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## *Intercultural Relations in the Greater Southwest*

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KIRCHHOFF'S paper, which initiates this symposium, has divided the Greater Southwest into a number of small cultural provinces. I shall propose some larger groupings of these, on the basis of intercultural relations. Suggestions, in this brief presentation, apply only to Oasis America. References to Arid America will be confined to the Great Basin, where the culture of that large and vaguely bounded area appears in its best known form. Beals (1943*b*), Kroeber (1925) and Lowie (1923) have suggested that a Basin-like culture was once common throughout the whole of the Greater Southwest. Lowie (1923) called it a "primeval ultramontane layer." Where weather and soil conditions permitted, this layer was overlaid by patterns from the south, coming either direct from Mexico or sometimes, as we now surmise, by a roundabout route through the Plains. Among the agriculturists of Oasis America the substratum shows through, now at one point, now another (Map I).

Beals (1932:155-219) and Kroeber (1925:583) have listed some of the substratum traits, mostly in material culture. To these Zingg adds captive eagles and perhaps the kickstick race suggested by two feather-stuffed balls found in Lovelock Cave (1939:14). In the nonmaterial realm, Kroeber lists puberty rituals, the unsought vision and magic "rather than true shamanism" (1943:195). I would add to this some other devices for negating the dangerous power of the supernatural: the semicouvade or restrictions on the father after a birth as well as on the mother, and some form of purification for the mourners after a death. These procedures, seen in their simplest form in the Basin, are intensified and elaborated in California and on the Northwest Coast, so that we have a public ceremony for girls at puberty and a mourning anniversary for the dead. In other parts of America they appear, now simple and now elaborate, from the Eastern Algonkians to the Northwest Coast. Driver has suggested that the girl's puberty observances, in simple form, were brought over by the first immigrants (1941:62). I would go further and surmise that rites for all three events in the life cycle—birth, girl's puberty and death—were brought over very early in simple form and survive among the hunting and gathering peoples. I do not include boy's puberty here. That is a more complicated ceremonial with organizational and theological implications. It often arises after the more magical ceremonial for the girls has been abandoned.

The sucking shaman, another Basin trait, seems to me equally ancient. Clements (1932:241) suggests that he was one of the earliest healers in the Old World as well as the new. In the Basin, there are also Snake and Bear shamans and some who retrieve lost souls, an echo of the Northwest. The individual vision may be another early trait. It too is widespread among hunting and gathering peoples who function as individuals and need such power more than

(Voegelin 1944:362). Athabascans, like Basin people, give attention to girl's puberty. Here, however, she is given a public ceremony and the emphasis is on her future beauty and usefulness rather than on supernatural danger. These additions to an ancient trait are also found in the Northwest and Driver suggests that it was the Athabascans who brought them thence to certain Southwestern groups (1941:62). Other northern elements appear in Navaho mythology. Such are the visit to a village of supernaturals where power is attained, and the subduing of monsters who are then turned into something useful. The mother-in-law taboo, obviously suited to a matrilocal society, is, nevertheless, not Southwestern. Its distribution and the method of its acquisition by Navaho and Apache would make an interesting study.

The debt of the Athabascans to the Pueblos is well documented. For the Navaho, particularly, I would suggest that the period of intensive learning was from 1723-1770, when refugees from all the Pueblos lived with the Navaho in northcentral New Mexico. Some specifically Western Pueblo traits, like the Night Chant, were probably acquired during the subsequent expansion. In contrast to the group which became Navaho, those now called Apache preferred to remain hunters and fighters, with only a little horticulture among the western groups. Some of their chief victims were the Pimans and I have no doubt that the black and white coiled basketry of the San Carlos was the work of Piman women captives. In ceremony, Goodwin (1945:506) says that the Apache have all the Navaho chants, though in simpler form. Chief among them is the Bear Dance, related to the Navaho Shooting Chant. The Jicarilla, neighbors to Taos, have adapted their Holiness Rite from a Taos ceremony (Opler 1943).

The other non-Uto-Aztecan group to be considered is the Yumans, who divide the Uto-Aztecan of California from those of Arizona and share many traits with both. Along the Lower Colorado, Yuman groups appear like a narrow wedge but this widens in the Arizona Plateau. Here are the Upland Yumans, Walapai, Havasupai and Yavapai. Except for the little Havasupai group, who have happened into a fertile canyon near the Hopi, the Upland Yumans are food collectors. Their terrain resembles the Basin and their customs are Basin-like (Kroeber 1939:50) except where they have been influenced by neighbors like the Hopi or the Western Apache. Their outstanding difference from the Basin is in their warlike tendency and their use of cremation instead of burial. Neither war nor cremation, however, have the elaborate development seen among their congeners on the Lower Colorado.

With the River Yumans, in the Colorado and Gila valleys, we have an interesting phenomenon where, again, study is required. These are an agricultural people, practising cremation and making red pottery like the Papago. It has been suggested that they were the original inhabitants of the Hohokam area, before the coming of the Puebloan contingent. From ethnology, such a hypothesis receives very little confirmation. Kroeber, in a study of their relatives, the Seri (1931*b*), found only twenty-two traits common to Seri and Pima. Some of their outstanding ceremonies, such as cremation, mourning anniversary and the "baking" at girl's puberty, point not toward the Pimans