

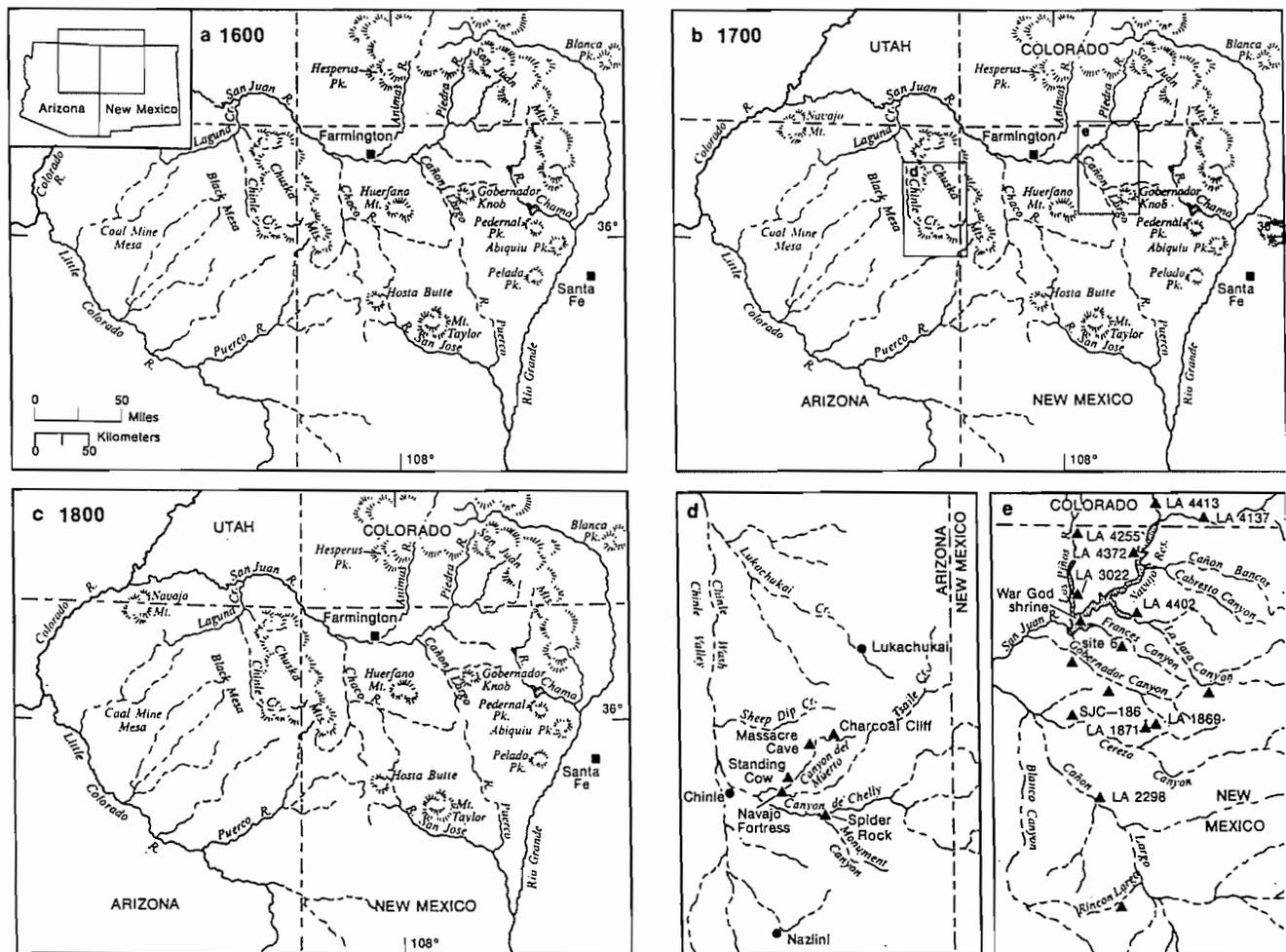
and curing; music accompanied by hoof and possibly hide rattles; a loose band organization, a flexible bilateral kinship system, and the accomplishment of special jobs by temporary task groups, with leadership roles of an informal type for band and family and authority over the task groups lasting only so long as the group functioned.

Most of this cultural inventory was probably intact upon arrival in the Southwest. It is possible that limited knowledge of agriculture and ceramics was acquired during the migration; but without knowledge of the peoples met on the way, the extent of change is difficult to assess. It seems likely that late western remnants of Woodland peoples and survivals of the Fremont culture were encountered or even absorbed by some segments of the bands (Hall 1944; Aikens 1967, 1972:63-64). By 1300 the Apacheans must have been close to the northern periphery of the Anasazi region. It is still uncertain whether they had any influence on the Puebloan abandonment of vast regions about this time (Jett 1964:290-297), but areas such as the San Juan and Chama river basins must have been occupied by them

at a relatively early date following the Anasazi withdrawal to precede occupation by Shoshonian- or Yuman-speaking peoples or a reexpansion of Puebloan settlement.

Early History

When the Spaniards arrived in New Mexico the Pueblos were almost entirely surrounded by Apachean peoples, only the Hopis on the extreme west having some non-Athapaskan neighbors. The Spaniards first referred to the Southern Athapaskans as *Querechos* but soon settled on the term *Apache*, giving each tribe a regional or descriptive epithet. Thus, the people living west of the northern Pueblos, north of the Western Keresans and Zuni and east of the Hopi were termed the *Apaches de Nabajó*, their neighbors to the north and northeast the *Apaches de Quinia*, and those west of the southern Pueblos the *Apaches de Gila*, while various other tribes and bands were recognized to the east. Only the *Apaches de Nabajó* practiced agriculture to such a de-



490 Fig. 1. Approximate Navajo settlement areas. a-c, 1600-1800; d, Canyon de Chelly; e, Navajo Reservoir archeological site concentrations.

gree that it was noted by the early Spaniards. This alone has been sufficient to suggest a somewhat different history from that of the other Apacheans prior to initial contact. The fact that the area of occupation was similar to that abandoned by the prehistoric Anasazi suggests that there may have been some similarities in ecological adaptations between the earlier occupants and the later. That this was a highly successful adaptation based on a diversity of resources and a degree of mobility lacking in the later Pueblo periods seems certain, for early accounts indicate a very large population (Benavides 1945, 1954). While the precise figures given are obviously exaggerated, the implication of a large and powerful tribe cannot be ignored. It seems reasonable that the demographic pattern described by Dobyns (1966) for most tribes, involving a drastic decline in total population in the decades following initial contact with Europeans as a result of epidemic disease and warfare, followed by a recovery if the population nadir did not lead to extinction, must be valid for the Navajos as well, particularly since the contemporary documentary evidence would accord with this interpretation. The Navajos differ from other tribes only in that their recovery was under more favorable conditions, resulting in a more spectacular increase.

The best indications of *Apache de Nabajó* culture about the time of initial contact are the accounts of the Antonio de Espejo expedition of 1582-1583 (Pérez de Luxán 1929:86, 111-114) and the Benavides memorials of 1630 (1954) and 1634 (1945), the latter based on observations during the years 1625 to 1629, plus a few scattered observations. These describe a semisedentary people who planted maize and perhaps other crops but moved to areas distant from their fields for hunting; traded meat, hides, and mineral products, primarily salt and alum, to the Puebloans; lived in "underground" homes in rancherias and built special structures for the storage of their harvests; were variously friendly or hostile with the Pueblos under different poorly defined circumstances; had clothing with feathered headgear, arrows tipped with stone points; had many local headmen including war chiefs and one or more caciques or peace chiefs; practiced polygamy; and were quite skillful in war. The only distinctively Puebloan traits added to those brought from the north are agriculture and a more formal political structure. Benavides describes an elaborate ritualized encounter between Tewa emissaries and Navajo hosts that demonstrates a sharing of certain ceremonial concepts, including the use of a feather-tipped arrow as a symbol of peace and the mutual smoking of a cane cigarette. It is probable that all or most of the northern traits listed above were still extant and that ceramics and cloth were not yet produced by the tribe, but acquired in trade in limited quantities.

The earliest recorded contact of tribal members with

Spaniards, that of Espejo at the base of Mount Taylor, was friendly at first but soon led to fighting, in part as a result of the Spaniards' desire to retain Navajo captives obtained from the Hopis. A similar course of events may easily be postulated for Navajo-Spanish relations after the colonists arrived in the Tewa country. The first mention of people who were apparently Navajos indicates the assignment of missionaries and, following the destruction of Acoma in 1599, the placing of old captives from that Pueblo with Navajos. It was not long before bitter warfare became the rule and throughout the seventeenth century relations were predominantly hostile. The Navajos have been credited with being a factor in the abandonment of San Gabriel in favor of Santa Fe as the capital of New Mexico (Forbes 1960:113) and were closely allied with the Pueblos in their efforts to throw off Spanish rule (Brugge 1969). The trade in captives was one of the major causes of hostilities during this period (Brugge 1968:135), although the Indians may have attributed introduced diseases to black magic on the part of the Spaniards.

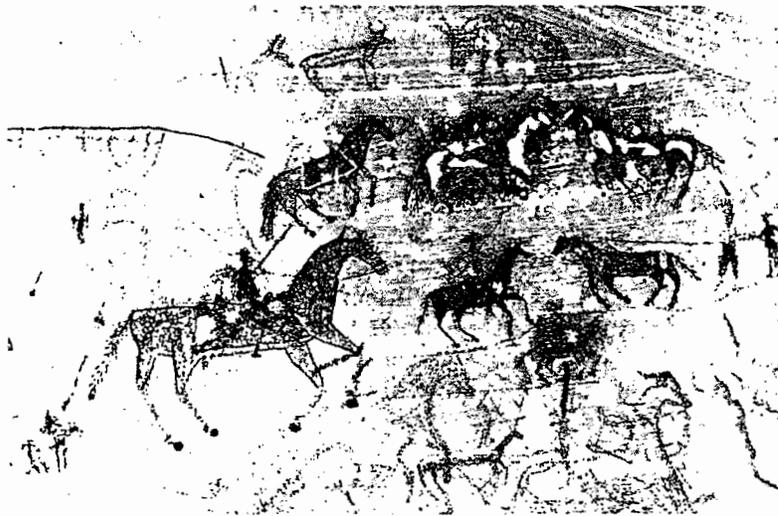
Cultural changes during the period prior to the Reconquest may be traced to two major influences, the arrival of occasional Pueblo fugitives and the impact of European culture. The former doubtless led to increased Puebloan influences, although they cannot be traced in any detail, and the latter to the adoption of a few items of the most obvious utility. The major items identified in the documentary record are horses and metal objects, both tools and trinkets. It is highly probable that the use of horses for transport and the use of metal, including minor reworking of worn tools and scraps by cutting and abrasion, were incorporated in the culture during this period.

Not acc. McNitt,
or others

The Dinetah

The Navajos participated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and shared in the captives taken (Reeve 1959:16-17; Brugge 1968:43), but it is difficult to separate their part from that of other Apacheans. The Reconquest was another matter, and Navajo aid as a retreat for the many refugees was to have a profound effect on Navajo culture. As the Spaniards defeated one minor alliance after another of the divided Pueblos, the people most closely involved in the movement fled, some to the Plains Apaches and others to Hopi, while many poured into the valley of the San Juan above present-day Farmington, New Mexico. Here they camped with their Navajo allies and plotted the eventual expulsion of their enemy. The superior arms and organization of the Spaniards allowed them to consolidate their rule throughout the New Mexico Pueblos, and the Reconquest was halted only at Hopi by the destruction of Awatovi in 1700. Within a generation the refugees among the Nav-

no mention
of Hopi
here



top left, Natl. Park Service, Washington.

Fig. 2. Rock paintings depicting Spanish horsemen, Canyon del Muerto, Ariz. top left, Detail of painting in brown, black, and white showing mounted Spaniards with lances. Photograph by David de Harport. top right, Charcoal Cliff: Spanish cavalcade. bottom, Standing Cow Ruin: riders (in red and white) wearing long capes and broad-brimmed hats and carrying flintlock guns may depict soldiers of Lt. Antonio Narbona on their 1805 raid against the Navajo (Grant 1978:228). The artist may have been *Dibé Yázhí Nééz* 'Tall Lamb', who lived there at or soon after this date (Grant 1978:220-223, 228, 259; McNitt 1972:opp. p. 244). In addition to such naturalistic figures of men and animals, Navajo rock art dating as early as the 18th century includes ceremonial subjects and astronomical diagrams (see Schaafsma 1980). top right and bottom, Photographs by Stephen Jett.

ajos had lost all hope of freeing their former homes and began to settle in to stay with their hosts.

Archeological sites reported in the Chama drainage may include pre-Reconquest components. Their significance to Navajo prehistory needs to be evaluated (C.F. Schaafsma 1979).

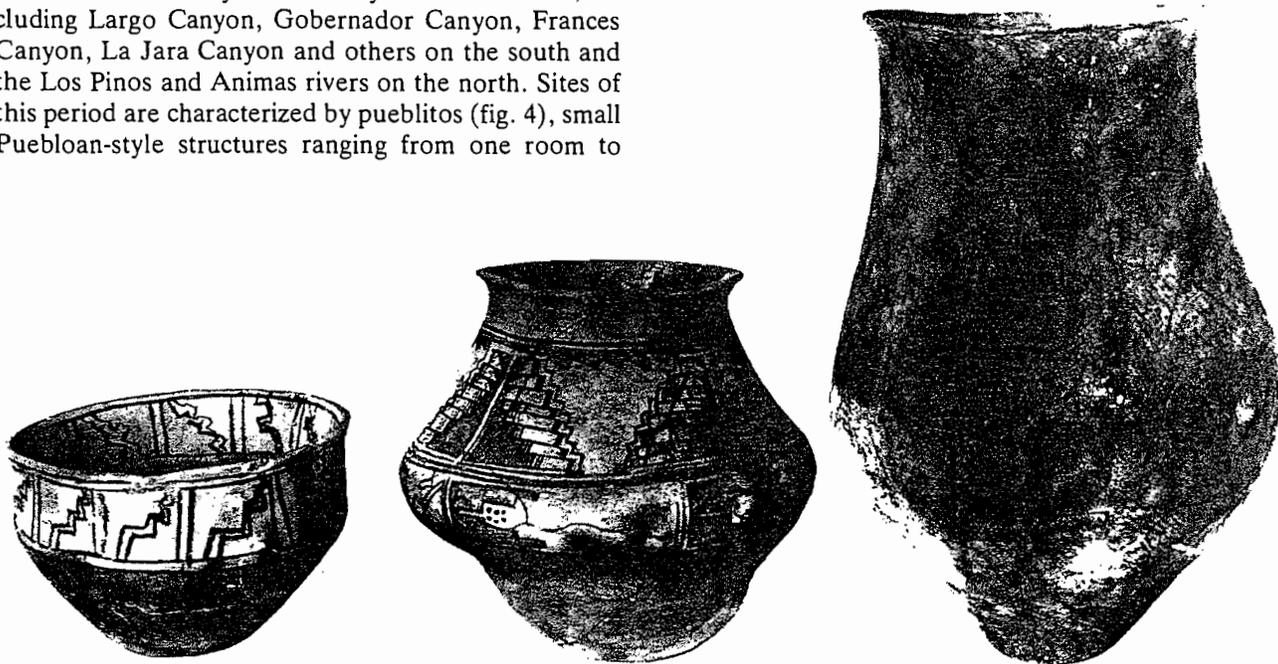
The earliest clearly identifiable and datable Navajo archeological remains are those from the Navajo Reservoir area on the upper San Juan. The pottery there is the most strongly Puebloan of any from Navajo sites, including a high proportion of the indented variety of

Dinetah Utility, Jemez Black-on-white, and some polychromes and late glazes. The local Frances Polychrome is the predecessor to Gobernador Polychrome (Carlson 1965:51-57). This complex is usually mixed with later and more distinctively Navajo types such as Dinetah Utility, Gobernador Polychrome, and non-glaze trade polychromes (fig. 3). The later complex is found in generally purer form in the somewhat later sites up the canyons tributary to the San Juan. The riverside sites lack elaborate architectural development and may best be interpreted as the camps established by the refugees

along with Navajo allies in the early days of the Reconquest. Here the two peoples farmed and the refugees probably remained fairly settled while their Athapaskan hosts ranged more widely on hunting and gathering expeditions. Although the proportions of Athapaskan and Pueblo in this population are unknown, there can be little doubt that the Puebloan element was relatively large. Ceramic styles suggest both Tewa and Jemez immigrants (Carlson 1965:57), while Navajo clan origins mention Keresans and Zuni as well. Jemez tradition supports other evidence of their inclusions (Reiter 1938:38). In addition to the refugees in the Dinetah, as this rather poorly defined region has come to be known, Hopi refugees from the Pueblo of Awatovi fled to join the western Navajos in the upper Chinle drainage. With this influx of refugees the two major ancestral roots of traditional Navajo culture, Athapaskan-Apachean and Anasazi-Puebloan, were joined. The development of Navajo culture as it is known today was far from complete, but the two peoples quickly merged sufficiently to form a single tribal entity with the *Apaches de Nabajó* providing the political unit and linguistic unity while the theology of the Pueblo Revolt gave sanction to the Puebloan participation.

More permanent settlement by the refugee population, by this time probably well mixed with the Athapaskan element, seems to have begun between 1710 and 1715 in the canyons tributary to the San Juan, including Largo Canyon, Gobernador Canyon, Frances Canyon, La Jara Canyon and others on the south and the Los Pinos and Animas rivers on the north. Sites of this period are characterized by pueblitos (fig. 4), small Puebloan-style structures ranging from one room to

many, usually built in defensive locations and with associated hogans, towers, and defensive walls (Carlson 1965; Brugge 1972; Eddy 1966). Warfare with the Spaniards continued until about 1716, after which time peace with the Whites developed gradually as both found a new enemy in the Utes (Reeve 1958:229-230). The Pueblo-style strongholds of this period were of little value for defense against well-supplied armies but were well suited to warding off raids by Indian war parties. During the next few decades the pueblito tradition flourished alongside that of the hogan, but the hogan was being built more solidly than previously with more general use of the forked-pole principle (fig. 5; for modern examples see "Navajo Social Organization," this vol.). The Dinetah became the center of a cultural development that has no equal in Apachean history. The Puebloans had brought with them their rich ceremonial lore, and ceremonies of great complexity were performed. The abundant rock art of the Dinetah attests vividly to the interest taken in religion during this period (Schaafsma 1963), as do many of the collections from the pueblito sites (Hester 1962:105-122; Carlson 1965:20-50). It is noteworthy that despite the strong religious interest, the kiva was not introduced by the refugees. The hogan was the kiva's counterpart in the



U. of Colo. Mus., Boulder: right, 210; center, 383; left, 401.

Fig. 3. Pottery, right, Dinetah Utility ware vessel of the 18th century, dark gray with surface striations probably caused by scraping with a corncob. For examples of modern Navajo cooking vessels see "Navajo Arts and Crafts," this vol. center and left, Gobernador Polychrome vessels of the early 18th century with typical black and red painted decoration on yellow ground are probably derived from Rio Grande pottery styles, possibly learned by the Navajo from Pueblo refugee women (Carlson 1965:57). center, Height 20.5 cm, left, 11.1 cm. Both collected by Earl Morris from burial knoll northwest of Ruin #4, Gobernador Canyon, Rio Arriba Co., N. Mex., 1915. right, Height 35.0 cm, collected by William Ross from rock niche, Gobernador Canyon, Rio Arriba Co., N. Mex., 1914.



Fig. 4. Pueblito of the early 18th century, near Cañon Largo, N. Mex., with remaining walls about 5 feet high. These Pueblo-style masonry structures were usually rectangular in plan (this one has curved walls) and were often built in defensive positions. This is a small example; others ranged from one room to about 40. Multi-storied tower pueblitos were another variant. Hogans and pueblitos are found at the same sites. Pueblito construction ceased about 1753 in the Dinétah. A few pueblitos were built about 1764 in the region from Lobo Mesa west to Klagetoh and Nazlini and Spanish accounts indicate use of defensive stone towers into the 1790s. Photograph by David M. Brugge.

old Athapaskan way, and hogans appear in the plazas of those pueblitos sufficiently large that kivas might be expected.

Puebloan cultural influence was very strong. The ceramics of the period are predominantly Puebloan in all except the shape of utility jars. This vessel shape is very similar to that of the prehistoric Largo-Gallina culture of the same general region and was probably copied from jars found in nearby prehistoric ruins, the stimulus for this perhaps being a nativistic orientation in the beliefs of the refugees. Pictographs and petroglyphs show many strongly Puebloan features, such as kachinas, including the Hunchback deity, sun shields with macaw feathers, and heart lines in animal figures, as well as stylistic resemblances to prehistoric kiva murals (Schaasfma 1963). Other Puebloan traits included cane arrow shafts, macaw images, sandals, close-coiled basketry, tubular pipes, tablitas, masks, gourd dippers and canteens, woven cloth, and tools for spinning and weaving (Hester 1962:105-125). A number of items of uncertain origin also appear. European traits introduced by the refugees were fewer in number but of great importance, including cattle, sheep and wool, probably goats and cheesemaking, new crops including peaches and cotton, perhaps improved gear for use with horses, and chimneys. Navajo tradition suggests that the dominant character of Pueblo culture was fully as strong as the trait lists would suggest and even included the European custom of whipping for punishment (Underhill 1956:50). Contemporary documentation shows that the



Fig. 5. Remains of a forked-pole hogan dating about 1760 on a fortified mesa near Mariano Lake, N. Mex. This is probably the earliest type of hogan; it is circular in plan, conical in section, and has poles leaned against a tripod foundation of forked poles then covered with bark and earth. For a discussion of geographic and structural differences in the hogan through time see Jett and Spencer (1981). Photograph by David M. Brugge.

people were particularly noted for their skill in working buckskin, making baskets, and weaving cloth, all of which were important items of trade, while additional traits included dams for stock water, irrigation, and cotton (Hill 1940).

On the basis of the earliest transcription of the Navajo origin tradition, it may be postulated that clans, unification of linguistic usage, and the tribal assembly or *naachid* also began during the Dinétah period (Matthews 1897). Some clans were based on previous Apachean band groups and others on refugee groups from different Pueblos and perhaps in some cases even diverse clans from the same Pueblo, while a few had origin with captives. Multiple "origins" for some clans may be postulated as well, resulting in branches within the clans with slightly differing ancestries. One description of the *naachid* (Van Valkenburgh 1946) is highly suggestive in its ground plan of a large Pueblo with the major action taking place in a central plaza and in an underground structure in the plaza. The loss of fishing may have come about during this period by the introduction of the taboo on use of fish as food found at certain Pueblos.

Exodus

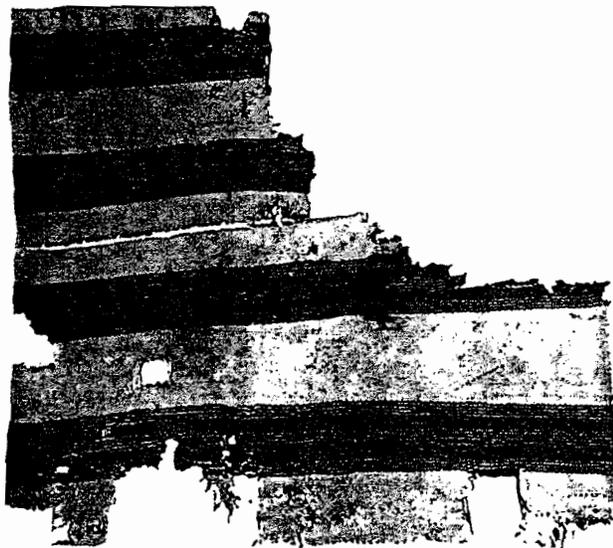
That conflicts arose between the Puebloan and Apachean values of the two ancestral groups of the population is predictable. While the Dinétah remained a area of cultural growth and wealth these could b

worked out slowly and with little strain, but when severe pressures on the people came about toward the middle of the eighteenth century in the form of drought and intensified Ute attacks these internal conflicts were aggravated and solutions sought in more drastic ways. Among a people with a strong interest in religion and with some of the nativistic concepts of the Pueblo Revolt still present in their thinking, a religious validation of any solution might be expected. Two solutions were attempted, one being conversion to Roman Catholicism and settling under the protection of the Spaniards, which was shortly found to be too foreign to the ways of those who tried it, and the other being a revitalization movement of native origin, which placed a strong emphasis on the Apachean values but allowed retention of those introduced traits and complexes most compatible with these values. There was a rejection of the more overtly Anasazi elements among the Pueblo introductions, specifically stone houses and highly decorated ceramics, and of those traits that tended to structure society too rigidly, such as use of whipping for social control and some religious practices. The raising of livestock by a people living in a dispersed settlement pattern with sufficient mobility to escape enemies and utilize the diverse resources of the environment offered the solutions needed to both the economic and military problems. Blessingway, the central ceremony in Navajo religion, gave the supernatural sanction that brought about the change, although whether Blessingway originated at this time or merely was raised in status with some reworking is not at all certain (Brugge 1963). The changes were not made without difficulties and were uneven. Destruction of pottery at the time of emigration from the Dinétah has been noted at at least one site (Carlson 1965:21), and some of the emigrants continued to build pueblitos for a very brief time. A transitional period from about 1753 to 1770 is indicated by the archeological data (Brugge 1972) and suggested by some Navajo tradition.

Warfare

The end of this transitional period coincides quite closely with the resumption of warfare with the Spaniards, in 1774, when the Navajos successfully drove encroaching Spanish settlers from the eastern portion of their land (Reeve 1959:39-40, 1960:206-210). The success of the war and the general success of the new way of life apparent by this time seem to have been sufficient to gain its acceptance by all factions. The conflicts between the Puebloan and Apachean traditions had been resolved in such a way that a relatively well-integrated pattern very like what is now known as traditional Navajo culture had emerged.

Agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting, gathering, and manufacturing (primarily the weaving of woolen



U. of N. Mex., Maxwell Mus. of Anthr., Albuquerque: 63.34.69.

Fig. 6. Textile fragments (among the earliest known pieces of Navajo weaving) from Massacre Cave, Ariz., have stripes in 3 shades of brown, on a beige ground, all of undyed wool. Based on Pueblo tradition (Wheat 1981), striped blankets were woven into the 1890s. Size 119 by 134.5 cm, woven before 1805.

cloth) formed the economic base (fig. 6). V. Troncoso's (1788) account of Navajo culture shows little difference from that known ethnologically except for the high quality of coiled basketry then produced and some continued use of cotton. The adjustments to the natural environment and to the tactical demands of a period when warfare was rampant were quite good, and territorial expansion was again possible. Lands held in the upper Chama valley had long since been lost to the Ute advance, but movement to the west and south was possible. The alliance that the Spaniards had forged against the southern Apaches had reduced their numbers and driven them to settle in peace at the presidios in Chihuahua and Sonora (Navarro García 1964:457-459). On the east the Navajos held their own with fair success against the pressures of the expanding Spanish population, while on the west they allied themselves with, and in time absorbed, some of the Southern Paiutes. Farther west they moved into country once held by the Havasupais, there being some evidence that there was accompanying warfare between the two peoples (Chacón 1801; Cadelo 1801:203).

A new factor was introduced with Mexican independence. The opening of trade with the Anglo-Americans gave the New Mexicans better supplies of firearms, and for the first time since before the Pueblo Revolt the Navajos became a major target of the suppliers of captives for the slave trade. This was set off by the José Antonio Vizcarra campaign of 1823 and continued until the end of warfare in the 1860s (Brugge 1968:147-149). During the early and middle 1820s there were numerous baptisms of Navajo captives in the

churches of New Mexico. The tribe, suffering from the aggressiveness of the New Mexicans as well as from drought, tried to avoid war, but with limited success. By 1833 warfare was rapidly escalating. The Navajos gained a major victory in 1835 when they routed a large Mexican force in Washington Pass, killing its leader among others (Brugge 1968:57–60). In 1837 when New Mexico suffered a local revolt the Navajos found allies among the western Pueblos and aided them in their abortive bid for freedom (Brugge 1969:196–197). As the number of Navajo captives among the New Mexicans grew, attacks were launched from both sides with increasing frequency and the issue of return of their lost people became the major Navajo concern at treaty negotiations (Brugge 1968:61–66). The demands of war were increasingly hard on the economies of both peoples. The New Mexicans were able to solve the problem by taxing the Anglo-American traders who came regularly over the Santa Fe Trail (Brugge 1965:25–26), but for the Navajos there was no source of outside support. The strains resulted in internal divisions within the tribe. As early as 1818 a group favoring peace with the Spaniards had detached themselves from the rest of the tribe to form the nucleus of the so-called Enemy Navajo (*diné 'ana'i*), who later settled at Cañoncito (McNitt 1972:48, 434). The basic issue was whether to have war or peace with the Whites, specifically the New Mexicans. Explanations of the differences of opinion within the tribe vary, some being in terms of rich versus poor (Brugge 1968:66) and others on a regional basis, the Navajos closest to the White settlements being those who most favored peace (Simpson 1964:lxxviii–lxxix). Detailed analysis of the data shows that both versions were at best only partially true (Littell 1967:37–44). It is probable that many factors influenced the attitudes of individual Navajos.

With the arrival of the United States Army in 1846 a new and untested force was introduced into the conflicts. American officers wavered between attempts to treat both sides fairly and outright espousal of the New Mexicans' cause but lacked insight into local conditions. By 1850 three treaties had been signed between the United States and the Navajo Tribe, but the private war between the tribe and the New Mexicans continued in sporadic fashion (Brugge 1968:67–72).

Synonymy†

The English name Navajo is from Spanish *Navajó*, which first came into use in the seventeenth century as the name of the territory then inhabited by the Navajo

†This synonymy was written by David M. Brugge, Ives Goddard, and Willem J. de Reuse. Uncredited phonemic transcriptions are from sources that prefer to be anonymous. Some of the 19th-century spellings are from Kluckhohn and Spencer (1940:11–12).

in northwestern New Mexico. Zárate Salmerón (1899–1900, 4:183, 1966:94), about 1629, referred to the Apaches de Nabajú, and Benavides (1630:59 [i.e. 57]) to the Apaches de Nauajò, which he explained as meaning 'large planted fields' (*sementeras grandes*), a reference to the fact that these Indians were great farmers (*muys grandes labradores*). Spanish *Navajó* seems to be a borrowing of Tewa *navahu'*, a compound of *nava* 'field' and *hu'* 'wide arroyo, valley' used to designate a large arroyo in which there are cultivated fields (Hewett 1906; Harrington 1940:518). It is not known whether the Tewa expression was a specific place-name in the Navajo area or a descriptive term; it is known to be the name of an abandoned pueblo near Puye. In any case, the Spaniards adopted it to designate the Largo Canyon area south of the San Juan River, where the Navajo lived (Reeve 1956:298–303). *Provincia de Nabajo* and *Provincia de Navajo* are used on Menchero's map of about 1745, and *Provincia de Nabajoo* appears on Miera y Pacheco's 1776 map ("History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," figs. 3, 6, vol. 9). In the nineteenth century *Navajó* became the most common Spanish name for the tribe, the plural being *Navajoses*; *Navajoso* (pl. *Navajosos*, fem. *Navajosa*) is also used (Harrington 1940:517). Variant spellings have b for v and x for j. Early Spanish plurals are *Navajós* (Coues 1900, 2:458; Orozco y Berra 1864:369) and *Navajoes* (Bloom 1928:177). Other early Spanish variants are *Navejo*, *Nabejo* (Harrington 1940b), *Napao* and *Apaches Nabajai* (Coues 1900, 2:351, 369), *navajoas*, 1765 (Tamarón y Romeral 1937:350), and *Abajoses* (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:282).

The first occurrences in a text originally written in English are found in the accounts of Zebulon Montgomery Pike's expeditions: *Nahjo*, *Nanahaws*, 1805–1807 (Coues 1895:730, 746). From this last form, the misspellings *Namakaus* (Schërmerhorn 1814:29) and *nanahas* (Orozco y Berra 1864:385) are derived. Other early occurrences are *Nabeho*, 1821–1822 (J. Fowler 1898:123); *Navahoes*, 1821–1823 (T. James 1953:136); *Nabijos* (Anonymous 1824); *Nabahoes* (Pattie 1833:41); *Navajoes*, *Navajó*, 1831–1839 (Josiah Gregg in Thwaites 1904–1907, 20:56, 103); *Navahoes*, 1835–1837 (Parke 1942:32); *Navijos*, 1846 (Sage 1956, 2:90); *Nebajos* 1848 (J.S. Robinson 1932:29). *Ten Kate* (1885:160) has *Návojos*, and *Deniker* (1907:525) *Nodehs*.

The modern English spellings are *Navaho* and *Navajo*, now generally pluralized as *Navahos* and *Navajos* though in the nineteenth century the plurals *Navahoe* and *Navajoes* were frequent. Both the anglicized spelling *Navaho* and the Spanish spelling *Navajo* have been considered correct, but there has been some discussion about which one should be preferred. *Navajo* was the prevailing spelling for centuries in local use and is the only one officially recognized by the Board on Geographic Names of the Department of the Interior (Har-