes what she remembered of this particular council as well as what she had heard of others like it.
cows killed in order that they might have meat as soon as they got there. When na·gint'ā' and his people came in, father said to him, "Brother, did you bring any manzanita berries for me?" When hâckî-bānzây and his people came, he said, "Did you bring any saguaro fruit for me, my brother?" [he called him brother because both were married to clan i women]. When hâckî'ibā and his people arrived from Carrizo Creek, he said, "My brother, did you pick some juniper berries for me when you passed through Cedar Creek?" But he replied, "I didn’t think about that. We have come to hear some good words from you." Father jokingly answered, "You have come here to learn from me some good words so you can say them to bijān [divorced] women when you get home." This talk was banter. When all had arrived, father told them, "You people have come to me. I wanted to have you come here, and you are here now, but you will not be here all the time. You will stay here only four days. You will find and pick up some of my yatf'njone [good, wise talk]. You must have forgotten good talk by now. That is why you have come over here again. You people have come from far off, so we are not going to talk tonight. Rest tonight and tomorrow rest all day. Then when night comes, we can talk. You must be tired from riding so far."

The following day they had a sweat bath. Father took all his men up to it. He sent one man back to tell all the women to cook something and have it brought over to the sweat bath. They stayed at the sweat bath all day, so the women could bring the food to them at noon. It took a long time to grind up the seeds and prepare the food. Father had his man tell the women to start their cooking immediately. When noontime came, the food was always carried to the sweat bath by youths and maidens, never by married women or old women. At their head walked a youth, and, before he started, the women in camp instructed him, "When you get to the sweat bath, stick your fingers in the basket of corn gruel you are carrying and put them in your mouth. Say at the same time, ‘May my food never be exhausted.’ These words had power and would prevent the food from being used up."

About mid-afternoon, some men were sent from the sweat bath again to tell the women to grind up their seeds and corn and start cooking. When the women had done cooking, they took all this food to father’s camp. The women, not youths or maidens, took it this time. Part they placed in a pile for the Carrizo chief, part in a pile for the chief from San Pedro, and part in a pile for na·gint'ā’. Thus the chiefs and their people ate in three places. After the meal, women were sent out with carrying baskets to gather the grass which would be placed around the inside edge of the talk inclosure, for the people to sit on. When this was finished, father had someone light the fire inside it. The lighting of the fire was the signal that those who were to attend the talk should go and
take their places. Though some of our common women wanted to go and hear the talk, they were not allowed to. None of our local people talked, except father and dja’o’áhá. Our subchiefs and head women kept quiet and listened, though the men who came with the visiting chiefs could talk. Father was always the first one to speak. Each visiting chief and his men sat in a group by themselves. On the southeast side of the inclosure sat nà:ginšt’a and his men, because his country lay in that direction. On the southwest side sat hàcké-bánsiy with his men, for the same reason. On the northeast side sat hàcké’ibá and his men, their country lying that way. On the northeast side were father, dja’o’áhá, and our people. All three of the visiting chiefs at this meeting had wives of the ‘iyá’giyé clan.

First they took a smoke. Everyone kept quiet while the smoke went around the circle. Then when they had finished, father joked: “nà:ginšt’a, you make a talk, and after you will come hàcké-bánsiy to talk to us.” He just said this in fun. He went on, “You people have come over here to us. We would like to hear you talk to us. That’s what we want. We are both sitting here (dja’ó’ohá and himself).” Still he was joking. He had a better head than anyone else, and he knew that they would not speak at the beginning of the talk. “I and my brother-in-law (dja’ó’óhá) want to hear some of your words,” he said. Then he became more serious. “I am thankful that you people have come to see me. I have not seen you all in a long time. Now we see each other again. It is all right. I am thankful for that. You have all come to see me. My brothers have all come. That’s why I slept well last night. Now tonight we are still together. I am going to talk to you.” Right then one of the head women who had come with a visiting chief, spoke up, saying, “That’s what I have come here for. I like to hear your words. I like to see my children come together and talk [an expression].” She was a relative of father’s. My father turned to nà:ginšt’a jokingly, “You have come a long way. Your legs are tired. You must feel sorry because of that. That’s why you hold your head down and don’t look up.” Speaking to hàcké-bánsiy, he said, “You think you have come over here for nothing, I guess. On your way you must have stubbed your toe on a rock or scratched yourself on the brush. You must feel sorry because of that.” Then he talked to hàcké’ibá also, “Well, hàcké’ibá, I wanted you to come over here, so you are here now. But I think you feel sorry about having to journey so far on horseback. You must have rubbed yourself raw where you sit down, riding all that distance. You don’t feel good because of that, I believe. But you will be home again before long and your home will never change. It will always look just as it does now.”

Now he spoke to them all, “nà:ginšt’a, hàcké bánsiy, hàcké’ibá’, I wanted you to come here. What I wanted you here for has already
been done yesterday [the sweat bath]. My water is good and cold. You can take your sweat bath, come out, and get in the cold water. That's what makes you well. If a weak man gets in the sweat bath and after it goes into the cold water, it will straighten him out and make him well. I know your water, nà·gništ'á", for it is warm. Your water, hàckí-bánzíy, is too hot, and the water of hàcké'-ibá' is the same way. These three waters are not so good as our stream here. I am the only one of you who has a big stream like this. I was raised here as a boy, and the water is still the same. It has never dried up or even lowered. Whenever I go to visit nà·gništ'á', there is nothing but a ditch full of sand. When I go to San Pedro where hàckí-bánzíy lives, it is the same, and there are merely dry gullies and sand. Over at hàcké'-ibá's place it is just the same, and there is no water, just sand. I think I am the only one who has water at all times. It is never gone. nà·gništ'á', if I told you to move to the source of the Gila River on the White Mountains, would you go? hàckí-bánzíy, if I wanted you to move and settle in Black River canyon, would you go? hàcké'-ibá', if I wanted you to settle at the west foot of the White Mountains, where there is a good stream of water, would you go?"

All this was father's joking. These three chiefs just laughed at it, because they knew he was only joking them. "Well, there is no mescal over there. At the place where I live there is lots of it, and my belly in full every day. If I go where you say, there will be no food for me. I would be too cold, and I would catch cold," nà·gništ'á" answered him. Then hàckí-bánzíy said, "I can't leave my saguaro fruits. I like them too much, even if it is hot down there. There are no saguaro growing where you want me to go." hàcké'-ibá' put in, "I can't leave my place. It is not very good, but that's where I was raised. The land where I live is just like a good maiden, holding me so I can't get away." Father replied to them, "Well, it's all right if you don't want to leave. I wanted to straighten things out for you and give you more land, but you won't let me to do it. I am not going to talk to you any more if none of you will talk to me. Get up and talk."

Now nà·gništ'á" talked: "You speak about my land and wish to have me come over to the head of the Gila River and settle. I think you say this because you want my land about the Winchester Mountains, Graham Mountains, and mouth of Bonito Creek. But I won't give it to you. I am like Gray Fox, for I run along the mountain and stop at my springs and make a little farm there, living by it. I use all kinds of wild foods." Next hàckí-bánzíy said, "I can't leave the land about my home. I have lots of lyá'yíyé [clan] living down there; my children. But they can't leave. If you want me to move to Black River, I think you could make me stay there if you tied me to a tree all night. That's
the only way you could keep me there for just one night.” Father said, “You people have come over here. I was going to give you good land, and we could have all lived together as one. But you don’t want it. This hot weather down below makes for all kinds of sickness among your people, but still you refuse to move up this way. You refuse to live with me, so don’t come here again.”

Father was joking these people all this time, because by doing so he was thanking them for coming all this way to see him.10 “How about me sending for you to come here? It looks to me as if you people didn’t like to sit here. You keep fidgeting about restlessly all the time. It is as if you wanted to leave.” “Well, you have a lot of lice here. They bite us and that’s what makes us keep moving about, twisting and turning,” they replied. nágínt’á jokingly said to father, “We have come here to hear your words. We have heard them. We feel good now. Thanks, my brother.” “Your speech is all right. It is just as if we had caught a case of hoarseness from you,” the three visiting chiefs told father. Then hâcké bânzíny said, “I have heard what I came to hear. It is in my mind now. I will think about this on my way home.” Father said, “We are not going to make very long speeches tonight, just enough for each one of us. We will leave some for tomorrow night. We will just talk until midnight tonight.” Only hâcké’íbá was left to talk. Now he spoke, “We are just like a sprouting plant, beginning to grow up. That’s what we came here for. He sent word among us to come here for that. I am the last one to speak. Now I am through. We will go to sleep now. We will leave some more stories for tomorrow night.” So they went to sleep.

The following day they held no sweat bath. When evening came, father sent two boys over to light the fire in the talking inclosure. Then everyone entered and sat down. Father said, “We will talk until midnight again, just as we did last night.”11 Then djâ’ó’áhá spoke. He spoke to the few women there, the wealthy industrious women, “You have been here two nights now. In two days all will be gone. You women can do the grinding of all kinds of seeds in the morning. I mean that you are to get your families to do this. Grind corn as well. Do all this so the visitors will have plenty to eat on their way home. Thus they will remember you and how well you have fed them.” Then father addressed nágínt’á, “I want you to live on the side of a hill, so you will always know when anyone is approaching. We have many bad animals about. You must save your children from them. That is the

10 He was giving them a good time. The whole of the evening was given over to this banter.

11 The talk was to be serious this time.
The way to do it. If you are in thick brush, you never know what will come up on you. I was thinking of your people, all relatives of mine. I don't know what's in your mind, but I think you are the same as any man. That is why I tell you to always think about your people. That's why I tell you all this: to always camp on a mountain, so you can see far off. If you camp in thick brush, the Papago might come along and get you before you see them. You must tell all this to your people when you get back. Look after them well. Tell them to take care of their children. Don't ever push your children. They might fall on a rock and break their backs. Don't take a stick or a rock to your wife. That is not good. Whenever she goes after wood, tell her not to carry too heavy a load. Tell her not to step on big stones on steep hillsides while she is carrying a load. They might give with her and she would fall. Tell her not to try and break a big stump or a tree down. It might fall on her."

Thus father talked to na·gîbilt'â so that he might repeat everything to his people when he got home. "There are four ways in which you may go, if you are going somewhere. The first is to go immediately on first thought. That is not right. Think about it. This will make it the second way. Then think again about it a third time, but don't go yet. Then on the fourth consideration, go and it will be all right. Thus you will be safe. If you don't do this, you might get killed or meet some other misfortune. Sometimes wait a day in between considerations of your problems. That's what you have come over here for, my brother, to get these words. Always stand up for your people. If any enemies attack you, don't run off and leave your children. That way your people will laugh at you. If you run off and leave your people, you will never be a man again. No one could call you a man after that. You are just like a bird. You must go to your nest and feed your children. Always circle about the place where you live. You may find some tracks leading toward your camp. They may be those of enemies, so take a look about every so often to make sure." This was all father said to him.

Next he talked to hâckâ·bânsig, "Well, brother, take care of bâ·itsâ·câ·yâ: ("my wife's relatives"). There are a lot of iyâ"dîyé among your people. You have Yavapai, Pima, Papago, and Southern Tonto down there. They are all against you. Whenever the women go after saguaro fruit, you stay on top of a hill to watch out for them. That's the way you will keep your wife a long time. Don't sleep late in the morning with your children. Wake up early and talk to them. Go about the camp early in the morning. The Pima might have surrounded you in the night, and thus you will save your children. Southern Tonto or Yavapai might do the same. Don't live with your people on a trail. Always live in a rough place on the side of a hill. I was thinking about
you people, and that's why I wanted you to come over here from three different places. I have friends everywhere. Something happened to me long ago here. White men killed all my relatives here, long ago.” There were a few whites over at San Pedro [Camp Grant] at that time, and the people living about there got rations from them. So father said to hàcki-bânáziy, “I'm going to send about twelve of my people over to get some flour from the whites; some white man's flour. They have never seen it before. The Yavapai, San Carlos band, Pinal band, and the Southern Tonto all get rations there. When my people arrive, don't let them become mixed with any of the others. Let them get their rations before the rest.” “When are you going to send these people over?” asked hàcki-bânáziy. “About ten days after you leave. You can tell the white men there that my people are coming for rations. It will take them two days to get there and two days to get back. That makes four. Don't give much to my people when they are down there. It is hot weather now, and any meat you gave them might spoil. Just give them a little meat,” answered father. “All right, I will tell the whites your people are coming,” hàcki-bânáziy said.

By this time the visitors were getting sleepy, so father told them, “It looks to me as if you were getting very sleepy. Tomorrow I will take you about to wake you up again. You have only one more day before you start home. Tomorrow I am going to take you about all day among my people. We will go up to Turkey Creek and then below to the camp of náts’d’itlic, then upstream to te’ilndi’yéšiká’d (“walnut trees growing”). We will find godívó:yá at t’ô’d’i’ilébit’ú (“soft grass spring”). I'm not going to let you ride the horses you came on. I will furnish you from my own horses.” This was the end of the talk that night.

The next morning they started off visiting. When they came to Turkey Creek and the people there saw them, they exclaimed, “hëc’tié, you have come over here now!” They had not expected them. On arriving at the camp of náts’d’itlic, this chief asked one of his relatives who had tulibai, if he might have it to give to his guests. He gave the visitors all the pots there and told his men that he wanted only these people who had come from far off to drink. By evening the tulibai was gone, and they came home to us. Just as before, there were three piles of food in three places for the visitors.

This was the last night, but no talk was held. The women had ground up lots of seeds and corn. They brought these to the visitors who put them in sacks. The following morning they packed them all up and set out for their homes. Father spoke to them: “This is the only food we have. Don't stop where there is no water on your way. Always stop by a spring. If you stop to eat where there is no water, these ground seeds will make you thirsty.” Then he asked nà:ginlí’dé, “How many days
will it take you to get home?" "Only one. Graham Mountain is not far off." Then he asked hâckí bânzíy, "How long will it take you to get home, my brother?" "One night on the road." Then he asked hâcké'íbá how long it would take him. "Maybe I will get back this evening. It is not very far," he said.

[Neil Buck said of Diablo: "I remember him when he was a very old man living at Dewey Flat. He later died there. One time a big cloud-burst came, and with it a wall of water descending the river. This old man was camped close to the river with other people. They left the bottom, seeking higher ground, forgetting about the old man. I saw him coming along by himself, dragging his blanket, crying and saying, 'Nothing is afraid of me any more (the water). Long ago it was not that way. Then everything was afraid of me.'"]
APPENDIX L

MARRIAGE STATISTICS

Genealogies, farm-ownership material, the Canyon Day survey, and other data yielded 278 marriages within the White Mountain group in which the clan of both husband and wife was recorded. This series dates approximately from 1800 to 1936, but the largest part of it comes between 1910 and 1936, and those marriages occurring before 1877 form at most one-third of the whole. Of the total, 56 were Eastern White Mountain, 168 were Western White Mountain, and 54 were between these two bands. Besides these there were 60 marriages of White Mountain people outside the group to Cibecue, San Carlos, Southern Tonto, Chiricahua, and Navaho. The reasons for the greater number of Western White Mountain marriages are the Canyon Day survey, the Cedar Creek farm-ownership survey, and the fact that the White Mountain element at Byas is at least half Western White Mountain in descent.

Outside marriages.—In the following tables clans are indicated by number and the marriages placed in the columns under “Men” or “Women,” according to the sex of the White Mountain Apache involved. Those occurring after 1877 are italicized.

These tables indicate several points. First, that before 1877 the Eastern White Mountain band shows considerably more outside marriages in proportion to the total number recorded than does the Western White Mountain band. Second, that these marriages are predominantly with people of clan 46 in the Cibecue group, whereas the Western White Mountain outside marriages are mainly with various clans among the Cibecue people of the Carrizo and Cibecue bands, as might be expected. With more information from the southeastern portion of the Eastern White Mountain territory, the number of marriages with Chiricahua would probably show a considerable increase. After 1877 a portion of the White Mountain group was in close proximity to the San Carlos and Southern Tonto group, as well as Chiricahua. The majority of outside marriages in the Byas area among these White Mountain people since then have been with Chiricahua, San Carlos clans, and Southern Tonto clans. In contrast to this, the White Mountain people on the Fort Apache Reservation have very few San Carlos or Southern Tonto clansmen married among them, though they have a few Chiricahua and...
### EASTERN WHITE MOUNTAIN

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some members of clan 41 from the Cibecue group. All recent outside marriages, recorded, with one exception, have been resident among people of the White Mountain group. Paralleling this, in most of them the husband is the outsider, not the wife. This is due to matrilocal residence.

*Marriages within the White Mountain group.*—In the following tables each marriage is listed twice, once under the clan of the husband and again under that of the wife.

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The series includes marriages between all unrelated White Mountain clans except clan 6 with clans 3, 4, 5, and 29, clan 5 with clans 20 and 30, and clan 4 with clan 29. In each of these combinations one or both clans are small, and the likelihood of their appearing in such a series is thus lessened. The extent to which the various clans are represented in marriages from both bands is an indication of the size and localization of these clans and tallies with like data obtained through other channels. The only exceptions to this are the unexpectedly heavy showing for clan 4 in the Western White Mountain band and for clan 30 in the Eastern White Mountain band. Such irregularities may be influenced by predominance of these clans in families from whom data were obtained.
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In the following analysis of clan kinship (not blood kinship) marriage combinations, only those marriages are used where clans of both parents of at least one mate were known.

1. Marriage into father’s clan when parents on both sides are known:
   men 6
   women 2

2. Marriage into clan related to father’s clan when parents on both sides are known:
   men 2
   women 9

3. Marriage into father’s clan when father of one mate is unknown:
   men 13
   women 9

4. Marriage into father’s related clan when father of one mate is unknown:
   men 25
   women 12

5. Marriages in which marriage into father’s clan is mutual:
   in all 0

6. Marriages in which marriage into one father’s clan and into the other father’s related clan occurs:
   in all 3 (2 men and 1 woman into father’s clan)

7. Marriages in which marriage into father’s related clans is mutual:
   in all 5

8. Marriages in which fathers are of same clan:
   in all 7

9. Marriages in which fathers are of related clans:
   in all 12

10. Marriage into clans known to be unconnected with individual in any of above ways:
    men 2
    women 0

11. Marriages in which father of one mate is unknown, but which, as far as data go, show none of the above clan combinations:
    men 37
    women 32

Of 116 men, 21 married into their fathers’ clans, and 34 into clans related to their fathers’ clans (all potential paternal cross-cousins by clan); 12 married women whose fathers were of their clans, and 28 married women whose fathers were of clans related to theirs (all potential maternal cross-cousins by clan); 7 married individuals whose fathers’ clans were those of their fathers, and 12 married individuals whose fathers’ clans were related to those of their fathers (all potential paternal parallel cousins by clan); 2 married women of clans unconnected in any of these ways. Of 114 women, 12 married into their fathers’ clans, and 28 into clans related to those of their fathers (all potential paternal cross-cousins by clan); 21 married men whose fathers were of their clans, and 34 married men whose fathers were of clans related to theirs (all potential maternal cross-cousins by clan); 7 married individuals whose fathers’ clans were those of their fathers, and 12 individuals whose fathers’ clans were related to those of their fathers’ (all potential paternal parallel cousins by clan); none married men of
clans unconnected in any of these ways. Category 11 has not been included under this summing-up.

Of two sibling-set marriages, 37 cases were obtained. Out of 7 pairs of sisters, 3 pairs married into the same clan, 1 into a related clan, and 3 into unrelated clans. Out of 7 pairs of brothers, 3 married into the same clan, 2 into related clans, and 2 into unrelated clans. Out of 23 pairs composed of a sister and a brother, 6 married into the same clan, 7 married into related clans, and 10 into unrelated clans.

Of three sibling-set marriages, 22 cases were recorded. Of the 3 sets in which all were sisters, 2 all married into the same clan, and, in the other, two siblings married in the same clan, and the third in an unrelated clan. Of the 4 sets in which all were brothers, in 3, two brothers married into the same clan, and, in the other, two brothers married into related clans, and the third in an unrelated clan. Of the 6 cases where two siblings were sisters and the third a brother, in 1 all three married into related clans, in 1 the two sisters married into the same clan and the brother into a related clan, in 1 the two sisters married into related clans and the brother into an unrelated clan, in 1 a sister and brother married into the same clan and a sister married into an unrelated clan, and in 2 a sister and brother married into related clans and a sister into an unrelated clan. Of the 9 cases where two siblings were brothers and the third a sister, in 1 all three married into the same clan, in 2 the two brothers married into the same clan and the sister into an unrelated clan, in one the two brothers married into a related clan and the sister into an unrelated clan, in 2 a sister and brother married into the same clan and a brother into an unrelated clan, in 3 a sister and a brother married into related clans and a brother into an unrelated clan.

Of the 4 cases in which four siblings were involved, in the first, two sisters married into the same clan, and a sister and brother married into another unrelated clan. In the second, two sisters married into the same clan, and a sister and brother married into related clans not related to this. In the third, two brothers married into unrelated clans, and a brother and sister married related clans unrelated to these. In the fourth, a brother and sister married into unrelated clans, and a brother and sister married unrelated clans, also unrelated to these.

There are 3 cases in which five siblings were involved. In the first, four sisters married into related clans, one brother into an unrelated clan. In the second, two brothers married into the same clan, a brother and sister married into the same clan unrelated to this, and a brother married into another unrelated clan. In the third, three sisters married into the same clan, and a sister and brother married into related clans unrelated to this.

There are 11 cases of maternal parallel-cousin marriages. In 1 a man and his male and female cousins married into the same clan. In 2 a man
and his male and female cousins married into two related clans. In 1 a man and his female cousins married into the same clan. In 1 a man and his two female cousins married into two unrelated clans. In 1 a woman and her two male cousins married into unrelated clans. In 1 a woman and her male and female cousins married into the same clan. In 2 one sister and her male and female cousins married into the same clan, but the other sister married into a clan related to this. In 1 a brother and sister and their two male cousins married into two unrelated clans. In 1 a brother and sister married into unrelated clans, the latter and her female cousins married into the same clan, and the former married into an unrelated clan. In 1 a man and his male cousin married into related clans, unrelated to that into which the latter’s four sisters married. In 1 a woman and her male cousin married into related clans, unrelated to that into which the latter’s four sisters married.

There are 19 marriage sets of cross-cousins. The following figures result from checking each individual’s marriage mutually against that of each of his cross-cousins in turn. In 3 instances, where men had had more than one wife, only the first marriage was used. Of 38 cases concerning only men, in none did cross-cousins marry into the same clan; in 4, cross-cousins married into related clans; and, in 34, into unrelated clans. Of 40 cases concerning only women, in 10, cross-cousins married into the same clan, in 4 into related clans, and in 26 into unrelated clans. Three male and 7 female cross-cousins married into the same clan, 7 male and 3 female cross-cousins into related clans, and 30 of each sex into unrelated clans.

By checking the clan into which each individual married, against the clan to which each of his cross-cousins belonged, the following figures were obtained from the same 19 marriage sets of cross-cousins: Of 34 cases for male maternal cross-cousins, in 12 the marriage was into the clan of a paternal cross-cousin, in 7 into a clan related to that of a paternal cross-cousin, and in 15 into a clan unrelated to that of the paternal cross-cousin. Of 44 cases for female maternal cross-cousins, in 8 marriage was into the clan of a paternal cross-cousin, in 7 into a clan related to that of a paternal cross-cousin, and in 29 into a clan unrelated to that of the paternal cross-cousin. Of 44 cases for male paternal cross-cousins, in 8 the marriage was into the clan of a maternal cross-cousin, in 21 into a clan related to that of a maternal cross-cousin, and in 15 into a clan unrelated to the maternal cross-cousin. Of 34 cases for female paternal cross-cousins, in none did they marry into the clan of a maternal cross-cousin, in 8 they married into a clan related to that of a maternal cross-cousin, and in 26 into clans unrelated to that of the maternal cross-cousin.

The following figures are an analysis of the clans of maternal and paternal grandfathers in relation to those into which their grandchildren
marry. Of 29 cases in which the clan of both grandfathers was known, 16 grandchildren married into clans unrelated to either of them, 6 married into clans related to both grandparents, 2 into the same clan as both grandparents, 2 into the same clan as the paternal grandfather and into a clan related to the maternal grandfather, and 3 into a clan related to the maternal grandfather. Of 25 cases in which only the clan of the paternal grandfather was known, 19 married into clans unrelated to his, 3 into clans related to his, and 3 into the same clan as his. Of 41 cases in which only the clan of the maternal grandfather was known, 26 married into clans unrelated to his, 7 into clans related to his, and 8 into the same clan as his. There is no appreciable difference between men and women in these figures.

Corroborating the lack of effect grandfathers’ clans had on marriage choice of grandchildren is the fact that out of 10 genealogies giving direct descent through the female line, though 3 show two females of successive generations marrying into related clans and 1 shows successive marriage into the same clan, only 2 show marriage into related clans for three generations of females and 1 shows it for 4 generations. The remaining 3 show no successive generation marriages of women into the same or related clans. The greater part of these genealogies were obtained in communities where the choice of clan mates in marriage is fairly wide. What a long genealogy would show from a farming site where two clans were dominant and the marriage choice was more limited might be a slightly higher percentage of successive-generation marriages into the same clans.
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