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Political factionalism among the Mojave Indians, 1826--1875

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POLITICAL FACTIONALISM AMONG
THE MOJAVE INDIANS
1826-1875

by

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Bachelor of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
1990

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

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ABSTRACT

Political Factionalism Among
The Mojave Indians
1826-1875

by

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The Fort Mojave Indians of California and Mohave Indians of Arizona were once united on their aboriginal territory. Their lifestyle was impacted by interaction with the Spanish, fur trappers, military explorers and emigrant parties.

Spanish interaction with the Mojave in the 1600s resulted in little change. The fur trappers of the 1820s generally lacked cultural awareness and respect of Mojave resources. Military expeditions along the 35th parallel into Mojave territory were generally well received and aided by some Mojave, while other Mojave were cautious of the “foreign invaders.” Emigrant parties soon followed causing alarm among the Mojave as they believed the emigrants would settle. The Mojave killed several emigrants resulting in the U.S. Military stepping in and pressuring the Mojave to surrender.

Following the surrender, the philosophical division deepened with Aratêve’s faction cooperating with the military and relocating to Parker Arizona, while Homose quahote’s faction remained on their aboriginal territory.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Along the Colorado River, approximately sixty miles apart, live two groups of Native Americans, the Fort Mojave Indians of Needles, California and the Mohave Indians of the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Arizona. Traditionally and culturally the same people, these two groups once occupied the land along the lower Colorado River as a united people of one tribe (Map 1). The Native American tribe, historically known as the Mojave Indians, evolved into the divided house of the Mojave. The members of the tribe, led by Chief Aratêve, who moved to the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Arizona in 1865, assumed the name Mohave Indians. The majority of the tribe, led by Chief Homose quahote, remained on ancestral lands near present-day Needles, California, and eventually became the Fort Mojave Tribe of Indians.¹

The Mojave were a divided people long before Aratêve led his faction of followers to the Colorado River Indian Reservation. The purpose of this paper is to explore the origins of these factions, and discuss the events leading to the permanent division of the Mojave. To do this, it is necessary to establish the aboriginal territory of the Mojave, intertribal relations and patterns of increased non-Native American contact, including the

¹ The names of Aratêve and Homose quahote appear in a variety of spellings. Aratêve: Yara tav; Arataba; Ir-a-ta-bah; Irra-tab; Irrata. Homose quahote: Homose: kohot; Me-sik-ch-ho-ta; Sickahat; Sickaholt; Sickahot; Sickahoot; Sickahott; Sickahut.
Mojaves' reactions to the various contacts with Euro-Americans.
CHAPTER 2

ABORIGINAL TERRITORY

The aboriginal territory of the Mojave, created by geology and climate, covers an area known today as the Mojave Valley of the tri-state area. This area encompasses parts of modern day San Bernardino County, California, Mohave County, Arizona, and Clark County, Nevada along the Colorado River (Map 2). The major geographic features of this area are the Colorado River and its basin (Map 3). Since the time the Mojave inhabited this area, the Colorado River and its basin served as a lifeline to sustain them and all other animal and plant life.

Geologic Formation

The geologic history of the Mohave Valley dates back more than forty five thousand million years to Precambrian times. The rocks and structures of the mountain ranges surrounding the Mohave Valley are nearly two billion years old. The mountain ranges were formed during four well-defined geologic eras over time to shape the territory (Table 1).

These geologic events created the landmarks used by the Mojave as natural boundaries for their aboriginal territory. The Rocky Mountains, which allow for the Colorado River runoff, stretch more than three thousand miles northward from Mexico, through the Central United States, on up into Canada and Alaska. They are made up of granite schists, gneisses, lava, and sharply folded sedimentary rocks. At one time, some
of the higher mountains contained glaciers. The geology of the Colorado River basin consists of primarily horizontal sedimentary rock, sandstone, limestone and soft shale. The most significant event over the last ten thousand years was and continues to be the erosion caused by the snowmelt runoff. This runoff actually created the Lower Colorado River Basin that became the aboriginal territory and the life-blood of the Mojave's agricultural lifestyle.

Colorado River and Basin

The one thousand four hundred-seventy mile long Colorado River flows from its origins in the northern Rocky Mountains to its mouth at the present-day Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez). The first European to explore the Colorado River basin from the mouth in the Sea of Cortez was Hernando de Alarcon in 1540.

The Colorado River Basin is a vast area approximating two hundred forty-four thousand square miles. The river is the eventual recipient of all the water that flows westward from the Rocky Mountains including parts of Wyoming, Colorado (western half), Utah (eastern half) New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada. It also receives water flowing eastward from the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California, as well as some of the water from the northern Rocky Mountains. The Colorado River creates an extensive region that includes barren hills, naked plains and wide canyons. The river basin has many valleys of fertile soil allowing for cultivation without irrigation. Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives of the United States Corps of Topographical Engineers described the Mohave Valley as he entered it in February 1858:

1 Thomas Edwin Parish, History of Arizona, vol. 2 (San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Co. 1915), 19, 60.
We issued from the hills and beheld the broad and noble valley of the Mojaves spread before us. At this season of the year, before the burning heat has weathered the freshness and beauty of the early vegetation, this valley, of course, appears in the most attractive aspect... Towards the north, to the limit of vision, the torturous course of the river could be traced through a belt of alluvial land varying from one or two to six or seven miles in width, and garnished with inviting meadows, with broad groves of Willows and mezquite, and promising fields of grain.

The lush vegetation described by Ives was a direct result of the continuous erosion and flow of rich nutrients from the mountains during the annual runoff of the rivers feeding into the Colorado River. The fertile soil created by this runoff was favorable to the Mojave agricultural lifestyle.

For the Mojave, living along the river was a two-edged sword. They needed the water from the river to flood the basin to irrigate their crops; however, sometimes the river swelled in excess and flooded their crops and homes. In dry years the river did not flood the river basin, which resulted in poor farming, and sometimes led to famine.

The Colorado River Basin was indirectly created by volcanic activity during the Cenozoic era. The volcanic activity created many jagged peaks and ravines in what is presently known as the Sierra Nevada, Sierra Madre and Rocky Mountain regions. The Colorado River carved its way from the mountains through the ravines and valleys, seeking the path of least resistance to empty into what is now called the Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez). The word *Colorado* itself refers to the Spanish term for the color red. As Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, a United States Topographical engineer,

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described, "The waters of the Colorado are almost opaque with clay, tinctured with the red oxide of iron." The color of the water was attributed to the tons of red earth that it picked up travelling through what is now Utah, prior to the dams being placed on the river.  

The Colorado River is made up of a number of principal tributaries which flow mostly in deep gorges (Map 3). The Green River, the largest tributary, flows through Wyoming, Colorado and Utah. The Yampa, White, Duchesne, Price and San Rafael Rivers flow into the Green River. The Gunnison and Dolores Rivers join the Colorado River after draining most of western Colorado. The San Juan River joins the Colorado near what is now Lake Powell after draining southwestern Colorado, northwestern New Mexico, and northern Arizona. The Little Colorado River and the Virgin River join the Colorado River near present-day Lake Mead in Nevada and Arizona. Farther down the river, the Bill Williams Fork joins the river at modern day Parker, Arizona. The Gila River drains lower Arizona and joins the Colorado just prior to emptying into the Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez).

The amount of snow melt and silt from the Rocky Mountains carried by the Colorado River gains volume as the number of tributaries feeding into the river increases. In addition, the drop in elevation results in an increased force, which helped to create and continues to create massive gorges (Grand Canyon).

In an average year, seventy percent of the Colorado River water originates in the

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Rocky Mountains and flows at speeds ranging from seven-tenths of a mile per hour up to approximately four miles per hour.\textsuperscript{6} The average annual volume of water carried by the river is thirteen and eight-tenths million-acre feet emptying into the Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez). The river annually deposits one-hundred-forty-thousand-acre feet of silt into the Gulf of California.\textsuperscript{7}

Prior to written records and the damming of the Colorado River, floods took place as evidenced by high water marks and scientific dating techniques. Floods in the lower Colorado River Basin took place in April or May, allowing for Mojave planting. This flooding occurred when the snowmelt was at its maximum. When the flooding occurred concurrently with a warm tropical storm, excessive flooding took place, destroying Mojave crops and homes. Records indicate that during the excessive floods, the overflow extended one or two miles from the bank of the river. The largest recorded flood took place July 7 and 8, 1884. Newspapers of the day recorded 1884 as a year with heavy snows and a late spring. It is estimated that the Colorado River had a peak flow of about three hundred thousand cubic feet per second in the Black Canyon area of the river at the site of present-day Hoover Dam.

**Geographic Location**

The land the Mojave historically claim as their aboriginal territory was as a result of the geologic activity that created the mountain ranges, which encompass the region, as well as the Lower Colorado River basin, in which the Mojave resided. The territory is known today as the Mohave Valley (Maps 6 and 7). The ridge crests of the mountains

surrounding the valley marked the Mojave's territorial borders that they shared with neighboring Native American groups.

Spanish explorers, trappers, emigrants, and military personnel encountered many Native American tribes during the exploration and settlement of the North American Southwest. Each tribe had its own unique customs and language. Language barriers and subsequent misunderstandings contributed to a lack of communication and confusion on the part of the early Euro-Americans in describing the territory of the Mojave. Those who lived in, as well as those who passed through or visited the Mohave Valley, used a variety of geological features as landmarks in the territory. Often, different names for the same feature described the landmarks. The Spanish explorers, trappers, United States military exploration parties, emigrants and military personnel who set up outposts in the region, as well as the neighboring tribes in the area used different names/languages for various landmarks found within the aboriginal territory of the Mojave. While the locations of landmarks on maps were usually accurate, the corresponding names ascribed to the landmarks, describing the geologic features, often differed according to the cartographer or narrator. Not only were landmarks referred to by different names, but the Mojave themselves were also ascribed a variety of names.

The Mojave claim the name “Mojave” is an anglicized corruption of two Mojave words: *aha* meaning water, and *macav* meaning along or beside. Their tribal name served the purpose of describing where the people lived, i.e. along the river. The recognized anglicized name is one of several permutations of the first recorded European

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8 Llwellyn Barrackman, Vice Chairman Fort Mojave Tribal Council, interview by author, tape recording, Needles, CA, 27 September 1989.
reference to the Mojave in 1604 by Don Juan de Oñate, on an expedition through Mojave territory. Oñate referred to the people along the river as the Amacavas, which bears a close resemblance to the actual pronunciation of the Mojave name. In 1775, when Father Francisco Garcés, a member of the Anza expedition, visited the area he referred to the Mojave as Jamajabs. Some fifty years later, in 1826, when trapper-explorer Jedediah Smith passed through the territory, he referred to the native people he came upon as Ammuchábas. Later, trapper James O. Pattie, in his journal, referenced the Mojave as the Mohawa. Records after Pattie refer to this Native American group as Mojave, most likely a Spanish pronunciation of the name. The name became further corrupted with the English pronunciation Mohave. Regardless of the name used, the Mojave people and their territory remained the same.

According to archeological findings, United States exploration reports, military records and a recent Mojave tribal cultural site map, the estimated size of the aboriginal territory of the Mojave was one thousand square miles. The majority of the Mojave lived in a concentrated three hundred square mile area along both sides of the lower Colorado River, between the 34.5 and 35.5 lines of latitude and ranges from the 114th to

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13 Ives Report, 21-22. Also see the Whipple Report 1855, 28.
115th parallels. The Mojave lived primarily on the east side of the river between “the Needles” and Black Canyon (Maps 4 and 7).

The Mojave recognized and used many natural geologic formations to define the boundaries of their aboriginal territory. Many of these are well known landmarks that the United States’ government used in later years to establish the legal boundaries of the Mojave territory.

The Mojave Cultural Sites map provided in 2004 by Mr. Llwellyn Barrackman corroborates anthropological determination that the geologic northern boundary of the aboriginal territory is made up of what are known today as the Newberry Mountains (Map 4). This area is located approximately fifteen miles above the area that is today Davis Dam (two miles north of Laughlin, Nevada), and sixty-seven miles south of Hoover Dam. The body of water created by Davis Dam is Lake Mohave which is located in Arizona (Map 7). Within this region is the area known as Cottonwood Valley. It is in this area that the National Park Service located more than one hundred fifty Patyan (ancient Mojave predecessors) campsites. Situated in the Cottonwood Valley was Cottonwood Island which is now submerged under Lake Mohave. Cottonwood Island appears to be the northernmost area where explorers encountered the Mojave.

The southern boundary of Mojave aboriginal territory was an area known as “the Needles” just south of what is today Topoc, Arizona and above Bill Williams Fork (river

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14 Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest; The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple during his Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 and 1854* (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1941), loose map.


16 Mojave Cultural Site map, provided by Mr. Llwellyn Barrackman, Mr. Barrackman is a tribal elder, Fort Mojave historian and former Tribal Chairman.

of little water). This river feeds into the Colorado River from the nine thousand two
hundred sixty-five foot tall Bill Williams Mountain near present-day Williams, Arizona.
The present-day Mohave Range including the Sacramento and Chemehuevi Mountains
formed a natural southern boundary (Map 7). While the Mojave considered the land to
the north of these mountains as their land, they allowed other tribes including the
Halchidoma and later the Chemehuevi, a Shoshonean speaking offshoot of the Las Vegas
band of the Southern Paiutes, to farm the area between Topoc and Bill Williams Fork.18

The Mojave did not reside on the west side of the Colorado River in this region for
spiritual reasons. Within the Chemehuevi mountain range are the picturesque peaks,
which Lieutenant A.W. Whipple (a topographical engineer in charge of an 1854
exploring expedition) described. Whipple, attempting to use Mojave words to describe
“The Needles,” erroneously marked this area on his map as Hamook havi rather than the
Mojave name Huqueamp avi that means where the battle took place.19

The western boundary of Mojave territory is made up of the present-day Dead
Mountains, located at the southern tip of present-day Nevada and San Bernardino
County, California. The spine of the Dead Mountains runs north to south and the
mountains gently slope down eastward to the shore of the Colorado River. Within the
Dead Mountains is the five thousand foot Avikwame Peak (today known as Mt.
Newberry) which overlooks the entire Mohave Valley to the east. This mountain was
and continues to be sacred to the Mojave as it is associated with Mastamho who,
according to Mojave tradition, was the son of their Creator and the source of dreams and

power.\textsuperscript{20} While the Mojave did not live west of this boundary, they frequently traveled beyond this aboriginal boundary passing to the west en route to the Pacific Ocean to trade and obtain shells from the Dieg\'ue\'no Indians, located near present-day San Diego, California.

The \textit{Hamook Habi Mountains}, as described by Whipple in 1854, now known as the Black Mountains, form the eastern boundary of the Mojave aboriginal territory.\textsuperscript{21} The Black Mountains are located in what is now Mohave County, Arizona. Though the crest of the mountains served as a border between the Mojave and the Yavapai to the east, the Mojave frequently crossed this border to trade (Map 7).

Mojave tribal belief is that their territorial land originated when \textit{Mastamho}, the son of their creator, spoke to the assembled tribes, saying:

\begin{quote}
It [the world] is all made. You can go, you Walapai, and scatter in the mountains. You need not go into one place. You can go all about for I have made springs everywhere. You can live in one spot, and if you want to live in another place you can do so. You Chemehuevi can do the same, and you Yavapai too. But I will do differently for the Mohave. They will have everything along the river; whatever grows there will be theirs. It is ‘well.’ Along the river [water] is where the Mojaves say they have always lived—\textit{Aha macave}. In the old days they claimed the lands along the Colorado River from the Tall Pillars of First House [Black Canyon] beyond the meeting of two rivers [Bill Williams Fork and the Colorado River] to the land where other \textit{Aha macave} Indians lived.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

In 1928, Lieutenant E.D. Tuttle, who served as an officer at Fort Yuma, Arizona in the year 1863, recounted:

\begin{quote}
The ‘Ah-moke-haves’ (their original and proper name) (Mojaves) now known as the ‘Mohaves’ occupied the country on the Arizona side (up) from the Yuma country, to the Colorado Indian Reservation; and (above there,) both sides of the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{20} Kroeber, \textit{Mohave Indians}, 31.
\textsuperscript{22} Sherer, “The Name Mojave,” 2.
river up to Cottonwood Island, which is about thirty miles above Fort Mohave; (this fort has) now become the Mohave Indian School...

William Blake, who prepared the geologist report for the Whipple Expedition in 1854, described the Mohave Valley as being enclosed by three mountain ranges. There was one mountain range on each side of the Colorado River and another to the south, broken by the river. Today, from Fort Mojave Indian Reservation, in Needles, California, the whole Mohave Valley is visible looking eastward. Whipple proposed the names of these three ranges. Hamookh habi for the range to the east side of the river and Havichabi [now known as the Dead Mountains on the west side of the river]. Whipple named the range to the south that is divided by the river Asciente habi. Currently, this range bears the name Mojave Mountains. The Needles, or three mountains, lie in this range.

In 1865, Congress set aside land for the Native Americans of the Colorado River region. This land, located in current day Arizona, became the Colorado River Indian Reservation. It is on this reservation where approximately one-third of the Mojave relocated. This segment of the tribe became formally known as the Mohave. Those retaining the Mojave name remained on their ancestral grounds near Fort Mojave located near present-day Needles, California where anthropologic records indicate human inhabitation for thousands of years.

Inhabitation

While scientists and archeologists may not agree exactly when man first inhabited the previously noted tri-state area, it is generally accepted that man first occupied this area

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thousands of years ago. Scientific dating techniques confirm that ancient people lived near modern day Laughlin in Clark County, Nevada some three to four thousand years ago. Patyans (Hualapi word for ancient ones) were the first Native Americans to inhabit the tri-state area and appeared around A. D. 700. Ancient petroglyphs, pictographs, old trails, and stone work sites indicate a presence of cultures of the predecessors to the Mojave. At some point, the Patyans split into the Hualapi and Mojave tribes. The Mojave believe they have occupied the Lower Colorado River Valley since they were placed there by their Creator, since time immemorial. Archeological data suggests the Mojave lived along the Colorado River as early as A. D. 1150, and historical evidence indicates the Mojave occupied areas in present-day California, Nevada and Arizona as early as 1604. The most populated area was the current-day Mohave Valley where written records reported no other tribes in residence. Surrounded by other Native American tribes on all sides, the Mojave frequently traveled to trade with several of these tribes (Map 5).

Climate

The temperate climate of the Mojave Valley, consisting of long hot summers offset by mild winters, is a recent phenomenon in relation to the age of the Earth. Some one hundred thousand years ago the area was lush with abundant moisture. Over the last one hundred thousand years, gradual warming along with geologic changes resulted in

25 Dan W. Messersmith, *The History of Mohave County to 1912* (Kingman, Arizona; Mohave County Historical Society, 1991), 33.
minimal rainfall and excessive heat turning the area into a desert wilderness. Records are not available from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; however, temperatures and rainfall totals extrapolated from more recent records can approximate the climate of the time. The cities of Kingman, Arizona, Las Vegas, Nevada and Needles, California border what was the aboriginal territory of the Mojave. Records maintained since the late nineteenth century in these cities by the National Weather Service indicate that the climate may change from year to year, but it is generally consistent when examining the averages from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

In evaluating rainfall information (from these three cities) for the last one hundred to one hundred fifty years, the annual rainfall averaged four and eight-tenths inches. High temperatures, depending on the time of year, might range from sixty-four to one hundred eight degrees Fahrenheit with an annual average of eighty-five and one-half degrees Fahrenheit. The low temperature might range from forty-two and one-half to eighty-one degrees Fahrenheit with an annual average of sixty and one-half degrees Fahrenheit (Table 2).

These conditions shape an area made up primarily of a broad valley with some surrounding widely scattered mountain ranges of mostly barren rock, which is not hospitable for most forms of life.

Flora and Fauna

In the Mojave Valley, the combination of geologic formations and climate creates a dry and desolate environment, which generally tends to be inhospitable to life. Within the aboriginal territory of the Mojave, there are two defined ecosystems, one along the river, and one in the mountains. Between these ecosystems exists a blend of the two.
The first system is known as the Mojave vegetation zone or low desert ecosystem. This encompasses life along the Colorado River where the Mojave lived. It extends out from the river through the marshlands into the sandy valleys. Farther from the river are the mostly barren mountains, which make up the Sonoran vegetation zone or high desert ecosystem. Both systems provide habitats to numerous types of plants and animals.

Because the river acts as a lifeline for the area, the ebb and flow of water has created vegetation believed to be the most drought tolerant plants in North America. Diverse native flora exists in the area consisting of small shrub type plants of a water-seeking nature. This includes the creosote brush (Larrea divaricata) and white bursage (Ambrosia dumosa) which even in the driest areas seek drainage of water. Directly along the shore of the Colorado River, and in some of the washes, are several trees. These are primarily cottonwood (Populus fremontii), willow (Salix goodingii), and mesquite (Prosopis glandulosa). The cottonwood trees require water close to their roots, so early explorers used the site of a cottonwood grove as an indication of water nearby. The cottonwoods also served as a source of housing materials and clothing for the Mojave. While these are the most common plants in the Mojave ecosystem, a published listing of more than twenty-six hundred identified species of other trees, cactus, grasses, annuals and shrubs exist, but this still remains incomplete to date (Table 3). The Mojave took advantage of the seasonal flows of the river and used the fertile moist grounds adjacent to the river to plant their food crops including corn, beans, and melons.

The desert slopes, between the river and mountains, leading up to the Sonoran vegetation zone are generally barren except for a few sparse cacti (Columnar cacti), creosote bushes (Larrea divaricata) and other low, widely spaced shrubs. Following the winter rainfall, many of the normally non-visible small plants and wildflowers bloom. In the high desert meadows live the Joshua trees (Yucca brevifolia) along with small shrub-like plants. The mountains contain large areas of lush vegetation due to high water tables. This allows for growth of tall trees despite the desert environment.

Much like plant life, animal life is quite varied and closely aligned to the water supply. Numerous fish, bird, mammal, reptile, amphibian, and insect species made the Mojave territory home (Table 4). Due to the harsh environment, many species are extinct or are on the verge of extinction. The Mojave, though primarily farmers, occasionally hunted game in the area and fished the river.

Native fish in the region include five distinct species including several species of the pupfish (Cyprinodon species), mosquitofish (Gambusa affinis), as well as humpbackers (Gila cypha) and mullets (Mugil cephalus) the latter two of which were an occasional part of the Mojave diet.

In the 1890’s, seventy-eight species of birds were reported in the Mojave Desert region. Since that time, migratory changes and human encroachment contributed to the number of species increasing to nearly five times that number. Along the Colorado River, native species include sparrows (Amphispiza bilijiata), thrashers (Toxostoma species), grebes (Podilymbus sp.), bitterns (Botaurus sp.), and sandpipers (Actitis macularia) among others. Living between the Mojave and Sonoran ecosystems are found

http://www.death-valley.us/animals.html
the road-runner (Geococcyx sp.), turkey vultures (Cathartes aura), and Gambel’s quail. The quail are unusual as they are one of few bird species to nest directly in the ground. Carnivorous eagles (Aquila chrysaetos) and several hawk species reside in the mountain elevations.

The largest mammal of the region is the desert bighorn sheep (Ovis canadensis). These mammals located in the mountains, in small herds within the Sonoran vegetation zone. Another species found in the mountains are bobcats. Below the mountains, species of smaller animals including various species of wolves, deer, porcupine, fox, rabbits, squirrels, raccoons, and coyotes lived. Adjacent to the river resided beaver, kangaroo rats, mice, and bats. Many of these animals are nocturnal. Nocturnal behavior allows for minimal water loss and maximal hydration along with minimizing the impact of the daytime sun as water is vital to mammalian survival.

The Mojave Valley houses two orders of cold-blooded reptiles. Found in the region are several species of lizards and rare snakes, plus the nearly extinct desert tortoises (Gopherus agassizii). Amphibian species include several native frog species located in the marshlands adjacent to the river. The region also includes numerous species of small insects including spiders, butterflies, moths, beetles, ants, and wasps are found in the region.

While the geologic formations and climate play a key role in the flora and fauna in the Mojave Valley, nothing had a more significant impact on life in the valley than the encroachment of man (Homo sapiens).
CHAPTER 3

MOJAVE LIFESTYLE

The aboriginal territory of the Mojave was vast and varied. The areas located a distance from the river were sparse of vegetation as this region was primarily desert.¹

The earth nearer the river was a fertile bottom-land.² According to Whipple, the Mohave Valley was three hundred fifty feet above sea level and had a mild, tropical climate.³ Whipple estimated that the Mojave territory was comprised of one hundred fifty to two hundred square miles of arable land.⁴ Whipple also calculated the width of the Colorado River around Mojave villages to be from three to five hundred feet.

The Colorado River was the sustaining force for the Mojave. They depended on the spring overflows of the river to provide the rich silt for their cultivation of corn, wheat, pumpkin and watermelon crops. The Mojave relied mainly on these crops, as well as fish consisting of humpbackers and mullets, for their sustenance. Considering the terrain, there was little meat available for the Mojave to hunt. They did not eat lizards, turtles or beaver.⁵ The women traveled distances of six to eight miles to gather mesquite beans and

³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
dig roots to supplement the diets of the tribe. In years of drought, when the Colorado River did not provide adequate water for farming, the Mojave encountered times of famine. During these times, women traveled as much as sixty miles to gather life-sustaining berries. According to Lieutenant Whipple, who visited the Mojave in 1854:

We frequently passed rancherias surrounded by granaries filled with corn, mezquite beans, and tornillas. The houses are constructed for durability and warmth. They are built upon sandy soil, thirty or forty feet square; the sides about two feet thick, of wickerwork and straw; the roofs thatched, covered with earth, and supported by a dozen cotton-wood posts. Along the interior walls are ranged large earthen pots filled with stores of corn, beans and flour for daily use. In front is a wide shed, a sort of piazza, nearly as large as the house itself. Here they find shelter from the rain and sun. Within, surrounding a small fire in the centre, they sleep, protected from the cold, but their favorite resort seems to be on the top, where we could usually count from twenty to thirty persons, all apparently at home. Near the houses were a great number of cylindrical structures, with conical roofs, quite skillfully made of osier twigs. They were the granaries...for their surplus stores of corn and the mezquite fruit...Among the curious articles of household furniture noticed were the pestle and mortar for grinding flour. The latter was of granite, the cavity worn with beautiful regularity into a conical form, six inches wide at the top, and from a foot to eighteen inches deep. The pestle of polished greenstone, also, was perfectly symmetrical, being oval-shaped, a foot and a half long, and four inches in central diameter.

Clan System

While archeological evidence suggests the Mojave Indians occupied what is now the present-day Mohave Valley as early as AD 1150, their belief is that they inhabited this territory since their creation by their deity Mutaviy'a. Their clan or family system evolved from clan (family) names given by Mutaviy'a from the time of their origin, no
one knows exactly when. Much of what is known about Mojave clan names is based on oral testimony. According to tradition, their creator, Mutavilya, gave them their clan names as well as their rules for living.

The tribal rules for living were to practice exogamy, meaning persons of the same clan could not marry each other, and monogamy, allowing each person to have only one spouse at a time. The Mojave accepted separation, divorce and remarriage. Mastamho, son of Mutavilya, provided for them by teaching them how to farm, and how, through dreams, the chiefs were selected.

Mojave clan names are derived from the ancient Mojave religion which is organized into three groups: the natural phenomena of sky and air; the natural products of the earth and the water; and the below earth (desert rodents). All clan names represent elements from the natural environment of the aboriginal territory of the Mojave. These elements: the desert, mountains and river, all provided positive totems (plants and animals that served as emblems of the clans), coexisted equally, and none were malevolent.

According to Mojave tradition:

The god Mutavilya, in First Time, gave the Mojaves their family names, to use and pass on to their children. When Mutavilya named the families he began with the above-things – the sky or heavens, Neolge, the sun; Oach, the clouds and rain, and winds; Whalia, the moon; Maha, the small singing birds.

Then he names for the earth-things – the desert and mountain animals and plants. The families named for the animals of the earth were Moha, the mountain sheep and the deer; Hipa, the coyote; Masipa, the quail; Necah, the caterpillar and the worms. The families named for the plants and growing bushes were Vemacka,

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11 Ibid., 11.
12 Ibid., 12.
the bean mesquite; *Chacha*, the corn; *Gottah*, the tobacco; *Kumathee*, the ocotilla cactus; *Quinetha*, the prickly pear cactus.

And then he named for the water and the below-earth things: *Shulia*, the beaver; *Boudha*, the frog; *Malika*, the ground squirrel or the wood rat, and other desert rodents. But *Mutavilya* said, ‘Do not despise these below-earth things, for they are wise ones’.15

Mojave clans are not hierarchical. They are equal in status. While established by their creator, the clan names do not appear to carry any religious significance.16 The clan names are antiquated Mojave words and are not the common words that reflect the totems in the Mojave language today. For example: the totemic clan name *Shulia*, is the ancient meaning for the word beaver. The word beaver in the Mojave language today is *aben*.17

The Mojave clan system is patrilineal, and is unusual in that while all children take their father’s clan name, the males are silent carriers while the females are addressed by their clan name.18 According to tradition, “*Mutavilya* gave the names to the men, not to use, but to carry to their daughters to use.”19 A male might be referred to as being of a particular clan, but the clan name is never used directly when referring to or addressing a male. For example, a male born into the *Malika* clan will never be called *Malika*, but he may be referred to as “of the *Malika*,” while all females born into a clan carry that clan name. All females of a particular clan have an identical name, though, they may be known by a nickname or epithet that tends to be descriptive of the totems.

Mojave clan names first appear in historical record in 1859 as identified by *Gwegwi nuor*, a Mojave, who witnessed the peace agreement between the Mojave and the United

15 Ibid.
17 Llwellyn Barrackmen, interview by author, Needles, California, 1 May 2004.
19 Ibid.
States government who was represented by Colonel William Hoffman. *Gwegwi nuor*
identified the names of the clans as *Oach, Chagge, Got, Neolge, Moose, Te ella, Hipah, Sullah, Whallia, Coomathea, Ve mock, Malika, (quet Kellah) Queneatha Motheha, Ni ka, Hall-po-to, Norge, Susuella, Misiboh, Maha, Motheha*, and *Matavacha*. Captain John G. Bourke, an anthropologist, verified all the clans except *Chagge and Queneatha Motheha* when he visited the Fort Mojave Indians in 1886. Following Bourke’s visit to the Mojave, anthropologist A. L. Kroeber conducted extensive interviews among the tribe from 1902-1917. He confirmed, academically, that a Mojave clan system did actually exist. Kroeber identified twenty-two clans and their totemic meanings. While Mojave clan names were and remain important to Mojave family identification, clan identification was also vital to Mojave polity.

**Polity**

Living geographically separate from each other in different bands, rancherias or settlements along the lower Colorado River, the Mojave considered themselves a single people. Traditional natural boundaries provided the Mojave a defined territory for the bands, rancherias and settlements. The membership in the tribe, not locality of residence defined the Mojave people as they moved unconfined between the bands and rancherias. Due to the ability to roam freely, the Mojave appeared to have a loose political structure. Though living in geographically separate groups, the Mojave had a fierce sense of tribal

20 Ibid, 25.
21 Ibid, 40.
pride, and united during times of warfare against enemies both Native American and Euro-American.23

The Mojave exhibited a sense of racial separateness. They believed they were inherently and physically different from others, including other Native American tribes, as well as Euro-Americans.24 They believed they were superior to non-Mojave peoples. The Mojave not only shunned Euro-Americans and non-Yuman speaking tribes, but also some tribes speaking related Yuman languages such as the Walapai.25 Intertribal relationships, as well as those with non-Native Americans were few as the Mojave believed that these relationships would cause sickness.26 The geographical seclusion of the Mojave allowed them, for the most part, to avoid outside contact, reducing the risk of disease, sickness and external political influence.

Though geographically secluded, the Mojave lived in an immense territory. Because of the vastness of the territory, the Mojave formed at least three separate bands. The exact number of bands that existed within the Mojave tribe between 1854 and 1862 is unclear. Not understanding Mojave polity, the American men representing the United States government who met the Mojave mistakenly equated the number of chiefs with the number of bands. Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple, a topographical engineer exploring a railway route from Mississippi to California, under orders of the United States government, alluded to five bands when he met the Mojave in 1854. Whipple stated: "Successively, as we approached their several villages, five principal chiefs, each with

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
his own particular band of warriors, met us in state..." First Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, with the United States government Corps of Topographical Engineers, commissioned to lead an exploration up the Colorado River from its mouth to the Sea of Cortez (now called the Gulf of California) to ascertain the river’s navigability, in 1857-1858, alluded to five Mojave bands as well, stating, “Two of the five great chiefs I have not met.”

Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman, sent by the United States Army, with seven hundred soldiers, to negotiate a Mojave peace agreement, faced six chiefs in the year 1859. He incorrectly assumed the number of chiefs present at his meeting equated to the number of Mojave bands. Brevet Major Granville O. Haller, post commander of Fort Mojave, in a letter dated January 28, 1862 to Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, identified four bands:

There are four branches in the valley, represented by Chief Ir-a-ta-bah (Aratêve), the Head Chief, Sick-a-holt (Homose quahote), Copetan, and Pike-co-nay-o. Below the Needles is a larger valley, with much the greater proportion of the Indians under the old chief called Ho-marr-a-tov...

It is unclear why Haller identified five chiefs while only specifying four bands. The discrepancy in the number of bands identified by each of these men illustrates the lack of understanding as to the Mojave’s political structure at the time. They did not recognize that within each band there could be a chief as well as at least one sub-chief.

While historical identification of the number of Mojave bands varies, historians and anthropologists recognize three specific bands: the northern division, the mathêl a oom,

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27 Whipple Report 1855, 27.
28 Ives Report, 72.
who lived between Black Canyon and the head of the Mohave Valley; the central division, the ható pa, occupying the Mohave Valley; and the southern division, the kavé l a oom, residing below the Needles Peaks (Map 4).  

A system of tribal leaders, or the anglicized term “chiefs,” governed the Mojave. The Mojave used two words which had approximately the same meaning in English for term chief, yaltanok meaning leader, and huchach (made by the people in Mojave) meaning head of the group. It is important to note that neither Mojave term denotes the English term meaning ruler or boss, however, both terms in Mojave are roughly synonymous with the English term “chief,” “head chief,” and “great chieftain.” This caused confusion and misunderstanding in Mojave/American relations as the American perspective conflicted with Mojave reality.

A chief had little political influence over the Mojave people. He served as a role model and acted to impart tribal culture and tradition. He looked after tribal welfare and had a moral, not a ruling influence over the tribe. After selection by the people, the chief maintained his position through personal integrity and professional competence.

Under the Great Chieftain, leading each of the three Mojave bands were a number of chiefs. One chief led each of the northern and southern bands, while five chiefs led the larger central band. The hereditary chief of the entire tribe, the Great Chieftain, was also the chief of one band. The Great Chieftain, called the Aha macave pipatahon by the Mojave, was of the Malika clan. Not only did he assume his position because of

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31 Ibid., 29.
32 Ibid., 2.
33 Ibid., 3.
34 Ibid., 3.
heredity, but it was also necessary that the people approve him. The Aha macave pipatahon espoused specific qualities required by the Mojave:

He was one who was concerned about the welfare of all the people, who was wise and understanding; who possessed knowledge of tribal culture, tribal history, and tribal needs; who protected tribal lands against enemies and land-grabbers; who set a worthy example for his people; who was faithful to his trust and was honorable in his dealings, who always kept his word; who gave his time and means in working for the good of the tribe; and could not be tempted or swerved by personal ambitions.

If the Great Chieftain lost the confidence of the Mojave people, he could voluntarily step aside, or be removed by them. A chosen one, who was known as the aha macave hochoch, who did not necessarily need to be of the Malika clan, would assume the temporary role of the Great Chieftain. He held this position until such time as the patrilineal Great Chieftain resumed the position, or the tribe selected a new Great Chieftain of the Malika clan. Through the centuries, the Mojave Great Chieftain held the faith of his tribe while dealing with intertribal and external Native American relations.

Intertribal Relations

Land was of utmost importance for cultural survival for Native American tribes, including the Mojave. This often dictated the tone of intertribal relationships. Due to the lack of written history and language barriers, information pertaining to Mojave early intertribal relationships is limited. Much of the available intertribal information was left by the trappers and emigrants who traversed the region. They interacted not only with the Mojave, but their neighboring tribes as well. In addition, oral narratives of Mojave who either lived during the times of intertribal warfare, or the sons and daughters of those

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
who remembered the stories of those who lived during these times, provides a glimpse of the Mojave's relationships with their neighbors and beyond.

Mojave relations with the various tribes with which they shared boundaries varied according to sustenance and geopolitical needs. Depending upon the circumstances, the Mojave acted as friend or foe with other tribes. During times of warfare with other tribes or the Americans, the Mojave might band together with friends or former enemies to fight a common enemy. Mojave territory had the natural boundaries of various mountain ranges. They shared these boundaries with several other Native American groups recognizing and respecting each others' territories (Map 5).

To the northeast of the Mojave were the Walapai with whom the Mojave had varying relations. At times they were friendly and traded vegetables for meat, while other times they were at war. Even though general tension existed, those Walapai living closer in proximity to the Mojave tended to be friendlier. After the United States' military subdued the Mojave in 1859, the military actively sought to have the Mojave fight the Walapai in order to help bring them to submission as well.

The Yavapai lived directly east of the Mojave. The most important intertribal relationship for the Yavapai was with their eastern neighbor, the Apache, with whom they shared cultural similarities. They did, however, generally have friendly relations with the both the Mojave and Quechan (Yuma), who lived east of them, and would sometimes join these two groups in expeditions against the Maricopa who lived to the east of the Quechan at a considerable distance from Mojave country.

38 Kroeber and Kroeber, 71.
Prior to 1827, the Halchidoma lived directly south of the Mojave territory along the western shore of the Colorado River in what is now known as the Chemehuevi Valley. Driven north to this valley by the Quechan, the Halchidoma occupied the area, and were barely tolerated by the Mojave.\footnote{The Mojave considered this valley part of their aboriginal territory.} This toleration ended in 1827 when the Mojave attacked the Halchidoma. Prior to this attack, the Halchidoma murdered several Mojave and Quechan passing through the valley and the Mojave retaliated. Concurrently, many of the Mojave were suffering from starvation and needed more land for farming. The Mojave were able to drive the surviving Halchidoma eastward out of the region opening up land for the Mojave.\footnote{Kenneth M. Stewart, "The Aboriginal Territory of the Mohave Indians," \textit{Ethnohistory} 16 (Summer 1969): 265-266.}

Though not directly bordering the Mojave territory, below the Chemehuevi Valley resided the Quechan. The Mojave and Quechan, united by similar language and culture, were consistent friends and allies. They often joined forces to fight against each others' enemies. Because of the geographical distance between these two peoples, the need to compete for the same land eliminated economic conflicts. After the United States' government established Fort Yuma in Arizona, the Mojave continued peaceful trips through Quechan territory to meet with military officials at the fort. During the mid-nineteenth century, the Quechan often served as translators for the Mojave and the United States military personnel.

To the west of the Mojave, in the vast desert, lived the Chemehuevi, a branch of the Southern Paiutes. They were a poor and nomadic tribe. In the early 1830s, following the expulsion of the Halchidomas from the western shore of the Colorado River south of the
Mojave, the Chemehuevi began to gather mesquite beans along the river. In time, the 
Mojave allowed the Chemehuevi to move into what would become known as the 
Chemehuevi Valley to farm and fish along the river. The Mojave considered this part 
of the California side of the river to be a prohibited place for them to live as this was (and 
still is) a sacred place “where the departed spirits meet.” Friendly relations between the 
Mojave and the Chemehuevi soured sometime around 1865. It was at this time, the 
Mojave drove them back to the desert of eastern California. In 1867, the Mojave and 
Chemehuevi agreed to peace and the Mojave again allowed the Chemehuevi to return to 
the Colorado River land they occupied before the violence.

Though not directly bordering the Mojave territory, west of the Chemehuevi who 
resided in the California desert, were the Serrano Indians. Many of the Serrano relocated 
to the California missions, opening up land which gave the Mojave unrestricted travel 
through former Serrano territory to the Pacific Coast to trade for seashells with the 
Diegueño Indians.

Information regarding intertribal relations between the Mojave and the Southern 
Paiutes living on the other side of the mountains northwest of the Mojave is virtually 
nonexistent. Considering the fact that the Mojave fought primarily to preserve and 
protect their land based on sustenance needs, they had no particular urgency to enter into 
the area of the Southern Paiutes as their territory was void of farmable land and 
substantial vegetation. In addition, if the Southern Paiutes entered the territory of the

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45 Ibid., 34.
Northern band of the Mojave, they faced a large number of Mojave led by the powerful Chief Homose quahote.
CHAPTER 4

NON NATIVE AMERICAN CONTACTS

Spanish

Initially Spanish, then later, other Euro-American contact chronicles the Mojave’s inhabitation of their territory. The expedition of Don Juan de Oñate, Spanish governor of New Mexico, established what historians believe to be the first known European contact with the Mojave in 1604. Oñate was looking for a “South Sea” to determine whether supplies could be brought to his headquarters in New Mexico from the Sea of Cortez (Gulf of California). He and his expedition of thirty soldiers and two Franciscan priests traveled through the Verde Valley in present-day Arizona where they encountered the Mojave’s eastern neighbors, the Cruzado (Yavapai) Indians. The Cruzado told Oñate of the Amacavas (Mojave) living along a great river (Colorado River) to the west of their location.

Oñate traveled west down the Bill Williams Fork in search of the great river, stopping at the area just north of present-day Parker Dam. One day after his arrival at the junction with the great river, Oñate sent a Captain Marquez along with four soldiers to determine the location of the nation of the Amacavas. It was not long after, that Captain Marquez returned to the expedition with two Mojave men. The Mojave men were then sent to
bring back to Oñate the remainder of the Mojave in the area. The following day, forty
Mojave returned to Bill Williams Fork with vegetables for the expedition. This
historic contact with the Mojave gives a first glance at their reception of, and interaction
with non-Native Americans. According to Frey Escobar, one of the Franciscan priests
who accompanied the Oñate expedition:

"The first nation of people whom we met at this river was called Amacavo. We
found them to be very friendly." They furnished us with maize, beans and
calabashes, which constitute the ordinary food of all the people along this river
and which they grow throughout this river valley. However, I did not think that
they had a great abundance of maize, and I attribute this to their indolence, for the
spacious meadows seemed ample to plant much more, to establish farms, and to
settle Spaniards, although there is but little grass for cattle, since all the ranges
and the hills are barren, and it is found only in the river valley, and even then not
everywhere. The Indians derive also much food from mesquite, which is plentiful
throughout the valley, and they gather many grass seeds, which would indicate
that there is not a great surplus of maize. Although we saw many extensive
cornfields, they were not adequate for the great number of people living there.

This initial contact with Europeans, though brief, was positive. This positive contact
remained relatively consistent with future Mojave/non-Native American relations as they
encountered Euro-American invaders nearly two centuries later. This brief interaction
also allowed the Mojave lifestyle to remain uncorrupted.

According to known documents, the Mojave remained unvisited by non-Native
Americans for one-hundred seventy years after Oñate's expedition when Franciscan
Padre, Francisco Garcés, accompanied the Anza expedition to California in 1775-1776.
While traveling with the Anza expedition, which was seeking a route from Sonora,
Mexico to California, Garcés encountered a group of approximately eighty Mojave

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(whom he called “Jamajabs”) south of the Halfway Mountains who were en route to the neighboring Quechan. A small group of these Mojave accompanied the Garcés expedition northward while the remainder continued on to Quechan territory. Upon arriving in the Mohave Valley, the Mojave received Garcés with apparently cordial acceptance. Garcés then traveled three leagues northwest accompanied by whom he referred to as the principal captain of the “Jamajabs.” The captain remains unidentified in the records. Garcés noted fields of wheat as he arrived at a group of Mojave rancherias, determined to be in the vicinity of present-day Needles, California. Garcés continued on his journey accompanied by Mojave. When he later returned to the nation of the Mojave, they greeted him with the same cordiality as before. Garcés’ stay with the people of the Mojave Nation was brief, leading historians and anthropologists to believe their culture and political structure was traditionally intact when the first non-native North Americans, the fur trappers, began moving into Mojave territory during the early nineteenth century.

Fur Trappers and Miners

With the increased demand for quality beaver pelts in the 1820s, fur trappers (mountain men) not afraid to venture beyond their known world of civilization, often were the first non-Native Americans to explore new territories. They moved west in search of beaver pelts, and frequently brought with them gold panning/mining equipment. Before the California gold rush of the late 1840s, these mountain men entered the

4 Ibid., 223-226.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 308.
Mohave Valley from New Mexico after word of the discovery of a small amount of gold in the mountains surrounding the Mohave Valley in 1820. Finding no significant amounts of gold in the region, the mountain men returned their interests to beaver pelts along the Colorado River in the Mohave Valley.

The trappers followed the rivers leading west from the Rocky Mountains in search of quality beaver pelts. They followed the tributaries that fed into the Colorado River, and continued to follow them to and down the Colorado to the Gila River. They trapped in the spring and fall when the beaver fur was of higher quality. The farther west and south they went, the more arid the climate and poorer the quality of furs. As a result, the fur trappers’ stay in the Mohave Valley was relatively short lived, but their influence on the Mojave people was significant. While it is probable that many fur trappers traversed the area of the Mohave Valley, most did not leave any journals or maps. Those fur trappers who left journals, recorded minimal ethnographic and cultural details of the Mojave people. The arrival of Jedediah Smith, in 1826, marked the beginning of historically documented interaction between the fur trappers and the Mojave. James O. Pattie, as part of the Ewing Young expedition, encountered the Mojave in the spring of 1827. Jedediah Smith returned to the Mojave Valley in July of that year. In the fall of 1827, the George Yount expedition traversed the area as well. Peter Skene Ogden led the next recorded fur trapping expedition in 1829. The last known documented fur trapper interaction with the Mojave was another Ewing Young led party in 1830.

The traditional system of Mojave political structure took on a new dimension with the

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8 Ibid.
9 Ibid. 76.
arrival of the fur trappers in the mid-1820s. The intrusion of the fur trappers into Mojave territory most likely changed the Mojave's view of non-native peoples. With the advent of the fur trappers' arrival, there still remained Mojave tribal members who recalled the peaceful interaction with the Spanish forty-five years prior. Initially, the Mojave welcomed the fur trappers, but the abrasive and abusive behavior by some of the fur trappers, who severely lacked cultural understanding, made the Mojave suspicious of the fair skinned intruders.

Historians believe Jedediah Smith, a fur trapper, was probably the first American to encounter the Mojave. On October 15, 1826, Smith entered the Mohave Valley and "here found a nation of Indians who call themselves Ammuchábas." 10 Smith remained in the central area of the Mohave Valley for fifteen days resting and trading with the Mojave. He described little of his apparently peaceful stay. The Mojave remembered the uneventful Smith visit when they were visited again by a group of fur trappers led by Ewing Young in the spring of 1827.

Trapper James O. Pattie was among the first Ewing Young expedition. Unlike Jedediah Smith who was amiable to the Mojave, Pattie was conceited and quick tempered. Members of the Young party, including Pattie, traveled up the Colorado River from the area of present-day Blythe, California into Mojave territory near present-day Parker, Arizona. In his journal, Pattie described the invasion:

We resumed our march, and on the 6th arrived at another village of Indians called Mohawa. When we approached their village, they were exceedingly alarmed. We marched directly through their village, the women and children screaming.

10 Harrison Clifford Dale, ed., *The Explorations of William H. Ashley and Jedediah Smith, 1822-1829* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918), 185. Ammuchába is the term Smith used in referring to the Mojave, as the Mojave referred to themselves as the Aha Macav.
and hiding themselves in their huts.\textsuperscript{11}

That evening an unidentified Mojave chief entered Pattie's camp accompanied by, in Pattie's estimation, one hundred Indians.\textsuperscript{12} The chief demanded a horse, according to Pattie, in payment for the beavers the trappers previously took from the river. Pattie refused the request, and the following morning, the chief returned, again demanding a horse. Pattie's men chased the chief from camp, and as he left, the chief speared a horse belonging to the trapping expedition. The following day, the Mojave attacked the camp. This attack convinced the trappers to move from the area. The Mojave followed the trappers, attacking Pattie's relocated camp three days later, killing two trappers and injuring two others. After the Mojave's second attack, Pattie, along with a group of his men, pursued the Mojave who attacked their camp, and as the Mojave ate, the trappers ambushed them:

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\ldots \text{we killed a greater part of them, it being a division of the band that had attacked us. We suspended those that we had killed upon the trees, and left their bodies to dangle in terror to the rest, and as proof, how we retaliated aggression.}\textsuperscript{13}
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This negative encounter most likely made the Mojave skeptical and untrusting of the light-skinned Americans. Prior to the Pattie invasion, Spanish and Euro-American contact with the Mojave appeared peaceful. Older members of the tribe would remember Garcés' visit fifty years prior, and Smith's fifteen day stay the previous year (1826) as peaceful and non-violent. Both Garcés and Smith acted appropriately according to

\textsuperscript{11} Timothy Flint, ed., \textit{The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky} (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1930), 143.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 142.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 147.
Mojave cultural standards. These men showed respect for the Mojave way of life, they traded peacefully and fairly, and did not take Mojave resources without compensation. James O. Pattie was different. Pattie was arrogant, intrusive, and did not show respect for Mojave land and resources. His unwillingness to pay for the beaver pelts led to conflict, and perhaps changed the way the Mojave would view Euro-American presence in their territory.

As a result of the Pattie invasion, later that year, in July 1827, when Jedediah Smith returned to Mojave country, his contact with the Mojave was quite different from his initial visit:

... Smith began crossing his goods over the Colorado [River] on rafts ... the Indians ‘Who in large numbers and with the most perfect semblance of peace and friendship were aiding the party to cross the river, suddenly rose up upon them and surrounding the party in a most unexpected moment and manner’ and [the Mojave] attacked the party. ¹⁴

The Mojave pursued the party across the river. Ten of the nineteen man Smith expedition died, while the Mojave lost three men. The party retreated at nightfall with no further incidents. This second Smith encounter followed the previously noted invasion of a Mojave village in the Mohave Valley by fur trapper James O. Pattie in March 1827. ¹⁵

The expedition of George C. Yount encountered the Mojave in the fall of 1827. Initially peaceful, as the trappers traded strips of their clothes for vegetables, the Mojave, without apparent provocation, later expressed their displeasure with the trappers' presence by shooting arrows into their camp and conducting a "noisy wardance." ¹⁶ As

¹⁴ Ibid., 228.
the Yount party left Mojave territory the following morning, “the doughty Chief appeared, near a mile distant,...beckoning with his spear, urging them onward to speed their way out of his territories.”\(^{17}\)

In 1829, a trapping party led by Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson Bay Company, journeyed from south of the Great Salt Lake, Utah, en route to the Gulf of California. In 1830, he traveled through Mojave villages, near the town of present-day Needles, California. Ogden wrote of the Mojave:

“They appeared to be bolder than any I had yet seen...I admitted a few Indians into the camp, purposely that they might observe our state of defence, and with hope that it might deter them from attacking us. Unhappily for them, the desired effect was not produced, for presently one of the guards was wounded, and the alarm given that the Indians were securing our horses. This was sufficient for me. They had shed the first blood, and was resolved that theirs should repay it; and it was now life or death for us, I ordered a general discharge, to be followed up with a charge with the spear. The first, however, sufficed; for on seeing the number of their followers who in a single moment were made to lick the dust, the rest ingloriously fled, and we saw no more of them. Twenty-six remained dead on the field.”\(^{18}\)

This contact, again, displayed the Mojave’s displeasure with the invasion of the fur trappers.

The last Young expedition left Zuni, New Mexico en route to California in 1830. On their way to California, members of the party traveled through Mojave villages where they stayed for three days and traded peaceably. On their return trip to New Mexico, the Young party’s interaction with the Mojave was not as harmonious as before. According to Young, approximately five hundred Mojave entered their camp. Young became suspicious when he, “…discovered where they [the Mojave] had their weapons

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 36.

\(^{18}\) Alice Bay Maloney, “Peter Skene Ogden’s Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-1830,” California Historical Quarterly 19 (December 1949): 312.
concealed, and then it became apparent that their desire was to murder the party.” The Mojave were told to leave the camp within ten minutes, or they would be shot. The Mojave left the camp.20

The negative non-Native American-Mojave contact continued into the early 1830s. An incident occurred with part of the Joseph Reddeford Walker expedition, which traveled through Mojave villages in 1834. The expedition included a male Negro who Walker stated:

"...like the rest of the immigration thence, considered it a free country and, in the absence of law, exercised just such rights as he deemed his own, with but little consideration of their extent or results. He had but little respect for the savages, if any, and whilst he was annoying a small Indian boy, under the facetious impulse, thrust the small blade of a jack knife into the naked little wretch and laughed heartily over his act. The Indians at once arose in excitement and great indignation and drew off from the town, if it was a town. They were the Mojave Indians...They wanted to put the Negro to death. A committee of whites waited upon them in a very friendly manner and informed them that it was against our laws to kill Negros; but it was our custom to whip them."21

A group of Mojave proceeded to whip the Negro in a ceremonial fashion. This whipping appeared to satisfy the Mojave's need to avenge the attack of the boy, and Walker's expedition continued without further incident.

In the early 1830s, the fur trapping industry declined when silk hats became more popular, severely reducing the need for beaver pelts. Contact with the fur trappers/miners ended currently documented Euro-American contact with the Mojave in the Mohave Valley until 1851. In the early 1850s the United States government began sending expeditions to ascertain various railroad and travel routes to the west. While the trappers'

19 Stewart, "The Mohave Indians and the Fur Trappers," 76.
20 Ibid.
journals were often vague as to location, and provided little ethnographic data, the United States military personnel kept more specific and detailed records, allowing for the evaluation of the Mojave political division.

United States Military Exploration

During the 1850s, interested in the land acquired from Mexico, the United States government began ordering explorations in search of wagon roads, navigable streams, and possible railroad routes to the southwestern United States. The first military led expedition, under the direction of Brevet Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, commenced on September 24, 1851. Under orders of the United States War Department, Sitgreaves set out to follow the Zuni, Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers down to the Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez) to see if these waters were navigable (Map 3). With an exploring party of twenty (including another topographical engineer, a physician/naturalist, one draughtsman, one guide, five Americans and ten Mexicans as packers), and escorted by thirty soldiers, Sitgreaves and his party departed Santa Fe, New Mexico crossing what is now northern Arizona heading west to the Colorado River. In September 1851, the expedition followed the barely flowing Zuni River, heading downstream to the Little Colorado River (Map 6). This year was a drought year making the expedition’s journey extremely difficult, as water and vegetation were scarce. After reaching the junction of the Zuni and the Little Colorado Rivers, the expedition followed the Little Colorado River northwest for several days. After a few days travel, Sitgreaves’s guide, Antoine Leroux, advised against following

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the Little Colorado River any further as he knew from previous experience (he previously was a guide for several fur trappers) that just after the Little Colorado River fed into the Colorado River the expedition would have to go through the great canyons (Grand Canyon) to continue their journey.\textsuperscript{23} In the great canyons, vegetation was almost non-existent, and with their already scarce food rations, and the weakened condition of the pack animals, the journey would be too dangerous. Sitgreaves left the river on October 8 of the same year. He and the expedition headed west to meet the Colorado River south of the great canyons following the route taken by Father Garcés in 1776.\textsuperscript{24}

On November 4, 1851, Sitgreaves and his men entered the northern end of the Mohave Valley near Black Canyon where they established camp thirty-one.\textsuperscript{25} The following day, moving southwest, the expedition for the first time saw the Colorado River, "...and were at length cheered by the view of the Colorado, winding far below [thirty-two hundred feet above the river] through a broad valley, its course for many miles being apparent from the large trees upon its banks."\textsuperscript{26} The same day, Sitgreaves noted, "The smoke of numerous fires in the valley gave evidence of a large Indian population."\textsuperscript{27} Sitgreaves and his men established camp thirty-two, where they stayed for two days, in the mountains overlooking the river at the thirty-two hundred foot elevation. They traversed down to the river, at which point the river was two hundred sixty-six feet wide and six feet deep at the deepest part.\textsuperscript{28} The party continued farther south along the

\textsuperscript{23} Lorenzo Sitgreaves, \textit{Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers.}, 32\textsuperscript{nd} Cong., 2\textsuperscript{nd} Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. 59 (Washington D.C., 1853), 4. (Hereinafter referred to as the Sitgreaves Report.)
\textsuperscript{25} Sitgreaves did not indicate specific locations of the expedition’s campsites.
\textsuperscript{26} Sitgreaves Report, 16.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 17.
Colorado River and established camp thirty-three along the river on November 7. Sitgreaves stated that on the way to camp thirty-three, "We had not gone far before Indians were seen in front in considerable numbers who appeared to be assembling to dispute our advance. By the exchange of friendly signs, three of them, mounted on fine horses, were induced to approach, whom a few presents sufficed to convince of our peaceful intentions..." Following this exchange, these Mojave joined the Sitgreaves party and together they journeyed south through the Mojave villages. As they continued, the number of Mojave joining them increased to approximately two-hundred men, women, and children following on foot. When the Sitgreave's party made camp (thirty-three), the Mojave brought pumpkins, beans, corn and wheat to trade. The Mojave wanted to trade inside the camp itself, and Sitgreaves allowed this, even though he found the Mojave to be demanding, persistent, and intimidating. The Mojave outnumbered the fatigued expeditionary party by four to one. Sitgreaves also noted the physical size and athletic condition of the Mojave men. In addition, the lack of verbal communication probably contributed to misunderstandings. Sitgreaves cautiously allowed trading to continue inside the camp because he and his men needed the foodstuffs the Mojave had to offer. The following morning, a large group of Mojave consisting of men, women and children, returned to the camp and continued to follow the expedition southward along the river on foot to camp thirty-four. Sitgreaves considered their presence the previous evening troublesome and annoying. That evening the Mojave's behavior and large numbers again concerned Sitgreaves. As a result, he attempted to eject the Mojave from

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27 Ibid.  
29 Ibid., 18.  
30 Ibid.  
31 Ibid.
camp. He was willing to allow them to continue to barter outside the camp and established a series of sentinels to "...prevent the entrance of the Indians and places were designated on the outside where they might hold their market."32 The Mojave refused to voluntarily leave the camp, and their numbers continued to grow. As Sitgreaves stated:

A large number were observed to have arms, and the fact that no chiefs had presented themselves, not withstanding our frequent demands for them, was regarded as suspicious, and calling for all possible vigilance. The retreat was therefore sounded, and the Indians ejected from camp, which was accomplished with difficulty, and hardly without the use of violence.33

The following morning, several Mojave shot arrows into the camp, with one hitting the naturalist and physician, S.W. Woodhouse, in the leg. As the Sitgreaves party left the camp, the Mojave followed "with yells of defiance."34 Sitgreaves continued south along the river leaving the Mojave territory behind. The expedition continued south through the Quechan territory making its way to Fort Yuma on the Gila River by late November.

It is highly probable that Sitgreaves interacted with the mathál a oom (northern band), the ható pa (central band) the kavé l a oom (southern band) bands of the Mojave. The Mojave appeared to cautiously accept the presence of these men when they first arrived. This remained the case until Sitgreaves had them forcibly removed from camp thirty-four. While the Sitgreaves party felt threatened by the sheer numbers of Mojave, and reacted accordingly, most likely, this was a case of cultural misunderstanding. The Mojave's intention was merely that of trade, but their aggressive nature was intimidating and misinterpreted by the Americans who felt threatened. During the encounters between the Sitgreaves expedition and the Mojave, it appeared that no persons of Mojave

32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 19.
34 Ibid.
authority presented themselves to Sitgreaves, which may have contributed to the lack of understanding and communication. Three years after the Sitgreaves expedition, the Amiel W. Whipple Expedition passed through Mojave territory, at which time the first recorded documentation appears between the United States government and that of recognized Mojave leadership.

Unlike Sitgreaves, who entered Mojave territory from the north, Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple, a United States Army topographical engineer, in search of a practical railway route, along the thirty-fifth parallel from Fort Smith, Arkansas on the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, entered the Mojave territory from the south. In July 1853, under the orders of Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, Whipple left Fort Smith, Arkansas heading west, assisted by Brevet Second Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, a topographical engineer, H. Balduin Möllhausen a naturalist and draughtsman, other specialists, and a military escort of seventy men.35 Once in present-day Arizona, the expedition established a camp on the west side of Bill Williams Mountain (west of present-day Flagstaff, Arizona) where they remained for approximately one month. From there, they traveled southwest through present-day Prescott, Arizona to the Bill Williams Fork. The expedition followed the Bill Williams Fork to its mouth on the Colorado River.36 Once upon the Colorado River, Whipple and his party moved north searching for a suitable location to build a bridge for a railroad crossing. Approximately one week later, in February 1854, they entered the

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35 Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple during his Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 and 1854* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 18.
36 Ibid., 20.
southern end of Mojave territory, just below Needles, California at present-day Topoc, Arizona.\(^{37}\)

The Whipple expedition's first encounter with the Mojave occurred as they passed through the Chemehuevi Valley just north of the Needles on February 22, 1854 (Map 6). According to Whipple, "We were now met by Mojaves, who, acting as guides around the next spur that formed a cañon, conducted the surveying party through a pass, invisible from the river, where not a hill intervened."\(^{38}\) Balduin Möllhausen described the meeting in greater detail:

Many Indians visited us this day in our new camp, watched curiously all our doings, and laughed and shouted at all that appeared extraordinary. Now that they were at peace they were the most innocent well-meaning fellows in the world. While we were talking, as well as we could, with some of the men, we became aware of the approach of a whole troop of others with their women and children, who were advancing from the rocky chain towards us in solemn procession. They were Mohave Indians, who came in a spirit of commercial enterprise to enter on a barter trade with various articles; and though they were little, or not at all dressed, the troop had a very gay appearance, as, led by a chief, it entered our encampment.\(^{39}\)

This first interaction between the Mojave and the Whipple expedition was mutually positive. According to Whipple, "Our policy has been to treat them as reasonable beings; asking only what was right, and submitting to no wrong."\(^{40}\) In addition, the first Mojave to arrive at the Whipple camp were unarmed and approached with friendly intent. On


\(^{38}\) Ibid.


\(^{40}\) A.W. Whipple, *Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33\(^{rd}\) Cong., 2\(^{nd}\) Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, (Washington D.C., 1856), 120.
February 23, 1854 the expedition continued north along the east side of the Colorado River to camp one hundred thirty, located approximately twenty-miles north of the junction of the Colorado River and Bill Williams Fork (Map 6). Waiting at this location was “a Mojave chief, with his band of warriors, to welcome us [the expedition] to their country.”

Active trading between the Mojave and the members of the Whipple party ensued. The following day, February 24, Whipple planned to continue northward along the river. The Mojave advised Whipple that the route he intended to follow was impassible for his carriage. “After much consideration, the natives informed us [Whipple] that, by turning to the right, the ridge could be entirely avoided…”

The Mojave provided Whipple and his men with “provisions of flour and beans in return for cast-off clothing, and sent two guides, Ir-i-te-ba (Aratève) and Cai-rook (Avi-havasuts), to conduct [them] to the intersection of the Salt Lake road with the Mojave river.”

Aratève spent several days with the expedition as it was his responsibility to help prepare the Whipple party to cross the Colorado River and then to guide the men to the Mojave Riverbed in California.

On February 25, the Whipple party established camp one hundred thirty-two farther north on the east side of the Colorado River at the proposed site of the crossing (near present-day Needles, California) (Map 6). The Mojave who gathered at the camp to assist with the river crossing informed Whipple that a chief, also referred to as a great captain, intended to pay him a visit. Upon his arrival, the chief, who Whipple referred to

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41 Ibid., 112. The Mojave chief was not identified by name.
42 Ibid., 111.
43 Aratève later becomes the United States’ recognized Mojave Chief. It is at this point specific Mojave are first mentioned in documents by name. See Whipple Report 1855, 27.
as Francisco, presented Whipple with papers issued by Major Heintzelman, commandant of Fort Yuma in the early 1850s.\textsuperscript{44} Whipple wrote of Francisco:

\begin{quote}
He presented his credentials from Major Heintzelman; who stated that the bearer, Captain Francisco, had visited Fort Yuma with a party of warriors, when upon an expedition against the Cocopas, and professed friendship; but he advised Americans not to trust him.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

On their second full day in the Mohave Valley, Whipple reports, “there are great numbers of Indians in camp,”\textsuperscript{46} Among the visitors were members of Captain Manuel’s band and Chief Francisco’s band.\textsuperscript{47} As the expedition prepared to cross the Colorado River, Whipple recorded in his journal, “we are told that there are three other chiefs, of equal importance, that will meet us as we advance.”\textsuperscript{48}

On February 26, Lieutenant Ives prepared Whipple’s men for the river crossing the following day.\textsuperscript{49} During the crossing on February 27, just below present-day Needles, California, the expedition was, “advised by an Indian messenger that another great chief was about to pay [them] a visit.”\textsuperscript{50} Whipple described the event:

\begin{quote}
Turning around, we beheld quite an interesting spectacle. Approaching was the dignitary referred to, lance in hand, and appareled in official robes. The latter consisted of a blanket thrown gracefully around him, and magnificent head-dress of black plumage covering his head and shoulders, and hanging down him back in a streamer, nearly to the ground. His pace was slow, his eyes cast downward, and his whole demeanor expressive of a formal solemnity. Upon his right hand was the interpreter, upon his left a boy acting as page, and following was a long procession of his warriors attended by a crowd of men, women and children. Having arrived within fifty yards, he beckoned the people to sit upon the ground;
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Whipple Report 1856, 113.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., It is interesting to note that Francisco, who did not speak or read English, was probably under the impression that the letter was completely positive.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 115.
\textsuperscript{47} The titles given to these men were ascribed by the US military who had no knowledge of Mojave polity. The titles suggest position of authority. The origin of the Spanish names given to the Mojave is unknown.
\textsuperscript{48} Whipple Report 1856, 115.
\textsuperscript{49} It is important to introduce Lt. Ives at this point as he later leads his own expedition through Mojave territory.
\textsuperscript{50} Whipple Report 1856, 116.
while, with interpreter and page, he presented himself before us.  

The chief then offered Whipple the credentials he received from Major Heintzelman that mirrored the credentials Francisco previously provided Whipple at camp one hundred thirty-two. It is during this time that Möllhausen, the naturalist and draughtsman, keeping excellent, detailed ethnographic records first identified another Mojave chief, Homose quahote, by name.  

It is through Whipple and Möllhausens’s accounts that the contrasting interactions with the Americans by chiefs Homose quahote and Aratève surface.  

In 1903, Chooksa homar, a Mojave elder, recounted the issuance of the chiefs’ credentials presented to Whipple.  

Chooksa homar tells of Aratève explaining to Major Heintzelman that he will no longer fight with the neighboring Cocopas:

Sometimes, near the enemy, I will make it rain, so that they all stay indoors. Then when it is daylight, we attack. I tell my people: ‘Fight! Don’t run away!’ And we always drive the others before us. But now I am quitting. I will stop saying and doing that. I will not forget what you tell me.

Heintzelman’s response was:

The commandant answered: ‘Good. I will give you the letters, you five, to take home with you. If (white) people come to where you live show them the paper and they will know who you are and that you are a chief of your tribe. If you fight again now that you have the letters, I will send soldiers to live in your land. But if you do not fight or steal horses or kill cows, everything will be well.’

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51 Ibid.
52 Möllhausen, 256.
53 Whipple Report 1856, 116. Aratève served as a guide for Whipple, his name first surfaces on page 27 of the Whipple Report 1855. Homose quahote is first mentioned on page 266 of Möllhausen
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
Chooksa homar also identified these five chiefs as Kapêtâme, Asikahota (Homose quahote), Tapaikunehei, Hatsurama and Nyasaiyo-nyakiuve.\(^{57}\)

Whipple does not identify the great chief by name, however, Möllhausen does as Me-sik-eh-ho-ta (Homose quahote).\(^{58}\) This undoubtedly was Homose quahote, the Great Chieftain of the Mojave Nation as Möllhausen’s description of the meeting substantiates Whipple’s journal. Möllhausen states in his journal:

...the population of a whole village having come out to us, under the guidance of an aged chief, Me-sik-eh-ho-ta (Homose quahote), a venerable-looking man, with an immense plume of feathers on his head, and a thick spear in his hand, who walked at the head of his people, they following in regular order...\(^{59}\)

The physical description of Homose quahote is the same, and both the journals of Whipple and Möllhausen refer to the meeting as being held at camp one hundred thirty-three during the crossing of the Colorado River on February 27.

This meeting was significant for several reasons. Homose quahote remains relatively elusive in historical documents prior to 1870. This meeting gives a rare look at Homose quahote. It is important to note that prior to this time, nor on future occasions did Homose quahote travel to meet with Americans. Because of the communication between the three Mojave bands, Homose quahote most likely was aware of the Whipple expedition in the Mojave territory. He did not seek out the expedition like the other aforementioned chiefs, he waited until the expedition entered the territory of the mathâl a oom (between Black Canyon and the head of the Mohave Valley).\(^{60}\) Historical evidence suggests non Native-American entrance into the territory of the mathâl a oom

\(^{57}\) Ibid.
\(^{58}\) Möllhausen, 266.
\(^{59}\) Ibid.
\(^{60}\) Homose quahote was chief of the mathâl a oom, the northern most band of the Mojave, as well as the hereditary Great Chieftain of the entire tribe.

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was rare because of its isolated location and rugged terrain. It is apparent that the meeting with Whipple took place on Homose quahote's terms as, unlike the other chiefs, he was more cautious and less trusting of the Americans. He did, however, meet and talk with Whipple. Whipple soon left the region on his way to California.

Three years after the Whipple expedition traveled through Mojave country the party of Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, led an expedition for the War Department. His mission, in 1857, was to develop a wagon road, and to test the efficiency of camels as a means of transportation from Fort Defiance, New Mexico to the Colorado River. On Thursday August 13, 1857, his party left Fort Defiance en route to the Zuni Villages, New Mexico. The party left the Zuni villages August 31 heading west, following the thirty-fifth parallel, along the same route Lieutenant Sitgreaves followed in 1851.

On Saturday, October 17, 1857 near present-day Needles, California, two miles from the Colorado River, the Beale party established a campsite. According to May Humphreys Stacey, a member of the Beale party, that day, "...some Mohave Indians came into camp. They are very good looking Indians and are apparently friendly."\(^6^1\) For the next three days, several Mojave entered the Beale campsite and traded pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons and other foodstuffs for articles of clothing. Beale reported, "We were soon surrounded on all sides by them [Mojave]. Some had learned a few words of English from trafficking with the military posts two hundred and fifty miles off, and one of them saluted me with: 'God damn my soul eyes. How de do! How de do.'\(^6^2\)

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On October 19, the Beale party completed their crossing of the Colorado River heading west out of the Mojave territory en route to Fort Tejon, California. From all accounts, interaction between the Beale party and the Mojave was peaceful. Even though Beale was in the northern Mojave territory (*mathal a oom*), he did not report seeing the Great Chieftain *Homose quahote*; nor did *Homose quahote* seek out the Beale expedition.

Later that winter, First Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, of the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, a member of the earlier Whipple Expedition, accepted a commission from Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, to explore the Colorado River to determine the navigability of the river as a possible supply route to army posts in New Mexico and Utah (Map 6). Among the forty-five men Ives recruited for the journey were H. Balduin Möllhausen, naturalist and draughtsman (formerly of the Whipple Expedition), Dr. J.S. Newberry, physician, geologist and naturalist, and F. W. Von Egloffstein, a Bavarian topographer.  

On November 29, 1857, Ives began his journey heading north from the mouth of the Colorado River on the Sea of Cortez. On his fifty-four foot long iron-hulled steamboat, *The Explorer*, he made his way up the Colorado River. He met the rest of his party (who traveled overland from San Francisco) approximately one-hundred-fifty miles above the mouth of the Colorado at Fort Yuma on January 9, 1858. Two days later, on January 11, loaded with six weeks worth of provisions, the expedition departed Fort Yuma heading north along the Colorado River though present-day Arizona to the rapids at Black Canyon below present-day Las Vegas, Nevada. The journey up the Colorado

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64 Ibid., 25.
River was three hundred eight miles. On February 10, 1858, the Ives Expedition entered the Mohave Valley. Lieutenant Ives’ first encounter with the southern Mojave was a peaceful one. Ives wrote:

As the steamer emerged from the cañon the Mojaves began to cluster upon the banks, and I was glad to see, from the presence of the women and children, that they had no immediate hostile intentions. A chief, with a train of followers in single file, approached the edge of the bank to pay his respects, but as it was not convenient just then to stop, I made signs to him to visit us in camp at evening.⁶⁵

That evening, a large group of Mojave men and women brought corn and beans to trade with the members of the expedition party. At sunset, as with previous expeditions, the Mojave left the campsite and returned to their villages. The following morning, they again returned to the Ives camp to trade.⁶⁶ As the Ives Expedition began their travels on February 11, Ives noted:

A few miles from camp we descried an immense throng of Indians standing upon an open meadow, and Captain informed me that the chief José was waiting, with his warriors, our approach. As there was a good wooding place near by, I determined to stop and have an interview, and, landing, sent him word that I was ready to see him. In a few moments he marched up with dignity, his tribe following in single file, the leader bearing a dish of cooked beans. José is advanced in years, and has a rather noble countenance, which in honor of the occasion, was painted perfectly black, excepting a red stripe from the top of his forehead, down the bridge of his nose to his chin.⁶⁷

After this meeting, the expedition continued up the Colorado River continuing to have peaceful interactions with the Mojave. The Ives party had one last meeting with Chief José on February 17. According to Ives:

⁶⁵ Ibid., 66.
⁶⁶ Ibid., 66-67.
⁶⁷ Ibid., 67. According to Mojave tradition, the painting as Ives described was not done in honor of visitors, it was war paint. Kroeber and Kroeber, 12-13. Chooksa homar describes the Mojave before the attack of the Rose-Baley party: “So they all got their clubs and bows and painted and put on feathers. When they became angry like this, they used to tie their hair tightly together at the nape, letting the ends hand down loose. They painted the hair red, the face black; that is how they liked to die.”
On the same day that we bade farewell to José we passed another of the chief whom they call Manuel. He was seated in state on the bank with his tribe around him; but it was not convenient to stop, and when camp was reached at evening I learned that we were beyond the limits of his domain, and that it would not comport with his dignity to visit us.68

Ives and his men kept camp for one full day. The following morning Ives noticed Aratève who was a guide while Ives was part of the Whipple Expedition. Aratève, happy that Ives recognized him, informed Ives that his chief, Avi-havasuts (Cairook) (one of the five chiefs of the ható pa band), who was also a guide on the Whipple Expedition, would soon come to visit. Ives immediately asked Aratève if he would accompany him on the expedition, to which Aratève agreed. Avi-havasuts visited the Ives party later that day during which time Lieutenant Ives explained to both Avi-havasuts and Aratève the intentions of the expedition.69 “They seemed for the first time to clearly understand and feel at ease about the matter,” and it relieved them to know that the Americans did not intend to stay in their territory.70

For the next month, the Ives party continued steaming up the Colorado, passing by the Mojave villages. Ives noted seeing several chiefs of the Mojave nation. Ives stated:

Two of the five chiefs I did not meet. One of them named ‘Sickahot (Homose quahote).’ lives not far below our present camp, but we passed his territory without stopping, and like Manuel, he does not think it dignified to go beyond his dominions to visit us.71

While some chiefs did meet with Ives, Homose quahote chose not to meet with him.

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68 Ives Report, 69.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., 70
71 Ibid., 72.
It is evident that *Homose quahote* remained unwilling to meet with the Americans. This attitude, along with an overall lack of contact with Americans helped shape *Homose quahote’s* future actions when dealing with the influx of foreign invaders.

When the river was no longer navigable at the foot of Black Canyon where the Virgin River joins the Colorado River, the Ives Expedition retraced their steps thirty miles back down the Colorado River to Beale’s Crossing (Map 3 and 6). They then continued to follow the Colorado River by land, heading east to explore the Grand Canyon. The overland route they followed was the same route previously used by Sitgreaves, Whipple and Beale. This route, commonly referred to as Beale’s Wagon Road, also known as the Thirty-Fifth Parallel Route, later becomes a trail used by emigrants heading west to Southern California.

The Ives Expedition was the last military exploration, prior to the Civil War, to establish transportation routes along the thirty-fifth parallel, which passed through Mojave territory. The Mojave who had frequent contact with the military expeditions reportedly welcomed the establishment of Beale’s Wagon Road as the military promised them the emigrants traveling this route would provide the opportunity for increased trading and bartering.

Emigrants

In the late 1850s, emigrants from the Midwest traveling to California usually traveled the Oregon-California Trail as this was the shortest route. Due to the Mormon War of

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72 Ibid., 87.
73 Ibid., 90-91
1857-58, many emigrants chose the southern route, Beale’s Wagon Road to California to avoid possible conflict with the Mormons. Beale’s Wagon Road started at Taos, New Mexico following the thirty-fifth parallel westward across northern Arizona, passing through the Mojave villages at the Colorado River. On the western side of the Colorado River, Beale’s Wagon Road became known as the Mojave Road as it passed through California via the Cajón Pass, ending in Los Angeles. Historical records of emigrants following the Beale Wagon Road are scarce as very few emigrants used the trail due to the short duration of the Mormon War, and because of attacks by Native Americans.

One well-documented emigrant crossing of Beale’s Wagon Road was the Rose/Baley party, in 1858, which was the first emigrant party to travel this route. L.J. Rose, a thirty-year-old shopkeeper from Iowa, in search of a better life, wanted to migrate to California with his family of six. He had with him a herd of two hundred cattle and hired Alpha Brown as the superintendent of his travel party. Alpha Brown brought his family of six and hired seventeen handlers for the cattle. The travel party had four prairie schooners to carry their families and provisions. Together, they left Iowa together in mid-April 1858 en route to Westport (present-day Kansas City, Missouri). At Westport, the Bentner family, consisting of seven people, joined the Rose party. On April 26, 1858, John and Emily Udell made arrangements to travel with the Rose party as well. The John Daly Family of fourteen joined the group on April 30, and brought along a small number of livestock. The Rose party, early into its migration to California, on May 12, 1858, stopped at Cottonwood Creek near present-day Durham, Kansas. It was at this location,
the Baley Company consisting of four Missouri farming families (two Baley families and two Hedgpeth families), joined the Rose party. The Baley party totaled thirty-two people, eight prairie schooners, sixty-two oxen, seventy-eight head of cattle and an unspecified number of riding horses. The families also hired seven or eight young men to herd their cattle. The two groups traveled together from this point and became known as the Rose-Baley Wagon Train. They traveled together as a large group as they knew their increased numbers provided greater protection from possible Native American attacks.

In late June, while in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the Rose-Baley party became aware of Beale’s Wagon Road. Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville, the commanding Army officer in Albuquerque recommended the party hire someone to guide them across the newly created Beale’s Wagon Road. Colonel Bonneville informed the party that the Beale route was a safe and short route, and that the Indians along it were friendly. The party hired José Savedra to guide them through Mojave territory. Savedra was familiar with the territory as he previously accompanied Whipple and Beale on their expeditions.

After leaving Albuquerque, the Rose-Baley Party traveled due west along the thirty-fifth parallel. According to L.J. Rose, Jr.:

In covering the distance to the Colorado River [from Albuquerque], it [Beale’s Wagon Road] wound its way for about five-hundred miles up and down and around low rocky hills, mountain ranges, and stretches of desert sand, the most rigorous of which was that section in the Colorado Mountains [Rocky Mountains] closely adjacent to the Colorado River.

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76 Joel Hedgpeth, Jr., “Some Reflections of a Trip Across the Plains in 1858-9,” n.d., handwritten copy, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.
78 Rose, Jr., 13.
On August 27, 1858, the Rose-Baley party reached the crest of the Black Mountains (in the Rocky Mountain range), some four to five miles from the Colorado River. Due to the rough terrain, lack of water, and the weakened condition of the oxen, the party split into two divisions to allow easier travel through the Black Mountains to the river. The Rose division was the first to enter the northern end of Mojave territory, as well as the first of these emigrants to set eyes on the Colorado River. This was the territory of the mathál a oom band of the Mojave, headed by Chief Homose quahote.

The Rose party stopped at Black Mountain summit to prepare supper and regroup, as they had traveled continuously for two days and one night. While preparing to eat their evening meal, they had their first contact with the Mojave. A small band of Mojave approached the foreigners in a friendly manner with a small amount of food to trade. Later that evening these Mojave guided the party further along the Beale route, down the mountainside towards the river. As the group neared the river, the dehydrated livestock, became anxious when they picked up the scent of water and stampeded to the river’s edge to quench their thirst. The sight of hundreds of animals, trampling the land and destroying Mojave gardens along the way must have horrified the Mojave as they had not seen cattle before. While this spectacle was taking place, the Mojave guiding the emigrants to the river asked Rose how many people were in the wagon train, and inquired if they planned to settle along the Colorado River. Rose indicated there were more emigrants following his party, they were, however, only passing through Mojave territory on their way to California. This initial reaction toward the emigrants was consistent with previous Mojave treatment of other Americans.

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79 Ibid., 19.
The following day, near the river's edge, a larger, second group of Mojave approached the emigrants, near the area where the livestock trampled their way to the river. This second group of Mojave was not as friendly as the previously encountered small group. According to L.J. Rose, Jr.:

At this point a boisterous, impertinent lot of Indians put in their appearance and were anxious to know if the party intended to settle on the Colorado. They were informed to the contrary and that there were more people coming, and they would all proceed to California. From their furtive glances and their continual mutterings it was evident that this information was somewhat suspiciously regarded.

The Mojave were suspicious because this group of American foreigners was quite different from others that previously passed through Mojave territory. The Rose-Baley party was not the usual group of men traveling with a few horses and pack mules. This was a large emigrant party of men, women, children, numerous horses and oxen, hundreds of head of cattle and many wagons. While the large numbers of livestock placed stress on the Mojave's land and resources, the presence of women and children led the Mojave to believe the emigrants intended to settle. Chooksa homar recalls the concerns of the Mojave head men:

"I do not want the whites to come and own the land. They will take it and keep it. I want to stop them, to kill them all...If we let the whites come and live here, they will take your wives. They will put you to work. They will take your children and carry them away and sell them. They will do that until there are no Mohave here. That is why I want to stop them from coming, want them to stay in their own homes."

As the Mojave head men were contemplating what to do about the foreigners, other

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80 Ibid., 19-20.
81 The head men were the five Mojave who received the letters from the commandant at Fort Yuma. Aratève was not present during this discussion, as he was at Fort Yuma at the time.
82 Kroeber and Kroeber, 11-12.
Mojave continued to trouble the Rose party with their large numbers and presence around the Rose campsite. The Mojave taunted the emigrants by stealing and slaughtering their cattle right before their eyes. Not surprisingly, the members of the Rose party were too fearful to retaliate for the cattle theft. This lack of action gave the Mojave the impression that the Americans were weak and unable to fight back.

The next day on August 29, the Rose party relocated to the river’s edge to allow them access to the river to bathe and launder their clothes. Soon after noon, a Mojave man, who Rose identified (but did not name nor describe) as a Mojave chief, with twenty five of his warriors crossed the river, from the west, to the emigrants’ camp, anxious, again, to know the intention of the party. Given the same response as before, that the emigrants did not intend to settle, trade ensued. The unnamed chief, appearing satisfied, “Told father [L.J. Rose, Sr.] that the party could remain until able to cross the river…” The chief also told his warriors they could steal no more cattle.

Approximately one hour later, another unidentified chief, crossed the river from the west with a group of twenty-five warriors. He also informed the emigrants that they could stay until they were able to cross the river. Rose described this chief as a “huge, bombastic individual, arrayed in war paint and a gorgeous headdress of feathers…” It is probable this chief was Homose quahote. Homose quahote is the only chief described in documents wearing feathers, and Chooksa homar’s narrative places him at the scene, “…the five brave men who had been given the letters were there…”

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83 Rose, Jr., 21.
85 Rose, Jr., 21.
86 Kroeber and Kroeber, 11. The five brave men were the five head men, of which Homose quahote was one.
On the morning of August 30, 1858, the Rose camp relocated one-half mile
downstream on the river closer to a source of lumber. Rose, Sr. noted around ten o’clock
that, “an unusually great number of Indians were seen crossing the river in the vicinity of
the first camp, upwards of two hundred fifty of them were counted.” The new site the
emigrant party chose was near a cottonwood grove, the wood of which they intended to
use to make rafts to carry their wagons across the five hundred yard wide river. Cutting
down the cottonwood trees was an abuse of Mojave resources, as the Mojave used the
wood for their shelters and women’s clothing.

At approximately two o’clock in the afternoon an estimated two-hundred to four-
hundred Mojave attacked the emigrants killing or wounding more that half of the twenty
to twenty-five men at the camp. According to L.J. Rose, Jr.:

Coincidentally the Indians rent the air with their demoniacal war whoops, and
pandemonium broke loose. Each bush within arrow shot of the camp secreted an
Indian or two, and a veritable flock of arrows coming from all directions greeted
the appearance of anyone in camp.

Members of Homose quahote’s band participated in the attack, as did members of other
Mojave bands. Chooksa homar verified participation of these bands indicating “...[they]
had come up from Needles and elsewhere downstream.”

As a result of the attack, the surviving members of the Rose division left the river to
rejoin the Baley division at the mountain camp. En route, they passed the Bentner family
wagon and the mutilated body of their eighteen-year-old daughter. The fate of the

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87 Rose, Jr., 23.
88 John Udell, Journal Kept During a Trip Across the Plains Containing an Account of the Massacre of a
Portion of his Party by the Mojave Indians in 1859 (Los Angeles: N.A. Kovich 1946), 45-46.
89 Rose, Jr., 24.
90 Kroeber and Kroeber, 14.
91 The Bentner’s decided to join the Rose’s before the rest of the Baley division descended the mountain.
remainder of the family remains unknown. Once the Rose survivors rejoined the Baleys they regrouped and decided to return to Albuquerque. With only eight to ten horses and seventeen head of cattle they began their long journey back to Albuquerque. Unable to haul all the wagons because they had no oxen, they left most of their provisions and supplies behind as they traveled back on foot along Beale’s Wagon Road. En route, they met other emigrants migrating to California. When told of the attack, these emigrants discontinued their journey west, shared their provisions and wagons, and returned to Albuquerque with the surviving members of the Rose-Baley Party. While the emigrants returned to Albuquerque, the Mojave returned to their respective villages taking with them the cattle they confiscated.

The assemblage of the chiefs and the joining of the bands as a united nation revealed the gravity of concern of the Mojave in regards to the foreign settlement in their territory. While the Mojave as a whole did not want the foreigners in their territory, differing opinions arose as to how to handle the encroachment. Some wanted to fight the emigrants, while others did not want to fight. This caused a great division within the tribe as to how to appropriately manage the situation. Chooksa homar’s narrative described the scene:

... some of the headmen said, ‘do not go to the whites today.’ Aratève was then at Yuma; but the five brave men who had been given the letters were there and said: ‘I tell you: I want to fight the whites.’ Other Mohave said: That paper you got does not tell you to fight. It says to be friendly to the whites: you brought it to our land from Yuma.’ They answered: ‘oh well, I will tear it up. They just wrote on the paper but that will not stop me, I did not want the paper, I did not ask for it, they gave it to me. I do not want the whites to come and own the land. They will take it and keep it. I want to stop them and kill them all.’

Kroeber and Kroeber, 11-12. The assumption was made that Aratève would oppose fighting.

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The five brave men met opposition with other Mojave refusing to join them when they did fight, "... some of the Mohave did not want to fight after all and went up on the mesa and stood there: they wanted to see it, a good many, went on with the five."\(^{93}\)

Feeling the threat of American settlement, the Mojave fought and drove the Rose-Baley emigrant party off their aboriginal land. Ironically, this struggle to protect their land from American encroachment was the beginning of the end of Mojave independence. Because of this incident, the United States government deemed it necessary to establish a military post in the area to "control the Indians on the route" at Beale's crossing of the Colorado River.\(^{94}\) Prior to United States government intervention, the Military Department of California deemed immediate action was necessary, and sent Major William Hoffman, of the 6\(^{th}\) United States Infantry, on a reconnaissance expedition to the Mojave country.\(^{95}\)

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\(^{93}\) Ibid., 13.
\(^{95}\) In the War Report, Hoffman is referred to as Colonel, at the time of his interaction with the Mojave, he held the rank of Major and was later promoted.
CHAPTER 5

MILITARY INTERVENTION

On December 28, 1858, under orders of General Newman S. Clark, commander of the Military Department of California in San Francisco, Major William Hoffman, a Westpoint graduate, with an escort of fifty troops left the Cajon Pass area of California on a reconnaissance to the Mojave villages. He traveled along the Mojave Road and arrived at the Mojave villages on the Colorado River one and one half weeks later.

Hoffman’s first encounter with the Mojave took place in early January 1859. A small group of Mojave visited the Hoffman camp at Beaver Lake which was located in the southern end of the mathal a oom region of the Mojave territory where Homose quahote was the band chief, as well as the Great Chieftain of the Mojave. These Mojave men brought grass for the soldiers’ horses, in exchange for which they received tobacco and empty barley sacks. They informed Hoffman that their chiefs would visit the following day. At nightfall, Hoffman ordered them to leave the camp and informed them that they risked being shot if they returned. The following morning, as Hoffman and his men proceeded down the river, they observed well-armed (with bows and arrows) and painted “parties of twenty or thirty Mohaves, who kept aloof from [them].”¹ Not knowing the

Mojave’s intentions made Hoffman uneasy. As the reconnaissance party continued down the river, six Mojave men, some of whom spoke Spanish, asked Hoffman the reason for his presence in their territory. Hoffman noted these men seemed anxious. That afternoon, Hoffman returned to the camp at Beaver Lake where several armed Mojave men visited with him, “one, who spoke Spanish, said one chief would be in to see me [Hoffman] that evening, and two others, with all their people, including women and children, would arrive in the morning.” Hoffman described these Mojave as independent, even arrogant. Hoffman told the Mojave men to relay to their chief “our camp [is] small, and he must not bring many with him-twelve or fifteen.” That evening, “the chief did not come, and others [Mojave] were sent out of camp at sunset, with the same cautions as on the previous evening.” Hoffman believed the news of the chief’s visit was a guise to allow the Mojave time to assemble warriors for an attack. As a precaution to the Mojave presence Hoffman placed every man in camp on watch through the night. Shortly after dark, after being expelled from camp, Mojave men at different times passed in front of the camp and the sentinel shot at them. The following morning, January 9, Hoffman reported finding several arrows in and around the camp. He also reported:

As our preparations [packing up camp] progressed the Indians were rapidly increasing in force, making fires in the grass, closer and closer to camp; their numbers being evidently considerably greater than ours. These hostile demonstrations, and the insult of shooting arrows into our camp, determined me to attack them as soon as the packing of the mules was completed. 

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., 391.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 391-392.
While Hoffman was preparing to attack the Mojave, Aratève, one of the chiefs of the ható pa band approached the Hoffman encampment followed by approximately two hundred fifty Mojave men. Aratève sent two of the men accompanying him to establish a peaceful dialogue with Hoffman. As the two Mojave men approached Hoffman, reacting in response to the perceived hostilities from the night before, Hoffman’s soldiers fired at them and then upon the group as a whole. After this encounter, his reconnaissance completed, Hoffman returned to California to report his findings.

Aratève had peaceful intentions when going to meet Hoffman, however, Hoffman perceived the actions of the Mojave much differently. According to Chooksa homar:

The next day, when the sun was about half-way up, Aratève said: ‘Well let us go and stand up. If they want us they will wave their arms. That will mean they want to shake hands.’

This episode is important for a variety of reasons. It illustrates Aratève’s differing attitude from the other head men about Mojave aggression toward the Americans. Aratève wanted to continue peaceful relationships with the Americans. Referring to the attack on the Rose-Baley party, and prior to being attacked by Hoffman’s men, he said to the five brave men, “I told you not to fight them. If you did fight them the soldiers would come, I told you.” This displays Aratève’s continuing willingness to seek peaceful relations with Americans. It also, unfortunately, convinced the United States government that the Mojave were a war-like people, and a threat to westward migration, thereby accelerating United States military involvement in the area. In his January 29, 1859 letter

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7 The Mojave population in this area at the time was reported as approximately twenty-five hundred.
8 The ható pa band resided in the Mojave Valley itself. Due to its large geographic area there were five chiefs. Aratève was one of them.
11 Ibid.
to Lieutenant Colonel L. Thomas at the Headquarters of the Army in New York City, General Newman S. Clark reviewed Hoffman’s reconnaissance and stated:

... I shall, at an early day leave here for Fort Yuma with troops, to institute operations against those Indians, and secure the establishment of a post among them; also to inflict chastisement upon them.\(^{12}\)

This reaction of the United States government towards the Mojave was consistent with Native American/United States government relations. It is obvious that cultural misunderstanding led to many of the problems that existed between the Mojave and the Americans. Military personnel generally considered visits to their camps by the Mojave, and ensuing trade, as an acceptance of their presence. All the while, military personnel often failed to consider the possibility that the Mojave were actually assessing and evaluating their intentions. Military personal, including Hoffman, did not comprehend that different factions of the Mojave had opposing viewpoints toward military presence in Mojave territory. Hoffman sensed hostility from the first Mojave visits to the camp at Beaver Lake. With that mindset, and the fact that he was not aware of the opposing factions within the Mojave, he did not even consider Aratève might have peaceful intentions, and attacked without provocation. Hoffman’s reaction to the Mojave continued the pattern of prior cultural misunderstanding between the Mojave and military personnel. For instance, when Lt. Whipple explained the objective of his expedition to open a highway for emigrants, or a railroad route, and the resulting benefits to Homose quahote in 1854:

... The chief replied by a long and vehement speech, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the prospect of establishing a system of trade with the whites, whereby their nakedness would be clothed and their comforts increased; and promised that, not only should our mules and other property be sacred in their

\(^{12}\) War Report, 389.
sight, but they would afford us every assistance in their power to accomplish to objects of our mission.\textsuperscript{13}

Whipple obviously did not realize he was speaking to the Great Chieftain of the Mojave Nation who wanted nothing to do with American encroachment. Whipple’s assumption was that *Homose quahote* understood and accepted what he was saying.

Ives was more insightful when explaining the series of translations necessary for him to communicate with the Mojave. Interpretation for Ives’ dialogue went from English to Spanish, Spanish to Quechan and then Quechan to Mojave. Ives remarked:

> What changes my remarks have undergone during these different stages I shall never know; but I observe that they are sometimes received by the Mojaves with astonishment and bewilderment that the original sense does not at all warrant.'\textsuperscript{14}

Hoffman was not insightful as to Mojave culture. The presence of *Aratève* and his two hundred fifty men cemented in Hoffman’s mind that all Mojave were war-like. This, along with the fact that the United States government saw the attack on the Rose-Baley Wagon Train as an Indian massacre of white people, not the Mojave need to protect their land and resources, convinced Hoffman that the Mojave needed to be subdued. As a result of Hoffman’s findings and recommendations, the United States government ordered military troops sent to the Mojave Valley from Fort Yuma on the Colorado River to subdue the Mojave.

On January 31, 1859, General Newman S. Clarke, upon receiving Major Hoffman’s report, issued orders to Hoffman to assemble seven companies of the

\textsuperscript{13} A.W. Whipple, *Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33\textsuperscript{rd} Cong., 2\textsuperscript{nd} Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, (Washington D.C., 1856), 117.

\textsuperscript{14} Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West in 1857 and 1858*, 36\textsuperscript{th} Cong., 1\textsuperscript{st} Sess., Senate Ex. Doc., (Washington D.C., 1861), 68.
6th Infantry along with an artillery detachment at Fort Yuma, Arizona. On February 16, Hoffman left San Francisco with four companies of infantry en route to San Diego. In San Diego another company joined Hoffman, and they continued on to Fort Yuma, where two additional companies from Camp Banning, near present-day San Bernardino, California, joined forces. At Fort Yuma, Hoffman assembled a force of over six hundred troops, tons of supplies, hundreds of animals, several Quechan Indians, and two river steamers. They marched north along the Colorado River through Quechan territory discouraging the Quechan from aiding their traditional allies the Mojave. Concurrently, a command of Dragoons crossed the Mojave Desert to meet Hoffman on the Colorado River at Beale’s Crossing. Hoffman intended to use his military might to intimidate the Mojave, and also establish a military outpost at Beale’s Crossing to protect future emigrant crossings.¹⁵ The contingent arrived at the Mojave villages on April 19, 1859.¹⁶

Because of the massive show of military force, Hoffman established Camp Colorado without Mojave resistance. As reported by Private Eugene Bandel, of the 6th Regiment, “We encamped, and our colonel [Hoffman] sent out the Yuma [Quechan] Indians we had brought with us from Fort Yuma to summon the Mojave to a conference.”¹⁷ According the Hoffman:

“On the morning after my arrival at the crossing, I sent word to the Mohave chiefs that if they desired peace I would receive the submission of themselves and their people on the second morning thereafter at ten o’clock. All must come in punctuality at that hour or they would not be received at all.”¹⁸

¹⁶ ibid. 21.
¹⁸ War Report, 411.
Although Hoffman sent out this message, he doubted the Mojave would respond in accordance to his wishes and prepared to carry out a retaliatory attack on the Mojave to punish them for their prior attack on the Rose-Baley party. He noted:

On the evening of the 22nd, I announced to the officers of the command that if the Mohaves came in to sue for peace, I had determined that, under no circumstances, would I permit them to leave the camp until a satisfactory settlement had been made. To this end I made arrangements to meet any emergency.  

At the appointed time on April 23, 1859, the previously summoned six Mojave chiefs arrived at the newly established Camp Colorado followed by four to five hundred men. The identity of all of the six chiefs is unclear; however, three eyewitnesses identified three of the chiefs as Avi-havasuts, Aratève, and Homose quahote. Five of the chiefs sat on a bench at the front of the council directly facing Hoffman. It is interesting to note that Aratève did not sit on the bench with the other five. For unknown reasons, he stood by the bench.

Once all parties were present, Major Hoffman spoke to “the six chiefs of the Mohave bands of Indians,” Due to language barriers it was necessary for him to speak through a series of interpreters. The dialogue was time consuming (five hours) as well as most probably confusing considering the amount of translators needed. Hoffman gave instructions in English to Captain Henry Stanton Burton, of the third artillery, who also spoke Spanish. Burton relayed the information to José María, a Diegueño Indian who spoke both Spanish and Quechan, who in turn translated to Pasqual, a Quechan who spoke Mojave. Pasqual lastly converted the information to the Mojave language for the

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19 Ibid.
20 Kroeber and Kroeber, 21-22. The eyewitnesses were Chooksa Homar, Gwegwi Nuor, Private Bandel
chiefs. All this was done to lay out the terms of the Mojave surrender. The terms of the
surrender were:

1st. [The Mojave] must offer no opposition to the establishment of posts and roads
in and through their country, when and where the government chooses; and the
property and lives of whites traveling through their country must be secure;

2d. As security for their future good conduct they must place in [Hoffman's]
hands one hostage from each of the six bands;

3d. They must place in [Hoffman's] hands the chief who commanded at the
threatened attack on [his] camp in January last;

4th. They must place in [Hoffman's] hands three of those who were engaged in the
attack on the emigrant party at this spot last summer.

The atmosphere was quite tense, and the Mojave were understandably apprehensive.

Private Eugene Bandel, who was present at the conference, described the scene:

[The Mojave] were escorted into our camp without weapons. Our arms, rifles,
and cannons were loaded; and in addition, the Indians were surrounded by
soldiers of the artillery company with loaded revolvers and not permitted to leave
camp until the conference was over.

Hoffman previously determined that “... under no circumstances would [he] permit [the
Mojave] to leave camp until a satisfactory settlement had been made.” In his narrative,
Chooksa homar reinforced the intimidation when he stated, “The five chiefs sat facing a
cannon, with four soldiers by it, and five sergeants and corporals behind them.”

A Mojave eyewitness to the fateful meeting, Gwegwi nuor, and follower of

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22 Bandel, 272.
24 Bandel, 272.
26 Kroeber and Kroeber, 22.
Homose quahote, identified Homose quahote as the head chief representing the tribe. He described Homose quahote’s reaction to the surrender conditions:

Chief Humsoquahoat (Homose quahote) is over 6 ft tall and not heavy built but the scars on his breast show that he has fought many people for justice or carry out the set up [of] our government. His hair is long, he’s painted in red, white and black and Armed and [a] few feathers on his head. He stood with the white chief [Hoffman] both hands clasped and they stood face to face…our chief spoke the last word…it is going to be very difficult as we have different ways of living and different languages. And to make friends we are to suffer a great loss, our properties and ourselves.

The scene of the surrender as described by Gwegwi nuor gives another glimpse of Homose quahote who continued to display an obvious unwillingness to cooperate with the Euro-Americans. When Hoffman demanded the surrender of the chief who commanded the “threatened attack” at Beaver Lake the previous January, all but one chief stepped forward to give themselves up to comply with the second article of the surrender agreement. Homose quahote was the chief who did not step forward. He responded, “I will not be arrested. I like to die: I will not be taken. I am not going.” Continuing his defiance, Homose quahote refused to serve as a hostage, however, Avi-havasuts (Cairok) and Aratêve’s son and several of his cousins agreed to serve as hostages at Fort Yuma to comply with the surrender conditions. Avi-havasuts and Aratêve had a prior history of cooperating with, and assisting the military as they served as guides on several military expeditions. Their immediate submission to Hoffman’s demands demonstrated the continuing willingness to cooperate with the American military. It becomes clear that Aratêve’s and Homose quahote’s contrasting opinions on

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28 Ibid.
29 War Report, 410.
30 Kroeber and Kroeber, 23.
their degree of cooperation with the military is unwavering and their rival positions solidify.

Hoffman acknowledged the surrender, and compliance with its terms:

The first, second, and third conditions were complied with without hesitation... I then required that they should give up to me three men for the part taken by the Mohaves in the massacre, to be dealt with as I might see proper. This was complied with, and to-day I have told the chiefs that these men would go to Fort Yuma, to be sent back at the general's pleasure... Besides this strong proof of the sincerity of their submission, all have expressed, in the strongest terms their anxiety to be at peace with the whites, and their gratification at having a post in their country.31

Hoffman suggests all chiefs involved in the surrender agreed to his terms and conditions. He failed to acknowledge the leadership of Homose quahote who strongly opposed foreign presence, including that of the military, in his territory. Hoffman exhibited cultural ignorance, and lack of knowledge of Mojave polity, as he addressed the six chiefs as equal in authority. He did not comprehend that he should have addressed the Great Chieftain, Homose quahote. At the time of the surrender, Homose quahote was the Great Chieftain of the Mojave, as well as the hereditary chief of the northern Mathal a oom band. Hoffman, like many other Americans, recognized and gave authority to those who cooperated with him.

Upon conclusion of the council, Hoffman felt the Mojave would comply with the terms of the surrender. For the next two days all was quiet and calm. On April 25, 1859, feeling the area was secure, Hoffman loaded his supplies, along with the nine Mojave hostages aboard one of the steamers and headed down the Colorado River to Fort Yuma. He left two companies under the leadership of Major Lewis A. Armistad, who renamed

31 War Report, 410.
the encampment Fort Mojave. The Mojave traded freely with the soldiers and some even worked to help build the barracks. Living in relative peace, there were no significant hostilities reported between the Mojave and the Americans during the ensuing year while the hostages were at Fort Yuma.

While in captivity at Fort Yuma, soldiers kept the nine Mojave hostages in a guard house allowing them outside occasionally for fresh air. The hostages found this confinement infuriating, and "irksome and galling to their wild natures, and to Cairook [Avi-havasuts] in particular it was almost intolerable." Aratêve visited Avi-havasuts several times at Fort Yuma, and on one occasion appealed to Lieutenant Tipton who was on duty at the time, for the release of Avi-havasuts. Tipton denied Aratêve's request, as he had no authority to grant it. Aratêve did not understand Tipton's lack of authority and felt that Avi-havasuts deserved to be released as both he and Avi-havasuts helped both the Whipple and Ives expeditions in previous years. Aratêve also believed that if Lieutenant Ives were present, he would grant the request as they were long-time friends. As a result of Aratêve's failure to obtain Avi-havasuts' release, the hostages planned an escape. They agreed that Avi-havasuts, being a very powerful man, would seize and hold the guard allowing the other hostages to escape. One morning, while on the porch of the guard house, eight of the hostages began their attempted escape and dashed towards the river while Avi-havasuts simultaneously restrained the sentinel. Responding to the escape, other members of the guard killed Avi-havasuts on the spot. Soldiers fired on the

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32 Ives Report, 91.
33 Aratêve had frequent contact with Lt. Tipton as he visited Fort Yuma often even prior the to hostages being in captivity.
other fugitives as they ran toward the river; four were killed and four escaped swimming up the river.\textsuperscript{34}

Frances Stillman, a Mojave elder, in 1988, recounted the story according to Mojave oral history:

One of the young men, the old of the bunch of the three young men – Cairook [\textit{Avi-havasuts}] was his name – said to the young men, ‘You’re all young, I’m years ahead of you. I’ve had a lot of years already that I’ve spent on my life. When it’s lunch time, all the guards go to their lunch except for that one up there. I’ll go up and hold him while you men dive into the water.

The river is swollen then. So guess what happened? Of course the guard shot him right away. Maybe stabbed him, anyway, killed the old man cause he said, ‘He was old anyway and the others were young.’ So they escaped. They dove and swam underwater until they reached the banks, which were covered with willows and cottonwoods, and hid ‘til night time. In the dark they moved staying hidden.\textsuperscript{35}

Word of the escape at Fort Yuma and \textit{Avi-havasuts}’ death reached Fort Mojave on June 30, 1860 via a Quechan living near Fort Mojave. This news led to renewed tension as the Mojave were fearful of military retaliation. According to Major Armistad, “The Mohaves have behaved well, so far; they have committed no hostile act, appear quite alarmed [about the news of the killing of the hostages]…”\textsuperscript{36} Armistad’s report goes on to indicate that on the night of July 20, the Mojave harassed a mail party and two days later killed one of their mules. Armistad wanted to take military action against the Mojave in response to the mule incident as well as the hostage escape. He did not attack the Mojave, but instead attempted to incite an attack by the Mojave. The Mojave would not allow themselves to be provoked into an altercation. As a result, Armistad decided to

\textsuperscript{34} Ives Report, 91.  
\textsuperscript{35} Sherer, Lorraine, Bitterness Road, 102.  
\textsuperscript{36} War Report, 414-415.
punish to the tribe. Some twelve miles below Fort Mojave, soldiers ambushed three Mojave men planting beans on Aratève's rancheria, killing one of the men. This led to the only reported battle between the Mojave and the United States military. American military and Mojave perspectives differ greatly on this battle. Military records indicate twenty-three Mojave killed, while Mojave Tribal Records indicate hundreds of men, woman and children were slaughtered. This battle reinforced the fact that the Mojave's bows and arrows were no match for the soldiers' guns. The Mojave realized they could not fight and beat the Americans, and this heightened their fear that they might lose their ancestral lands and starve to death. On August 31, 1860, Major Armistad reported to General Newman S. Clarke that they made peace, “All the terms that I could demand of them were that they should behave themselves, and give up the bend in the river where the mules were herded and never come on it.” Peace and calm among the Mojave and the military prevailed in the Fort Mojave area following the new peace agreement during which time Homose quahote continued to reign as Great Chieftain.

In late 1860 or early 1861, Homose quahote abdicated his position as Great Chieftain of the Mojave (while retaining his lesser chieftainship of the Mathal a oom band). Brevet Major Granville O. Haller, Post Commander at Fort Mojave, wrote a letter for Homose quahote dated May 26, 1861, two days prior to the temporary abandonment of Fort Mojave. The letter stated:

To whom it may concern: The Bearer hereof, Hum-Sick-a-hott [Homose quahote], who has recently abdicated his authority as Head Chief of the Mojave Indians, in consequence of his advanced age, is well know to the U.S. Troops and

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37 War Report, 419-420. Sherer, Bitterness Road, 104.
38 War Report, 421.
39 Fort Mojave was abandoned, as the soldiers were needed for Civil War duty.

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has always shown himself to be a sincere friend of the Troops, and declares his friendship for all Americans will be the same as for the Soldiers.

He and his people are desirous of helping all Americans who may pass through their Country, by Selling them vegetables, and assisting them across the Colorado River, and they would like to receive pay Articles of Clothing, Sugar, Tobacco, etc.\(^{40}\)

The letter attests to the fact that *Homose quahote* stepped down as Great Chieftain of the Mojave. The content of the letter itself is questionable for several reasons. *Homose quahote*’s prior recorded activities show a man of apparent strength and vigor, not one ready to abdicate due to old age. In addition, there is no other known written record of this abdication to substantiate its accuracy, and it is not recorded in available Mojave oral history. Also, referring to *Homose quahote* as being a friend of the “white man,” he demonstrated on more than one occasion that he was indeed not a friend of the “white man.”\(^{41}\) In a letter, dated January 28, 1862 from his Civil War post in Pennsylvania, to Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Haller refers to *Aratève* as *Homose quahote*’s successor.\(^{42}\)

The absence of the military at Fort Mojave from 1861-1863 left a void of records monitoring the actions of the Mojave, and what transpired during that time can only be surmised. Per Mojave polity, *Aratève*’s rise to the position of *aha macave hochoch* [Head Chief of the Mojave Nation] was to be “made” by the people, however no documentation exists providing evidence of *Aratève*’s actual election to the position as required by Mojave tradition. Though he was reportedly the *aha macave hochoch*, he was not the *aha macave pipatahon* (Great Chieftain of the Mojave Nation), as he was not

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\(^{40}\) Sherer “Great Chieftains,” 5.
\(^{41}\) Ibid.
\(^{42}\) Ibid.
of the Malika clan. Aratêve already held the position as one of the chiefs of the hatô pa band. American military documentation, failing to recognize the difference between Head Chief and Great Chieftain refers to Aratêve as head chief of the Mojave Nation believing this to be the Great Chieftain. In addition, the letter for Homose quahote from Major Haller does not name Homose quahote's successor. Considering Aratêve's long-standing friendly relationship with the United States government, it is highly probable that the designation as Head Chief was from the United States government's point of view, not that of the Mojave. In accordance with Mojave polity, Aratêve, of the Neolge clan, not of the Malika clan, could only serve as an interim Head Chief, not the Great Chieftain, pending the resumption of the Great Chieftainship by Homose quahote himself or his patrilineal successor upon his death.

In 1863, the military regarrisoned Fort Mojave due to Chemehuevi, not Mojave, activity along the Mojave Road which was used primarily as a supply and mail route. In addition, the military established a series of small outposts to monitor the Chemehuevi's activity and secure the route. During this time, Aratêve, the acknowledged chief of the Mojave by the United States government, continued to develop his relationships with prominent Americans by traveling throughout the United States to Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. to visit with President Lincoln and other dignitaries. Homose quahote, on the other hand, remained on his ancestral land in Mojave country having little contact with Americans, other than occasional interaction with personnel at Fort Mojave. Both men, along with their respective followers, remained at peace with the Americans.
CHAPTER 6

POST SURRENDER ERA

The surrender of the Mojave and ensuing peace was a verbal agreement between Hoffman and the six chiefs, which in accordance with Mojave tradition was as permanent to them as was a signed treaty with the United States government. The surrender apparently did not satisfy the United States government. In keeping with United States Indian policy, efforts to create a reservation for the Mojave and the other Colorado River Indians began in the early 1860s. The intention of the United States government was to move the entire Mojave tribe to the proposed reservation and negotiations ensued with Aratêve. The area chosen for the reservation was the Parker Valley in Arizona. Aratêve knew that the Parker Valley, which is south of the Mohave Valley, was unsuitable for farming and inferior to the fertile Mohave Valley. Captain George W. Atchison, Commander of Fort Mohave, in an August 23, 1864 letter to Colonel Drum stated:

Arataba [Aratêve] says this reservation is covered with sand and unfit for cultivation and the Indians are opposed to giving up their good lands in the Mojave Valley and moving to it . . . Arataba says if he can have the valley below Fort Mojave reserved for the home of his Indians, he is willing to give up all claims to lands on other parts of the river and bring his Indians.¹

¹ “Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs,” Arizona Superintendency 1863-1880 (Washington D.C.)
Atchison’s letter is enlightening. He notes Aratêve’s concern regarding the poor quality of land for farming. Aratêve was not tied to his ancestral lands or cultural history, his concern was to cooperate with the Americans, while at the same time securing land that was arable. Atchison’s statements incorrectly assume that Aratêve was spokesman for the tribe as a whole. The letter indicated the Mojave’s concern over the issue of relocating. Atchison later states that Aratêve’s “control over [the Mohaves] is not complete,”

reinforcing previously existing tribal factionalism. In addition, Aratêve did not have the tribal authority to relinquish any Mojave land.

An act of Congress established the Colorado River Reservation in the Parker Valley in 1865. Aratêve brought his followers to the reservation during the ensuing two years. Economic improvement clearly was not Aratêve’s motivation for moving to the reservation. He had political objectives and a continued desire to please the United States government. Helenes Dodt, Special Agent, Colorado River Reservation reported on February 24, 1870 regarding the establishment of the reservation in 1865:

...when this reservation was established only a small portion of the Mohaves could be induced to leave their original land and come down here; it is very doubtful whether any would have come if it had not so happened that ‘Iritaba’ [Aratêve] a sub chief of ‘Sickahut’ [Homose quahote] Chief of The Mohaves was anxious to establish himself as independent chief and for that reason embraced the opportunity this offered to him...who would come on this reservation only a small portion (about one fifth) of the whole tribe of Mohaves left their homes and located here...The most worthless followed above followed ‘Iritaba’ and the better Indians remained with ‘Sickahut’

Homose quahote, who remained absent in the records regarding discussion of the area chosen for the reservation, steadfastly, over a period of several years, refused to leave his

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2 Ibid.
homeland. In a letter to Brevet Colonel George L. Andrews, US Army, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Arizona Territory, from Agent John Feudge, Special US Indian Agent - Colorado River Indians dated September 9, 1869, stated:

... Sickahat is opposed to moving there himself, saying he is an old man and the Mohave Valley is his home. My own impression is, that it will be very difficult to induce the tribe as a whole, to remove from the valley bearing their name, both from local attachment and that the valley . . . appears to be the better valley of the two.  

This is further evidenced in another letter to Brevet Colonel George L. Andrews from Helenes Dodt dated January 31, 1870:

On the 27th just Sicka-hut the Head-Chief of the Mohaves arrived here with a number of Indians from Fort Mohave, I had several conversations with them and in particular with Sicka-hut; from all I learned I am convinced that they will not, by their own free will leave the Mohave Valley and come on the reservation.  

*Homose quahote*, not *Aratève*, represented the feelings of the majority of the Mojave.

That is, these people exhibited a devotion to their ancestral lands by refusing to leave the Mohave Valley. They also expressed a need to continue their traditional ways of non-irrigated farming. This was not possible in the Parker Valley. *Tcatc, Aratève’s* granddaughter, in 1950, recounted to anthropologist George Devereux:

My grandfather had a lot of troubles, however, because of Pasqual, the chief of the Yumas [Quechan], and because of the other Mohave chief, *Homose:kokhot*, who was Pete Lambert’s paternal grandfather. Those two did not agree with my grandfather. They did not like leaving the land up at Needles, that had given them birth and (supernatural or dream) power, the land that had given them everything they ever had.  

The philosophical differences between *Homose quahote* and *Aratève* were serious, and had a long history, as documented by Chooksa homar’s account of their interactions,

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
and their activities beginning in 1858. The question arises as to what motivated the two men to follow the courses they chose; Homose quahote staying on and adamantly protecting his ancestral land while retaining his traditional ways of living and Aratêve not wanting to offend the Americans and exhibiting a complete willingness to leave his territory of birth as an anglicized Native American.

Records indicate that Homose quahote's mathâl a oom band apparently had little contact with Anglo-Americans in their own territory. Homose quahote made it clear in both Mojave and American records that he did not seek relationships with Americans, as he purposefully did not leave his territorial region to meet them. When forced to surrender with the other chiefs in 1859, he made his point of view clearly known. He exhibited a deep association with ancestral land and Mojave tradition. While profoundly meaningful to the Mojave, this association with the land and tradition can not be fully understood by those outside their cultural circle.

Aratêve, on the other hand, did not display an attachment to the land nor Mojave tradition. American records confirm he repeatedly sought constant contact with Americans and appeared relatively acculturated, while Mojave history indicates his consistent unwillingness to fight, agitate or displease the Americans. Most American contact with the Mojave took place in the territory of the ható pa central band where Aratêve was born, raised, lived and eventually became one of the band's six chiefs. Aratêve was a young boy when the first fur trappers crossed the Mohave Valley; and he had direct contact with many Americans as they crossed the Mohave Valley in later

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years. Early on, dubbed as “a friend of the whites,” *Aratêve* served as guide on several military expeditions and served as mediator between the government and neighboring tribes. In later years, *Aratêve*’s perceived importance increased as he traveled throughout the United States. Constant contact with Americans had a great effect on his opinions. In an argument attempting to persuade *Homose quahote* and his people to settle on the Colorado River Reservation, *Aratêve* said:

> These two [*Homose quahote* and Chief Pasquel of the Yumas] did not agree with him, but my grandfather argued that the Mohave were so greatly outnumbered that the only way they could exist and to keep on living was to live like the whites, and be a peace with the whites; only thus will they increase. But the other two did not agree with him and felt kind of bitter against him. My maternal grandfather said: ‘It is not as though you could always live the way you used to. Some day you will have to live like the Whites, and, come in contact with them, and it is better that you should live in peace with them. What I have decided may seem cowardly to you, but in the end it is going to be the better way.’

*Homose quahote* never moved his people.

Actions by representatives of the United States government further complicated and fueled the ongoing rivalry between *Aratêve* and *Homose quahote*, with Major Richard Porter, commander at Fort Mojave, and George Dent, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Arizona, respectively deeming each as Head Chief of the Mojave. A letter from Porter at Fort Mojave to Dent, dated January 27, 1867 stated:

> . . . the commanding officer at Fort Mohave has issued a Document to ‘Sickahott’ [*Homose quahote*] as a commission to command the Mohave Tribe of Indians. We know that the sub Captains of the Tribe have been instructed to no longer obey the orders of ‘Irritaba’ [*Aratêve*], and that ‘Sickahott’ shall be regarded as their Head Chief . . . [This] threatens to produce dissension in the Tribe and lesson the authority of the Chief. It is calculated to produce distrust suspicion and difficulty in our relations with those Indians.

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8 Ibid.
9 "Letters Received," *Arizona Superintendency.*

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Dents adamant reply to Major Richard Porter, commander of Fort Mojave stated:

I have been credibly informed that, for some cause unknown to this superintendent, you, have deposed the head chief of the Mojave Indians ("Iretaba") [Aratêve] and appointed in his stead, some Indian in the vicinity of Fort Mohave as his successor . . . I must positively protest against any interference on your part . . . "Iretaba" is widely known, not only in Arizona, but throughout the United States. He has always stood as a barrier against the encroachments of the unfriendly Indians . . . I trust that you will do nothing to mar the harmony which now exists.\textsuperscript{10}

It is not known why Porter took the action to recognize Homose quahote as Head Chief of the Mojave while directly defying Dent's orders. It is possible that while interacting with Homose quahote's people that he became aware of traditional Mojave political structure and the fact that Homose quahote was the heredity Great Chieftain of the Mojave. His actions did indeed, though, intensify the political struggle between Homose quahote and Aratêve. The formal recognition by the United States government of Homose quahote as the Great Chieftain acted to weaken Aratêve's self-proclaimed importance. Acknowledgment of Homose quahote as Great Chieftain discounted, in the eyes of the United States government, the previous letter announcing his abdication.

While the exact date is not known, between the years 1867 and 1870, recognition of head chief of the Mojave by the United States government shifted from Aratêve to Homose quahote. Helenes Dodt, Special Agent, Colorado River Reservation, reported August 23, 1870:

This reservation was established four years ago. The then officers of the Indian Department tried to get the whole Mohave tribe on the reservation, but failed to accomplish it, and so far only about one-third of the whole tribe, led by Iritabe [Aratêve], one of the principal captains or chiefs of the tribe, was located here.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
The tribe is divided into three principal parts, whose chiefs are Sickahut [Homose quahote], Iritaba and Aschuket, the former being the head chief of the whole tribe.

Until his death in 1874, Aratêve led his followers on the Colorado River Indian Reservation near Parker, Arizona. His successor and nephew was Qolho qorau of the Vemacka clan. Qolho qorau continued his uncle’s policies. United States Agent Charles McNichols described Qolho qorau as “a friend of progress and an aid to the agents in all reform measures.”

He continued as the Chief of the Mohaves on the Colorado River Indian Reservation until his death in 1899, at which time the... agent determined to break up the remanants of tribal authority... The Indians were told that the day for chiefs was gone, and that the only chief which the government recognized was the President of the United States; that he was a chief for all races and colors living within the country.

Until his death in 1875, Homose quahote and his followers remained on their ancestral land near Fort Mojave, farming on both sides of the river. At this time, the Great Chieftainship passed through the patrilineal line of succession to his son Empote quatacheech. As did Qolho qorau, Empote quatacheech, continued the policies of his predecessor. Empote quatacheech, much like his father, passively resisted the United States government’s threats and persuasions to get the Fort Mojave group to move to the Colorado River Indian Reservation until his death in late 1887 or early 1888. “Their chief problem was to hold on to their land.”

Homose quahote’s grandson, Hobelia (name later changed by the Mojave to Sukulai homar) at the age of eight years, became the last hereditary aha macave pipatahon (Great Chieftain) upon the death of his father.

11 National Archives Branch.
12 “Letters Received,” Arizona Superintendency.
13 Ibid.
Empote quatacheech.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The influence of non-Native American peoples including the Spanish, fur trappers, emigrants and the American military upon the Mojave was diverse, extensive and often wrought with cultural misunderstandings. Over the course of time, exposed to different experiences and situations, the Mojave separated philosophically as to how to handle foreign presence. While some chose to befriend these foreigners, others sought to protect their land and resources and refused to relinquish their land. Those who followed Aratêve, who befriended the United States government, were willing to relinquish their native land as they relocated, along with other neighboring tribes, to the Colorado River Indian Reservation in Arizona. Those who followed Homose quahote did not wish to relinquish their land. Though they did not have the weapons to fend off the foreign invaders, their perseverance and ties to their ancestral land allowed them to remain on their aboriginal territory, which had been their home and continues to be their home since time immemorial. The two philosophies resulted in the permanent separation of the tribe into two factions. The Mojave Nation remained divided as successors of both Aratêve and Homose quahote continued the policies of their predecessors.

The divided house of the Mohave continues today with the Mohave Indians claiming as their home the Colorado River Indian Reservation in Arizona, and the Fort Mojave Indians.
residing on their ancestral land near Needles, California. Though all Mojave and Mohave are acculturated today, the devotion that the Fort Mojave have for their land is impressive and in evidence today when speaking to the tribal elders, “We were placed here by the Almighty from year one, day one, and we’ve been here ever since.”

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TABLES AND MAPS
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Source: Nations and Stump 1981
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<td>46.7°F</td>
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Kingman, Arizona Climate 5/1/1901 to 7/31/67

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<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
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<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
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<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.23</td>
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<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.46</td>
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<td>63.8</td>
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Needles, California Climate 7/1/1948 to 7/21/03

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Table 3  
Flora of the Mohave Valley

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<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
<th>Family</th>
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<tr>
<td>Trees</td>
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<tr>
<td>Athel</td>
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<tr>
<td>California Juniper</td>
<td>Juniperus californicus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canyon Live Oak</td>
<td>Quercus chrysolepis</td>
<td>Beech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cat Claw Acacia</td>
<td>Acacia greggii</td>
<td>Pea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coyote Willow</td>
<td>Salix exigua</td>
<td>Willow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Willow</td>
<td>Chilopsis linearis</td>
<td>Catalpa</td>
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<td>Fremont's Cottonwood</td>
<td>Populus fremontii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gooding's Willow</td>
<td>Salix Gooddingii</td>
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<td>Honey Mesquite</td>
<td>Prosopis juliflora</td>
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<td>Joshua Tree</td>
<td>Yucca brevifolia</td>
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<td>New Mexican Locust</td>
<td>Robinia Neomexicana</td>
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<td>Shrub Live Oak</td>
<td>Quercus turbinella</td>
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<td>Single Leaf Pinyon</td>
<td>Pinus Monophylla</td>
<td>Pine</td>
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<td>Smoke Tree</td>
<td>Dalea spinosa</td>
<td>Pea</td>
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<td>Tamarisk Salt Cedar</td>
<td>Tamarix pentandra</td>
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<td>Two Leaf Pinyon</td>
<td>Pinus Edulis</td>
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<td>Utah Juniper</td>
<td>Juniperus utahensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grasses</td>
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<td>Bush Muhly</td>
<td>Muhlenbergia porteri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Needle</td>
<td>Stipa speciosa</td>
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<td>Fluff Grass</td>
<td>Erioneuron pulchella</td>
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<td>Indian Rice Grass</td>
<td>Oryzopsis hymenoides</td>
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<td>Red Brome</td>
<td>Bromus rubens</td>
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## Flora of the Mohave Valley (Continued)

### Cactus

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<tr>
<td>Barrel Cactus</td>
<td>Ferocactus acanthodes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buck Horn Cholla</td>
<td>Opuntia acanthacarpa</td>
<td>Cactus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Top</td>
<td>Echinocactus polycephalus</td>
<td>Cactus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darning Needle</td>
<td>Opuntia ramosissima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hedge Hog Cactus</td>
<td>Echinocereus sp.</td>
<td>Cactus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Man Cactus</td>
<td>Opuntia erinacea</td>
<td>Cactus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Silver Cactus</td>
<td>Opuntia echinocarpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teddy Bear Cholla</td>
<td>Opuntia bigelowia</td>
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### Annuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Canterbury Bells</td>
<td>Phacelia campanularia</td>
<td>Waterleaf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Chicory</td>
<td>Rafinesquia californica</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Dandelion</td>
<td>Malocothryx glabrata</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Hyacinth</td>
<td>Brodiaea capitata</td>
<td>Lily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert Milkweed</td>
<td>Asclepias erosa</td>
<td>Milkweed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dune Primrose</td>
<td>Oenothera deltoides</td>
<td>Evening Primrose</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fiddleneck</td>
<td>Amsinckia sp.</td>
<td>Borage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fragrant Penstamen</td>
<td>Penstamen palmeri</td>
<td>Snapdragon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fremont's Pin Cushion</td>
<td>Chaenactis fremontii</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<td>Golden Gilia</td>
<td>Linantbus aureus</td>
<td>Phlox</td>
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<td>Heron's Bill</td>
<td>Erodium circutarium</td>
<td>Geranium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Little White Forget-Me-Not</td>
<td>Cryptantha sp.</td>
<td>Borage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miner's Lettuce</td>
<td>Montia sp.</td>
<td>Purslane</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monkey Flower</td>
<td>Mimulus sp.</td>
<td>Snapdragon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prickly Poppy</td>
<td>Argemone sp.</td>
<td>Poppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple Mat</td>
<td>Nama demissum</td>
<td>Waterleaf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Mariposa</td>
<td>Calochortus kennedyi</td>
<td>Lily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace Daisy</td>
<td>Eriophyllum wallacei</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<td>Water Cress</td>
<td>Rorippa sp.</td>
<td>Mustard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weak Stem Mariposa</td>
<td>Calochortus flexuosa</td>
<td>Lily</td>
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Flora of the Mohave Valley (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shrub Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Scientific Name</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Baccharis - Seep Willow</strong></td>
<td>Baccharis sp.</td>
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<td><strong>Big sage Brush</strong></td>
<td>Artemisia tridentata</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Black Banded Rabbit Bush</strong></td>
<td>Chrysothamnus paniculatus</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Brickell Bush</strong></td>
<td>Brickellia sp.</td>
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<td><strong>Brittle Bush</strong></td>
<td>Encelia farinosa</td>
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<td><strong>Bud Sage</strong></td>
<td>Artemisia spinescens</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
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<td><strong>Dwarf Sage</strong></td>
<td>Artemisia arbusculo nova</td>
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<td><strong>Golden Bush</strong></td>
<td>Haplopappus sp.</td>
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<td><strong>Golden Rabbit Bush</strong></td>
<td>Chrysothamnus nauseous</td>
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<td><strong>Rayless Encelia</strong></td>
<td>Encelia frutescens</td>
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<td><strong>Snake Weed</strong></td>
<td>Gutierrezia sp.</td>
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<td>Bebbia juncea aspera</td>
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<td><strong>White Bursage</strong></td>
<td>Ambrosia dumosa</td>
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<td><strong>Woolly Fruited Bursage</strong></td>
<td>Franseria eriocentra</td>
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<td>Atriplex polycarpa</td>
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<td>Purshia tridentata</td>
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<td>Ceanothus vestita</td>
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<td><strong>Cliff Rose</strong></td>
<td>Cowania mexicana</td>
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<td><strong>Coffee Berry - Pigeon Berry</strong></td>
<td>Rhamnus californica</td>
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<td>Forestiera neo mexicana</td>
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<td><strong>Desert Senna - Cassia</strong></td>
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<td><em>Viguiera deltoidea</em></td>
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<td><em>Berberis sp.</em></td>
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<td><em>Aster abatus</em></td>
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<td>Pygmy Cedar</td>
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<td>Spiny Menodora</td>
<td><em>Menodora spinescens</em></td>
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<td>Great Basin Blue Sage</td>
<td><em>Salvia carnosa</em></td>
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<td><em>Salvia mohavensis</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mohave Yucca</td>
<td><em>Yucca schidigera</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose Sage</td>
<td><em>Salvia pachyphylla</em></td>
<td>Sage</td>
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<td>Evergreen Buckthorn</td>
<td><em>Rhamnus crocea</em></td>
<td>Buckthorn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Squaw Bush</td>
<td><em>Rhus trilobata</em></td>
<td>Cashew</td>
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Table 4
Fauna of the Mohave Valley

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
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<td>Castor californicus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bighorn sheep</td>
<td>Ovis Canadensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobcat</td>
<td>Lynx rufus</td>
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<tr>
<td>California leaf nose bat</td>
<td>Macrotus californicus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Canus latrans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert cottontail</td>
<td>Sylvilagus audoboni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert shrew</td>
<td>Notiosorex crawfordi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desert woodrat</td>
<td>Neotoma lepida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopher</td>
<td>Geomys arenarius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gray Fox</td>
<td>Urocyon cineroargenteous</td>
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<td>Ground squirrel</td>
<td>Spermophilus species</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jack rabbit</td>
<td>Lepus californicus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kangaroo rat</td>
<td>Dipodomys deserti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kit fox</td>
<td>Vulpes macrotis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountain lion</td>
<td>Felis concolor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mule deer</td>
<td>Odocoileous hemionis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocket mouse</td>
<td>Perognathus penicillatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Procyon lotor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringtail cat</td>
<td>Bassariscus astutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voles</td>
<td>Microtus californicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White tailed deer</td>
<td>Odocoileus virginianus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
Fauna of the Mohave Valley (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insects and Spiders</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Widow Spider</td>
<td>Latrodectus mactans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterflies</td>
<td>Family Lepidoptera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicada</td>
<td>Magicicada species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragonflies</td>
<td>Family Anisoptera (multiple genus and sp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Ant</td>
<td>Solenopsis xyloni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praying Mantis</td>
<td>Mantis religiosa and other species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorpions</td>
<td>Centruroides species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarantulas</td>
<td>Aphonopelma chalcoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birds</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barn Owl</td>
<td>Tyto alba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bittern</td>
<td>Botaurus species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambel’s quail</td>
<td>Callipepla gambelii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldfinch</td>
<td>Carduelis tristis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grebes</td>
<td>Podilymbus species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td>Accipiter species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hummingbirds</td>
<td>Family Trochailidae (multiple genus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orioles</td>
<td>Icterus species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie falcon</td>
<td>Falco mexicanus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravens</td>
<td>Corvus corax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roadrunner</td>
<td>Geococcyx californianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandpipers</td>
<td>Actitis macularia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparrows</td>
<td>Zonotrichia, Passer, and Amphispiza species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stilt</td>
<td>Himantopus species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrasher</td>
<td>Oreoscoptes montanus and Toxostoma sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vultures</td>
<td>Family Cathartidae (multiple genus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodpecker</td>
<td>Melanerpes species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 4  
Fauna of the Mohave Valley (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wren</td>
<td>Cistothorus palustris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loon</td>
<td>Gavia immer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fish**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humpbackers</td>
<td>Gila cypha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojave tui chub</td>
<td>Gila bicolor mohavensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosquito fish</td>
<td>Gambusia affinis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullets</td>
<td>Mugil cephalus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupfish</td>
<td>Cyprinodon species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reptiles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black -collared Lizard</td>
<td>Crotaphytus bicinctores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullfrog</td>
<td>Rana catesbeiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuckwalla</td>
<td>Sauromalus ater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desert Iguana</td>
<td>Dipsosaurus dorsalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desert Tortoise</td>
<td>Gopherus agassizii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gila monster</td>
<td>Heloderma suspectum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopher Snake</td>
<td>Pituophis species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horned lizard</td>
<td>Phrynosoma platyrhinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojave rattlesnake</td>
<td>Crotalus scutulatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain kingsnake</td>
<td>Lampropeltis zonata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidewinder</td>
<td>Crotalus cerastes cerastes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Banded Gecko</td>
<td>Coleonyx variegatus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4  
Fauna of the Mohave Valley (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amphibians</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black toads</td>
<td>Bufo exsul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Plains toad</td>
<td>Bufo cognatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopard frog</td>
<td>Rana onco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red spotted toad</td>
<td>Bufo punctatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger salamander</td>
<td>Ambystoma tigrinum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegas Valley leopard frog</td>
<td>Rana fisheri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 1
Kroeber's Aboriginal Territory
Map 1
Kroeber’s Aboriginal Territory Map Key (Continued)

1. Historic Core Homeland of Mohave

2A, B. Adjacent Territory, traditionally owned and used. A. upstream, B. downstream

3A, B. Adjacent Territory, Traditionally Mohave, infiltrated by Chemehuevi c. 1800 (?)-1850.

4A. By conquest from Haichiwhamu, c. 1868. Claimed by Mohave as exclusively theirs, used at times 1873-1889, permanently resettled 1890.

4B. Claimed by Mohave; variously occupied by them, by Yuma, and by Chemehuevi.

5. Mainly Yuma after 1829 but containing resident Mohave and increasing number of Chemehuevi.

Sometimes claimed by or attributed to Mohave, freely traveled over by them, but lived on by Chemehuevi. Painte in east and by Serrano-Mohineyami in west.

Source: A.L. Kroeber’s
Report On Aboriginal Territory And Occupancy Of The Mohave Tribe 1953
Map 2
Current Tri State Area

KEY
A — CLARK COUNTY, NEVADA
B — MOHAVE COUNTY, ARIZONA
C — SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA
Map 3
Colorado River and Basin

Key

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River</th>
<th>Letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colorado River</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green River</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yampa River</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White River</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duchesne River</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price River</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Rafael River</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunnison River</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolores River</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Juan River</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Colorado River</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin River</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Williams River</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gila River</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 4
Mojave Cultural Map
Map 6
American Exploration

Source: Dan W. Messersmith; 1991
The History Of Mohave County To 1912

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Map 7
Geographic Features Map
Map 7
Geographic Features Map Key (Continued)

Geologic Features Map Key

Parker Dam .................. A
Mojave Mountains .......... B
(Called Asciende habi by Whipple including the Chemehuevi and Sacramento
Mountains and “The Three Needles”)
Topoc, AZ .................. C
Chemehueve Valley ....... D
Mojave Valley .............. E
Needles, CA ................. F
Davis Dam .................. G
Lake Mohave ............... H
(including Cottonwood area)
Black Mountains .......... I
(Called Hamookh habi by Whipple)
Dead Mountains .......... J
(Called Havichabi by Whipple including the Avikwame Peak)
Black Canyon ............. K
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Thesis Title: Political Factionalism Among The Mojave Indians 1826-1875

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