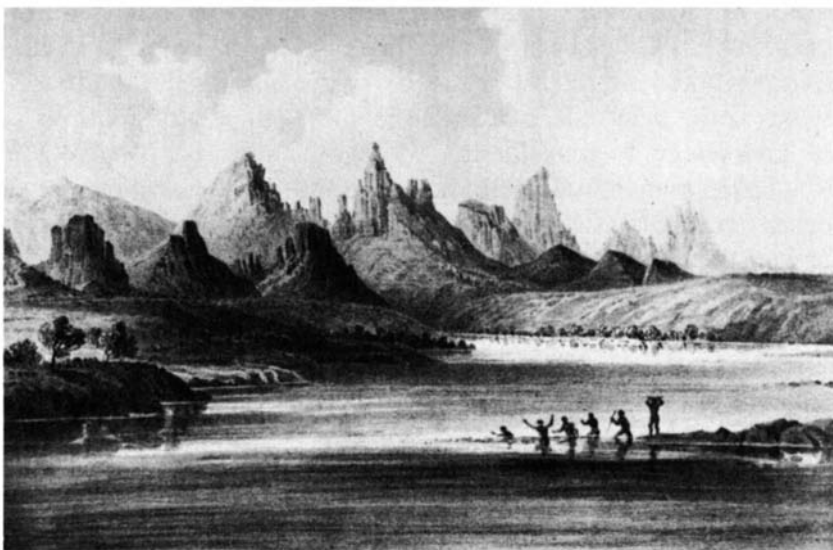


The Name Mojave, Mohave: A History of Its Origin and Meaning

BY LORRAINE M. SHERER



The picturesque peaks below Topock named "The Needles" by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple in 1854. These peaks were erroneously called *Hamok avi* (Three Mountains). Their Mojave name is *Huqueamp avi*, "where the battle took place"—the battle in which the god Mastamho slew the sea serpent. The peaks of *Huqueamp avi* mark the passageway through which after cremation of the body, the spirit departs to the Shadow Land. Sketched by B. H. Möllhausen in 1858. Reproduced from Ives' *Geological Report*, opposite p. 30.

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During the early exploration and settlement of North America, a multitude of Indian tribes were encountered, having diverse customs and languages. Lack of knowledge of the aborigines and of their languages led to many curious errors on the part of the early explorers and settlers; names were applied to the Indians that had no relation whatever to their aboriginal names; sometimes nicknames were bestowed, owing perhaps to personal characteristics, fancied or real; sometimes tribes came to be known by names given by other tribes, which were often approbrious; frequently the designation by which a tribal group was known to itself

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was employed, and as such names are oftentimes unpronounceable by alien tongues and unrepresentable by civilized alphabets, the result was a sorry corruption varying according as the sounds were impressed on Spanish, English, French, Dutch, German, Russian, or Swedish ears.

—Frederick Webb Hodge¹

For more than a century the name “Mojave,” or its counterpart “Mohave,” has been used as the name of an Indian tribe who lived—and whose survivors still live—along the Colorado River.² It has come to be the name also of such geographic features as Mojave River, Mojave Desert, Mojave Mountains, Mojave Valley, Lake Mojave. Allegedly it is an Indian name, and supposedly the geographic features were named after the Mojave, Mohave Indian tribe. Indians who bear the name, however, say that it is a misnomer and not their real tribal name.³ They claim that their true Indian name always was, and is, *Aha macave* (pronounced *aha makav*, all *a*'s sounded as the *a* in “father;” the *c* as in “cool;” the *e* silent). The one form, *Aha macave*, is both singular and plural. You never add an *s*.

The name is composed of two Indian words, *aha*, water, and *macave*, along or beside. *Aha* denotes either singular or plural number.⁴ Mojaves translate the idiom “along or beside the water;” or freely as “people who live along the water (river).” The name goes back to antiquity, given to the tribe in First Time by their gods Mutavilya and Mastamho. According to one version, Mastamho spoke to the assembled tribes, saying, “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.”⁵ Along the river (water) is where the Mojaves say they have always lived—*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 the two rivers (Bill Williams and the Colorado) to the land where other than *Aha macave* Indians lived.⁶ *Aha macave* is a descriptive name as are so many in Mojave cul-

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ture—the names of their clans, the names by which girls and women are identified by families, the names given to or chosen by boys and men, the names of geographic features, landmarks and events.⁷ In the old days their tribal name served the useful purpose of describing “where the people lived,” that is, along the water (river).

Aged and middle-aged Fort Mojave Indians use their real tribal name when they are talking among themselves in their native language just as they use their Indian names instead of the “American” names given to them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1905. They use Mojave or Mohave (say them and they sound alike) as the legal name of the tribe without resentment, indeed with understanding. One seasoned Mojave capsuled this view, “It [Mojave] comes close to our real name [*Aha macave*] the way white men heard it from the Indians. Our name was hard for white men to understand.” They figured that Mojave, Mohave was an unintentional mistake by people who did not understand their language, because the two native words that sound like Mojave, Mohave are *mahavi* and *mahava*, which “wouldn’t do for a tribal name.” *Mahavi* means, “Been in?” or “Have you been in?” *Mahava* means, “Going in?” or “Are you going in?” Their assumption that their real tribal name was hard for white men to understand is demonstrated by the list of fifty-eight versions of “Mohave” published in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* in 1907.⁸ Since that date the total has been upped by at least twelve. To Mojave Indians this number of variations is understandable and reasonable.

Not so the derivation *hamok avi*, translated “three mountain,” attributed to “Mohave” in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.⁹ That “three mountain” be interpreted as the Needles peaks is incomprehensible and inexcusable to them. “We have *never* had any name for those mountains but *Huqueamp ave*,” older Fort Mojaves reiterated emphatically.¹⁰ *Huqueamp ave* means “where the battle took place” (*huqueamp*, a battle or fight in the past; *ave*, where, a place). The battle refers to the mighty struggle between the god Mastamho and the sea monster in which the sea monster was slain. *Huqueamp ave* has yet another religious significance to Mojaves. It marks the gateway through which the shadow (spirit) of a Mojave enters the

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Shadowland after his cremation, and through which gifts cremated with him pass into the Shadowland to be his possessions in the hereafter. The traditional rites of departure are still observed by Fort Mojaves today within the legal limits of burial. *Huqueamp ave* is a sacred place. To Mojaves it is unthinkable that their tribe be called by a religious name, just as it is against their custom to give a religious name to a clan or to a member of the tribe.

Furthermore, "three mountain" or "three mountains" in the Mojave language is *avi hamok*, and not *hamok avi*. In their language the noun precedes its modifier. Examples are: *Avi kwami*, Spirit or Ghost Mountain (*avi*, mountain; *kwami*, spirit, ghost), and *avi havisu*, blue or green mountains (*avi*, mountains; *havisu*, blue, green).

The derivation and meaning of the tribal name claimed by Mojave Indians contradicts the derivation and meaning as published in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, and subsequently used by writers who have had occasion to explain the derivation and meaning of Mojave, Mohave. At the time this historic *Handbook* was published, data on the Mojave Indians were meager. They are not prolific yet, but during the last half century several important contributions have been made which alter pioneer findings, among them, for example, A. L. Kroeber's anthropological studies of the Mojave Indians, Bolton's translation of old Spanish documents, and extensive studies of fur trappers of the Southwest. The early report on the Mojave Indians in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* has stood through the years as the only source of its kind, never revised, or superseded. The purpose of the present study was to take one aspect of the report—the tribal name of the Mojave Indians, its versions, its derivation, and its meaning—and begin where the *Handbook* left off. Taking the list of versions of the Mojaves' tribal name in the *Handbook* as a starting place, the names on the list were reexamined to find which versions were obtained first hand from Mojave Indians and which were not. To these versions and sources were added those not available in 1907. The first part of the study presents these data in chronological order to give the history of how the *Aha macave* Indians came by the name Mojave, Mohave. The second line of investigation was to

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trace the history of the derivation of the debated "three mountain," and to round up other derivations that have been reported. The second part of the study presents rather detailed information which, it is hoped, will help arbitrate the long standing controversy over "three mountain" and bring the long lost *Aha macave* to the fore.

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The first white men actually to talk with Mojave Indians in their own country and to record their tribal name were Spaniards in the expedition of Don Juan de Oñate in 1604.¹¹ Coming down the river now called Bill Williams, they struck its juncture with the river now called Colorado. "The first nation of people whom we saw on this river was called *Amacava*," wrote Fray Francisco de Escobar, the father commissary and diarist of the expedition. "We found them very friendly. They gave us maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river, and which they plant in all its bottom lands. . . ." In ensuing passages Escobar also used *Amacavas*.¹² It was not until 1919 that the newly discovered Escobar document was translated and published by Herbert Eugene Bolton—"Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California"—of which Bolton says, "A serious gap in the documentation of the Southwest has at last been filled through the discovery of the diary of Father Escobar here published. In 1604 Juan de Oñate, Governor and Adelantado of New Mexico, and founder of the province, made an important expedition from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California. Hitherto our principal source of information regarding the event has been Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*, written many years after the expedition by a person who did not take part in it. Though Zárate's account bears on its face evidence that it was based on first-hand information, in our ignorance of his source it has manifestly been unsatisfactory. The discovery of an original narrative of the expedition, therefore, is a long step toward placing Oñate's journey on a reliable basis. It adds to our satisfaction to learn that Zárate's account is founded directly on the diary by Escobar, and that our anchor heretofore has been more secure than we knew."¹³ By the time that Escobar's diary was translated and published the *Ama-*

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cava, *Amacavas* Indians had been called Mojave, Mohave for almost seventy years.

Zárate Salmerón's "Relaciones de todas las cosas . . ." was used as a source by Hubert Howe Bancroft in describing the discovery of the Mojave Indians by the Oñate expedition. In his *Arizona and California* (1888), Bancroft wrote, "For some distance above and below the junction [Bill Williams and the Colorado rivers] lived the Amacava nation, or Mojaves. Captain Marquez went up the river a short distance; then the whole party followed its course southward, the natives being friendly, and the interviews respecting the Northern Mystery taking the place of adventure. Below the Amacavas lived. . ." The footnote to this passage reads, "The form in the 18th century as occurring in the Cal. annals was Amajava, which later became Mojave. Possibly in this narrative above it should be Amajava, the 'c' being a misprint."¹⁴ The "c" was not a misprint, as discovered in 1899 and 1900 when Charles F. Lummis published his translation of Fray Geronimo Zárate Salmerón's "Relaciones de todas las cosas . . ." and as reaffirmed in Bolton's retranslation of the California part of Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones* in 1916.¹⁵ Zárate Salmerón used *Amacava*, *Amacavas*, both of which appear in Escobar's diary, and *Amacabos* which does not appear in it.

It is significant to note in tracing the Mojaves' real tribal name that the very earliest Spaniard-on-the-scene recorder, Escobar, used *Amacava* and *Amacavas*, and that the earliest Spanish scholar to use Escobar's diary in his writings—Zárate Salmerón—used the same forms, plus *Amacabos*. These early versions come close indeed to *Aha macave* claimed by Mojaves to be their real name.

Almost a century and three-quarters passed before the next Spaniard talked with Mojaves in their own domain and left a record of their tribal name. In December 1775, Fray Francisco Garcés, head of the Mission San Xavier del Bac in Sonora, disengaged himself from the California-bound colonizing expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza at the Yuma villages to visit Colorado River tribes.¹⁶ During his visits with Indians of different tribes he picked up information about the Mojave Indians whom he had previously called *Soyopas*,¹⁷ but whose name he found was *Jamajab* (pronounced *Hamahab*). That Garcés learned this

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name prior to his visit among the Mojaves in their own domains is indicated in passages in his diary. For example, while among the Yumas he was visited by Yavapai Indians. Through a Yuma "who understood the Yavapai language well," Garcés learned the names of their friends and enemies. Among the former were the *Jamajabs*.¹⁸ Also while Garcés was among the Yumas "the Jalcedunes came repeatedly to see me," he wrote, "and urged me to go to their land. I gladly agreed to do so, on condition that they would conduct me afterwards to the Jamajabs. To this they objected. . . Seeing this repugnance, I determined to go first to the Jamajabs with an Indian of that nation who was here among the Yumas." He thereupon took his leave from the Yumas in company with two interpreters, Sevastian, and a Jamajab.¹⁹ In his "Reflections on the Diary" Garcés comments on Indian tribal names: "Let it be borne in mind (*engase presente*) also that in the names I set down there may be variation, seeing that the Indians call by different names one and the same nation, as I have observed in the case of the Jamajabs, whom the Jalcedunes and Cocomaricopas call Cuesninas or Cuisnurs, howbeit (*siendo ase que*) the other nations give them the name Jamajabs."²⁰

Throughout his diary Garcés consistently used *Jamajab* and *Jamajabs*.²¹ He visited with many Mojaves in their own lands, met five chiefs, and was conducted to San Gabriel mission and back by Mojave guides. He had ample opportunities of verifying the tribal name had he been moved to do so.

Garcés was the only member of Anza's expedition to visit the Mojaves in their own country (unless the Indian Sevastian is counted). Two other priests in the expedition, however, contributed to the tribal name—Fray Thomas Eixarch, who wintered with the Yumas, and Fray Pedro Font, the diarist of the expedition, who accompanied Anza to California and returned. Eixarch used *Jamajab*, *Jamajabs* in his diary, although once he used *Soyopa* as Garcés, Anza, and Diaz did in their diaries of Anza's first California expedition in 1774.²² One main significance of Eixarch's diary in relation to the Mojaves' tribal name is his recurrent reference to Mojave visitors among the Yumas²³—a habit reported by United States Army officers stationed among the Yumas about seventy years later. These Mojave visitors were potential sources of information about their own tribal name in

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both cases. Whether Eixarch borrowed his version *Jamajab* from Garcés, obtained it from Yuma Indians, or obtained it from visiting Mojaves, is conjectural.²⁴ He might have obtained it from any of these sources.

Fray Font, who had few if any direct contacts with the Mojaves during his brief stopover at the Yuma villages, used *Jamajá* three times in one entry in his long diary, *Tomascabas* once and *Jamajab* once.²⁵

During the Spanish era in the Southwest two sets of versions of the Mojaves' tribal name were provided by on-the-scene reporters: *Amacava*, *Amacavas* (Escobar, 1604) and *Jamajab*, *Jamajabs* (Garcés, 1776). Primary data from the Spanish expeditions that had a bearing on the Mojaves' tribal name—Oñate's and Anza's—did not enter the stream of United States history in chronological order. Information provided by Garcés in 1775-1776 was known and made use of in the 1850's, while Escobar's information trailed behind more than half a century.

Fifty years elapsed between Garcés' exit from Mojave country and the entrance of the next white men who contributed versions of the Mojaves' tribal name. Meantime, Spain had lost her lands in the Southwest to Mexico. During the Mexican regime, beaver trappers from the United States and from the British Northwest trapped along the Colorado River and through Mojave domains. Although trapping by non-citizens was forbidden by Mexican law, fortunes were to be made in furs and illicit trapping flourished. This was the hey-day of mountain men and frontiersmen whose knowledge of the West opened trails when the Southwest came into the possession of the United States. However rich the period may have been in adventure and oral tradition, written records were rare—nor would one expect them to abound.

The first trapper-explorer to enter Mojave country and to record the name of the tribe was Jediah Smith. In 1826, exploring for untrapped beaver streams, Smith and his party entered Mojave country from the north below Grand Canyon. In the neighborhood of the now submerged Cottonwood Valley and below in the Mojave Valley, they encountered friendly Indians. Smith reported, "I found here a nation of Indians who call themselves Ammuchabas."²⁶ Smith and his men remained a fortnight among these Indians recuperating themselves and their horses,

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and trading; then, provided with Indian guides, they proceeded to San Gabriel mission in California. On his second trip into Mojave country the following year, Smith and his party of eighteen men were attacked by the Mojaves and ten trappers killed. In his account of this attack, Smith spelled the tribal name *Amuchabas*, one “m” instead of two.²⁷ Although Smith’s orthography differs from that of Escobar, his versions are very close to *Amacava* (or *Aha macave*), if his *ch* is pronounced as the *ch* in “character” or “chasm.” He undoubtedly obtained his version directly from the Mojaves during his first friendly stopover. Smith was literate, kept his own journals, and wrote his own letters, therefore his version of the tribal name came directly from his written records.

Between Smith’s visit in 1826 and the decline of the fur trade in the late 1830’s, other beaver hunters trapped along the Colorado River and through Mojave Indian country, but who, and how many is an open question. Among those known to have been in Mojave country, however, were Ewing Young, William Wolf-skill, George C. Yount, James Ohio Pattie, Christopher “Kit” Carson, Antoine Leroux, Old Bill Williams, Pauline Weaver, and Peter Skene Ogden. Those who kept notes or narrated their recollections to scribes were James Ohio Pattie, George C. Yount and Kit Carson.²⁸ Pattie called the tribe *Mohawa*; Yount contributed *Mahawies*, *Mohawies*, *Mohavies*; Carson’s version was *Mohave*. The nature and brevity of their face-to-face contacts with these Indians raise doubt as to whether they obtained their versions from the Mojave Indians or picked them up otherwise.

Pattie’s account was published in 1831 under the editorship of Timothy Flint, and reprinted in 1833. In his *The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie of Kentucky*, Pattie described the experiences of a party of trappers (Ewing Young’s) with the Mojave Indians in 1827.²⁹ The account begins, “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 and hiding themselves in their huts. We encamped about three miles above the village.”³⁰ He then narrates a series of hostilities and retaliations between the trappers and the Indians. Pattie used the name *Mohawa* only

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once in his account, thereafter referring to "Indians." In re-editing Pattie's *Personal Narration* in 1905, Thwaites stated, "Pattie appears to have written from memory, without the aid of notes taken on his journey—a fact which accounts for occasional discrepancies in dates, and the obvious confusion of events. Upon the whole, however, the narrative impresses the reader with a sense of verity, and it has the charm of simplicity and vigor."³¹ In the present study Pattie's verity of the name of the Mojave Indians is the main concern.

George C. Yount was with the Ewing Young party in 1827 when the trappers avenged the massacre of Robidoux's party by Indians on the lower Colorado and rescued young Pattie. His account of the encounter with the Mojaves and Pattie's might well have been about different incidents. Yount is said to have trapped through Mojave country several times, but how many is not clear. He was with Ewing Young at least twice, however, and with William Wolfskill at least once. Albeit Yount could neither read nor write, he had a talent for talking. His accounts and his opinions of his adventures with the Mojave Indians were husbanded in his "Memoirs" and in his "Chronicles." In 1854 or 1855 the former trapper narrated these to "his friend, Orange Clark" who prepared them for publication, titled "The Chronicles of George C. Yount, Comprising much of the History of California and a graphic detail of the Scenes and Privations of a Border Life."³² The "Chronicles" were never published. They repose today in three slim handwritten booklets in the Henry E. Huntington Library. The dramatic contents are attributed to Yount. The spelling of the tribal name *Mahawies*, *Mohawies*, *Mohavies* is Clark's. The "Chronicles" probably capstone many years of storytelling, and as such they help to explain the origin and spread of the misnomer Mohave, especially in California. Extracts from the "Chronicles" were published in 1966 in *George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West*, edited by Charles L. Camp.³³ Those pertaining to the Mojaves are less lengthy and hence less involved than the accounts in Clark's manuscript. According to Camp, Yount became a colorful pioneer in Napa, California, where his rancho gave succor and entertainment to many a traveller, and where its owner regaled his friends and acquaintances with tales of his adventurous past. Referring to Yount and his competitors

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in story telling, Camp comments, "Winnowing the facts from these fluorescent tales has become a kind of historical sport. Some basic substance is usually to be found in what has often been disparaged as windy collections of cheerful lies. In Yount's case the difficulties are not so great."³⁴ One of the winnowings from Yount's reminiscences in the present study is his repeated use of the Mojaves' tribal name, which leaves no doubt about what he called the tribe. A second winnowing is more than a suspicion that Yount helped to publicize the Mojaves long before he chronicled his experiences to Orange Clark.

Kit Carson called the tribe *Mohave*. His recorded experiences with Mojave Indians boil down to one incident, often repeated in literature about Carson. It happened in 1829, when in company with Ewing Young and others, the trappers entered Mojave country from the north below Grand Canyon. Carson reported, "We had suffered greatly for want of food. We met a party of Mohave Indians and purchased of them a mare, heavy with foal. The mare was killed and eaten by the party with great gusto; even the foal was devoured. We encamped on the banks of the Colorado three days, recruiting our animals and trading with the Indians. We procured from them a few beans and corn. Then we took a southwestern course, and in three days struck the bed of a stream which rises in the coast range . . . arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel."³⁵ This matter of fact account is the only printed reference in which Carson referred to the Mojaves by name, although one other incident that he reported was attributed to Mojaves. It deals with the appearance of "at least five hundred warriors." Carson reported, "These came into our camp. They pretended friendship, but such a large number coming, we mistrusted them." The Indians retired after being told by Carson that they would be shot if they did not. They may have been Mojaves, but Carson simply called them "Indians."³⁶

When the beaver industry declined, Carson, like other erstwhile beaver trappers, turned to new means of livelihood. He located near Taos, a crossroad for trappers and traders, and became a scout, a guide, and a courier. Part of his fame came through his publicized services to John Charles Frémont on his expeditions to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, and California in 1842-1844. Frémont's expeditions did not take him into Mojave

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Indian country along the Colorado River, but in 1843 he did travel through the desert now called the Mojave, following along a river that he named *Mohahve*. Frémont reported, "Here a party of six Indians came into camp, poor and hungry, and quite in keeping with the character of the country. Their arms were bows of unusual length, and each had a large gourd, strengthened with meshes of cord, in which he carried water. They proved to be the Mohahve Indians mentioned by our recent guide; and from one of them who spoke Spanish fluently, I obtained some interesting information . . . The Indian who spoke Spanish had been educated a number of years at one of the Spanish missions, and, at the breaking up of these establishments, had returned to the mountains, where he had been found by a party of *Mohahve* (sometimes spelled *Amuchaba*) Indians, among whom he has ever since resided."³⁷ Nothing in Frémont's report indicates that he obtained the name *Mohahve* from any of the Indians who came into his camp, or met along his way—including the Indian referred to as "our recent guide." Frémont's spelling of the tribal name and of the river was *Mohahve*; he wrote the name of the river *Mo-hah-ve*. At this time Kit Carson was Frémont's guide; his hunter was Alexander Godey.

Carson's experiences with Mojave Indians are minor incidents in a life filled with danger and drama. The fact that he called these Indians *Mohave*, however, may have been a factor in its use and perpetuation. His reputation included such attributes as fearlessness, cool-headedness, sobriety, modesty, and "respect for the truth." Loquacity was not included. Kit Carson was a nationally known and celebrated frontiersman, scout and fighter when he dictated the story of his life to Colonel and Mrs. Dewitt C. Peters in 1856-1857. This story was embodied in a book by Peters in 1859, titled *The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson, the Nestor of the Rocky Mountains from Facts Narrated by Himself*. In it the name *Mohave* appeared, spelled with *h*.³⁸ In view of Carson's limited orthography the spelling must have been that of the Peters. It was 1926 before the manuscript dictated to the Peters was edited and published by Blanche C. Grant.³⁹ Both publications were too late to have influenced the adoption of the name Mojave, Mohave. Communication of the name by word of mouth, however, is a distinct probability. Certainly no frontiersman had

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a broader or more distinguished circle of friends and acquaintances than did Carson when the United States acquired New Mexico. His spoken word *Mohahve* or *Mohave* would have lent authenticity to the words of other trappers which reinforced its ultimate use. No trapper or party of trappers can be pinpointed as the originators of the name Mojave, Mohave. What is important to note in tracing the tribal name is that *Mohave* and its variants made their first appearance during the 1820's and 1830's among beaver trappers from the United States. How the name spread remains in the realm of circumstantial evidence.

In summary: during the Mexican regime in the Southwest these versions of the tribal name (but not necessarily its spelling) were contributed by on-the-scene observers: *Ammuchabas*, *Amuchabas* (Smith, 1826-1827), *Mohawa* (Pattie, 1827); *Mahauvies*, *Mohauvies*, *Mohavies* (Yount, 1827-1831); *Mohave* (Carson, 1829-30). The river was named *Mohahve* after the *Mohahve* Indians by Frémont in 1843, but he did not obtain the name from Mojave Indians.

When the United States began to explore its newly acquired territory in the Southwest the Mojave Indians and their domains along the Colorado River were hearsay to the military. Commanders of expeditions from the War Department relied heavily on ex-trappers to serve as guides, and obtained all the information they could from frontiersmen who knew or purported to know geography and Indians. The three commanders who explored or surveyed along the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude through Mojave country between 1851 and 1858 used either *Mojave* or *Mohave* in their reports to the War Department. None tells where he obtained the name. Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, who headed the reconnaissance through Mojave country in 1851,⁴⁰ used *Mohave*, spelled with an *h*, as did Edward Fitzgerald Beale in reporting his missions of 1857 and 1858.⁴¹ Richard Kern, cartographer and artist of the Sitgreaves' expedition, kept a diary (never published) in which he referred to the Mojaves as *Amajaves* or *Amaghaves*.⁴² Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple used *Mojave* spelled with a *j* in his journal of his mission in 1853-1854.⁴³ Baldwin Möllhausen, his topographer and artist, used the *h* form in his *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific*, translated into English and published in

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London in 1858.⁴⁴ One notes that Antoine Leroux, an ex-trapper who knew Mojave country along the Colorado, served as guide for Sitgreaves and for Whipple; he also guided Beale part of the way on his journey to California in 1853.⁴⁵ Leroux was a trapper-turned-guide, a landholder through marriage into a wealthy New Mexican family, an acquaintance and neighbor of Kit Carson near Taos, and a well-known figure among trappers and military men. (Thus far this writer has not found the name that Leroux called the Mojaves.)

From the standpoint of the Mojaves' tribal name, Whipple's was the most important report. Whipple was the only commander explicitly ordered by the War Department to make a study of the Indian tribes along his route of exploration. His study of the Mojave Indians was the only study of this tribe until Edward S. Curtis published his in 1908,⁴⁶ and the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution published A. L. Kroeber's comprehensive one in 1925.⁴⁷ Although Whipple used *Mojave* throughout his "Itinerary," or journal, in his "Report upon the Indian Tribes," written in collaboration with Thomas Ewbank and William W. Turner, he states, "*Mojaves* (called by themselves *Ah-moc-há-ve*)."⁴⁸ This version minus its hyphens is a reasonable rendition of *Aha macave* if written Ah mochave—the *o* sounded as the *o* in "bother." In the "Report upon the Indian Tribes" are two maps, one reproduced from a drawing on the ground made by a Yuma Indian showing the location of the *Mac-ha-ves*; the other, reproduced from a sketch by a Chemehuevi chief, showing the location of the *A-mac-há-vès* (another close approximation of *Aha macave*).⁴⁹ Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives, who had been Whipple's assistant in 1853-1854, used *Mojave* spelled with a *j* in reporting his 1858 exploration of the Colorado River.⁵⁰

The name *Mohave* was widely publicized between 1857 and 1858 by R. B. Stratton's *Captivity of the Oatman Girls, being an Interesting Narrative of Life Among the Apache and Mohave Indians*.⁵¹ This book ran through three editions in two years. In 1858 the Mojaves attacked an emigrant train at their Colorado River crossing. This made headlines. In 1859, Leonard J. Rose, owner of one of the wagon trains, reported "the massacre" by the Mojave Indians in a long article in the *Missouri Republican*,⁵²

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and John Udell, a member of one of the wagons, published in California his *Journal of John Udell, Kept During a Trip Across the Plains, Containing an Account of the Massacre of a Portion of the Party by the Mohave Indians*.⁵³ Udell spelled the tribal name with a *j* in his text, and with an *h* on the title page. These publications coming when they did undoubtedly reinforced the names Mojave, Mohave.

Then, in 1859, the War Department launched a campaign against the Mojaves which resulted in the establishment of a military post in Mojave country. Officers who participated in this mission used Mohave, spelled with *h* in their messages and reports, with one exception.⁵⁴ The first post commander, Major Lewis A. Armistead, wrote the Adjutant General on May 1, 1859, from "Fort Mojave, New Mexico," "Sir: I have the honor to report that I was left in command of this post by Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman, sixth infantry, on the 26th ultimo, by him styled Camp Colorado, named by me as above."⁵⁵ In this report Armistead also described the "Mojave Indians."

Fort Mojave was garrisoned by United States troops until May 29, 1861 when it was temporarily closed and its officers and troops deployed to Civil War duty. Meantime, in 1860, Peter Brady, scout and interpreter at Fort Mojave, described the Mojave Indians in a report to the new post commander Brevet Major Granville O. Haller.⁵⁶ In it he called the tribe *Ho-mok-hav-es*. Haller was post commander for one year and seven months during which he became well acquainted with the Indians. In 1862, from his Civil War quarters in Pennsylvania, he wrote his recommendations for the welfare of the tribe to the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The name these Indians called themselves, he said, was *Ah much ha vas*.⁵⁷ This version, like Whipple's *Ah-moc-ha-ves* and Smith's *Amuchabas* is strikingly similar to *Aha macave* in sound. Fort Mojave was regarrisoned in 1863 and maintained as an army post until 1890 when it was transferred to the Department of the Interior for an Indian school. Army officers during the period of military occupation ordinarily used *Mojave*, with a *j* as the name of the post and the name of the Indians.⁵⁸ In 1865 Congress established the Colorado River Reservation for the Mojaves and other Colorado River tribes. Technically, the Fort Mojave Indians were under the jurisdiction of the super-

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intendent of that reservation. They continue to remain so as registrants of the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation which was set apart for them in 1911. Both *Mojave* and *Mohave* were used by agents at the reservation and by superintendents of the Fort Mojave Indian Industrial School after 1890.⁵⁹

Between 1869 and 1879, lands west of the one hundredth meridian were surveyed by the Department of the U.S. Army Engineers, Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, in command. One aspect of the Wheeler surveys was the accumulation and analysis of the languages of Indians within the wide area surveyed. Wheeler used the name *Mohave*, spelled with *h*, as did the two men responsible for collecting a vocabulary of the Mojave Indians. E. M. Richardson, who accompanied Wheeler's up-river expedition in 1871 collected a word list from Mojave Indians in the vicinity of Fort Mojave. His study contributes no new versions to the list of Mojave tribal names. In 1875 Oscar Loew, assigned to the Geographic Survey, obtained a vocabulary from Mojave Indians on the Colorado River Reservation. Although Loew used the *h* form of spelling in referring to the tribe, he stated, "Their name is also written Mahhoas, Mo-oav, and in Spanish Mojaves."⁶⁰

Today the Department of the Interior uses the *h* form for the Mojaves on both reservations. In 1957 the Fort Mojave Tribal Council officially adopted the *j* form. This version appears on their letterheads and in minutes and other records, except incoming communications which more often than not spell the name with the *h*.

Meantime, in 1908, Edward S. Curtis published his brief study of the Mojave Indians (spelled by him with *h*) in which he stated that their tribal name was *Hummahaba*.⁶¹ A. L. Kroeber, in 1916, reported the old tribal name to be *Hamakhava*. In his later writing he used both *Hamakhava* and *Hamakhave*.⁶²

In summary: after the United States acquired the Southwest the following versions of the Mojaves' tribal name appeared in the records and reports of on-the-scene observers: *Mojave*, *Mohave* (Sitgreaves, 1851; Whipple, 1854; Beale, 1857, 1858; Ives, 1858; Möllhausen, 1858; Oatman, 1857; Rose, 1859; Udell, 1859; all U.S. Army officers engaged in the campaign against the Mojaves—Clark, Hoffman, Armistead, 1859; all commanders at Fort Mojave, 1859-1861, 1863-1890; superintendents and agents

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at the Colorado River Reservation, 1865-1966; superintendents of the Fort Mojave Indian Industrial School, 1890-1930); *Amajaves*, *Amaghaves* (Kern, 1851); *Ah-moc-ha-ve* (Whipple, 1853; *Ho-mok-hav-es* (Brady, 1860); *Ah much ha vas* (Haller, 1862); *Mahhaos*, *Mo-oav* (Loew, 1875); *Hummahaba* (Curtis, 1908); *Hamakhava*, *Hamakhave* (Kroeber, 1902-1951); *Aha macave* (Sherer, 1952-1967).

And now, a recapitulation of the versions of the Mojaves' tribal name from reporters who were in Mojave country, and obtained—or could have obtained—their versions directly from Mojave Indians. They are listed in chronological order according to the dates of contact with the Mojave Indians, irrespective of the dates of publication. Versions actually known to have been obtained first hand from Mojave Indians are starred (*). Those which appear in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* are marked by a cross (†).

1604	Amacava,* Amacavas*	Escobar
1776	Jamajab, Jamajabs†	Garcés
1826-27	Ammuchabas,* Amuchabas*	Smith
1827	Mohawa†	Pattie
1827-30	Mahauvies, Mohauvies, Mohavies	Yount
1829-30	Mohave	Carson
1851	Mohaves	Sitgreaves
1851	Amajaves, Amaghaves	Kern
1854	Mojave, Ah-moc-ha-ve*†	Whipple
1854	Mohave, Mohawe†	Möllhausen
1857-58	Mohave	Beale
1858	Mojave	Ives
1858	Mojaves	Rose
1858	Mojave, Mohave	Udell
1859	Mohave	Clark, Hoffman
1859	Mojave, Mohave	Armistead
1860	Mojave, Ho-mok-hav-es	Brady
1860-62	Mojave, Ah much ha vas*	Haller
1863-90	Mojave, Mohave	Post Commanders, Fort Mojave
1863-68	Mojave	Supts. Indian Affairs, Ariz. Terr.

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1865-98	Mojave, Mohave	Agents, Colo. Riv. Agency
1871	Mohave	Wheeler, Richardson
1875	Mohave, Mojave, Mahhaos, Mo-oav	Loew
1899-1966	Mohave	Agents, Colo. Riv. Agency
1890-1930	Mojave, Mohave	Supts. Ft. Mojave School
1902	Mohave	Kroeber
1907	Mohave, Hummahaba*	Curtis
1902-51	Mohave, Hamakhava,* Hamakhave*	Kroeber
1952-67	Mojave, Aha macave*	Sherer

Three points stand out conspicuously in this chronology: (1) the preponderance of Mohave and its variants beginning in 1826 and continuing thereafter; (2) the appearance of versions of *Aha macave* off and on from 1604 to the present, and (3) that these latter versions all came from sources known to have obtained the name directly from the Mojave Indians. If the list of versions in the chronology is reduced to those actually known to have been obtained first hand from Mojave Indians, its shrinkage eliminates all but *Amacava*, *Amacavas* (Escobar, 1604); *Amuchabas*, *Amuchabas* (Smith, 1826-1827); *Ah-moc-ha-ve* (Whipple, 1854); *Ah much ha vas* (Haller, 1860-1862); *Hummahaba* (Curtis, 1907); *Hamakhava*, *Hamakhave* (Kroeber, 1902-1951), and *Aha macave* (Sherer, 1952-1967). Any of these versions are close enough to the tribal name to be considered variants in spelling, except Curtis, which was "a little joke." Actually, the remaining versions are relatively few: Garcés' *Jamajab*, *Jamajabs*, a name given the Mojaves by other tribes; Kern's *Amajaves*, *Amaghaves*, closely akin to *Aha macave*, but source not known; Brady's *Ho-mok-hav-es*—most likely brought with him from Fort Yuma during the 1859 campaign against the Mojaves, and *Mo-have*, with its variants—four main versions in all.

One fact stands clearly—the name Mohave, Mojave originated during the 1820's, when the lands of the Southwest were possessions of Mexico, with trappers from the United States, and the

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name was perpetuated by the departments of War and of the Interior when the Southwest came into the possession of the United States. The fact that the oldest reported version, *Amacava*, *Amacavas* was obtained by a Spanish scholar and linguist who spoke many languages is fortunate in confirming the Mojaves' claim that their real name is and always was *Aha macave*.

The versions from on-the-scene reporters fall into three groups according to the way they sound:

- (1) *Amacava*, *Amacavas*, *Ammuchabas*, *Amuchabas*, *Ah-moc-ha-ve*, *Ah much ha vas*, *Aha macave*;
- (2) *Hamakhava*, *Hamakhave*, *Jamajab*, *Jamajabs*, *Ho-mok-hav-es*, *Hummahaba*;
- (3) *Mohawa*, *Mahauvies*, *Mohavies*, *Mohahve*, *Mohave*, *Mojave*, *Mahhaos*, *Ma-oav*.

They certainly represent a diversity in spelling, but said aloud, the names within each group (except Curtis's *Hummahaba*) are decidedly similar. Those in the first group come very close to *Aha macave*. For example, Escobar's *Amacava*, if written *A macava*; Smith's *Amuchabas*, if the *ch* is sounded as the *ch* in "chorus," and written *A muchabas*; Haller's *Ah much ha vas*, if the *ch* is also pronounced as in "chorus" or "choir" and the name written *Ah muchavas*; Whipple's *Ah-moc-ha-ve*, if dehyphenated and written *Ah mochave*, the *o* being sounded as the *o* in "bother." The beginning *a* is conspicuously missing in the second group. However, supplied with this *a*, and written as two words, most of these are close to *Aha macave*. For example, Kroeber's *Hamakhava*, *Hamakhave* would sound exactly like *Aha makhava*, *Aha makhave* and would be one way of spelling the name. Brady's *Ho-mok-hav-es* minus its hyphens would be *Ho mokhaves*, the *o*'s sounded as in "bother." Even Garcés' *Jamajab* is helped with a beginning *a* and regrouping, *Aja majab*. *Hummahaba* is an erroneous name. The words in the third group lack the entire *aha* and contain an *h* where a *c* should be, hence nothing less than an overhauling would transform them into reasonable semblances of *Aha macave*. When one considers the span of time during which these versions accumulated, the language barriers between the races, and the difficulties of translating the oral name into Spanish and English, these variations seem small. And when one adds to

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these factors the variety of sounds for which the letters and combinations of letters stand in the English language, the variations of *Aha macave* seem infinitesimal.⁶³

* * *

The derivation and meaning of the Mojaves' tribal name have a history quite unlike the history of its many versions. The time span is shorter and the number of different derivations and meanings are few. They are *Aha macave* (along or beside the water), *Wah muk a-hah-ve* (dwelling near the water), *Hamunkh-habi* (three hills), *Hamok avi* (three mountains), and *Hummahaba* (Going Wrong). These five names with their meanings do not lend themselves to chronological treatment; rather they overlap in time, and they differ markedly in their influence on the literature about the Mojave Indians. Within this group two pairs of names and meanings resemble each other; one stands alone. This latter version, *Hummahaba*, was reported by Edward S. Curtis in 1908. Wrote Curtis, "The name *Mohave*, after the Spanish manner called *Mojave*, is a contraction of the name by which they are known to themselves and other Yuma tribes, *Hüm-mahába*, which means 'Going Wrong', from *hüm*, wrong, and *ma-hába*, going. Among the Mohaves and their kindred the explanation is made that when the creator brought them forth and sent them all to different quarters, the Mohaves started 'the wrong way'—hence the name."⁶⁴ When interrogated about this version and its meaning, Mojaves either denied it—"We have always heard it *Aha macave*,"—or dismissed it amusedly—"If he got that from a Mojave, someone was having a little joke," or "someone was pulling his leg."

Wah muk a-hah-ve and its meaning were reported by Henry F. Ewing in 1892. Ewing stated, "The word 'Mohave' is contracted from '*Wah muk a-hah-ve*' 'dwelling near the water'—and in using the name of their tribe they and their neighbors call it '*Wah muk a-hah-ve*', pronouncing it in full."⁶⁵ The spelling is awry, but the sound of the word and its meaning correspond with *Aha macave* as given by Fort Mojave Indians.

The remaining two versions *Hamunkh-habi*, three hills, and *Hamok avi*, three mountain, are similar but they have independent histories. The name *Hamunkh-habi*, but not its meaning, was

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reported by Albert S. Gatchet in his analysis of Indian languages for the 1879 United States Geographical Survey.⁶⁶ The name with its meaning, "three hills," was reported by Henry E. Gannett in his *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States*, published in 1902 and reprinted in 1905. Gannett wrote, "Mohave: a county in Arizona, desert below sea level in southwestern California, named from a tribe of Indians named Hamunkh-habi, meaning 'three hills.'"⁶⁷ The words *Hamunkh* and *habi* are erroneous renditions of two Mojave words *hamok* and *avi*. The meaning is correct because *avi* means mountain, hill, rock, depending on what one is talking about. It is used for both singular and plural number. The manner in which Gatchet and Gannett wrote the words, however, is contrary to Mojave composition. The version *Hamunkh-habi* was not included in the list of variations of the Mojaves' name in the *Handbook of American Indians*, published two years after Gannett's book was reprinted.

The remaining version is the familiar one stated in the *Handbook of American Indians*. Anyone with a speaking acquaintance with the literature about the Mojave Indians will recognize the statement about the derivation and meaning of their tribal name. It has been cited and quoted, with and without credit, paraphrased, and "lifted" by writers who had occasion to give the meaning of the tribal name. The statement in the *Handbook* reads:

Mohave (from *hamok* 'three,' *avi* 'mountain') the most populous and warlike of the Yuman tribes. Since known to history they appear to have lived on both sides of the Rio Colorado, though chiefly on the E. side, between the Needles (whence their name is derived) and the entrance to Black canyon.⁶⁸

The history of this derivation and its meaning began in the early 1850's among United States Army officers stationed at Fort Yuma—the only military post on the Colorado River until Fort Mojave was established in 1859. Prior to January 1858 no officer from that post had gone up the river to reconnoitre Mojave country,⁶⁹ but all post commanders were alert to information bearing on the friends and enemies of their particular charges. As in Garcés' time, Mojaves went downstream to visit the Yumas and information about them and their tribal name may have been

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obtained from visiting Mojaves, Yuma Indians, or both. Lieutenant Thomas W. Sweeney, who was stationed among the Yumas in 1849-1853, called the tribe *Jamejav* or *Mojaves*.⁷⁰ The first post commander, Major Samuel P. Heintzleman, reported that very little was known about the *Ah-ma-ha-vas*;⁷¹ his successor, Major George H. Thomas reported several versions of the tribal name—*Ah-mok-ha-ve*, *Ham-oke-ave*, *Hamokava*, *Hamukhave*;⁷² Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, who succeeded Thomas, called the tribe *Hamokhave* or *Mohave*, whose members he said, visited the Yumas and the post in numbers.⁷³ Most of these versions were reasonably close to *Aha macave*. To Major Thomas goes the dubious credit of discovering that the old tribal name meant “three mountains.” He relayed this information to William C. Blake, Geologist in the Office of United States Pacific Exploration and Surveys, who prepared the geology reports for both the Whipple and the Williamson surveys—the former “from the notes of Mr. Jules Marcou and others;” the latter from his own primary data. Blake incorporated Thomas’s information, plus auxiliary notes, in the geology section of Whipple’s report.⁷⁴ Next we find it slightly modified in Coues’ *Diary of Francisco Garcés* and then full blown in the *Handbook of American Indians*.

The manner in which “three mountain” entered published literature is best told in Blake’s own words. While he was preparing his report on the mountains enclosing the valley of the Mojaves, Blake noted that there were two long mountain ranges, one on each side of the Colorado River, and that a mountain range, broken by the river, lay to the south. One who stands on the site of old Fort Mojave can appreciate Blake’s description. From this site the whole Mojave Valley is visible. The Colorado River is sometimes lost to the eye, hidden by hillocks and rank growing bushes, but the mountains—the mountains are omnipresent. And what different looking mountains they are!

Following his description of the mountain ranges which bound the valley, Blake wrote:

The valley of the Mojaves, or *Ah-mok-aves*, as they are more properly called, thus appears to be bounded by three mountainous ridges. According to Major George H. Thomas, U.S.A., who has been stationed among the Yuma Indians at the mouth of the Gila, the name *Ah-mok-ave* signifies three mountains, and it probably refers to these ranges.

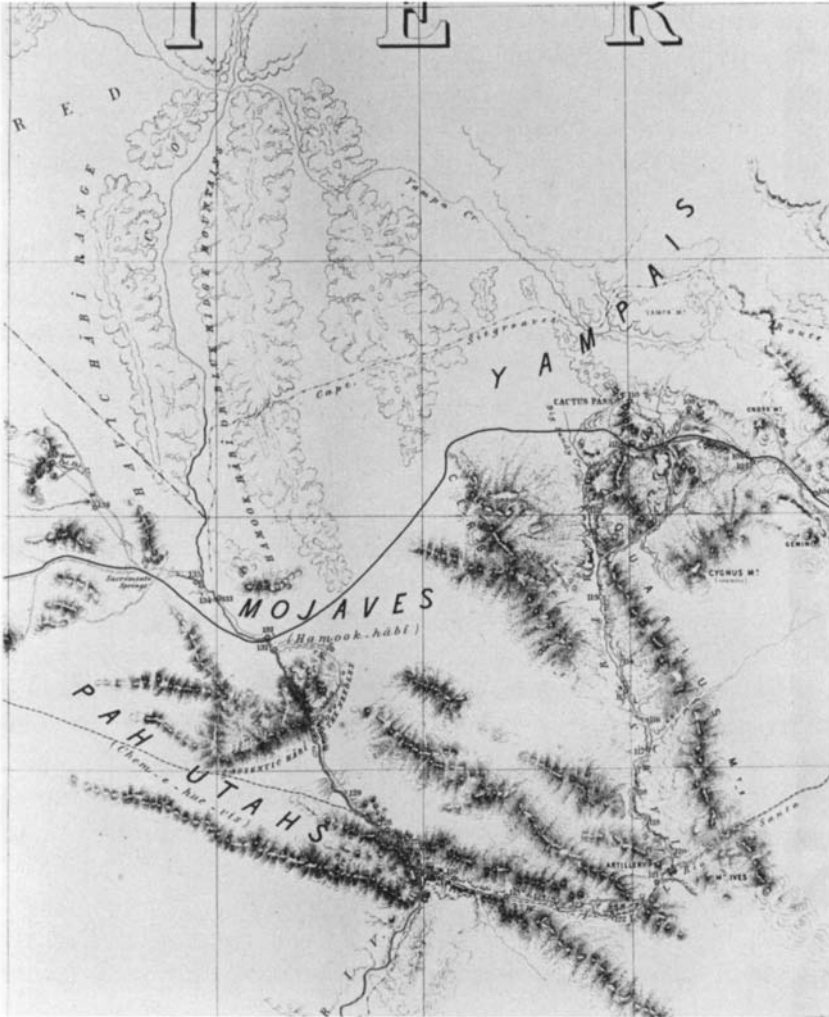
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The footnote to this passage reads:

On consultation with Captain Whipple on this subject, it became plain that this signification of the word is correct. It was soon seen that Ahmokave is nothing more than a combination of the two dissyllabic sounds which have been expressed by Captain Whipple in the words *Ha-mook* and *ha-bee*; the former signifying three, the latter, mountains. The origin of the word Mojave or Mohave has long been in doubt; but the general substitution of the letter j, for the h, shows that it was regarded as Spanish. If we adhere to the most truthful expression of the two dissyllables or sounds, we should write *Ha-mook-ha-bi* instead of Mojave. As these three ranges are not known by any names, Captain Whipple proposes to call the principal range on the left bank, *Hamookhabi*, the range crossing the stream on the south of the valley, (the Needles,) *Ascientic-habi*, and that on the west *Havichabi*. These names, although given provisionally, it being probable that other Indian names for them will be obtained, will be used in the succeeding descriptions.⁷⁵

Blake's text is clear but his footnote explaining Whipple's proposed names for the mountain ranges is a bit confusing. For one thing he places "the principal range, *Hamookhabi*" on the left side of the river, and *Havichabi* on the west side—both ranges on the same side of the river. His text infers that "three mountains" refer to the three ranges that bound the Mojave Valley, whereas his footnote states the name was that of one of the mountain ranges. Whipple's map shows unmistakably what he meant.⁷⁶ He proposed to give each of the three mountain ranges a number name. In the Mojave language *asciente*, *havic* and *hamok* signify one, two, three, e.g. number one, number two, number three, or first, second, third. The Mojaves have no word for mountain range. "We do not think of mountains that way," a Mojave explained. "We give each mountain a name. *Avi* would be our closest word." Whipple knew the mountain ranges and the valley of the Mojaves first-hand. He also knew a good many Mojaves words for he had compiled a vocabulary. However, he did not speak the language and his word list gave no cues as to Mojave composition, hence Whipple wrote the words in the same order as in English. On his map, the southernly range of mountains interrupted by the river is clearly marked *Asciente habi*. This range is called now the Mojave Mountains. The Needles, which

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A portion of Map No. 2 prepared by the Whipple Survey in 1854. Reproduced from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

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were construed later to be “three mountain,” lie in this range prominently marked “The Needles.” *Havic habi* (known now as the Dead Mountains) is on the west or left side of the river. The third range (now called the Black Mountains) lies on the east or right side of the river, clearly marked *Hamook habi* on Whipple’s map. Since Whipple approached the valley of the Mojaves from the south, his plan for tentatively identifying the ranges by number seems logical. Had he been familiar with Mojave composition, he would have written the names Mojave way—*Habi asciente, Habi havic, Habi hamook*. Even with the erroneous *habi* in lieu of *avi*, it would have been hard to figure that *Ah-moc-have* and *Habi hamook* could possibly be the same. Blake’s explanation of how they substituted *Hamook habi* for *Ah-moc-have* (spelled *Ah mok ave* by Blake) speaks for itself. Neither Thomas nor Blake was conversant with the Mojave language. Thus, “three mountains,” *hamook*, three, and *habi*, mountain, entered printed literature via Whipple’s report, the product of three well-intentioned men who tried to use a foreign language that they did not understand.

This erroneous derivation was transmitted in Elliot Coues’ edition of *The Diary of Francisco Garcés*, again in a footnote. The footnote, initialed “FW.H.” [Frederick Webb Hodge], explains the meaning of *Jamajab* and gives a list of thirty-seven different forms of the name *Mohave*. The first paragraph begins:

The *Jamajab* = Mohave were the most populous tribe of the Yuman family, and formerly the most warlike. In historic times they occupied the valley of the Rio Colorado, but mainly the eastern bank, between the Needles and the entrance to Black canon, especially the vicinity of Camp Mohave. Their name is derived from *hamok*, “three”; *habi hemi*, “big rock or mountain,” and points to one of their oldest habitats around the Needles on the E. side of the Colorado.⁷⁷

In this statement the correct word for “three” was used instead of *hamook*, and the word for mountain was given as *habi hemi*. “Points to one of their oldest habitats around the Needles” is ambiguous, but suggestive.

The derivation and meaning of Mojave, and the different forms of the name (with the source of each) appeared next in the *Handbook of American Indians*.⁷⁸ That version is an amplification

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and modification of the statement in Coues' footnote. The word *avi* replaced the erroneous *habi heni*, thus providing the correct Mojave words for "mountain" and for "three." The two words were not linked together, but the same order was followed that Whipple used. However, the Needles was explicitly given as the referent "three mountains." To the original errors of Blake, Thomas, and Whipple, another error was added.

The pioneer pronouncement in the *Handbook of American Indians* reaches into the 1960's. For example, the derivation and meaning of the Mojaves' tribal name which appears in the 1960 revision of *Arizona Place Names* for "Mohave County" states: "Its name was taken from that of the Mohave Indians, a tribe related to the Yuma Indians; the Mohaves lived along the Colorado River in the southwestern part of the county. The name Mohave means 'three mountains,' (from *hamol*, 'three,' and *avi*, 'mountains,' and has reference to the center of tribal activities in the vicinity of The Needles."⁷⁹ Here *hamok* has become *hamol*, possibly a printer's error, although no *errata* is included in the volume. The fact that the historic *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* was reprinted in 1960, and hence available to writers who have found the original hard to come by, could perpetuate pronouncements which antedated major researches pertaining to the Mojave Indians.

The derivation and meaning cited in the *Handbook* and in Gannett's publications have not gone unchallenged through the years. In 1916 A. L. Kroeber, our most eminent authority on the Mojave Indians, stated that the name of these Indians was *Hamakhava* or *Hamakhave*, and flatly repudiated the version *hamok*, three, and *avi*, mountain. He wrote, "The meaning of the name Hamakhava is not known to the Mohave of today, and analysis of their language has so far failed to reveal an etymology. A. S. Gatchet appears to be responsible for the explanation 'three mountains,' adopted by Bailey, Gannett and others. This derivation is positively erroneous. 'Three' is *hamok* in Mohave, and 'mountain' *avi*, so the vowels differ from those of Hamakhava; moreover the rules of composition in the language demand the inverse order, *Avi-hamok*. This is a place name actually found in the Mohave dialect, but denotes a locality near Tehachepi Pass."⁸⁰ Throughout his works, Kroeber used Mohave, spelled with *h*, but

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he maintained that the tribal name was *Hamakhava* or *Hama-khave*, whose meaning was not known. In view of the Mojaves' claim that their real name was, and is, *Aha macave*, a new clue is provided. Kroeber's *Hamakhava*, *Hamakhave* takes on a familiar aspect if an *a* prefixes it—*Ahamakhava*, *Ahamakhave*. If divided into two words *Aha makhava* or *Aha makhave*, it is one way (and a very good one) of spelling *Aha macave*. Its meaning, then, is "along the water;" *Aha*, water; *makhave*, *macave*, along or beside. In 1967 not all Mojave Indians know their old tribal name and its meaning, but there are among the tribe, aged and middle-aged men and women, and a few young people, reared in the old tribal traditions, who do know, use, and preserve their ancient clan names and their ancient tribal name—*Aha macave*, "people who live along the water."

NOTES

¹Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1907), I, Preface, v. (Cited hereinafter as *Handbook of American Indians*.)

²Mojave Indians are registrants of either the Colorado River Agency near Parker Dam, Arizona, where they hold lands with Indians of other tribes, or the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation in the vicinity of Needles, California, where they hold lands in severalty. They are about evenly divided in numbers, each "tribe" having around five hundred members. Both are under the jurisdiction of the agent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquartered at Parker, Arizona. The Fort Mojave Indians, historically, developed social cohesion in their century-old struggle to remain on their old tribal lands in the Mojave Valley, a cohesion which tended to preserve their old traditions, among which were their clan names, their chiefs, and their tribal name.

³My main sources of information about the tribal name were the Fort Mojave Indians who participated in a study of their clanship system (1957-1964): *Malika* (Mrs. Frances Stillman, b. 1910); *Oach* (Mrs. Lizzie Kimball Hood, b. 1880, d. 1963); *Atalk hear* (Harry Lewis, b. 1880); *Auva halyevatch* (Charles Hamilton, b. 1881); *Gottah* (Mrs. Kate Wellman Bryan, b. 1867, d. 1965); *Achee hemack* (Robert Jenkins, b. 1897, d. 1964); *Boudha Whev* (Mrs. Henrietta Graves Peterson, b. 1898). Also the Fort Mojave Tribal Council, 1961-1964: Mrs. Frances Stillman, Chairman; Mr. Llewellyn Barrackman, Vice-Chairman; Mr. Claude Lewis, Secretary; Mrs. Eunice McCord; Mrs. Betty Barrackman, and Mr. Lute Stillman. Mrs. Frances Stillman served as my chief consultant in obtaining and verifying information from her tribesmen.

⁴The common words for along, beside, close to, are *macava* and *nya mahwer*. *Macave*, however, is used in the proper name *Aha macave*.

⁵A. L. Kroeber, "Seven Mohave Myths" in *Anthropological Records*, 11 (1948), 56, 60. Kroeber's informant in 1903 gives the following origin of the tribal name. Mastamho spoke to the assembled tribes, saying, "I have made you all to be tribes, Walapai, Yavapai, Chemehuevi, Yuma, and Kamia: you are all different. I also spoke the name Hamahavek. Now I call them Hamahave. All will call you that name, you Mohave, and all will know you by that name." "VII, Mastamho" in this collection is an interesting and readable narration. Since the impact of the Christian religion on the tribe during the last fifty years, the ancient Mojave religion has been called "our old testament," our "old tribal scriptures," or it has been superseded by the Christian religion. Among the old people, the religion of their forefathers lingers. They believe in Mutavilya, the creator, and his son Mastamho, but which diety did what is not always clear. This does not apply to the actual creation, but it does to the tribal name, and possibly to their clan names. The main point, however, is that the names were god given.

⁶A. L. Kroeber, "Report on Aboriginal Territory and Occupancy of the Mohave Tribe," (n.p., 1953), pp. 1-79. Mimeographed copy in Fort Mojave Tribal Records.

⁷Readers who are interested in the Mojaves' way of obtaining and giving names, will find a description by this writer in *The Clan System of the Fort Mojave Indians: A Contemporary Survey* (Los Angeles, 1965), a hardback reprint of the study published in the *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVII (March 1965), 1-72.

⁸Part of the difficulty in understanding the Mojaves' tribal name, *Aha macave*, is due to its pronunciation by Mojaves. They have a way eliding the beginning of the name so that it sounds as though it begins with an *H*. They also have a way of running the two words together so that they sound like one word. And finally, to add to the listener's problem, they end the expression with an explosive *v* which sounds

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mightily like *vah*, *veh*, or even *bah*. Pronunciation of the name varies from person to person, and also in the speech of an individual. Not until my chief consultant explained the composition of the name, translated it, and spelled it was I able to recognize it in Mojave speech. The Mojaves have never had a written language, hence the name might be spelled in many different ways. The spelling in this study is that used by bilingual Fort Mojave Indians.

⁹Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921. This comprehensive and cosmopolitan list was compiled from different types of writing in which the author used the Mojaves' tribal name, plus a few oral interviews. According to Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p. 195, "In literature the name appears with more spelling variants than any other Indian name in California." His statement could be expanded to include any other Indian name in the United States. (I found thirteen more variants to add to Hodge's list, bringing the number up to seventy-one. Quite an array!)

¹⁰Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 919.

¹¹Fort Mojave Indians who contributed generous information about their clan names insisted that "as long as we are going to all the trouble to get our old family names exactly right, we should give our old tribal name right." The situation was made more imperative by an incident which showed that some Mojave Indians did not know their own old tribal name. In June, 1961, *Smoke Signals*, a mimeographed bulletin of the Colorado River Reservation, came out with a full page article, headlined "LOOK WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR NAME!" The first paragraph gave the old name as *Hamok avi*, from *hamok*, three, and *avi*, mountain, meaning the Needles Peaks. Included was the list of versions of names attributed to Mojave Indians, verbatim from the *Handbook of American Indians*. The publication created a furor. The Chairman of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council said, "When our Tribal Council read the Parker paper at our meeting, they were stunned. 'Where did they get this? We've always heard it *Aha macave*. Where did this *Hamok avi* come from?'" One result was the use of *Aha macave* in the clan publication. Prior to its publication, I made a preliminary research to locate primary sources of the tribal name in our literature that would substantiate the heretofore unpublished *Aha macave*. The study reported here is an expansion of the earlier exploration, made in sufficient detail and with such documentation as to spare others time-consuming excavation of momentous minutiae.

¹²Herbert E. Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," *Catholic Historical Review*, V (April 1919), *Amacava*, pp. 28-29, 31, 38; *Amacavas*, p. 32. See also, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1625* (2 vols., Albuquerque, 1953), II: *Amauaca*, pp. 1017, 1019; *Amacaua*, pp. 1019, 1021; *Amacaba*, pp. 1017, 1019. (Footnote on page 1017 states, "Given by Bolton as *Amacava*." Could the original copyist have copied the versions erroneously, or was the handwriting difficult to decipher?)

¹³Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation," p. 19.

¹⁴Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States: Arizona and New Mexico* (39 vols., San Francisco, 1888), XII: *Amacava*, *Amacavas*, pp. 155-156.

¹⁵Charles F. Lummis, "Pioneers of the Far West. The Translation of Fray Zarate Salmerón's 'Relacion' of Events in California and New Mexico from 1538 to 1625," *Land of Sunshine*, XI (December 1899) and XII (January 1900), XI: *Amacava*, p. 48; XII: *Amacavas*, p. 104; *Amacabos*, p. 105. Also see Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations of the Southwest, 1542-1706* (Reprinted; New York, 1963), *Amacava*, p. 270; *Amacavas*, p. 271; *Amacabos*, p. 273. See also the first translation of Zarate Salmerón's *Relaciones* in book form: Alicia Ronstadt Milich (tr. and ed.), *Relaciones* (Albuquerque, 1966), *Amacava*, pp. 66, 67; *Amacabos*, p. 69.

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¹⁶Elliott Coues (ed. and tr.), *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francesco Garcés, Missionary Priest, in His Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776* (2 vols., New York, 1900), I, 160-199. Also see John Galvin (ed.), *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776, Fr. Francisco Garcés, A New Translation* (San Francisco, 1965), pp. 14-25.

¹⁷Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols., Berkeley, 1930), II, 339, 365, 383-384, 391. "Garcés Diary from Tubac to San Gabriel 1774" gives details of Anza's first expedition to California. In 1774 Garcés called the Mojaves the *Soyopa*, *Soyopas*. (*Soyopa*, p. 365; *Soyopas*, pp. 339, 365, 383-384, 391. Footnote on page 365 says, "The Soyopas were the Mojaves.")

¹⁸Coues (ed.), *Garcés Diary*, I, 209-210; Galvin (ed.), *Garcés Travels*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹Coues, (ed.), *Garcés Diary*, I, 213; Galvin (ed.), *Garcés Travels*, p. 29.

²⁰Coues (ed.), *Garcés Diary*, II, 445. Galvin (ed.), *Garcés Travels*, p. 91, gives the following translation, "In the names of the nations there can be, and usually is, much variation; for example, the Cocomaricopas and Jalcheduns call the Jamajabs 'Cuesninas' or 'Cuisnurs,' while all the rest call them Jamajabs."

²¹Coues (ed.), *Garcés Diary*, I: *Jamajab*, pp. 216, 219, 226, 235, 241-243; *Jamajabs*, pp. 203, 210, 267-269, 302-303; II: *Jamajab*, pp. 321, 434; *Jamajabs*, pp. 318, 343, 414-418. Also, Galvin (ed.), *Garcés Travels*, *Jamajab*, pp. 32-33, 36-37, 39-40, 62; *Jamajabs*, pp. 30-32, 44-47, 57-61.

²²Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 46-47, 167-169, 263, 266. This volume contains the diaries of Juan Bautista de Anza, Fray Juan Díaz and Garcés, covering Anza's 1774 expedition to California which laid the groundwork for the colonizing expedition of 1775-1776. ("Anza's Complete Diary," *Soyopa*, pp. 46-47, *Soyopa*, pp. 167-169; "Diaz's Diary from Tubac to San Gabriel," *Soyopa*, p. 263, *Soyopas*, p. 266. For Garcés, see *note 17 ante*.)

²³Bolton, "Eixarch's Diary," pp. 351, 357, 362, 363. For example, Eixarch wrote, "Today there came two Soyopa or Jamajab Indians, as they are called, but nothing happened." "In the afternoon eleven Indians of the Jamajab tribe came. I gave them tobacco, and the Yumas took them to their houses to eat as they always do with all who come, from whatever tribe they may be." "Some Jamajabs came to visit me." "In the afternoon some Jamajabs came and I regaled them with tobacco"

²⁴Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expeditions*, III, contains "Eixarch's Diary of His Winter on the Colorado." Eixarch used: *Soyopa* or *Jamajab*, p. 351; *Jamajab*, p. 357; *Jamajabs*, pp. 362-363, 380.

²⁵Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, contains "Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition." Font records: *Jamajab*, p. 250; *Tomascabos*, p. 399; footnote, p. 399, reads, "In form and sound suggests Jamajab or Mohave"; *Jamajá*, p. 438—three times. Reflecting on the protracted absence of Garcés, Font notes that he was guided to and from San Gabriel by Indians of the Jamajá nation.

²⁶Harrison C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific* (Glendale, Calif., 1941), *Ammuchabas*, p. 185, as found in Smith's letter to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated July 12, 1827, which is printed verbatim.

²⁷Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith* (New York, 1953), *Ammuchabas*, p. 335, again from Smith's letter to Clark, July 12, 1827; *Amuchaba* (village), p. 238, in an excerpt from Smith's journal of his second expedition to California; *Amuchabas*, p. 352, in a letter from Smith to his brother Ralph Smith, December 24, 1829, telling of the Mojave attack. Also see Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, Calif., 1954), *Amuchaba* (village), p. 28; *Amuchaba*, *Amuchabas*, p. 34, quoting Smith's journal of his second California trek.

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²⁸Peter Skene Ogden, acting on information he received from Jedediah Smith, took a Hudson's Bay Company trapping party into the Colorado River valley in February 1830. Like Smith on his second expedition in 1828, Ogden and his men had a fatal encounter with the Mojaves. When the smoke of battle cleared, twenty-five Indians lay dead. Although Ogden describes this encounter vividly in his book, *Traits of American Indian Life and Character* (London, 1853), pp. 18-20, he does not give the tribe a name. There is little doubt, however: they were Mojaves. Alice B. Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (December 1940), 308-316, and John Scaglione (ed.), "Ogden's Report of his 1829-1830 Expedition," *ibid.*, XXVIII (June 1949), 117-124.

²⁹Joseph J. Hill, "New Light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (April 1923), 243-254.

³⁰Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels 1748-1846; Pattie's Personal Narrative* (Cleveland, 1905), *Mohawa*, p. 133. See also Milo Milton Quaife (ed.), *The Personal Life of James Ohio Pattie of Kentucky* (Chicago, 1930), *Mohawa*, p. 143.

³¹Thwaites (ed.), *Pattie's Personal Narrative*, pp. 133-134; Quaife (ed.), *Pattie of Kentucky*, pp. 143-147.

³²Orange Clark, "A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of George C. Yount Comprising much of the Early History of California and a graphic detail of scenes and privations of a Border Life," Unpublished manuscript, photostats provided through the courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino. The original manuscript is not consecutively paged. *Mahauvies* is corrected in the original to read *Mohavies* in several places, but not throughout. In other places *Mahavies*, *Mohavies*, and *Mohauvies* are used.

³³Charles L. Camp (ed.), *George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West—Comprising Extracts from His "Memoirs" and from the Orange Clark "Narrative"* (Denver, 1966), *Mohavies*, pp. 34-35; *Mahauvies*, pp. 48, 49, 51.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. xv.

³⁵Blanche C. Grant (ed.), *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life As dictated to Col. and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57 and never before published* (Taos, New Mexico, 1926), *Mohave*, p. 14, the mare and the foal story. See also Milo Milton Quaife (ed.), *Kit Carson's Autobiography* (Chicago, 1935), p. 12.

³⁶Grant (ed.), *Kit Carson's Own Story*, pp. 18-19.

³⁷Brevet Captain J[ohn] C[h]arles Frémont, *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842; and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-4* (New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, 1846), *Mohahave* (Indians), *Mohahve* river, pp. 160-161; *Mo-hah-va* river, p. 172. "Our recent guide," was described by Frémont on April 13, ten days before the six Indians came into his camp [April 23]. "In the evening a Christian Indian rode into camp, well dressed, with long spurs, and a *sombrero*, and speaking Spanish fluently. . . . He informed me that he belonged to one of the Spanish missions to the south, distant two or three days' ride, and that he had obtained from the priests leave to spend a few days with his relations in the Sierra. Having seen us enter the *pass*, he had come down to visit us. He appeared familiarly acquainted with the country, and gave me clear information in regard to the desert region east of the mountains." The Indian described a route, then, says Frémont, "By this route, a party of six Indians, who had come from a great river in the eastern part of the desert to trade with his people, has just started on their return. He would himself return the next day to *San Fernando*; and as our roads would be the same for two days, he offered his services to conduct us so far on our way. His offer was gladly accepted." The six were called "Indians"; their

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tribal name was not given. *Ibid.*, p. 157. Frémont's report is printed verbatim in Samuel M. Smucker, *The Life of Col. John Charles Fremont and His Narrative of Exploration and Adventures in Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon and California. The Memoir Mohave* (New York, 1881), pp. 442-443.

³⁸Dewitt C. Peters, *The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson, the Nestor of the Rocky Mountains from Facts Narrated by Himself* (New York, 1859), *Mohave*, pp. 34-35. Also contain the mare story minus the foal. Carson was with the Ewing Young party of sixteen men coming down from Grand Canyon country bound for California. This book was published in 1874 with an altered title. The contents, except for a few lines in the introduction referring to Carson's death, are the same: Dewitt C. Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures, from Facts Narrated by Himself, Embracing Events in the Life-time of America's Greatest Hunter, Trapper, Scout and Guide, Including Vivid Accounts of the Every Day Life and Character, and Peculiar Customs of All Indian Tribes of the Far West* (Hartford, 1874), pp. 40-41. For a recent interpretation see M. Morgan Estergreen, *Kit Carson, A Portrait in Courage* (Norman, 1962), pp. 39-40.

³⁹See note 35, *ante*.

⁴⁰Captain L[orenzo] Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc. 59* (Washington, D.C., 1853), *Mohaves*, pp. 15, 18. Report also published in 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc.* (Washington, D.C., 1854), *Mohaves*, pp. 15, 18.

⁴¹Edward F. Beale, "Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River," in *Report of the Secretary of War, 1858*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 124* (Washington, D.C., 1859), *Mohaves*, pp. 74, 75. Beale uses "Indians" instead of the tribal name in most instances. Beale was undoubtedly conversant with the name Mojave, Mohave. He was superintendent of Indian Affairs for California in 1852 when Benjamin Davis Wilson (Don Benito) submitted his "Report on the Indians of Southern California in 1852." This report refers to the Mojave Indians (spelled both with *j* and *h*), a tribe known to live above the Yumas on the Colorado River. See John W. Caughey (ed.), *The Indians of Southern California in 1852* (San Marino, 1952), *Mojaves*, pp. 2, 7; *Mohaves*, pp. 53, 66. The Wilson report is printed in its entirety. Edward F. Beale, "Wagon Road from Fort Smith to Colorado River," in *Report of the Secretary of War 1860*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 42* (Washington, D.C., 1860), *Mohaves*, p. 49. Beale uses "Indians" almost exclusively in his references to the Mojaves.

⁴²Richard H. Kern, "Diary," an unpublished manuscript of his trip with Sitgreaves' expedition in 1851, is located in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (This diary, in pencil, is interspersed with Kern's sketches, making it a treat to read. The manuscript is not paged, hence the dates of entry are used as references: *Amajaves*, *Amaghaves*, October 29, November 1, 7, 8, 15, 16, 1851.)

⁴³Lieutenant A[miel] W[EEKS] Whipple, "Report of Explorations for a Railroad Route near the Thirty-fifth Parallel of North Latitude, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc. 78* (Washington, D.C., 1856), III, Pt. I, pp. 112-126, for example *Mojave*, *Mojaves*; Pt. III, pp. 14, 16-18, 43, 46, 95-102, *Mojave*, *Mojaves*. Hereinafter cited as *Whipple Report*. (This report was also published as 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Exec. Doc. 91*.) Whipple calls the Mojaves by their tribal name—seldom using "Indians" as their appellation. He also refers to "the valley of the Mojaves;" (later called Mojave Valley), and to the Mojave River.

⁴⁴Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coasts* (2 vols., London, 1858), I, p. 46, *Mohave*, a printer's error; II, pp. 231, 241, 249-250, 253, serve as examples of *Mohave*, *Mohaves*.

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⁴⁵Leroux is referred to as guide by Sitgreaves and by Kern in their writing of 1851, and by Whipple in his report. See also Forbes Parkhill, *The Blazed Trail of Antoine Leroux* (Los Angeles, 1965). Leroux guided Beale part way in 1853. See Gwinn Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific from the Valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the Expedition* (Philadelphia, London, 1854), pp. 17-22, 61. Heap refers to the Mojave River as the *Mohaveh*, pp. 103, 107-109.

⁴⁶Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (20 vols., Cambridge, 1908), II: *Mohave*, pp. 47-59; *Hummahaba, Mojave*, p. 47.

⁴⁷A[lfred] L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D.C., 1925), *Mohave*, pp. 726-780; *Hamakhava*, p. 727.

⁴⁸Whipple Report, Pt. III, p. 102, *Ah-moc-ha-ve*; Pt. IV, p. 4, *Ah-mok-aves*; p. 5, *Ah-mok-ave, Ahmokave*.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Pt. III, p. 16, maps, *Mac-há-vès, A-mac-há-vès*.

⁵⁰Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc.* (Washington, D.C., 1851). Ives speaks of *Mojave* and *Mojaves* repeatedly, pp. 66-98. He also refers to Mojave canyon, Mojave valley, and Mojave mountains.

⁵¹R. B. Stratton, *Captivity of the Oatman Girls: Being an Interesting Narrative of Life Among the Apache and Mohave Indians* (New York, 1858), pp. 150-278, uses *Mohaves* repeatedly.

⁵²*Missouri Republican*, November 9, 1859, reprinted in Robert G. Cleland, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, Calif., 1951), pp. 264-273, *Mojaves, Mojave* Indians.

⁵³John Udell, *Journal of John Udell Kept During a Trip Across the Plains, Containing an Account of the Massacre of a Portion of His Party By the Mohave Indians, in 1858* (Suisun City, 1859; reprinted by the Yale University Library, 1952), p. 32, *Mojaves, Mojave* Indians. Udell and his wife travelled with Beale's expedition from Albuquerque, (whence they had fled after the attack), to the Colorado River, where they remained under Major Armistead's protection until horses could be brought from Los Angeles.

⁵⁴*Report of the Secretary of War 1859*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2* (Washington, D.C., 1860), II, 387-394, 401-422, 454-456.

⁵⁵Armistead's letter to the Adjutant-General. *Ibid.*, p. 405: *Mojave, Mohave, Mohaves*.

⁵⁶Report of Peter R. Brady, dated October 9, 1860, to Major G[ranville] O. Haller, commanding Fort Mojave. *Records of the War Department, U.S. Army Commands*, from the Department of California-Fort Mohave, Misc. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Photostat copy loaned to me by Professor Clifton Kroeber.

⁵⁷Letter from Major G[ranville] O. Haller, formerly commanding Fort Mojave, dated January 28, 1862, to Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles E. Mix. Photostated copy sent to the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke, on August 14, 1922. *Fort Mojave Tribal Records*, File 1. Loaned through the courtesy of the Fort Mojave Tribal Council.

⁵⁸*Records of United States Army Commands*, Record Group No. 98: "Letters Sent," Fort Mojave, Arizona Territory, 1859-1861; 1863-1890. A microfilm publication, National Archives, 1934. Also *Records of United States Army Commands*, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group No. 94: "Muster Rolls, Fort Mojave," National Archives.

⁵⁹"Arizona Superintendency," in *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1864-1871* (Washington, D.C., 1865-1872); "Colorado River Agency," in *Annual*

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Reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1866-1900 (Washington, D.C., 1867-1901); "Reports of Superintendents of Schools, Fort Mojave," in *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Interior, 1891-1930* (Washington, D.C., 1892-1931).

⁶⁰The final report of these geographical surveys was published in 1889: *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian* (7 vols., Washington, D.C., 1889). The letter of transmittal to the Chief of Engineers, Brig. Gen. H. G. Wright, United States Army, was dated June 1, 1879 by George M. Wheeler, who was in charge. It reads: "I have the honor to forward herewith manuscript of Volume I, the last of the quarto reports of this office, the publication of which is authorized by acts approved June 23, 1874, and February 15, 1875." The letter is followed by, "Note.—This report, brought substantially to a close in June, 1879, was not presented for publication until 1887, from press of other duties and subsequent prolonged illness" I, 7. In the first volume Wheeler uses the name Mohave repeatedly both as the name of an Indian tribe and as a designation of geographic features. A full report of the 1871 Colorado River expedition from Fort Mojave is included. The Indians who accompanied the up-river expedition are called either Mohaves or Mohave. The Mojave vocabularies compiled by Richardson and by Loew are published in the *Annual Report . . .* (Washington, D.C., 1879), VII, 424-465, 480-481. Part of Loew's data also appeared in the *Annual Report . . .* (Washington, D.C., 1876), pp. 339-342. These vocabularies were used by Albert S. Gatchet in his analysis of Indian languages. See note 66, *post*.

⁶¹Curtis, *The North American Indian*, II, 46-60; *Hummahaba*, p. 47.

⁶²A. L. Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," *American Archeology and Ethnology*, XII (June 15, 1916): *Hamakhava*, p. 43. Also, Kroeber, *Handbook of Indians of California*, p. 727.

⁶³An examination of the variations of the tribal name listed in the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921, vividly illustrates this point. Of the fifty-eight names listed, only three can be identified properly as having been arrived at by the reporter from first-hand contact: *Jamajab*, *Jamajabs* (Garcés); *Mohawa* (Pattie), and *A-moc-ha-ve* (Whipple). To this slender number one could add *Mohaves* which was consistently used by Möllhausen in his two volumes. It is regrettable that instead of listing this name and attributing it to Möllhausen, the *Handbook* gives instead *Mohaue* which appears only once in a passing comment—clearly a printer's error.

The remaining variations given in the *Handbook* were extracted in the main from four broad categories of sources: (1) the works of early historians and ethnologists; (2) diarists; (3) army officers on frontier duty, and (4) writers of books on travel or other experiences in the West. Although several of these categories are defined by the historian as primary sources, it should be clearly noted that none of the tribal names given to the Mojaves in these references were actually derived from first-hand contact or information. Just the opposite. The remaining variations listed in the *Handbook*, other than those mentioned above, are all second-hand names, thus they are in fact secondary sources.

For example, John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents . . . Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission* (2 vols., New York, 1854), is an excellent illustration of a primary source using second-hand information in naming the Mojaves: "At Fort Yuma we heard of a tribe called the *Mohavi*, who occupy the country watered by a river of the same name, which empties into the Colorado about one hundred and fifty miles above this fort." II, 178. Julius Froebel in his book, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States* (London, 1859), p. 511, mentions hearing of a tribe called the *Macjave* while he was on the lower Colorado River. Jules Remi and Julius Brenchley, authors who traveled along the Mojave River en route to Los Angeles in 1854, wrote in a footnote in their book, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (2 vols., London, 1861), II, 441: "This river takes its name from an Indian tribe which lived upon or near its banks. The Americans write 'Mohave,' or 'Mohahave';

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we have thought it right to preserve the Spanish orthography, as the most ancient, and at the same time the most characteristic, on account of the Spanish *j*”

Historians and ethnologists also have contributed a number of variations, all of them secondary names. A case in point is Hubert H. Bancroft. In his *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), he uses several spellings of the tribe's name: “On February 19th Garces started up the [Colorado] river to visit the *Yamajabs*, as the Mojaves were originally called.” I, 274-275. “On May 29th [1819] a party of twenty-two Amajavas, the Mojaves of later times, arrived at San Buena-ventura to trade with the neophites.” II, 332. Writing of Jedediah Smith's 1826 party, he states, “The Amajaves of the Colorado treated the party well.” III, 154.

To reiterate: fifty-four of the names listed in the *Handbook's* list are actually secondary names derived by secondary means. That some of these names appear in primary sources should not obscure the conclusion that the tribal names recorded are actually secondary sources.

⁶⁴Curtis, *The North American Indian*, II, 47.

⁶⁵Henry P. Ewing, “The Havasu-pai Indians,” in *The Great Divide*, VIII (December 1892), 203-204. Copy provided by the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library and made available to me through the courtesy of Professor Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. Ewing's phonetic spelling of the tribal name nonplussed my Mojave consultant. It is the Mojave word for a man's breech cloth.

⁶⁶Albert S. Gatchet, “Classification into Seven Linguistic Stocks of Western Indian Dialects Contained in Forty Vocabularies,” in *Annual Report . . .*, VII, *Archeology*, Appendix, p. 415. Gatchet reported, “Mohave (*Hamunkh-habi*; Spanish, Mojave, Amuchaba), the most populous Yuma tribe; in portions of California desert and on both sides of Lower Colorado, between Kutchan and Huala-pai. Studied by E. M. Richardson and O. Loew.” Richardson collected his Mojave word list from Mojave Indians around [Fort] Camp Mojave while he was a member of Lieutenant George M. Wheeler's Colorado River expedition in 1871; Oscar Loew collected his from Mojave Indians on the Colorado River Reservation in 1875. Gatchet's composite table of comparative vocabularies appears on pages 424-465. The tribal name is not included. Interestingly, however, the word *hamuk-ava* is given for “man.” This is very close to Kroeber's *Hamakhava*, the name of the tribe. Kroeber observed, “They [the Mohave] think in terms of themselves as a national entity, the *Hamakhava*.” *Handbook of Indians of California*, p. 727.

⁶⁷(Washington, D.C., 1905), p. 211.

⁶⁸Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 919.

⁶⁹Arthur Woodward, *Feud on the Colorado* (Los Angeles, 1955), pp. 97-104, “Report of Lieut. J. L. White & Party of Exploration of the Rio Colorado,” dated January 20, 1878.

⁷⁰Arthur Woodward (ed.), *Journal of Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny, 1849-1853* (Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 211, 258.

⁷¹Report from Brevet Major Samuel P. Heintzleman, commanding Fort Yuma, dated March 16, 1852, to General Edward D. Townsend, Department of the Pacific. *Records of the War Department, Letters Received*. Record Group 98, National Archives. Photostat loaned to me by Professor Clifton B. Kroeber.

⁷²Whipple, *Report*, Pt. IV, p. 5; also *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921. Thomas gave his manuscript on the Yuma Indian vocabulary to the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1868. By this time he had become a Major General. In 1869 he was given command of the Division of the Pacific, a position that he held until his death in 1870.

⁷³Letter from Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, commanding Fort Yuma, dated February 14, 1857, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs. *Records of the War Department, U.S. Army Commands*, from the Department of California, National Archives.

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Loaned to me through the courtesy of Professor Clifton B. Kroeber. Among other items, Mowry tells of Indians from other tribes visiting the post and of the financial hardships experienced by post officers in giving gifts.

⁷⁴Whipple, *Report*, Pt. IV, pp. vi-195. Blake's title is given in full on an introductory page of "The Geology of the Route." His letter of transmittal was directed to Captain A. A. Humphreys, in Charge of the Office of U.S. Pacific Railroads Exploration and Surveys. Dated September 23, 1856, it reads, "Sir: I herewith submit a report of the geology of the route near the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, prepared, agreeably to your instructions, from the notes and collections of Mr. Jules Marcou and other sources." His letter of transmittal for the Williamson report was addressed directly to the commander of the expedition, Lieutenant R[obert] S. Williamson. See Lieutenant R. S. Williamson, *Report of Explorations in California for Railroad Routes to Connect with Routes near the 35th and 32d Parallels of North Latitude* (Washington, D.C., 1856), V, Pt. II, 1-310, "Geological Report: By W. P. Blake, Esq., Geologist and Minerologist to the Expedition." The fact that Blake submitted his report of the Whipple expedition directly to Humphreys instead of to the commander of the expedition makes one wonder if Whipple was apprised of the footnote in question prior to its publication in his *Report*.

⁷⁵Whipple, *Report*, Pt. IV, p. 5.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, Map No. 2.

⁷⁷Coues (ed.), *Garcés Diary*, I, 226. Footnote gives derivation and meaning of Mojaves' tribal name; also list of variations.

⁷⁸Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 919.

⁷⁹*Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names*, revised and enlarged by Byrd H. Granger (Tucson, 1960), p. 200. For "The Needles," p. 217, the revised edition notes, "The Needles are the 'three mountains' referred to in the translation of the word *Mohave*."

⁸⁰Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," p. 43.