North American Indians Lecture Notes- Southwest

Geography:
The southwest covers a fairly large area, encompassing all of Arizona and New Mexico (often considered the "core" area) and parts of western Texas, southern Utah and Colorado, and Northern Mexico (the "periphery"). It is an area of extremes, with high, snow-capped mountains; flat, arid plateaus and plains; and even fairly lush greenbelts along the river valleys and canyons (at least in the days before hydroelectric dams).

Languages:
A large area like this house many different groups. They are broken down here into the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phylum</th>
<th>Language families and cultural associations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aztec-Tanoan</td>
<td>Kiowa-Tanoan - Tewa, Tiwa, Towa (these three represent major Puebloan groups, and although technically in the same family, are mutually unintelligible)</td>
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<td>Uto-Aztecan - Hopi, Papago, Pima (Papago and Pima are mutually intelligible, although Hopi is not)</td>
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<td>Hokan</td>
<td>Yuman - Havasupai, Maricopa, Mojave, Walapai, Yavapai, Yuma, Cocopa</td>
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<td>Penutian-?</td>
<td>Zuni - Zuni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Na-Dene</td>
<td>Athabaskan - Navajo, all Apache groups (Mescalero, Jicarilla, Kiowa, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Undetermined</td>
<td>Keresan - Acoma, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Laguna, Santo Domingo (some place these with the Aztec-Tanoans, as indeed these are Puebloans)</td>
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Lifestyle:
To an extent, one can think of these language groups as roughly corresponding to people with similar lifestyles. For instance, the Kiowa-Tanoan speakers are followers of the Pueblo style, but so are the Keresan speakers, and the Hopi and Zuni tribes. The other two Uto-Aztecan speakers Pima and Papago follow a similar lifestyle and ancestry, the Yumans another, and the Athabaskans yet another. We will discuss more momentarily as we must look at the prehistory of the area before understanding the modern delineations given above.

Prehistory:
At around 5000 BC, we have evidence of foraging economies in the Southwest, consistent with the shift from mega-fauna to foraging between the Paleo-Indian and Archaic periods. Reliance was primarily on plant foods, but some small game was hunted as well. At around 5000 BC corn seems to have become available and a general shift in subsistence begins. Later, squash and then beans make their way into the area by 1000 BC, paving the way for a full-fledged agricultural society (or in fact several of them).

1. Mogollon (may have become Zuni people) 300 BC to 1250 AD
2. Anasazi (precursors to the Puebloans) 1000 BC to 1300 AD
3. Hohokam (Pima and Papago) 400 AD to 1500 AD
4. Patayan or Hakataua (Yumans) Contiguous
All of these cultures lived in hot, dry areas of mesas, canyons, and deserts, but often along rivers or their tributaries in order to support their agricultural base. Still, this was often not enough, and so we have evidence of at least partial maintenance of gathering and hunting in these sites, especially in the earliest ones. The first three represent cultures with a definitive beginning and ending dates, as evidenced through creation of large structures, villages, and the like, and ending with their abandonment. Patuans have had a contiguous history in the area, and so no dates are given. The first three cultures also seem to share in common abandonment due (probably) to environmental changes (drought) that made habitation of their large living areas next to impossible. Each shared a grassland shift from small, mobile groups of foragers to more sedentary farming-based subsistence. As these groups grew, more water was needed to keep the growing communities active. As the cyclical drought patterns in the Southwest closed in on them, they were forced to intensify their irrigation (which we see in later sites) and eventually abandon the largest dwellings for smaller communities that could be self-sustaining. This pattern was not followed in the Yumans who never grew to the self-limiting level of social sophistication that the other three groups did. For more information on these three groups, see pages 54-67 of the text as well as the Southwest chapter.

Specific Groups:
1a. Upland Yumans (Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai) in area of Grand Canyon
Subsistence: The least technologically advanced of the Yumans, they relied primarily on H/G with crops planted when and where possible without intensification of available resources. Some irrigation was used, but no as much as other groups.
Social Structure: These people had no unilinear descent groups, instead relying on the nuclear family to be the basic unit of society. In the summer, both men and women worked the fields, but after the harvest the women gathered seeds and pine nuts while the men hunted and traded with the neighboring Navajo and Puebloans.
Housing: Summer homes were often simple shades constructed of four poles with a brush roof while winter homes were called wickiups, and were more solidly built of brush, reeds, and sometimes earth around a framework of light poles (still very temporary, though).

1b. River Yumans (Yuma, Mojave, Cocopa, Maricopa) in flood plains downstream from GC
Subsistence: Fertile floodplains made agriculture easy while fish could be obtained from the river. Hunting was scarce in this area, though, so protein was from fish or beans.
Social Structure: Patrilineal clans regulated marriage patterns exogamously, although family ties were still strongest. Frequent relocations from village to village also established a strong sense of tribal identity as well. Ritualized warfare seems to have been an important factor, too, with opposing tribes square off into highly stylized battle lines and with complicated rules of engagement.
Housing: Mostly of the shade variety.

2. Pimans and Papagoans
Subsistence: Pimans had an easier time cultivating, and so were more sedentary than their more mobile Papagoan cousins who moved in time with seasonal water, wild plant, and animal availability.
Social Structure: the more settled Pimans had village head-men and a single tribal chief who directed the construction of ditches and the division of labor for other municipal tasks. Papagoans lacked this level of structure, with each village its own autonomous entity. Both groups were relatively peaceful, going to war only reluctantly against their principal enemy - the Apache who raided their fields in historic times.

3. Puebloan

- **Subsistence**: Sedentary, with intensive agriculture the key to survival. Corn, beans, tobacco, squash, and cotton are all important crops. The Hopi irrigated by seepage, hand-carried water, or rainfall. The Zuni had a small river nearby to provide a water source. The Acoma had springs, and others used water from the Rio Grande or rain. Due to the flash floods that are common in the region, typically crops weren’t planted all in one field (don’t put your eggs in one basket, so to speak).

- **Social Structure**: Men did the hard manual labor of cultivation, home building, and hunting while women were responsible for gathering, pottery making, and domestic work. All Pueblos have a complex and pervasive religious/ceremonial life with medicine societies, various priesthoods, and associations. Everyone belongs to at least one such society at one point in his or her life. In Eastern Pueblos, inheritance was determined patrilineally but a civil-religious combination dictated when ceremonials were to be held and who would prevail in judicial matters theoretically controlled government. Western Pueblos practiced matrilineality and had clan-controlled religious ceremonies.

- **Housing**: Wood is scarce in this area, so mud bricks and stone were the preferred building materials, used in the construction of the large pueblos that give this group its name. Wood was used to create the main beams of the structure, and often the wood was used for generations of housing as it was well preserved in the arid land. The long use of wood by the Puebloans has been utilized by anthropologists in dendrochronological (tree-ring dating) analyses of long term occupation at sites in the Southwest.

**Special Considerations: Navajo and Apache**

Up to this point, I haven’t mentioned either of these groups except in passing. Both of these groups are relatively late additions to the Southwest landscape, sharing their language with other Athabaskan speakers in the Northwest region of the United States and into lower Canada, suggestive of migration. The Navajo and Apache seem to have immigrated to the region sometime just prior to 1500 AD, settling in those areas which had been abandoned by the classical indigenous cultures of the Southwest. Although the local residents were no longer to sustain their lifestyles in the face of drought, the smaller migrant groups of N and A were able to survive long enough to establish themselves. Once established, these groups had to find a means of sustaining themselves and growing. Intensive agriculture was out of the question – it didn’t work for the indigenous peoples, but raiding their new neighbors did work. In fact, the continual raids of the Athabaskans led in part to the “no ground floor doors and windows in pueblos” image that is so prevalent. Lacking doors and windows was an excellent protective measure against attacks since ladders could be pulled in for safety.
Navajo
Subsistence: As mentioned, originally raising, although the introduction of sheep by the Spanish in the 1600s made the Navajo one of the only examples of a pastoralist economy among Native people. Additional subsistence was through H/G and some planting. Social Structure: Matrilineal clans exist, although the affinity and relationship is a loose one. Most traditional Navajo existed in isolated bands who, although recognizing tribal affiliation, would not let one group or individual speak for another. Matrilineality was more a mechanism among the Navajo for defining territory and property than creating social connectedness. This is exemplified in the basic unit of society here - the "outfit" - a group of matrilineally related extended families living in proximity to one another, in a defined territory, who communally grazed their sheep and cultivated their crops. Remember that this seemingly "simple" pastoralist economy is rooted in a strong sense of warrior tradition ("Winds of Change" video segment). Housing: Hogan (see text)

Apache
Subsistence: Originally foraging upon arrival, they too took to the raiding way of the Navajo soon after arrival in the Southwest. Unlike the Navajo, however, the Apache did not adopt a pastoralist economy. Warfare remained a way of life - an adaptive strategy, if you will. Social Organization: Western Apaches follow a matrilineal model, while Eastern groups prefer to emphasize the role of age sets (a cohort group of similarly-aged individuals who will share the same experiences at about the same time in life; an example is the concept of one's "class" in high school) rather than ties to a mother and her lineage. Housing: Wickiup, a dwelling made of slender poles covered in brush and grasses or reeds. Tipi, for these groups on the borders of the Plains and having access to bison.

Concluding Notes
Obviously, this is a culture area with a lot of action, and a lot of differences between the groups that reside there. Thankfully, there are some common themes and generalizations we infer. The primary one that we are emphasizing for this unit is the need to maintain social order in the face of chaos and danger, in this case, danger of drought and starvation. All of these groups at their hearts, have a strong need to maintain social order and incorporate everyone into the functional unit of the group. Thus some special mechanisms are seen in the Southwest that accomplish this and help maintain it. We will discuss these in class and emphasize them in the film "Hopi Songs of the Fourth World".